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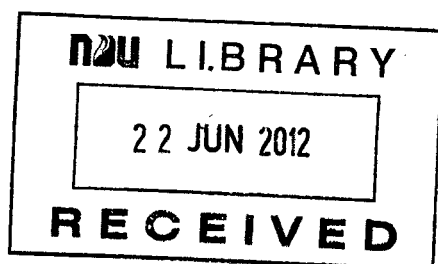
**The Impact of Leaders' Credibility on the Success of Psychological
Media Warfare.**

The Case of Hassan Nasrallah's Rhetoric During the July War, 2006.

M.A. Thesis

By

Wissam M. Boutros



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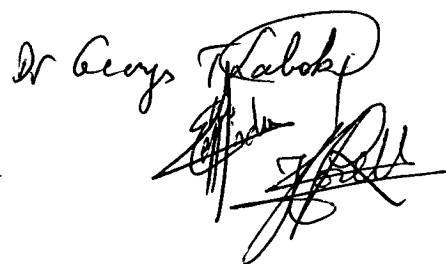


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ABSTRACT

The main focus of this thesis originates in the idealistic perspective of international affairs, emphasizing not just the states' interactions but a diversity of domestic and transnational channels, organizations, and individuals.

Idealism has held a unique conceptualization of international relations, depending on the pillars of the global system, its interdependent and cooperative structure, and the integrative functionalism of international players. Hence, Idealism promoted the role of individualism, voluntarism, and the leaders' genuine role and impact throughout history, especially on the ontology of war and peace. Also, Idealism promoted a dialectic relation among the individual represented mainly by the leaders' figure and the mutable international relations. The ontology of war inherently depends on leaders' decision making, cultural background, psychology, or emotional intelligence, reflected not just by their decisions but also by their charismatic figure, rhetoric propaganda and psychological warfare.

The major purpose of international affairs emanates from an in-depth inquiry and analysis of security maintenance or the alleged peacemaking; thus all international relations schools were authentically concerned by the substantial causes of wars, clashes, crises, in addition to the ongoing progress of the chronicles, and the aftermath and its repercussions on the global system. Leaders' figures and credibility, their ability to persuade and manipulate the masses, and their psychological media warfare are critical components or variables genuinely included within the ontology of war and peace making and consequently international relations.

As a result, the thesis statement of this paper will be the impact of leaders' credibility on the success of their psychological media warfare within the international affairs context. This thesis statement subsequently answers the following: Will an increase in leaders' credibility lead to a more effective propaganda? Moreover, is there any causality between leaders' credibility and effective psychological media warfare?

The progressive rationale of this thesis will prove causality between the credibility of the leader and the psychological media warfare. A case study of the impact of Hassan Nasrallah's credibility on his psychological media warfare success during the 2006 war against Israel will be a reflection of the logic used within this study.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

DEFINING THE MAIN CONCEPTS OF LEADERS' CREDIBILITY AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MEDIA WARFARE

1.1 Importance of the subject

The thesis will be conducted acknowledging the relative predictability of human behavior and subsequently, humanity as a coherent congregation, which makes any social study critical.

Anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists and many other scientists and experts have gazed, monitored and observed customs, habits, traditions and consequently the behavior of every community in order to analyze and draw conclusions on its social interactive boundaries and how such boundaries are established.

The following case study encountered many restrictions and obstacles emanating from the dynamism of the individuals and subsequently, societies as a whole, relying on the complexity of society's emotional triggers. These emotional triggers are culminated by the sensation of fear and the substantial motive of a primitive person relying on their basic instincts.

Survival is the substantial cause and paradoxically, the solution to most worries, anxieties and panic attacks; It is a pivotal pillar in the following research to consider and include the defense mechanism of groups when micro-scoping their reactions as biased subjects, being able to see through their decisions, their body gestures and mimes, their rhetoric and speech, their words and slang, their alliances and rivalries, and their waged wars and alleged peace. Thus, the ultimate conclusion of the thesis would highlight the concept of survival as influencing human actions and reactions. Subsequently, the human quest for survival often destabilizes a person's intrinsic energy, harmony and independence.

The vividly vulnerable psyche of humans and their constant struggle for survival catalyzed a pre-modern ideology, fostering an ultimate truth that can reply to all concerns and can give a coherent rational template encompassing a scale of values and virtues.

From a pre-modern ideological perspective, the interpretation of a distorted history would become a legitimate, unquestionable reality and the future would become a neglected secondary issue treated with *non-chalance* comparatively to “God’s Will”.

However, ultimate concepts emanating mainly from religion have demolished through time and a modern, pragmatic, relative view has been generated at the expense of the latter.

A new pattern was tailored based on facts instead of pre-modern truth. In other words, science, experiments and experiences refloated after a long period of religious dictatorship, altering beliefs, holiness and sanctification with evidence, arguments and case studies.

On the other hand, social relations, including all international and national affairs, abided by new aspects of the truth such as negotiation, compromise, balance of power, tactics, strategies, and the effective and efficient planning of power in order to dominate history and be well-equipped to face the ambivalent future.

Corollary to this virtual evolution was a historical progression presented by the Westphalia treaty, the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. All three historical occurrences have displayed new sets of values, putting an end to theocracy in the Western world.

The evolving historical process was not flawless; an emerged dilemma kept humanity suffering from its horrible repercussions. The total separation between theocracy and democracy did not succeed in reaching all nations and failed to deliver on its promise of liberating the individual.

Cynically, humans as individuals, nations and states sacrifice their present and contrive to plan the future, trying to manipulate it to fit their own interests and maintain a certain balance of power. Monitoring the international relations between states, war and diplomacy are the two main factors which summon leaders to achieve goals and apply strategies. However, success and efficiency depend on diverse explicit factors that can be measured by military power, economy and technology. On the other hand, implicit factors can be decisive and genuine, catalyzing the triumph of nations and leaders, and conducting flawless international tactics and strategies without being easily noticeable by a primary analysis or survey.

War is the fanatic version of diplomacy. It is the most concrete way to make others abide by the aggressor's stipulations and conditions, assuring a state of pre-eminence and dominance, especially when regular mediation fails. However, even war encompasses certain diplomatic outlets.

The importance and the validity of research relies on the inability of historians and analysts to unfold the subtle events and the secret hidden knobs that were essential and influential in tipping or overweighing the status of one rival against the other. Psychological media warfare is the untraditional and unorthodox factor that cannot be pre-measured neither by experts nor by war strategists.

The following analytical case study will reflect the inadequacy of the research conducted after victories and defeats, since that they might have lost some of their validity as a defense mechanism against psychological media means.

Psychological media warfare is critical and effective in the field of international affairs and diplomacy because it is subtle and undetected. Innovation, the element of surprise and creativity are always essential in creating shock and making the difference in close wars in

means of military powers. Hence, the discovery of a new pattern or theory related to a leader's credibility and its impact on the successful psychological media will establish or enact a new pattern that could be used as a new psychological media technique. The pattern could also be used reciprocally to eliminate this kind of aggression and could consequently affect events, clashes, and the international balance of power and equilibrium.

The scope will be narrowed down to focus on the special case of the Lebanese Islamic Resistance (Hezbollah) and Israel during the July 2006 war. The previous hypothesis will be well adopted and integrated with the consecutive events of this prominent war. The thesis statement will be reflected by the credibility of Hezbollah's leader, Hassan Nasrallah, and his genuine role in rendering the Islamic party's psychological media extremely effective on the morale of the Israeli community, both military and civilians.

Hassan Nasrallah, secretary general of the Islamic Resistance (Hezbollah), has been opted according to certain criteria; this prominent Islamic figure has succeeded to bypass another religiously-guided leader, Osama Bin Laden, the former chief and the founder of the Islamic fundamentalist movement of Al Qaeda. Nasrallah's charismatic figure and alleged credibility as well as his eloquent rhetoric and composed character transcended the notorious reputation of Islamic fundamentalist leaders. The traditional Shiites clergies' clothes, the long customary Islamic beard, and the black turban culminating Nasrallah's head and referring to his sanctified descent from the Prophet Mohammad's lineage, unexpectedly, were significantly distinguished from Bin Laden's "terrorist appeal". Ergo, Nasrallah floated consecutively on the Islamic, Lebanese, Arabic, Middle Eastern and international surface of politics as a unique phenomenon. The rising question is why has this leader gained some credibility and prominence worldwide when other Islamic leaders have failed? How did he achieve his current status and reputation?

How did he acquire a certain acceptance and even support from diverse Christian sectarian congregations? And how did a Shiites clergyman and leader of a Shiites party such as Hezbollah gain popularity on a transnational level as a powerful Arab leader within an Arabic world constituted from a Sunnites majority? The ability to answer these questions has led to an in-depth monitoring and observation of Nasrallah's "captivating" oratory and televised addresses in his climax, during the July war in 2006.

The paradoxical characters of Adolf Hitler and Mahatma Gandhi were simultaneously reflected in Nasrallah's figure; the secretary general consistently tries to present himself as a credible figure, a man who keeps promises, as the military operation of Hezbollah upon the July 2006 war was entitled "the truthful promise". This connotation holds a latent content referring to the trustworthiness of Nasrallah as a man of his words and a man of actions. Nasrallah's credibility has led to progressive persuasion ability, similarly to Gandhi who mastered the art of persuasion that emanated from his integrity, honesty, and credibility. Nasrallah acknowledged that his persuasive oratory skills will lead him to conduct an effective propaganda or psychological media warfare, tipping the scale of media control to his side after being preponderant to the Israelis' side as Hitler did when he invested and capitalized in his adept persuasive rhetoric to generate one of the most influential psychological media warfare (during World War 2) throughout history. All the previous allegations of Nasrallah's credibility, persuasive skills, and psychological media warfare during the July war, 2006 will be elaborated on in the forth chapter of the thesis.

The July 2006 war was deliberately opted as the highlight of Nasrallah's political life and a vivid reflection of his propaganda expertise which was used during a vicious war against a genuine enemy and not just a political opponent.

Different sets of values were conflicting between Hezbollah as an ultimate theocratic paradigm and Israel as a hybrid system labeled as a religious state but implementing the civic Western democracy. These two civic and religious ideologies were reflected in Nasrallah's psychological media warfare and televised addresses.

1.2 Definitions and historical background

To elaborate more on the research question or the thesis statement, which is the correlation then the causality between the leader's credibility and the efficiency of his psychological media warfare, it is elementary and essential to introduce the historical background based on an ascendant sustained timeline, separately showing the evolution of the leaders' credibility concept and the psychological media warfare concept.

1.2.1 Psychological warfare definitions and historical background

Starting with the latter, psychological media warfare can combine two subtitles: propaganda and psychological warfare. A basic assumption concluded by collecting common and general definitions will illustrate some ground rules and basics of the psychological warfare model.

Psychological warfare, known by many other names or terms, including Psychological Operations, Political Warfare, "Hearts and Minds," and Propaganda, is a technique that is meant to be selective in reflecting certain information and data, neglecting the other half of the truth in order to manipulate and maneuver the motives, behaviors, objectives and all kinds of emotions. It can also manipulate rationality and the way the audience perceives and analyzes any new facts.

This concept of Psychological Operations (PSYOP) is responsible for prompting and propelling new sets of values and beliefs, influencing the minds of potential enemies. This non-lethal weapon is essential in times of peace and war. Its superiority among the multiple power sources emanates from its tacit techniques in achieving objectives without any bloodshed or use of the established weaponry and habitual force. It is the best way to hit a target without taking casualties or paying heavy costs.

The best way to flawlessly apply the PSYOP is to acquire a deep knowledge about the target audience: their likes and dislikes, their strengths, weaknesses and vulnerabilities, their habits and customs, their common history and cultural background. In other words, it is the process of “knowing the enemy” in order to be well informed and surrounded by all their features and attributes.

A wide and vague classification will define the PSYOP as “a way of planned and well organized communication to persuade and control others, thus primary weapons in this case are: sight and sound.” Also, “PSYOP can be managed by face-to-face communication, audio visual means (television), audio media (radio or loudspeaker), visual media (leaflets, newspapers, books, magazines and/or posters).” (Rouse, n.d., p.1)

In introducing and promoting diverse affiliated definitions about the subject, the following should be mentioned:

The U.S. Department of Defense defines psychological warfare as: “The planned use of propaganda and other psychological actions having the primary purpose of influencing opinions, emotions, attitudes, and behavior of hostile foreign groups in such a way as to support the achievement of national objectives.” (Taylor, 1987, p.1)

During World War II, the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff defined psychological warfare more broadly stating: "Psychological warfare employs any weapon to influence the mind of the enemy. The weapons are psychological only in the effect they produce and not because of the weapons themselves." (Keyserlingk, 1990, p.131)

In a more recent set of definitions, reportedly used by former CIA chief William Colby, psychological warfare is defined as:

"Truthfully-attributed and non-attributed messages are called "white" propaganda, whereas messages falsely attributed to a third party are considered "gray." The term "black propaganda" is reserved for those materials "planted by the United States but in such a way that it seems to be the product or even an internal document of the target group." In other words, "black propaganda" is nothing less than a form of intellectual and political subversion." (Rouse, n.d., p.2)

After depicting a thorough image of this perception, an overview snapshot of the historical background will designate the evolution and the progress of the concept according to a certain timeline. The connotation of the psychological warfare has expanded and has been stretched to be included in all strategic political decisions after being just a war tactic.

An early virtual usage of psychological warfare started with "Alexander the Great" of Macedonia, the prominent and well known conqueror who vanquished most of the known world during his reign. Alexander used psychological warfare in every region he dominated in order to avoid any revolt or riot. His techniques were to leave a few soldiers behind in the region to introduce the Greek culture, myths, religion and philosophical views to the indigenous. He paid his soldiers to marry non-Greek women in an attempt to converge diverse cultures.

Knowing that he over-stretched his army and the expansion weakened his front lines, he decided to withdraw in order to regroup. However, a similar maneuver did cost him heavy casualties. That made him fashion oversized armor that could suit an eight-foot person. This made the enemy reluctant to attack the front lines and face perceived giants in a battle Alexander would have surely lost. (Roisman and Worthington, 2010, p.171)

Sun Tzu, one of the greatest military tacticians, strongly encouraged the use of psychological warfare as “a force multiplier” and “a resource saver”. He recognized that embedding the PSYOP in strategies and planning, and executing it prior to clashes would spare lives and oblige a foe to surrender. He was explicit in explaining his methods by saying:

“To capture the enemy's entire army is better than to destroy it; to take intact a regiment, a company, or a squad is better than to destroy them. To win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the supreme excellence.” (Qtd. in Rouse, n.d., p.4)

Mongol leader, Genghis Khan, was widely known for leading hordes of savage horsemen across Russia and into Europe. He used deception, quick maneuvering and communication in an elusive way, dodging the enemy, especially by messengers he sent to promote the savageness, the brutality, the invincible large numbers of troops and the barbaric image of the Mongols. (Rouse, n.d., p.4)

Vlad Tepes, also known by his patronymic “Dracula”, was well known for his brutal ways of execution. According to Harmening, “his most well-known psychological tactic was an incident involving impalement where he had the bodies of thousands of Ottoman soldiers suspended in the air, impaled through the heart or rectum with sharpened stakes.” (Harmening, 1983)

During the Spanish Civil War, the Nationalist General, Queipo de Llano, broadcasted transmissions using loudspeakers in order to let the Republican supporters in the other zone hear him say: “Red soldiers abandon arms. Franco forgives and redeems. Follow the example set by your comrades who have joined our ranks. Only then you will achieve victory, happiness at home, and peace in your heart.” (Beavor, 2006)

1.2.2 Leadership credibility definitions and historical background

Moving to the credibility concept and its dialectic relation with leadership, the following should set the pillars of the subject. Beginning with credibility,

two main key elements come to mind, trustworthiness and expertise; the first one is based on subjective factors, however, it could hold some objective outlets culminated by established reliability, where the latter is similarly perceived subjectively, it could also encompass objective qualities concerning the source of the message, a secondary element of credibility is the physical attractiveness or charisma. (Flanagin and Metzger, 2008, p. 5)

The following step to the introduction of the basic ground rules of credibility emphasizes and evaluates the deep affiliation between credibility and leadership. The affiliation is a mutual relationship established on fundamental aspirations between the leader and the followers.

The high expectations of the population could raise a human to leadership status, when their hopes match his/her characteristics and features, mainly his/her honesty, drive, competence and inspiring skills. All leaders need to persuade people in order to establish a base of followers. However, according to Edward Murrow,

to be persuasive, we must be believable; to be believable, we must be credible; to be credible, we must be truthful. Without credibility, no one listens except the blind followers of their tribal flock. And in time they may even lose the attention of their tribal followers as eyes are opened. With credibility, people listen. With credibility comes leadership. (Qtd. in Ferguson, 2011, p.1)

Credibility is an ethical subject concerning values, virtues and good deeds: “To have virtue is to be truthful. To be credible is to be truthful. To have good character is to be truthful. Hence, we should all be striving for truthfulness in every aspect of our daily lives.” (Ferguson, 2011, p. 1).

In order for a leader to be credible, he/she needs to shed light and emphasize his/her qualifications, potentials, competences and experiences. He/she should reflect the group’s interests in mind and at heart, showing a vivid, genuine caring for the public. His/her body language and gestures, accent, manners and dress, should be compatible or similar to those of the public. He/she should be quick-witted and assertive in refuting any counter-argument using a logical coherent rationale. He/she can use several techniques, leveraging and weighing his/her credibility. For instance, he/she could promote and highlight the source of information that he/she is using or he/she could be introduced to the public by a prominent, well known and trustworthy person.

Credibility as an ethical virtue can be very vulnerable. It cannot be gray or exposed to doubts. Foggy, ambivalent and ambiguous reactions will crumble and destroy the leader’s trustworthiness, thus his/her credibility, especially that “credibility takes a lot of time to build, but it can be lost in an instant.” (Kouzes, 2009, p.3)

All previously mentioned prominent leaders, for their successful adoption of psychological warfare have gained their followers' trust and obedience by emphasizing their deity and sanctified descent to assert a certain degree of credibility and forge a relationship of trust with the people.

Alexander the Great promoted that he is from the lineage of Achilles, as told by his mother, Olympias, who even convinced him of being the son of Zeus, the king of Greek gods. As a deceiving act, Alexander let his generals announce what they heard from the Egyptian oracle at Siwa, that he was the son of Ammon, the Egyptian equivalent of Zeus, trying to acquire more obedience, trust and credibility.

Sun Tzu, in his book *The Art of War*, considers leadership as a mixture of five traits: Intelligence, Credibility, Humaneness, Courage, and Discipline. Sun Tzu referred to this as the Tao, or way. The Tao impacts and is impacted by personnel at all levels. (Clarke, 2001, p.32)

Genghis Khan's credibility emanated from his ability to acquire knowledge, his flexibility, his loyalty and his ability to learn and accept advice, especially from his wife and mother. His other source of subjective credibility was the claim that he was fulfilling a divine mission.

The credibility of Prince Vlade Tepes originated from his noble lineage, as inferred to by his patronymic Dracula, which means, son of the Dragon, Vlad II Dracul.

General Queipo de Llano won credibility through his Asturian Spanish Nobility lineage, apparently being related to the Asturian family of the Counts of Torino.

1.3 Methodology of Research

The methodology will incorporate the nomothetic approach to explain and identify the causal factors between credibility and psychological media warfare, abiding by the deductive

logical models mainly. The observations will demonstrate causality between the leader's credibility and his/her ability to persuade, and then develop the general principle which is a causal relation between the leaders' credibility and the success of their psychological media warfare.

The social research conducted will be mainly qualitative using the methods of content analysis, probing existing data, initiating a comparative research between theory and the application of the leaders' credibility impact on psychological media warfare success, then an evaluation research conducted to tabulate the elicited conclusions.

The thesis statement previously mentioned requires matching variables and attributes between the leader's credibility as the independent variable and psychological media warfare as the dependent variable, in order to not just prove the obvious correlation between them, but to designate the causality that indicates the interdependency between the credibility of the leader and the effectiveness of psychological media warfare. This hypothesis will be proven by investigating primary and secondary sources, introducing the substantial data needed for this case study.

The used methodology will begin in the second chapter by a coherent and detailed literature review encompassing leadership credibility theories and their importance, elaborating on leadership definitions and evolution, leadership credibility's evolving theories, then introducing a contemporary example depicting the causality and correlation between credibility and persuasive leadership and concluding with a proven causality between credibility and persuasive leadership. The chapter will also introduce psychological media warfare theories and their importance, elaborating on psychological media warfare's (propaganda) timeline review, the evolving theories abiding by chronology and chronicles, and then illustrating a contemporary

example showcasing the causality and correlation between persuasive leaders and psychological warfare, and concluding with the causality between persuasive leadership and psychological media warfare. Finally, the chapter will demonstrate the causality between leaders' credibility and successful psychological media warfare.

The third chapter entitled "Psychological Media Warfare Techniques" will introduce miscellaneous propaganda techniques, significantly and deliberately opted to correspond with the rhetoric of Hezbollah's leader, Hassan Nasrallah. The adapted rationale in this chapter will commence by defining the propaganda technique, reflecting its usage on an international level by projecting it on some relevant historical chronicles, then discussing its adaptation within the alleged "Arab spring", highlighting the role of each technique in such transitional periods and change momentums.

The fourth chapter will be a pursuit to the third chapter's established rationale, projecting the propaganda techniques previously mentioned on Hassan Nasrallah's rhetoric during the July war, 2006. The used logic will commence by establishing the alleged credibility of Hezbollah's leader, Hassan Nasrallah, then analyzing Nasrallah's psychological warfare techniques, emphasizing the ones implemented in his oratory during the 2006 war and finally applying the proven hypothesis (leaders' credibility impact on the success of their psychological media warfare) on Hezbollah's leader's credibility and the success of his psychological warfare during the 2006 war. The previously mentioned theory or hypothesis will be consolidated by the falsification of the reversed rationale, using the Israeli lack of credibility that led to a major failure of its psychological warfare during the 2006 war.

The fifth chapter will be the summation of the case study and a set of recommendations addressed to the secretary general of Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah, then to his *target audience*,

mainly the Lebanese receivers. The conclusion was prompted to advocate the person's selectiveness, to fairly and thoroughly judge leaders' credibility and their propaganda of probing the latent content of leaders' figures and messages, transcending the deceiving instinctive emotions.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

THEORIES AND SCHOOLS OF THOUGHTS OF LEADERSHIP CREDIBILITY, LEADERSHIP PERSUASION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MEDIA WARFARE

2.1 Leadership credibility theories

2.1.1 Leadership definitions and evolution

A panoramic view encompassing all the existent theories related to the relevance of credibility in building an effective, persuasive and influential image of the leader, will promote the studied concept as a substantial factor in asserting the hypothesis which is the dialectic relationship between a leader's credibility and psychological media warfare.

First of all, the conceptualization of leadership has evolved through time. Thus, it must be defined by schools and authors maintaining a sustained timeline. Several explanations may generate the authentic idea behind leadership: "Leadership is a relationship between those who aspire to lead and those who choose to follow". (Kouzes and Posner, 2002, p. 1) It could also be considered as "a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (Northouse, 2004) or an "influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with the routine directives of the organization" (Katz Kahn, 1966). It is deemed as a "process of influencing the activities of an organized group toward goal achievement" (Behling, 1984, pp. 45 – 62). In a snapshot, "Leadership is the ability of developing and communicating a vision to a group of people that will make that vision true" (Valenzuela, 2007).

Moving from definitions to the diverse schools and theories concerning leadership, many researchers, psychologists and thinkers have progressed in widening the scope and the dimensions of the perception to include new aspects:

Great Man Theory and Charisma (19th century)

“Traditional views held that leaders were special people endowed with unique skills and abilities which helped them to rise above others. Alexander the Great, Napoleon, and George Washington are examples of such persons.” (Chemers, 2003, p.2). The theory deemed that the power of the leader emanates from holy, divine and spiritual higher powers. Characteristics and features were not substantial pillars in recognizing a leader. The sanctified theocratic relationship between the leader and the alleged subtle force makes the followers believe that the leader in charge has the absolute authority that should not be questioned or opposed, and he/she is the chosen one who is accomplishing a divine mission. The divine authority inherited by the leader’s descent or holy request, enhances his/her credibility and hence his/her persuasive skills, leading up to an effective propaganda.

Traits Approach Theory

The alleged “Great Man Theories” were advocated and promoted in the first half of the 20th century. The origins of this connotation emanates from the “greatness” that a leader encompasses. It is a greatness of skills in diverse aspects of command, whether military abilities or religious knowledge and enlightenment or political shrewdness and previsions.

The latter theory of *Great Man* was countered by Dr. Ralph Melvin Stogdill in 1948 when he stated in his prominent survey about the studies of the first half of the century that “a

person does not become a leader by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits” (Stogdill, 1948, p.64).

Later on, in a second review in 1974, Stogdill probed 163 studies that were conducted between 1948 and 1970. The genuine rationale that Stogdill based his first appraisal on neglected the relevance of the leader’s character and personality. He underestimated the powerful effect of the leader’s traits by only highlighting and emphasizing the situational factors that affect leadership. However, in his second review that was conducted empirically, he rectified the prior analysis by emphasizing the role of the leader’s traits. The second review “validated the original trait idea that the leader’s characteristics are indeed a part of Leadership” (Northhouse, 2004).

Hence a leader’s characteristics, traits of personality and the so-called charisma affect directly his/her impact on his/her followers, and could be essentially related to his/her persuasive abilities as a propagandist.

The Leadership Skills Approach.

After claiming that the leader’s personality is the essential factor in the process of leadership, a new trend floated on the surface of the scientific assumptions and theories, relying on the expertise and knowledge that a person has to become a leader. This theory stated that leadership can be manufactured and a leader can be made or can evolve by learning new skills (Northhouse, 2009). Hence, the expertise of the leader is the essential and major component in achieving a certain trustworthiness and credibility, leading up to a more inclusive and adept persuasion.

The Leadership Style Approach

The leadership style is a combination of traits and skills that can be culminated by the leader's behavior. This theory estimates that consistent behavior, or in other words, a template of actions and reactions, is what makes leaders, in addition to the secondary factors of skills and traits. "In shifting the study of leadership to leader style or behaviors, the style approach expanded the study of leadership to include the actions of the leader toward subordinates in various contexts". (Northhouse, 2004)

Hence, the behavior of the leader reflects his/her capabilities, expertise and potentials and consequently the accumulation of certain effective and efficient behaviors will consolidate the credibility and thus his/her communication skills.

Situational Leadership

The key element in this theory is that different circumstances and situations require different skills, thus different styles of leadership. Hence, leadership mainly depends on the situation and the ability of leaders to adapt their skills to match the stipulations and the demands of a specific occasion. Situational leadership was developed by Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard in 1969. (Hersey and Blanchard, 1977)

Persuasive leaders adeptly adjust their rhetoric to fit in the mutable circumstances. Hence, their rhetoric transitions according to the situation may affect their credibility. However, their efficient decisions will restore their credible figures.

The Path Goal Theory

The essence of this theory emanates from the motivation key. It estimates that the best performance originates from the group and not exclusively from the leader. Thus, the efficiency and effectiveness of the cluster is based on motivating subordinates in order to attain more achievements. The theory was generated in the 1970s when Evans, House, Dessler, Mitchell, and others pulled the emotional trigger, asserting that employee performance could be improved through motivation. (House, 1996, pp. 323–352)

Transformational Leadership

Although the first connotations of this theory have been mentioned by Downton (1973), it was not until James Burns' mentioned in his classic *Leadership* (1978) that transformational leadership became prominent.

The substance of transformational leadership is that it pushes the subordinates to the edge and to the extent of their capabilities, trying to elicit the best of them, exploiting their abilities to a certain extreme. Such a procedure requires from the alleged transformational leader encouragement and inspiration, with the followers focusing on satisfying their needs, trying to get the best of the followers in order to realize more accomplishments. There are four basic behaviors that transformational leaders exhibit: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration. "Transformational leaders move followers to accomplish more than what is expected of them." (Northhouse, 2004)

Once a leader succeeds in adapting the transformational model he/she will become a strongly credible figure reaching the emotional intelligence of the followers by inspiring and

motivating them and also reaching their minds by stimulating their intellect. Subsequently, a transformational leader should acquire trustworthiness and expertise, to achieve credibility.

2.1.2 Leadership credibility theories and evolution

Shifting to leadership credibility, a wholesome literature review can be elicited in order to designate the importance of credibility in consolidating and fostering leadership as an influential, persuasive, powerful figure trusted by the followers as by the foes. Researchers have generated theories about the relevant utility of credibility when describing the communicational skills of a leader. Beginning with the findings on the relevance of credibility, Falcione (1974) indicated that “credibility is the single most important variable in supervisor-employee relationships.” (Gradwell, 2004, p.18) Others such as Campbell (1993) and Hellweg (1978) have reported its importance as well. In his years of researching, Campbell said that credibility has been a crucial component of successful leadership. He discovered that it is the characteristic that distinguishes the best leaders from the worst. (p.18)

If leaders are not deemed credible, they are not estimated or recognized as leaders. The essential requirements for a leader to attain credibility, earning his/her followers’ trust and his/her opponents’ interest, are embodied in six common aspects. This review probes into defining the concept of credibility and its evolving progress through a timeline between the early findings on the subject and the recent analysis and outcomes. The work of Kouzes and Posner provides the groundwork for the prior mentioned dimensions. According to them, “leaders need to know who they are, appreciate their constituents and their diversity, affirm the shared values

of the followers, develop the capacity of their followers, serve a purpose, and sustain hope among their followers.” (Qtd. in Gradwell, 2004, p.26)

All of these themes, however, are evident in other texts on leader credibility. A noticeable repetition would be recognized as a convergence between the common themes. The common topics that promote a reliable framework for the credibility concept converge, by emphasizing values, ethics and morals, as relevant components.

One of the common topics throughout the literature is that credible leaders need to introspect themselves in order to probe and elicit their intrinsic motives, shedding the light on what they want to do.

A second theme that emanated from the literature is that credible leaders should acquire the appreciation and knowledge of the followers. Kouzes and Posner (1993a) say that “leaders seek their own energy and talent, and then seek them in others, but from time to time, this human energy and talent needs to be refreshed. And so does credibility.” (Qtd. in Gradwell, 2004, p.28)

A third theme that emerged from the literature is that credible leaders need to improve the abilities and the capabilities of their followers by consolidating them, encouraging them and fostering them to boost up. A credible leader must provide sufficient supplies for the followers, granting them the knowledge and expertise that they require.

A fourth subject in the leadership credibility literature is the designation of shared values between the followers and the leader, in order to establish common ground, common framework and common goals. They need to disseminate the spirit of the group, creating the right ambiance for teamwork and a sense of belonging for all colleagues to a moral and institutional corp.

A fifth theme in the literature was that credible leaders must serve with a purpose. In essence, leadership is a service: “Leaders serve a purpose for the people who have made it

possible for them to lead – their followers. They are servant leaders—not self-serving, but other-serving” (Kouzes & Posner, 1993, p.54).

The final theme that emerged from the literature with the most significance was that credible leaders should be visionary, inspiring, maintaining hopes and aspirations between the comrades: “Vision is defined as a picture both of the future and of the present, appealing simultaneously to logic and to feeling; first it makes sense, and then it inspires strong, simultaneous feelings of hope and pride in its accomplishment” (Snyder et al., 1994, p.74).

Many theorists have debated and conducted in depth surveys to solicit and define the main components of leadership credibility; In Hovland et al.’s review of credibility research entitled *Communication and Persuasion*, the main components extracted and recognized as essential linchpins of credibility were the convergent dimensions of trustworthiness and expertise (Hovland et al.’s 1953). McCroskey (1996) provided a parallel and eminent acknowledgement of credibility that has been prominent until today. He anticipated that there were bifocal dimensions constituted of the concepts of authoritativeness and character (pp. 65 - 72). Berlo et al. (1969) added a third dimension to their analysis, improving a critical scale deemed as a reference in measuring and evaluating the contexts of messages. The endeavor noticed the statistical dimensions of the subject and revolved around trustworthiness, qualifications and dynamism. (pp. 563 - 567) Falcione (1974) corresponded with the latter perception; however, he conducted a minor manipulation in order for the variables to adjust with the supervisor-employee relationships (pp. 43 - 54). Klauss and Bass (1982) present a vivid understanding of the following variables:

Trustworthiness refers to the sense of interpersonal safety that a person may feel toward another. The qualification variable relates to how informed, skilled, experienced, and

well trained a person seems for a job. Basically, it gets at the knowledge and expertise that a person seems to possess for a required job. Dynamism refers to the performance of a person, or his or her activeness. It includes such qualities as how forceful, aggressive and energetic a person appears to be. (Qtd. in Gradwell, 2004, p.36)

Other dimensions were recognized by several contemporary theorists, namely Joseph (1982) and Roll and Roll (1984), such as, focusing on the source of influence, its features and attractiveness. In other words, the main focus was on the charismatic aspect. Goldberg and Hartwich (1990) recognized a source's prestige.

Probing the latter definition, the pivotal dimensions of credibility according to the review and analysis holds the connotations of accuracy and honesty of the credible source when interacting with a well known subject. The low credibility of the source will provoke a mismatch and a paradox between allegations and actions. The prominent 'consistency' standard and its many dimensions and applications was designated and explained by Pincus and DeBonis (1994) as "the heart and soul" of credibility (Qtd. in Gradwell, 2004, p.41). It was deemed as the genuine component of credibility. The complexity of the consistency conception hampered a simple understanding of its outcomes. However, consistency was recognized as a vital pillar in establishing leadership communication. Effective leadership communication emerges from the principal of consistency. However, the latter concept is deemed as the essence of credibility, thus the most relevant dimension of leadership. More distinctively, "in order to achieve true credibility, leaders must be consistent in thought, language, and actions, and in every aspect of business life" (Pincus & DeBonis, 1994, p.153):

Pincus and Debonis (1994) promoted and advocated five aspects that are majorly related to any established credibility. These dimensions are core components of the concept:

Consistency of objectives – words, actions, internal and external messages are in alignment with organizational objectives and communication efforts;

Consistency of words and actions – leaders' behavior is congruous with previously stated messages to key audiences and managers throughout the organization. Leaders are sending the same messages and acting accordingly;

Consistency of style – the leaders' approach to communication is direct and candid, and includes soliciting feedback from stakeholders;

Consistency of priorities – the employees and other key internal constituencies receive crucial information about the organization from the CEO or another top executive before it is released to external audiences;

Consistency of roles – the CEO is the organization's chief communication officer and the primary spokesperson on the most important organizational matters, whether communicating with internal or external audiences.

Recent findings on structuring and sustaining credibility advocated the concept of “transparent” leadership. Pagano and Pagano (2004) recognized nine key factors or conducts that every leader should use in order to attain “transparency”. They define the concept of transparency as a “what you see is what you get” code of conduct. They estimated that both transparency and credibility are reflected through actions. In order to be transparent, they suggest that leaders adopt nine elementary deeds: “The nine key behaviors include: being overwhelmingly honest, gathering intelligence, being composed, letting your guard down, keeping promises, properly handling mistakes, delivering bad news well, avoiding destructive comments, and showing others that you care.” (Garner, 2011, pp. 1 – 3)

They claim that these nine key behaviors are essential requisites in order to achieve effective working relationships, hence forging and fostering a steeper level of credibility. Another relevant issue related to our subject is that credibility can be perceived by verbal means in addition to nonverbal methods. (Kouzes and Posner, 1993a). In one study the researchers Heintzman, Leathers, Parrott, and Cairns, assumed that nonverbal conduct used by managers to create a certain link with employees had explicit vivid effects on employees' perceptions of the supervisors. The nonverbal actions used by supervisors embodied "touching, shaking hands, smiling, touching a shoulder, leaning forward, nodding, pulling a chair closer to listen, open body posture, and moderate to high levels of direct eye contact." (Heintzman, Leathers, Parrott, & Cairns, 1993, pp. 181 - 208).

Moving to the dialectic relation between leaders' credibility and their ability to persuade comrades, colleagues or even rivals, an assessment will display the main roles of trustworthiness and expertise in enhancing the power of persuasion. After a close examination of the leadership perception as a process, then shedding light on the importance of the leader's credibility, by promoting him/her as a powerful, influential and effective figure, the rationale of this structure will conclude by emphasizing credibility as a pivotal pillar of the art of persuasion. Persuasion is defined as "a process that changes attitudes, beliefs, opinions, or behaviors; may be the single most powerful skill a leader may possess." (Agarwal, 2011, p. 1) The relevance of persuasion emerges from the mentality of employees. Nowadays, a subordinate cannot just abide by the command and control conception. Thus, leaders must make certain amendments to their behavior in order to satisfy the needs of their subordinates. The essential issue of employees is embedded in the message originating from their supervisor. Both formalities and latent content can affect the employee's motives and morals thus their performance and outcomes. Hence, a leader should

consider the evolution of the subordinate's conscious and be more explicit in explaining why tasks should be done. Leaders should also explain the costs and benefits that emerge from completing certain tasks, before commanding what should be done.

Persuasion is the key element in this shunt of directions. The new trend requires a meaningful rapport between leaders and employees based on trust, honesty and expertise. Persuasion is making others believe in what the persuader wants them to believe, then the transformation of these beliefs into actions. Leaders applying persuasion in their relationships are more trusted than conventional commanders. The concept of persuasion has shifted from its orthodox understanding as a way of manipulating people in order to sell them just about anything to a skillful legitimate process of negotiation and enlightenment. It is a complex combination of rationality, honesty, consistency and emotional stimulations. According to Aulph (2011), "to survive and succeed, a leader must learn to persuade people: to convince them to take action on his behalf and under his direction, often without formal authority." (Brusman, 2006, p.1)

Leaders may have a formal authority that they can exert in order to make followers do things even if the followers are not convinced. However, taking such a hard path will cost the leader a part of his/her integrity and credibility and will negatively affect the performance of the group and corollary to this, the ultimate outcomes and sought goals. Hence, persuasion can sustain the subordinates' drive, motivation and initiative, estimating that he/she has more authority and self determination, which could increase his/her self esteem thus his/her performance, hence realizing more accomplishments. "The leader must not only make a rational argument, but also position his information, ideas, approaches and/or solutions in ways that appeal to basic human emotions" (Brusman, 2006, p.1).

Effective persuasion requires high cost but higher benefits. As Larry Bossidy, former chairman of the board of Honeywell International Inc., once explained:

Today you have to appeal to [people] by helping them see how they can get from here to there, by establishing some credibility, and by giving them some reason and help to get there. Do all those things, and they'll knock down doors. (Qtd. in Brusman, 2006, p. 2)

Dr. Jay Conger describes the conventional view of persuasion as: "First, you strongly state your position. Second, you outline the supporting arguments, followed by a highly assertive, data-based exposition. Finally, you enter the deal-making stage and work toward a close." (Qtd. in Budzowski, 2006, p.1)

As previously mentioned, the success of persuasion depends on credibility in addition to other components. Much ground work, surveys and research have elicited four indispensable elements for the accomplishment of the persuasion process:

1. Established credibility: the key elements of credibility are trustworthiness and expertise as previously mentioned. The first aspect is a part of a whole relationship process. Thus, trust is embodied in the wider concept. Motivation is a primary trigger that can develop and enhance trustworthiness. The leader should stimulate followers, intrigue them and encourage them, in order to exploit all their intrinsic capabilities. After eliciting their abilities, the leader must emphasize and highlight their suggestions and skills, listening intently and engaging himself/herself in fruitful debates. As for relationships, the leader must reflect dedication and integrity, holding the interest of the group in mind and at heart. The leaders' full engagement and identification with the group will establish and ameliorate a rapport between both sides. The leaders' mental and emotional stability and endurance should be combined in a strong steady character reflecting certain reliability. (Conger, 1998)

2. Understanding the audience and framing a common ground: Established credibility is one of the authentic factors in the persuasion procedure. However, it should be combined with a strong ability in appealing to followers. Thus, leaders must eloquently advocate their positions, shedding light on the advantages of their paths and relating them to tangible profits, emphasizing the hinges that could be appealing to their value system. They should also evaluate the outcomes that can match the followers' needs and satisfy such needs. In order to realize the previously mentioned steps, leaders must probe and monitor the subordinates' actions and reactions, engaging them in debates, dialogues and in-depth conversations to elicit emotional, intellectual and material triggers. Within a debate, leaders must master their negotiation skills, always soliciting multiple alternatives prompted and geared into fitting the needs of the group, not the individual's. Compromises should be undertaken in order to achieve a "win-win situation" between the leader and the followers. This process will often prompt the leader to alter his/her initial argument or include compromises. Paradoxically, leaders must acquire unyielding tenacity and flexibility at the same time in order to build a strong figure, combining support and care on one hand and intensity and decisiveness on the other. (Fisher and Ury, 1991)

3. Providing evidence: After forging credibility and a frame for common ground, persuasion relies on presenting proof and verification: "strong data in multiple forms (stories, graphs, images, metaphors and examples)". (Brusman, 2006, p.3) A leader's statement can be made by using vivid language that complements graphics:

People retain visual information and emotionally charged stories. In most cases, a rock-solid argument, is logical and consistent with facts and experience, favorably addresses the audience's interests, eliminates or neutralizes competing alternatives, recognizes and

deals with office politics, receives endorsements from objective, authoritative third parties. (Brusman, 2006, p.3)

4. Connecting emotionally: A bifocal perception of persuasion will reflect bipolarity in persuading an audience. Individuals respond to certain triggers; intellectual logical arguments and evidence might appeal to the rationale of followers. However, if a person wants to change his/her status by making a remarkable deviation, he/she should make a decision based on a complexity of emotions, needs, and intellect. Hence, a leader must advocate his/her position by merging the two latter aspects in his/her display, getting through to the minds and hearts of his/her followers. According to Brusman (2006),

Successful persuaders also cultivate an accurate sense of their audience's emotional state, and they adjust their arguments' tone accordingly. This is called "emotional resonance," and proficient persuaders enjoy a definite advantage. Whatever your position, you must match your emotional fervor to your audience's ability to receive your message. (p.3)

An in-depth study probed the audience in order to elicit the masses' moods and emotional expectations. What would be deemed relevant in this experiment is that audiences are different by nature, culture and scales of values. Thus, their reactions will vacillate, leaning towards one aspect more than the other. A shrewd leader must study his/her audience in order to establish the best formula, combining the right amount of intellect and emotions in order for him/her to persuade them effectively. Any persuasive message emanating from the leader must attain a certain equilibrium that prevents an emotional exaggeration or rationale rigidity.

Studies have monitored the relationship between leaders' credibility and the power and influence they are deemed to possess. Nesler, Aguinis, Quigley, and Tedeschi (1993) discovered a major relationship between the credibility of leaders and their power. In an experiment with 84

undergraduate students, the researchers found that supervisors who were estimated to be highly credible also were more powerful than supervisors with low credibility. (pp. 1407 - 1425)

Other research has also presented a similar impact of leaders' credibility on their effectiveness to influence others. Horai and Tedeschi (1969) discovered that followers may yield to coercive or compulsive actions undertaken by a source with high credibility than a source with low credibility. (pp. 164 - 169). Other studies by Crosbie (1972), Heilman (1974), and Schlenker, Nacci, Helm, and Tedeschi (1976) have concurrently shown that followers were more likely to abide by promises made by a communicator with high credibility than one with low credibility. The impact of a leaders' credibility was also obvious in other experiments conducted by researchers such as Birnbaum and Mellers (1983), Birnbaum, Wong and Wong (1976) and McGarry and Hendrick (1974), where followers were more likely to use information provided by a high credibility source than that provided by a low credibility source when given multiple types of decision-making assignments.

2.1.3 Contemporary example on the causality and correlation between credibility and persuasive leadership

Shifting to the credibility perception and its dialectic relation with persuasion in general and more specifically persuasive effective leaders, a pivotal pillar and an authentic linchpin to successfully persuade is to acquire and establish credibility; values, virtues, ethics and good deeds are part of individual integrity and sincerity that enhances trust in relationships. The truth could be at the origin of trust. However, when trustworthiness exists, anything could become true or considered as part of an ultimate truth. Fortunately, trustworthiness is not the only factor indispensable of credibility endeavors. Thus, expertise, knowledge and information would

enlighten and fortify any person in search for credibility. Going back to persuasive leaders and individuals, the key element in such a situation is to gain reliability in order to influence and convince. A vivid example that could reflect the allegations into reality is Mahatma Gandhi's journey and his persuasion and credibility. The non-violent methods pursued by Gandhi were admired and well respected by the Indian society. His creativity in dealing with political crises gave him a tremendous moral power within his community. He mainly achieved the population's trust by making an example of himself and adopting the essence of the message he was disseminating. He promoted himself as a servant of the public. He detested hypocrites. Thus, he deliberately practiced what he believed in and what he preached. He lived in abstinence, neglecting the conventional appearances of an orthodox leader which made him closer to the masses, gaining their trust as being one of them and suffering as they do. Gaining the trust of a spiritual monk and the expertise of a creative lawyer, Gandhi won his credibility and invested it to an extreme edge in order to influence people and persuade them. One of the yarns that acknowledges the relation between Gandhi's credibility and his ability to impact, influence and persuade others, was about a woman who came to Sevagram Ashram in Wardha, pleading that Gandhi persuade her son to control his sugar craving. (Easwaran, 1997, p.159). "Sister, come back after a week," Gandhi said. The woman left confused and returned a week later. "Please do not eat too much sugar, it is not good for you," Gandhi requested from the little boy. The woman asked: "Bapu, why didn't you say this to him last week? Why did you make us come back again?" Gandhi answered: "Sister, last week, I too was eating sugar. First, I had to try to see if it was possible." Gandhi deemed that there should be no mismatches or gaps between words and actions. It should be a continuum. "Be the change you wish to see," he assured. (Singhal, 2010, pp. 4 – 5)

Gandhi's credibility and moral power emerged from such deeds. Corollary to these virtues was his immense ability to rally, mobilize, persuade, and influence. Ralph Waldo Emerson asserted that such authority emanates from character and personality—a direct force related to an individual's presence without adopting any external means, just intrinsic energy which acts directly by presence. This subtle and tacit power cannot be explicit, nor embedded in official positions or titles, but is tremendously strong yet very simple, like a natural phenomenon and is often characterized by “greatness,” “virtuosity,” and “magnetism.” Gandhi would attract a huge mass during his prayer meetings, marches, and on train stations; huge crowds were always striving for the Mahatma's *darshan* (sighting)—a visual communion with a higher spirit.

2.1.4 The causality between credibility and persuasive leadership

The two concepts of credibility and persuasion were previously linked by the use of historical background, the existent literature elaborating on prominent theories and schools of thought, and the historical examples, reflecting vividly this bond.

Any social theory, even if it bypasses the hypothesis phase, can hold some uncertain allegations or any kind of exceptions that could neglect or falsify a given social theory. Thus, social studies cannot deem ultimate objectivity or unbiased results, since humans possess a subjective nature and post-modern relativity conceiving and acknowledging any truth. When examining an object that has no reactions, in a certain study, the results will be propelling scientifically proven facts and formulas that should not encounter any exceptions or special cases. However, if the aim of the probe is a subject, the experiment action would prompt a reaction from the subject under study, which provokes subjective theories that can be deemed rational to a large extent without claiming a total undeniable truthfulness.

Social theories are seized to facilitate and ease the estimation of any social interaction, event and phenomenon by measuring these changes on a well structured criterion or scale that relates each social circumstance to a specific cause.

This approach could reflect some flaws and gaps when elaborating on the requirements of a social experiment or study on one hand and when applying the theory in a universal situation on the other. While conducting social experiments, many external factors could influence the results of the study. Even used tools such as sampling, interviewing and conducting inquiries could yield some conflicting or biased results.

Already proven social theories can explain many of the interchangeable social variables; however, such theories cannot cover all issues even if alleged situations or circumstances show certain similarities. The ethical issues are relevant in this case and will be obeyed and abided by to a large extent. Going back to the rapport between persuasion and credibility, an obvious correlation was already displayed in the prior chapter. Thus, certain causation should be emphasized. However, the theory at hand definitely trespasses the limitations of a plain correlation, but should not be claimed as flawless causality even if it could reach its limitations to a certain extent.

After drawing the coherent rationale and inhering it with the dimensions of the study, a logical, scientific way of proving and evidencing should be based on theoretical linchpins, starting with identifying the variables as logical sets of attributes of any theory. First, credibility would be deemed as the independent variable because its attributes are not the main concern in the analysis. They are taken as simply given and the leader's credibility is presumed to determine the dependant variable of persuasion. Thus, the latter is highly influenced and affected by credibility. Moving to the natural empirical correlation between the aspects, changes in one are

associated with changes in the other; particular attributes of one are associated with attributes of the other.

However, correlation does not constitute a causal relationship between the two variables, but it is one criterion of causality of the sought objective. In order to achieve necessary and sufficient causation, there is a criterion that should be adopted: variables must be empirically associated; the independent variable relatively to the dependant variable should occur earlier in time.

Elaborating on credibility as a dependant variable, as previously mentioned in the literature review, it is based on expertise, virtues, values and ethics, integrity and above all, trustworthiness.

After elaborating on the attributes, credibility should be presented as the dependant variable because it is not the concept being analyzed or probed. Its values and attributes are not the main problem and it is taken as it is, isolated from any other external influence.

Persuasion as variable embodies a diversity of attributes. It encompasses manipulation, motivation, trustworthiness, credibility, emotional triggering, consistency, virtual shifting in beliefs and actions, and assertion.

Even though credibility is embedded in the genuine attributes of persuasion, more evidence formulates this rapport. Trustworthiness is a valuable, meaningful and significant attribute presented in both concepts (persuasion and credibility) which can be considered a relevant step in proving causality.

Moving to associated changes, all theorists have designated a relative and proportional relation between credibility and persuasion. In addition, trustworthiness, an elementary and substantial component of credibility, should exist similarly in persuasion. Thus, low

trustworthiness will certainly provoke decreased credibility. Corollary to that effect would be a decline in the ability to persuade.

The combination of all these factors (credibility and persuasion), consolidated by the previous review, will promote the existence of a certain correlation. Stirring to the causality, credibility is one of persuasion's indispensable requirements and components. Hence, simple logic would connote the earlier existence of credibility when drawing a chronological timeline of the variable's consecutions. Thus, persuasion should be recognized as a dependant variable related to credibility, abiding by the cause - effect rationale, which proves certain causation in this rapport, empirically tested above.

Fostering the previous causation by highlighting much evidence is not adequate if it is not accompanied by an essential key that adjusts this relationship to fit the aimed targets and goals of this study. Leadership is the key that if combined with credibility would increase followers and subordinates' trust in their commander. His/her reliability will boost and his/her validity will thrive without using any compelling methods or coercive power even if he/she has the authority to do so. His/her credibility will enhance his/her believability, his/her motivational power, his/her emotional appeal to others, his/her incitement for others, his/her interaction with others on a path - goal level, on an interest level and on a cost - benefit level. Hence, a leader's credibility forges and establishes powerful communication influence between leader and followers, which allows him/her to persuade the masses without exerting an exaggerated effort. It is the image or the figure of the leader that enables him/her to win trust and persuade. The wholesome structure of the leader's credibility is a basic element that booms up persuasion skills.

2.2 Psychological media warfare theories and importance

2.2.1 Psychological media warfare (propaganda) theories and evolution

Moving to psychological warfare, the concept can be deemed vague and broad to the purpose of research, hence narrowing the scope and zooming in toward a particular aspect of the wide perception. Medium is the essential key that links the dimensions of psychology and warfare to propaganda. An overview of the literature will clarify the reason for a certain causality between psychological media warfare and persuasion, hence the alleged causality with the leader's credibility. Thus, the template would be abiding by a reliable and evident rationale that could build up the certification of the formerly mentioned allegations.

Initiating by the propaganda concept, "the term originated in the 16th century during the counter-Reformation. Used by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the term has since come to refer to the no-holds-barred use of communication to propagate specific beliefs and expectations which hold the ultimate goal of changing the way people act." (Propaganda Theories, 2011)

According to Wig, "Propaganda is generally an appeal to emotion, not intellect." (2011, p.1) Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell have provided a brief definition of the word: "Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist." (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2005, p.7).

Richard Alan Nelson described the process inclusively covering all of its aspects:

Propaganda is neutrally defined as a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of specified target

audiences for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages via mass and direct media channels. A propaganda organization employs propagandists who engage in propagandism—the applied creation and distribution of such forms of persuasion. (Nelson, 1996, pp. 232 - 233).

The main purpose of propaganda is to manipulate people's perceptions in order for them to shunt their actions, favoring the best interest of the group. In war, propaganda can be effective and relevant in dehumanizing rivals and implanting hatred and devious images in the followers' minds. Thus, in this case, perception can lead to deception:

This can be done by using derogatory or racist terms, avoiding some words or by making allegations of enemy atrocities. Most propaganda wars require the home population to feel the enemy has inflicted an injustice, which may be fictitious or may be based on facts. The home population must also decide that the cause of their nation is just. (Singla, 2002)

Propaganda has a parallel use in terms of psychological warfare. It could also generate and infer to unreliable resources as facts to foster and reaffirm the mindsets of the mass that already believes in propagandist messages.

Defining diverse types of propaganda:

Black propaganda is the deliberate and strategic broadcasting of distrusted, unreliable and devious information. This kind of propaganda can be elusive by the means of information sources; it seems to be emanating from an identified sender trying to cover the real origin of its lies. Similarly, Grey propaganda can be deceiving; however the main difference revolves around the source, since this type of propaganda does not have an identified reference.

White propaganda is the planned oppression of allegedly harmful information and ideas, combined with deliberate display of positive ideas to distract attention from problematic events. Usually this kind of propaganda emanates from a well known and identified source and involves dissemination of information or ideas vacillating between truthfulness and total lies and fabrication. This kind of propaganda does not pretend to possess an identified source or reference, and it was genuinely essential to Nasrallah's psychological media warfare during the July 2006 war, since the sender is recognized, and his main focus during the war was to concentrate consistently on his belligerents' alleged steadfast without referring to Hezbollah's losses during the war. (Propaganda Theories, 2011)

Theories and models of propaganda:

Behaviorism

“John B. Watson – an animal experimentalist who argued that all human action is merely a conditioned response to external environmental stimuli. Media provides external stimuli that triggered immediate responses.” (Baran and Davis, 2009, p.80) Hence, leaders profited the latter model, mastering the art of stimulating the audience in order to make them comply and get highly influenced by the leaders' conveyed propaganda or psychological media warfare.

Freudianism

Sigmund Freud deemed that the id is the egocentric part of any human being which is always seeking pleasure and is suppressed by the ego. The superego depends on inherent and internalized cultural background, encompassing a set of values and virtues emanating from diverse sources such as religion and society. It is the higher and most restrictive intrinsic

authority. The ego vacillates between the firm and rigid self control of the superego and the loosely so-called id. Any imbalance in the ego's position, leaning down toward one of the previously mentioned aspects will provoke hysterical symptoms in case the equilibrium is tipped over the id, or it could provoke severe depression if the equivalence leaned towards the superego.

Propaganda theorists used Freudian theory to enhance propaganda. They claimed that the best way for the process to be effective is to appeal to the id, triggering and stimulating the ego in order to overwhelm it and deviate it, pulling it away from the censored superego towards the loosely hysterical id. This theory assumes that individuals are vulnerable towards media deception and manipulation which could empower the id over the superego. (Propaganda Theories, 2011). This model is used by certain leaders to arouse and elicit their instinctive nature, transforming them from analytical individuals to euphoric masses led by the mob mentality and easily abiding by leaders' propaganda.

Magic Bullet Theories

In the 1920s, the media was estimated to function as magic bullets that infiltrate into people's minds and instantly create links between emotions and certain perceptions. By carefully controlling these magic bullets, propagandists claimed that they could control people's minds by associating good emotions with their belief system for their followers' sakes, and combining bad emotions, such as dread and loathing with their foes, and dumping all calamities on the shoulders of their rivals. (Propaganda Theories, 2011) The latter model is extremely efficient in demonizing the enemy (propaganda technique) and especially used in times of war.

Harold Lasswell's Propaganda Theory

This theory is associated with behaviorism and Freudianism. The objective of propaganda as deemed in this assumption does not depend on the appeal and the attractiveness of the message or material. Instead, the alleged role of propaganda was to trigger and arouse the average person's vulnerable state of mind. Economic recessions and crises, and the exacerbating political conflicts had created widespread psychosis. Corollary to that was the tendency of people to proclaim susceptibility to crude and fanatic forms of propaganda. The theory generated that people need to be warily and consecutively prepared to tolerate radically different ideas and actions. Effective propagandists must develop a long-term campaign in which new ideas and images are unyieldingly and prudently paraded and associated with cultivated symbols in order for the people to link specific emotions with these symbols. According to Lasswell (1934), "If these cultivation strategies are successful, they can be referred to as Master symbols – so Master symbols are associated with strong emotions and possess the power to stimulate beneficial large-scale mass action if they are used wisely." (Qtd. in Baran, 2011, p.84)

Exposition to a few extremist messages would not likely have significant and meaningful impacts and effects. In order for successful social movements to gain and maintain power by propaganda, master symbols should be adapted over a long period using a diversity of media means and outlets. An alleged new elite is supposed to control the delivery of propaganda through mass media. This elite encompasses bureaucratic specialists "pledged to use its knowledge for good rather than evil. Hence, it became the foundation for numerous official efforts to improve and spread democracy at agencies such as the US information Agency." (Propaganda Theories, 2011)

Social Psychology Model

Social Psychology embodies the study of persuasion. Social psychologists can be sociologists or psychologists. Many theories and approaches are embedded in the field of social psychology, prompting a new and diverse understanding of persuasion. The communication theory promotes that people can be persuaded by the communicator's credibility, expertise, trustworthiness, and attractiveness. (Power, 1998, p.24) The elaboration likelihood model as well as the heuristic model of persuasion, suggest that a number of factors influence the degree to which people allow superficial factors to persuade them. According to Lisa Rashotte (2011),

The elaboration likelihood model developed by Cacioppo, Petty, and Stoltenberg (1985) has been used most frequently (and very effectively) in therapeutic and counseling settings. It states that the amount and nature of thinking that a person does about a message will affect the kind of persuasion that the message produces. Aspects of the persuasion situation that have been shown to be important for this model include source, message, recipient, affect, channel, and context... Heuristic-systemic models propose that argument strength will be most effective in persuading an individual when she is motivated and able to attend to the message (the "systemic" route). When the target individual is not motivated or is unable to attend carefully, persuasion will take place through more indirect means (the "heuristic" route), such as nonverbal cues or source credibility. Persuasion that takes place via the systemic route will be relatively permanent and enduring; persuasion through the heuristic route is more likely to be temporary (p. 564).

Nobel Prize winning psychologist, Herbert Simon, won the Nobel Prize for his theory that people are cognitive misers.

In a community of mass information, people are compelled to make uninformed decisions impulsively and often superficially, as opposed to logically. Social cognitive theories suggest that people are subjective and have intrinsic biases in the way they perceive the world and also in the way they interpret things. These natural biases that are inherent in individuals can be used to manipulate them.

Hence, the non-verbal way of achieving credibility and thus enhancing the persuasion ability of the leader has increased. Leaders' body language, semiotics, and voice tone became substantial components used to foster the leaders' conveyed propaganda and to consolidate their integrity and trustworthiness, namely, their credible figure.

Ross' Epistemic Merit Model

The epistemic merit model is a method for understanding propaganda. It was conceived by Sheryl Tuttle Ross and detailed in her 2002 article for the Journal of Aesthetic Education entitled "Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and its Application to Art".

To conveniently interpret propaganda, Ross advocates a threefold communication model: that of Sender - Message - Receiver.

That is... propaganda involve[s]... the one who is persuading (Sender) [who is] doing so intentionally, [the] target for such persuasion (Receiver) and [the] means of reaching that target (Message). There are four conditions for a message to be considered propaganda. Propaganda involves the intention to persuade. As well, propaganda is sent on behalf of a sociopolitical institution, organization, or cause. Next, the recipient of propaganda is a

socially significant group of people. Finally, propaganda is an epistemic struggle to challenge others' thoughts. (Ross, 2002, p.36)

Hence, the leader's efficient propaganda would be reflected by a well-rounded and composed rhetoric, designating each receiver directly and addressing him/her by the correspondent message.

2.2.2 Timeline review on Psychological Media Warfare or Propaganda

A panoramic view on the main propaganda definitions and theories will ease the way to start displaying the genuine historical events that were indispensable of the concept's evolution according to a variable timeline. Starting with the chronological attribute:

Gabriel Tarde's *Laws of Imitation* (1890) and Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1897) were two of the first codifications of propaganda techniques, which influenced many writers afterward, including Sigmund Freud. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is heavily influenced by Le Bon's theories. Journalist Walter Lippmann, in *Public Opinion* (1922) also worked on the subject, as well as the American advertising pioneer and founder of the field of public relations Edward Bernays, a nephew of Freud, who wrote the book *Propaganda* early in the 20th century. (Propaganda for Know It Alls, 2008, p.31)

Propaganda's evolution according to a chronological timeline

During World War I, President Woodrow Wilson hired Lippmann and Bernays to contribute in the Creel Commission, in order to persuade public opinion favoring the suitability of entering the war as allies of the United Kingdom. The Creel Committee provided topics for

speeches by "four-minute men" at public functions, and also promoted censorship of the American press. (Rogers, 1994)

Following World War I, propaganda's latent content reflected an escalating and growing negative connotation. The influence of the Creel Committee, and the repercussions of propaganda's power, were overestimated and overemphasized. The Committee was widely detested and unpopular that the postwar phase unfolded the closure of the committee by the Congress without providing any funds to organize and archive its papers. Within six months, the war propaganda campaign of Lippmann and Bernays waged such an intense anti-German hysterical ambiance, implanting a tacit objective in their campaign, which seemed to be impressing American business with the potential of large-scale propaganda to control the masses or the so-called public opinion. (Sanders, Taylor, Philip, 1982)

Throughout World War II, the world had witnessed the persistence of propaganda usage as a means of war and evidently a relevant weapon, both by Hitler's propagandist, Joseph Goebbels, and the British Political Warfare Executive, as well as the United States Office of War Information.

In the early 2000s, the United States government engineered and distributed a video game known as "America's Army" for grant. The subtle intention behind the distribution of the game was to encourage and persuade players to become interested in joining the US Army.

Propaganda's evolution according to significant historical chronicles

During the Russian revolution, Soviet propaganda promoted and enhanced the dissemination of revolutionary ideas, teachings of Marxism, theoretical and practical knowledge of Marxist economics, while it bluntly used agitation as a means to establish and boost up a

favorable political public opinion. Communist propaganda in the Soviet Union was authentically based on the Marxism-Leninism ideology in order to promote the Communist Party line. The latter had franchised the society by imposing a severe and pervasive censorship, and establishing a domesticated community where propaganda can be highly effective. The main Soviet censorship body, Glavlit, employed seventy thousand full-time staff not only to monitor all publication, eliminating any undesirable printed materials, but also "to ensure that the correct ideological spin was put on every published item". (Moreira, 2011, p.1) Any divergence from the "Party line" or any potential deviation from the main standards of the Communist party resulted in dissenters being sent to jail or made to undergo punitive psychiatry. A main and relevant goal of Communist propaganda was aimed at creating new men. Schools and Communist youth organizations, like Soviet pioneers and Komsomol, aimed at indoctrinating the younger generation into the collective, Communist way of life, away from their "petty – bourgeoisie" families. The new generation, particularly after the Revolution, were explicitly instructed that they were the pillars of a so-called utopia of brotherhood and justice. They were trained to shunt from their parents' and ancestors' paths or beliefs. Ironically, Little Red Riding Hood was deceptively adopted and used in duty to explain the importance of being "all red". Children as young as three years old were being indoctrinated into Leninism.

In 1941, Stalin himself broadcasted a statement and a firm declaration that Germany waged war to annihilate the people of the USSR. Propaganda disseminated in Pravda promoted all Germans as criminals, assassins, bloodsuckers, and cannibals, basing all its allegations on uncertain atrocity claims about German troop's genocides and massacres, making the mass appeal to fear by using all means of deception and misinformation. Hatred was vividly forged

and fostered in order to sustain hatred. Soviet propaganda shrewdly distinguished between the ordinary Germans and their leaders, stating that the Soviets had no quarrel with the people.

(Conquest, 2000, pp. 101 - 111)

In Nazi Germany, the main production of propaganda emanated from the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and more specifically, it was essentially produced and fashioned creatively by propaganda's mastermind, Goebbels. It was also deemed as one of his specialties and artifacts. He was placed in the minister of propaganda position shortly after Hitler took power in 1933. "All journalists, writers, and artists were required to register with one of the Ministry's subordinate chambers for the press, fine arts, music, theatre, film, literature, or radio." (Lynn, 2010, p.1) Hitler used to meet Goebbels on a daily basis in order to discuss the news, interpret the outlines, brainstorm and exchange ideas and thoughts on the subject. Then Goebbels would meet with ministry officials to submit the main objectives, titles and party lines on global events. The previously mentioned instances assure that the Nazis estimated propaganda as a vital means in achieving goals, accomplishing missions, and holding and maintaining power. Broadcasters and journalists required prior official approval before their work was disseminated in order to censor any suspected material that does not fit in with the tactics and strategies of Hitler and Goebbels. The well structured propaganda prompted the Nazi vision within Germany and all over the globe; it used a variety of tools and gears such as posters, newspapers, films and books to spread their beliefs. The artifacts were designed by the Ministry and were all used explicitly in a planned and calculated way. Speeches were used by the German government, to a great extent, in parallel with other propaganda tools. Goebbels commented on Hitler's first speech as Chancellor: "It will have great propaganda value...be used and viewed in cinemas for years to come...what an achievement." (Saunders, 2011) The most significant speech of the

whole Second World War was also a work of art executed by Goebbels. The latter speech known as “Sportpalast Speech” was broadcasted after the German defeat at the Battle of Stalingrad, aiming to build popular support for “total war.” Goebbels stated: “I consider radio to be the most modern and the most crucial instrument for influencing the masses...” (Die Welt, 2010)

Japanese propaganda during World War II was designed to foster the leverage of the current ruling government of Japan at the time. New forms of propaganda were established and fashioned to persuade occupied countries of the benefits of the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, demoralizing American troops and counter-striking claims of Japanese atrocities, and to promote the war as a triumph of the Japanese people. It started with the Second Sino-Japanese War and sustained its intensity until World War II, using a large variety of media to send its messages. (Rhodes, 1976, p.244)

In World War II, American propagandists endeavored to conduct a supportive campaign for the war, asserting a strong will and a firm commitment to victory. Propaganda aroused hatred against enemies and foes, supporting and consolidating the allies’ axis by using a wide variety of media. The essence of propaganda emanated from its critical urgency to subsidize the American production, forging victory gardens, prompting people to donate all material that could be used to aid in the war and selling war bonds.

British propaganda during World War II took divergent forms. Using a wide variety of media, it promoted actions needed for the war, such as production and proper behavior in the blackout. The British propaganda was well known for “demonizing enemies” and praising the allies, disseminating and spreading the culture of an “inevitable victory.”

The United States and the Soviet Union both used propaganda broadly during the Cold War. Both sides used all propaganda means such as cinema films, television, and radio programming to influence their own citizens, the foe's audience, and also Third World nations.

The United States Information Agency operated the Voice of America as an official government station. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which were, in part, supported by the Central Intelligence Agency, provided grey propaganda in news and entertainment programs to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union respectively. However, the URSS countered the American propaganda by promoting false John F. Kennedy assassination theories, allegedly using writer Mark Lane, discrediting the CIA, using historian Philip Agee (codenamed PONT), spreading rumors that FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, was a homosexual, discrediting Martin Luther King Jr. by placing publications portraying him as an "Uncle Tom" who was secretly receiving government subsidies, stirring up racial tensions in the United States by mailing bogus letters from the Ku Klux Klan, placing an explosive package in "the Negro section of New York" (operation PANDORA) and spreading conspiracy theories that Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination had been planned by the US government and fabricating the story that the AIDS virus was manufactured by US scientists at Fort Detrick; the story was spread by Russian-born biologist Jakob Segal. (Mitrokhin, Vasili, Andrew, 2000)

During the revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989, the opposition used propaganda posters as an essential and main tool to advocate their cause and to disseminate democratic values. Printed and hand-made political posters appeared on the Berlin Wall. Posters also appeared on the statue of St. Wenceslas in Prague and around the unmarked grave of Imre Nagy in Budapest, and their role was relevant in fostering the metamorphosis phase.

In the 2001 war on Afghanistan, Americans conducted psychological warfare strategies and tactics in order to dehumanize and demoralize the Taliban and build certain credibility among the Afghani population, demonizing their rivals by pointing at their atrocities and promoting themselves as the saviors of the masses from the theocratic autocracy of the current regime. “At least six EC-130E Commando Solo aircraft were used to jam local radio transmissions and transmit replacement propaganda messages.” (Propaganda for Know- It- Alls, 2008, p.40) The Allies dumped a huge number of leaflets throughout the country, persuading people to divulge information about where Osama Bin Laden was, rewarding the one who would deliver the directions. (Associated Press, 2010, p.1)

In the Iraq war of 2003, the Iraqi belligerents adopted violence and brutality, forcing the masses to provide the intended support. The insurgents implanted violence, rapid maneuvering, and dodging to keep the coalition forces distracted and off-balance. The latter psychological warfare tactic was inspired by the Viet Cong strategies, especially on the communicational level where they used “low” technology methods to convey their messages. Even graffiti slogans were part of the psychological warfare strategy, conveying praises to the local leaders and condemning the rivals. “Others used flyers, leaflets, articles and self published newspapers and magazines to get the point across.” (Romano, 2011, p.1)

The US implemented “Black Propaganda” by fabricating devious radio personalities that would broadcast and spread pro-American information, allegedly run by the supporters of Saddam Hussein. One radio station used was Radio Tikrit. (Garfield, 2007, p.24)

2.2.3 Contemporary example on the causality and correlation between persuasive leadership and psychological media warfare

Hitler's historical influence was expansive. British historian, Ian Kershaw, states, "The 12 years of Hitler's rule permanently changed Germany, Europe, and the world." (Kershaw, 1998) Joachim Fest writes in his biography of Hitler, "History records no phenomenon like him. No one else produced such incredible accelerations in the pace of history." (Fest, 1973) By the end of the century and the millennium, *Arts and Entertainment and Biography* asked 360 scholars, journalists, and political figures to rank "the most influential people in the past 1000 years." Hitler ranked sixteenth – the highest of any political world leader. His great contemporaries trailed far behind: Churchill 52nd, FDR 60th and Stalin 79th. (*Arts and Entertainment, Biography of the Millennium: Names of the Top 100 Most Influential People of the Past 1,000 Years*, 2000, p.1.). Hitler was a great public speaker. His assertion in 1939 was possibly correct: "I am conscious that I have no equal in the art of swaying the masses." (Qtd. in Loeb, 2010, p.1) Hitler scholars seem unanimous in recognizing his speaking skills. Klaus Fisher writes, "Without his remarkable gift of persuasion, Hitler would never have reached such heights of power." (Fisher, 1995, p.141) CBS correspondent, William Shirer, announced, "Hitler has a magic power to sway millions with his voice." (Shirer, 1960) British scholar of the Nazi era, H. Trevor Roper, explicates, "Hitler, at the beginning, had only his voice...that was his only instrument of power. His only asset was his demagogic power over the masses, his voice." (Roper, 1974) Kershaw concedes, "His rhetorical talent was, of course, recognized even by his political enemies." (Kershaw, 1998) Hitler once declared, "Everything I have accomplished I owe to persuasion." (Qtd. in Loeb, 2010, p.2) Hitler realized that rhetoric was the essence of

triumph. Elementary to Hitler's rhetorical theory is that he confidently and certainly believed in the supremacy and superiority of spoken words compared with written words in order to be an effective and persuasive leader. Hitler expressed in the brief one-page preface to *Mein Kampf* his deep conviction of this principle: "I know that men are won over less by the written than by the spoken word, that every great movement on this earth owes its growth to orators and not to great writers." (Hitler, 1943) Hitler dismissed "fops and knights of the pen" who "for leadership" are "neither born nor chosen. The broad masses of people can be moved only by the power of speech." (Hitler, 1943) For Hitler propaganda - mass persuasion - was a crucial and vital requisite in attaining power and building up his Third Reich. He declared, "propaganda, propaganda, all that matters is propaganda." (Qtd. in Taylor, 2003, p.241) He believed "propaganda is a weapon, though a frightful one in the hand of an expert." (Hitler, 1943) Hitler deemed that propaganda and public speaking are identical. Thus, speech-making is a fundamental part of propaganda. Hence, Hitler's propaganda theory is his rhetorical theory.

Hitler claimed that a key element of propaganda (and rhetoric) is repetition: "The most brilliant propagandist technique will yield no success unless one fundamental principle is born in mind constantly and with unflagging attention. Propaganda must confine itself to a few points and repeat them over and over again." (Qtd. in Toland, 1976, p.221)

Hitler's scorn for the masses induced his rhetorical theory:

The receptivity of the masses is very limited; their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous. Consequently, all effective propaganda must harp on a few slogans until the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand by your slogan. (Hitler, 1943, p.180)

Hitler accorded with Sigmund Freud, who wrote in 1924, the same year Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*, “the orator who wishes to sway a crowd must exaggerate, and he must repeat the same thing again and again.” (Qtd. in Toland, 1976, p.221) For Hitler, unbiased propaganda is a myth:

What would we say about a poster that advertises a new soap and describes other soaps as ‘good’? We would only shake our heads. Exactly the same applies to political advertising. The function of propaganda is not to weigh and ponder the rights of different people, but exclusively to emphasize the one right you have set out to argue for. Propaganda’s task is not to make an objective study of the truth, in so far as it favors the enemy, and then set it before the masses with ‘academic’ fairness. Propaganda’s task is to serve our own right, always and unflinchingly. (Hitler, 1943, p.182)

Hitler genuinely believed, according to his rhetorical theory, that the end justifies the means. He stated, “Propaganda is a means and must be judged by its end.” (Qtd. in Loeb, 2010, p.5) He did not deny the substantial need for lying in order to well apply his rhetorical theory. Thus, he highlighted on the big lie strategy and its relevance in his rhetoric:

In the size of the lie there is a certain factor of credibility, because, with the primitive simplicity of their feelings the masses fall victim more easily to a big lie than to a small one. Since they themselves occasionally lie in small matters, but the masses of people would be ashamed to tell great lies. Such a falsehood would not enter their minds, and they will not be able to imagine others asserting, with great boldness, the most infamous misrepresentation. And even with the explanation of the matter, the masses long hesitate and vacillate and accept some grounds as true. Consequently, from the boldest lie something will remain. (Hitler, 1943, pp. 231 - 232)

Hitler estimated that, “persuasion must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited degree at the so called intellect” for the reason that “the people in their overwhelming majority are so feminine by nature and attitude that sober reasoning determines their thoughts and actions far less than emotions and feeling.” Hitler elaborated on the issue, “My purpose is to arouse, to whip up, and to incite.” (Qtd. in Loebs, 2010, p.5)

2.2.4 The causality between persuasive leadership and psychological media warfare

Moving to the causality between persuasive leaders and psychological media warfare or propaganda, obvious facts make the mutual relation between the two concepts an absolute certainty. The key element in linking between the persuasive leader model or style and propaganda is the persuasion perception. Initiating the latter, “persuasion is a form of social influence. It is the process of guiding or bringing oneself or another toward the adoption of an idea, attitude, or action by rational and symbolic means”. (Public Speaking Video, October 28, 2008, YouTube)

The main elements indispensable for persuasion are symbols, words, images and sounds, which deliberately endeavor to stimulate others. Without any compulsion, the transmission of persuasive messages can occur in a variety of ways, including verbal and nonverbal ways via television, radio, internet or face-to-face communication. “Propaganda is also closely related to Persuasion. It's a concerted set of messages aimed at influencing the opinions or behavior of large numbers of people.” (Titi Tudorancea Learning Center, 2010, p.1)

The main primary target that combines a persuasive leader and propaganda is persuasion by words. Thus, a leader’s rhetoric is recognized as a relevant persuasive influential means that can be used as a substantial technique and a methodical way of propaganda. Rhetoric is the art of

discourse that facilitates and eases leaders' attempts to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences in specific situations. Hence, persuasive leaders can be recognized as a tactical part of an ultimate propaganda strategy. Their rhetoric can be deemed as the best propaganda that uses words. The leader's figure can be deemed as a symbol of the state and a highly expected source of credibility as well as in his/her position as the responsible person that carries the ambitions and worries of the masses and has their best interest at heart and in mind. The combination of these credentials generates the capability of the leader to persuade the masses whether he/she is elected by the people or appointed by a party, or whether he/she is an autocratic military man/woman that has gained power by a *coup d'etat* or a democratic leader with power emanating from the people. The conclusion is that the leader, supposedly, has the power and the appeal to exert a huge concrete or subtle impact on the population. These previously mentioned features make the leader more influential and persuasive in promoting any idea. Propaganda utilizes words in many occasions to persuade and change opinions. It invests in rhetoric as a relevant way to disseminate its perceptions or deceptions. In this case, the logical structure which is the utilization of the leader's rhetoric is one of the most effective propaganda that uses his/her prominent figure, multiplying the stimulation of conventional media. A primary assumption would reflect causality between persuasive leaders and psychological media warfare.

Hugh Rank offers a set of principles and procedures in order to probe on war propaganda by means of political rhetoric. He writes:

Words are weapons in warfare. Words affect how people think about themselves and about others. War is probably the time of the greatest language manipulation, when people are most likely to deceive others, least able to negotiate, and are under the most

intense emotional stress -- of fear and anger -- with the greatest dangers of loss, death, and destruction. (Rank, 2009, p.1)

Rank points out that some types of war propaganda target the domestic audience, with the aims of uniting the country, building morale, silencing opposition, inciting action, and channeling energy. Other types of war propaganda are aimed at the enemy, with the intention to terrorize or demoralize it. Modernized and enhanced means of mass communication fostered a widespread of messages in order to attain a huge audience worldwide. One of the war propaganda catastrophic repercussions is the increasingly sustained risk of becoming out of control, and rousing more haste and hatred than originally intended.

Following the same logical template, persuasion ability will shift to play the role of an independent variable when it is associated and correlated with psychological media warfare.

Pointing at causality between persuasion and psychological media warfare, it should be asserted that the emanating results of this social theory could be claimed as subjective, especially that media warfare and persuasion are conducted by individuals, biased by nature, to influence other ones.

Thus, the extracted findings and outcomes when applying any social theory could be prevented from covering all aspects and dimensions of a particular topic.

Hence, a real correlation occurs between the previous variables, reaching certain causation but not a complete one, since each reacting subject could be unpredictable when influenced by a certain combination of internal and external factors, in contrary to stable objects that could not react to any action committed by a person, even if they are made by individuals, such as artifacts.

Any variable taken in a rapport with another as the pre-descendant one is deemed independent, and by selecting these two variables, persuasion ability shunted to be the independent variable and its attributes are taken as they are without being the main problematic.

Hence, the attributes of psychological media warfare will swing increasingly or decreasingly, relatively to the persuasion ability. The attributes of persuasion were already elaborated on. Moving to media warfare, the latter encompasses a multitude of components and attributes, such as emotional trigger, manipulation, motivation, virtual shift in beliefs and actions, and persuasion.

Using common sense, the designation of the dependant variable would be obvious according to its attributes. As a matter of fact, persuasion is an elementary factor of psychological media warfare. Hence, on a chronological level persuasion comes first, affecting and mainly causing media warfare. It is not only a main element that coexists with other factors in building up the structure of media warfare, but it is the essence and the substantial element that connotes and gives a latent content to psychological warfare.

The ability to persuade can be deemed or recognized as the ability to propagate effectively. Thus, a high ability of persuasion will be linked with effective psychological warfare. Rerunning the previous rationale, the ability to persuade is considered as the variable deemed independent, because its values are not included in the analysis and is not the result or the consequence of another cause in this particular selection of alleged correlation with media warfare. The latter is deemed dependant as having associated attributes with persuasion including the whole persuasion aspect combined with other common themes such as manipulation, motivation and emotional triggering factors, examined in depth in the previous chapter.

Thus, a correlation would be taking place in this case. After this display, a theoretical analysis should be undertaken in order to prove certain causation between the two dimensions. As for the consecutive chronology, persuasion takes place prior to effective media warfare simply because it is a key element indispensable of the success and failure of psychological warfare and Hitler's rhetorical theory was an empirical authentication of the relationship between persuasion and media warfare. Hitler was deemed one of the most influential leaders in history. He was famous for his effective use of propaganda and psychological media warfare in attaining power, maintaining it and fighting the allies in World War II. However, what made his propaganda so effective was his great ability to persuade: "I am conscious that I have no equal in the art of swaying the masses." (Qtd. in Loeb, 2010, p.1)

The historical example gives vivid and virtual empirical evidence of certain causation between the aspects. Any deviation in the leader's persuasion ability will definitely affect his/her media warfare. Thus, causality exists in this case over passing the simple correlation between both dimensions. When associating persuasion with leadership to fit our case study, a diversion would take place in the original concepts.

Leadership is undertaken as an external factor that expands the limitations of persuasion. It is not plain manipulation or simple convincing amongst regular social individuals debating over self interests and private opinions. It is not a way to make a person change his/her behavior or his/her religion or his/her attitude. These changes have a very limited influence and won't have an impact on many people.

The relevance of persuasion, when emanating from leadership, has huge effects and enormous influential power that could lead parties, societies, communities, clusters, masses, nations and even states to conflict, achieving certain dominance on the world's public opinion.

Leadership widens the scope of persuasion in a way that will affect large numbers of individuals. The stipulations of persuading the masses differs from solo attempts, as a person retrieved from his/her entourage would find a certain equilibrium between his/her efficient rationale and emotional overwhelming persistency, which incites different levels of the human psyche. Using Freudian theory, the ego will be the main reactor to any attempted persuasion which makes a person make well-informed and clear decisions that satisfy his/her personal, logical and emotional interests. Moving to the mass psyche, it is vulnerable to any external stimulation. The masses' state of mind would be inadequate; an overwhelming emotional sensation would dominate and control the behavior of a human being at this stage. Following the Freudian perception, the ego will lean towards the id, provoking uncontrollable and unpredictable reactions that could be deemed hysterical.

Hitler recognized the weaknesses of the masses and exerted his powerful, persuasive skills over a multitude, intriguing their emotions, arousing their raw instinctive sensations; he deemed the masses would adopt a primitive psychology: "Persuasion must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited degree at the so called intellect...with the primitive simplicity of their feelings the masses fall victim more easily to a big lie than to a small one". (Qtd. in Loeb, 2010, p.5)

Hitler absorbed the key factors of mass persuasion and triggered essential human sensation, to become the most influential leader of the 20th century and one of the most effective propagators.

Nazi Germany harvested the persuasion seeds implanted by Hitler while rising to power; the masses became tolerant to multiple sorts of propaganda and psychological warfare techniques that were used flawlessly by the regime. The myth of the *Fuhrer* that terrorized and terrified the

whole world upon the Second World War emanated from his effective media warfare, originating from his personal skills and abilities to persuade using his powerful oratory.

Hence, when psychological media warfare and persuasion are adopted by a strong leadership figure, both concepts make a super expansion, attaining the whole globe and affecting the lives of the whole of humanity.

Hitler's persuasive skills provoked a humanitarian disaster. Thus, the relevance of the optimum combination of the components (psychological media warfare, strong leadership figure and persuasion ability) could prevent wars or could arouse them, risking the lives of millions of innocent civilians.

Following the same logical template, persuasion ability will shift to play the role of an independent variable when it is associated and correlated with psychological media warfare.

Pointing at causality between persuasion and psychological media warfare, it should be asserted that the emanating results of this social theory could be claimed as subjective, especially that media warfare and persuasion are conducted by individuals, biased by nature, to influence other ones.

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Any variable taken in a rapport with another as the pre-descendant one is deemed independent, and by selecting these two variables, persuasion ability shunted to be the independent variable and its attributes are taken as they are without being the main problematic.

Hence, the attributes of psychological media warfare will swing increasingly or decreasingly, relatively to the persuasion ability. The attributes of persuasion were already elaborated on. Moving to media warfare, the latter encompasses a multitude of components and attributes, such as emotional trigger, manipulation, motivation, virtual shift in beliefs and actions, and persuasion.

Using common sense, the designation of the dependant variable would be obvious according to its attributes. As a matter of fact, persuasion is an elementary factor of psychological media warfare. Hence, on a chronological level persuasion comes first, affecting and mainly causing media warfare. It is not only a main element that coexists with other factors in building up the structure of media warfare, but it is the essence and the substantial element that connotes and gives a latent content to psychological warfare.

The ability to persuade can be deemed or recognized as the ability to propagate effectively. Thus, a high ability of persuasion will be linked with effective psychological warfare. Rerunning the previous rationale, the ability to persuade is considered as the variable deemed independent, because its values are not included in the analysis and is not the result or the consequence of another cause in this particular selection of alleged correlation with media warfare. The latter is deemed dependant as having associated attributes with persuasion including the whole persuasion aspect combined with other common themes such as manipulation, motivation and emotional triggering factors, examined in depth in the previous chapter.

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The historical example gives vivid and virtual empirical evidence of certain causation between the aspects. Any deviation in the leader's persuasion ability will definitely affect his media warfare. Thus, causality exists in this case over passing the simple correlation between both dimensions. When associating persuasion with leadership to fit our case study, a diversion would take place in the original concepts.

Leadership is undertaken as an external factor that expands the limitations of persuasion. It is not plain manipulation or simple convincing amongst regular social individuals debating over self interests and private opinions. It is not a way to make a person change his/her behavior or his/her religion or his/her attitude. These changes have a very limited influence and won't have an impact on many people.

The relevance of persuasion, when emanating from leadership has huge effects and enormous influential power that could lead parties, societies, communities, clusters, masses, nations and even states to conflict, achieving certain dominance on the world's public opinion.

Leadership widens the scope of persuasion in a way that will affect large numbers of individuals. The stipulations of persuading the masses differs from solo attempts, as a person retrieved from his/her entourage would find a certain equilibrium between his/her efficient rationale and emotional overwhelming persistency, which incites different levels of the human psyche. Using Freudian theory, the ego will be the main reactor to any attempted persuasion which makes a person make well-informed and clear decisions that satisfy his/her personal, logical and emotional interests. Moving to the mass psyche, it is vulnerable to any external stimulation. The masses' state of mind would be inadequate; an overwhelming emotional sensation would dominate and control the behavior of a human being at this stage. Following the Freudian perception, the ego will lean towards the id, provoking uncontrollable and unpredictable reactions that could be deemed hysterical.

Hitler recognized the weaknesses of the masses and exerted his powerful, persuasive skills over a multitude, intriguing their emotions, arousing their raw instinctive sensations; he deemed the masses would adopt a primitive psychology: "Persuasion must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited degree at the so called intellect...with the primitive simplicity of their feelings the masses fall victim more easily to a big lie than to a small one". (Qtd. in Loeb, 2010, p.5)

Hitler absorbed the key factors of mass persuasion and triggered essential human sensation, to become the most influential leader of the 20th century and one of the most effective propagators.

Nazi Germany harvested the persuasion seeds implanted by Hitler while rising to power; the masses became tolerant to multiple sorts of propaganda and psychological warfare techniques that were used flawlessly by the regime.

The myth of the *Fuhrer* that terrorized and terrified the whole world upon the Second World War emanated from his effective media warfare, originating from his personal skills and abilities to persuade using his powerful oratory.

Hence, when psychological media warfare and persuasion are adopted by a strong leadership figure, both concepts make a super expansion, attaining the whole globe and affecting the lives of the whole of humanity.

Hitler's persuasive skills provoked a humanitarian disaster. Thus, the relevance of the optimum combination of the components (psychological media warfare, strong leadership figure and persuasion ability) could prevent wars or could arouse them, risking the lives of millions of innocent civilians.

2.3. Proving the causality between leader's credibility and effective psychological media warfare

After displaying the evidential causations between credibility and persuasive leaders and the impact of his/her persuasive skills on effective psychological media warfare, the culmination of both proven hypotheses will lead us to proxy causation that is conducted and perceived by the transitivity amid the previous theories. It is a logical continuum or a multilayered hypothesis.

Credibility is the main pillar or the basic foundation of the probed concept. Attaining trustworthiness and/or expertise, the leader would be on the right track to acquire a sufficient amount of reliability and trust among his/her followers and the wider public.

Once the variable of credibility is relatively conceived by an appropriate amount of attributes, the leader can stir his/her priorities to the art of persuasion.

A pivotal act that leaders must genuinely rely on is persuading people or changing their beliefs in order to change their actions. Such an influential measure should be adeptly adopted by leaders to achieve goals.

However, persuading people is a complex process that requires consistency between the leader's words and actions. To do so the leader must have in depth knowledge of followers' personalities, values, ethics, cultural backgrounds, intrinsic energy, moral and material interests, emotional and motivational triggers and above all their psychological state which covers the prior components. The leader must also elicit a profound yielding of the masses' reactions and behaviors, not to mention the compartments of each individual as a singular subordinate. When persuading the audience, the leader would be catalyzing the accomplishment of his/her perception in an optimal way, since the followers are convinced that the leader has their best interests in mind and at heart.

Incited, inspired and satisfied audiences will reach their full productivity, enhancing their performances, especially when they are not pressurized or compelled to exert action under mandatory obedience emanating from the leader's authority. The latter can utilize his/her negotiation skills and fair compromises to acquire the appropriate fostering of his/her visions and decisions. Once the leader attains certain credibility, permitting him/her to gain the masses' trust and to persuade them to adopt the leader's views, the foundation between the leader and his/her followers should be already established, which permits him/her to conduct and execute effective psychological media warfare.

Compared to other leaders, credible and persuasive ones add certain reliability and validity to the broadcasted and spread material under their supervision.

Leaders lacking expertise, trustworthiness and integrity will face many restraints, complications and obstacles in persuading the audience. Corollary to that would be weak psychological media warfare with minor, limited impact on a passive, dim-witted flock. Leaders do not just represent themselves on a personal level; they reflect a certain vision or ideology on different strata including political, social, economic and even religious doctrines.

Thus, the leader is the main actor, allegedly the strongest figure and the pivotal icon or symbolic personage. Hence, his/her moral authority emerges from his/her position and responsibilities. Therefore, a credible, trusted leader will consequently and inevitably facilitate the persuasion process.

Parallel to this progression, any propaganda or psychological media warfare emanating from the leader's turf and jurisdiction will take the shape and the trustworthiness of his/her image between his/her followers and among a vaguer public opinion.

The credibility and reliability of the leader will be transmitted to his/her media warfare. Therefore, a simple equation will designate the success and the effectiveness of his/her propaganda. If the leader is deemed believable, so will be his psychological media warfare and vice versa.

After displaying all the evidence and facts in the previous chapter and partially this one, it can be claimed that the causation between credibility and persuasive leaders then between persuasive leaders and effective psychological media warfare abiding by Hitler's rhetoric theory, has yielded a new causation between credibility of the leader and his effective psychological media warfare. By the elimination of the tactically used variable of persuasion, the primary assumption will lead to the alleged thesis being examined in this case study.

CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGICAL MEDIA WARFARE TECHNIQUES

Psychological media warfare can be deemed as propaganda, since “warfare” expression does not just encompass the military clashes phase, but overpasses it to strategic, international diplomacy, domestic and foreign politics, including internal affairs of the regime. Warfare can also involve governmental issues, the competition over power, achieving and maintaining authority, winning elections, weakening all opposition, preventing any subversive interventions, conducting pre-emptive strikes on potential rivals. Other aspects of warfare include formulating a world public opinion, especially when enacting new resolutions in international organizations, establishing respective status and prestige of parties and states, achieving international privileges, fostering political leverage, in addition to the propaganda used in military clashes or better known as PSYOP.

A variety of techniques are used in perceiving many political aims. However, psychological media warfare techniques are not exclusive to the central government of the state. It is a means of persuasion that individuals adopt in many of their conversations as well as diverse congregations, trying to manipulate others to realize the congregation’s own ambitions.

Diverse propaganda techniques will be elaborated on significantly to correspond with the rhetoric of Hezbollah’s leader, Hassan Nasrallah. The adapted rationale in this chapter will commence by defining the propaganda technique, reflecting its usage on an international level by projecting it on some relevant historical chronicles, then discussing its adaptation within the

alleged “Arab spring”, highlighting the role of each technique in such transitional periods and change momentums.

The Ad Hominem technique is “attacking your opponent, as opposed to attacking their arguments”. (Spenser, 2010, p.33) A vivid application of this particular technique has been reflected during the Cold War when the US government criticized the Soviet Union for human rights abuses. The Communists often retorted: “And you are lynching Negroes”. (Qtd. in Cantor, 2011, p.1)

Taking the Arabic spring as a regional example, the latter represents the real progression and evolution of deprived societies seeking equity, welfare state, basic human rights and most importantly liberty, freedom and representative elections embedded in a democratic regime, promoting diversity and the rule of law. The relevance of the Arabic spring emerges from its transitional metamorphosis phase, shifting from obsolete dictatorships to the real conception of transactional democratic leadership. Thus, the clashes between the existing regimes and rebels are excessively and intensely consolidated by propaganda techniques, vacillating amid the central government’s media who claim that the rebels are not more than religiously fanatic terrorists and the counterpropaganda of the rebellions shedding the light on the regime atrocities.

Returning to the example extracted from the rapport between the elaborated on techniques and the consequences of “the winds of change” in the Arab world, the Syrian regime and its allies are promoting the opposition as frenetic religious fanatics, deeming the latter as a theocratic autocracy alternative also accused as being part of Al Qaeda, as colonel Kaddafi accused his rivals while they described him as a tyrant and a murderer.

Another prominent technique is Ad Nauseam and Repetition. This argumentative approach uses tireless repetition of an idea using simple slogans, repeated enough times, to let it

be considered as the ultimate truth. This approach works best when media sources are limited and controlled by the propagator.

In the late 1980s, for example, the United States regarded Iraq as an ally in its ongoing conflict with Iran, even as reports emerged that Saddam Hussein had used chemical weapons against his own citizens - Iraqi Kurds at the town of Halabja. The US, at the time argued, that Iran was responsible for the atrocity, and the controversy continues today, even though the United States now officially insists that Iraq was responsible. (Pelletiere, 2003, p.1)

A genuine example emanating from the Arab revolutions is the allegations of many dictators that all rebels are members of *Al Qaeda* and once they achieve power, either by a *coup d'état* or by elections, they will deny any cultural, social or religious diversity, exerting a fundamentalist Islamic Sunnite reign, forging a united Islamic empire that neglects any essential role of nationalism and extracting all its jurisprudence from the Qur'an when enacting new laws or establishing new constitutions and legislation.

President Bashar Al Assad of Syria focuses mainly in his official prompted television appearances to promote and propagate the rebels as Islamic frenetic insurgents. All the news emerging from *Al Baath* regime concentrates on a variety of expressions such as "armed groups", "terrorists", and "extremists". They also dealt with the dissident Syrian army as "fugitives", running out of the military for personal reasons. Even some allies of the *Al Assad* regime tried to hammer the minds of the audience by the repetition of specific descriptions, connoting the Syrian dissident army as "non-useful mechanics".

These slogans can be deemed as pure propaganda since no vivid evidence was presented from a neutral third party to assure the claimed accusations.

The Bandwagon Appeal and "Inevitable-Victory" Appeals attempt to persuade the target audience to join in and take the course of action that "everyone else is taking." (Spenser, 2010, p.2)

During the 2008 US Presidential campaign, Democratic Party candidate Sen. Barack Obama positioned himself as the candidate of "change". Announcing his candidacy in February 2007, Obama stated that he would lead a new generation to "transform this nation". The appeal worked. Although other factors were at work, Obama was successful in persuading many individual American voters that he could bring change, and was able to translate that bandwagon appeal into electoral success when he became US President on January 20th, 2009. (Reilly, 2010, p.1)

Selecting a similar propaganda technique used in the "Arab spring" was the promotion of the huge numbers of protestors supporting President Al Assad in his campaign of reform. Parallel to the latter's action, the late colonel Kaddafi claimed that all the masses were supporting him, declaring in one of his famous speeches during the crisis in Libya that millions of followers from the African continent will creep to purify the country from the "rats"; the official Libyan television always framed Al Kaddafi, receiving supporters in his tent and making speeches in front of a large number of masses.

The resolution prepared by the Arab league concerning Syria focused on the quick execution of the provisions embedded in the mentioned resolution, abiding by a two-week timeline. However, *Al Baath* regime countered by giving a determined period for the insurgents or an interval of time to turn in their weapons in return of being spared from any sanctions, shifting the Arab initiative from the main objective of the world community that is "stopping the kill of civilians" to a different objective which is "turn in yourself by a certain time and you will

have a privilege to avoid any punishment...promoting the journey of reform conducted by Al Assad” shedding light on an independent national Syria winning over the Western and pro-Israeli conspiracies, claiming that the country has got out from the crisis more powerful and more immune from the so-called plot, implying that the regime has won the battle and all the scattered opposition should join the path of reform.

The Disinformation technique is at the core of the propaganda concept and is essentially used in war times. It is the creation or deletion of information from public records, in the purpose of making a false record of an event or the actions of a person or organization, including outright forgery of photographs, motion pictures, broadcasts, and sound recordings as well as printed documents. A vivid international example on the latter technique promotes the following incident:

... The 15-year-old star witness was indeed anonymous, identified only by her first name of Nayirah. According to the caucus, Nayirah's full name was being kept confidential to prevent Iraqi reprisals against her family in occupied Kuwait...In fact, she was a member of the Kuwaiti royal family, and her father -- ambassador to the United States, Saud Nasir al-Sabah -- sat listening in the hearing room. Sobbing, Nayirah described how she, as a volunteer at al-Addan Hospital in Kuwait City, had seen Iraqi soldiers remove 312 babies from their incubators and leave them to die on the floor (Morano, 2002, p.1).

The critical and influential technique of Authority Appeal attracts prominent figures to support a position, idea, argument, or course of action.

The Nazis promoted the latter propaganda style eloquently and effectively. After Hitler's rise to power, the book *Mein Kampf* gained enormous popularity and became the Nazi Bible.

Reporting from the current Arab crisis, the Libyan belligerents tried excessively to consolidate and foster the genuine cause of their movement, hoping to gain more support which will lead to more recognition, concluding more domestic and international legitimacy. Hence, the Libyan National Transition Council spent major energy and effort promoting their cause, abiding by the appeal to authority. If a superpower with tremendous international leverage supported their revolution, they will gain more credibility, trust and ability to persuade indigenous people and foreigners.

Arab society reserves its spiritual and religious values. Thus, religion is considered the most powerful source of authority in the Arab world. It is personified and exclusively presented by the clergies. Hence, the rebels and the official governments were exerting certain pressure or trying to persuade the clergies in order to gain more support amid the masses.

The *Baath* regime used the profiting of the supporting statements of the Sunnite Mufti in order to subsidize the government's position; The Egyptian former regime followed the same rule by trying to win over the stands of Mufti Al Azhar and Pope Shnoda, to the government's side, abiding by the appeal to authority technique.

In parallel, the rebels in Syria and Egypt presented authoritative Islamic clergies who were mainly members of the Islamic Brotherhood Movement, estimating the relevance of religious authority over the masses.

Shifting to a different example, a virtual application of the previous propaganda technique was genuinely used by Imam Al Khomeini during the prominent Islamic revolution in Iran, gaining his sanctified and ultimate authority and holiness from the *Velayat El Faqih* concept, claiming that he is a descendant of the Prophet Mohammad's lineage and the

representative of *Al Mahdi* on earth, which made him a source of knowledge and truth among his people. Thus, his persuasion ability increased enormously after the revolution.

Moving to the Appeal to Fear, the “appeal to fear seeks to build support by instilling anxieties and panic in the general population” (Pragmatic Pundit, 2010, p.1). The latter technique concentrates on the masses’ fears and anxieties, emanating from their struggle to survive and achieve a certain amount of security which makes the use of the appeal to fear propaganda a significant tool in times of war.

In Nazi Germany, appeal to fear was considered as the main propaganda technique. In Joseph Goebbels’ speech, Goebbels claims:

If the German people lay down their weapons, the Soviets, according to the agreement between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, would occupy all of East and Southeast Europe along with the greater part of the Reich. An iron curtain would fall over this enormous territory controlled by the Soviet Union, behind which nations would be slaughtered. (Markowitz, 2007, p. 2)

An obvious and vivid example emanating from the current Arab revolutions is the claims of *Al Baath* regime and its allies that alternative to the civic and secular reign of President Al Assad will be Islamic extremists and religious fanatics slaughtering those who do not share with them the same views and values.

Reciprocally to the regime’s claims, the rebels are inciting and arousing the masses to rise by using pep talks about the necessity of being consistent and tenacious in conducting their everyday manifestations and protestations, even if the army is facing them with vicious oppression, concluding that if the protestors step back, the regime will terminate and annihilate

the movement. Thus, it will be easier for the regime to gain vengeance from all participants either by killing them or by arresting and torturing them.

Colonel Kaddafi conducted similar propaganda, threatening the rebels in his famous speech, saying that he will chase them from one place to another and threatening the Western countries that if the NATO exerted power in Libya and bombed the cities, the entire Western world will be exposed to vicious acts of sabotage and explosions. Even religions used the following technique of propaganda while disseminating their values and principles by appealing to the people through the fear of hell if they do not abide by the instructions of holy books.

The appeal to prejudice technique involves “using loaded or emotive terms to attach value or moral goodness to believing the proposition”. (Curry, 2011) The Nazi regime used prejudice to push Germans to eliminate Jews by creating poster movies and books, portraying the Jews as creatures who must vanish. In one of his prejudicial speeches, Hitler the *Fuhrer* said “Germany could stop the Jews from conquering the world only by eliminating them. By doing so, Germany could also find Lebensraum, living space, without which the superior German culture would decay. This living space would come from conquering Russia”. (Yahya, 2011)

Appeal to prejudice in the current Arabic uprisings was obviously and virtually used intensely by the official media governments, promoting the rebels as special agents hired by foreign countries. They were also paraded as mercenaries or unpatriotic, disloyal citizens trying to help external powers to invade their country.

Another deceiving technique applied mainly by leaders is the Common Man technique. The "plain folks" or "common man" approach attempts to convince the audience that the propagandist's positions reflect the common sense of the people. It is designed to win the confidence of the audience by communicating in the common manner and style of the target

audience. Propagandists use ordinary language and mannerisms (and clothe their message in face-to-face and audiovisual communications) in an attempt to identify their point of view with that of the average person. (Mercado, 2010, p.133)

An international application of the “common man” technique has been implemented in different ways; America's recent presidents have all been millionaires, but they have gone to great lengths to present themselves as ordinary citizens. Bill Clinton ate at McDonald's and confessed a fondness for trashy spy novels. George Bush Sr. hated broccoli, and loved to fish. Ronald Reagan was often photographed chopping wood, and Jimmy Carter presented himself as a humble peanut farmer from Georgia. (Delwiche, 2010)

Even though Colonel Kaddafi had an enormous fortune, the official media in Libya framed him as a common man living in a tent, wearing a tribal costume, conforming to the folk culture. Kaddafi never talked in formal Arabic language, but he preferred to use the Libyan Arabic dialect.

President Assad is always framed by official media surrounded by supporters walking through the crowds greeting everyone, shaking the hands of a few and having small conversations with them. The speeches of President Assad mainly presented in the parliament always encompass several jokes followed by loud laughter then heavy ovation by the parliament members, which promotes his image as a common man.

One of the most legitimate and historical techniques is Euphoria, which is the use of an event that generates euphoria or happiness to boost morale. Euphoria can be created by declaring a holiday, making luxury items available, or mounting a military parade with marching bands and patriotic messages. (Mercado, 2010, p.134)

The latter style was rooted mainly in dogmatic masses such as Nazi and Communist parades that were remarkable signs of propaganda, where the regimes show their powers to other nations, as an indirect threat and to increase their citizens' morale by revealing their military power.

The current Arab revolutions generate a genuine act of euphoria; countering the opposition manifestations, the Al Assad regime is repeatedly organizing counter-manifestations, supporting the President and the reforms and refusing any subversive intervention from any foreign country in Syria's internal affairs. The focus of these parades is on the party line or the promoted slogans inciting patriotism and nationalism.

The ruling party supporting President Ali Abdallah Saleh in Yemen utilizes the Euphoria technique, organizing large manifestations on Fridays to encounter the opposition's manifestations, picking and promoting lines and slogans that emphasize forgiveness and patriotism. Reciprocally the opposition in Egypt, Syria and Yemen conducted major protests and demonstrations, choosing inspiring slogans such as the "Friday of eviction" or "martyr's Friday" "death but no humiliation Friday", "Allah Akbar Friday", etc.

Many pervasive ideologies try to contain the progression and evolution of any congregation by maintaining its norms and values as introverted, which require the indoctrination of children. The latter concept is the process of inculcating ideas, attitudes, cognitive strategies or a professional methodology. It is often distinguished from education by the fact that the indoctrinated person is expected not to question or critically examine the doctrine they have learned. (Curry, 2010, p.1)

Hence, the Nazis relied on this particular sort of propaganda; The Hitler youth were viewed as future "Aryan supermen" and were indoctrinated in anti-Semitism. One aim was to

instill the motivation that would enable the soldiers to fight faithfully for the Third Reich, putting more emphasis on physical and military training than on academic study. The *Nationalsozialistischer Reichsbund für Leibesübungen* (NSRBL), the umbrella organization, promoting and coordinating sport activities in Germany during the Nazi period, had the responsibility of overseeing the physical fitness development programs provided to the German youth. (Butler, 1986)

The Arab dictators also indoctrinated the children and the youth by instilling the standards and the principle of the ruling parties in the student's curriculums, emphasizing the role of the president as the leader and the symbol of patriotism, indoctrinating the children to perceive the leader as an icon similar to the state's flag and national anthem; All official media promoted certain identification between the country and the president as Libya's Al Kaddafi and Syria's Al Assad.

Finally, it is relevant to mention a technique exclusively used by totalitarians and dictators, which is the Cult of Personality; the latter arises when an individual uses mass media, propaganda, or other methods, to create an idealized and heroic public image, often through unquestioning flattery and praise. Cults of personality are usually associated with dictatorships and theocracy. Such figures include Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Hirohito, Mao Zedong, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Kim Il-Sung, Kim Jong-Il, and Fidel Castro. During the peak of their regimes, these leaders were presented as god-like and infallible. Their portraits were hung in homes and public buildings, with artists and poets legally required to only produce works that glorified the leader and his regime. (Lebron, 2012, p.552)

As for the Arab countries, Colonel Kaddafi promoted himself as "the King of African Kings" and "The leader of Arabs". According to Haskell (2011), "unlike other military

revolutionaries, Gaddafi did not promote himself to the rank of general upon seizing power, but rather accepted a ceremonial promotion from lieutenant to colonel". Another title used to designate Kaddafi was "the brother commander"; he promoted himself as thinker and philosopher and used "the Green book" that he wrote as Libya's constitution. "On the Muslim prophet Muhammad's birthday in 1973, Gaddafi delivered his famous "Five-Point Address" which officially implemented Sharia" (Eljahmi, 2006), quoting from the colonel "I am an international leader, the dean of the Arab rulers, the king of kings of Africa and the imam of Muslims, and my international status does not allow me to descend to a lower level."

"...I shall remain, defiant. Muammar is Leader of the Revolution until the end of time."

"The colonel former aides said he was "obsessive" about his image. He gave gold watches with images of his face to his staff as gifts." (Aljazeera, 2011)

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY

HASSAN NASRALLAH'S RHETORIC DURING THE JULY WAR, 2006

4.1 Introducing the alleged credibility of Hezbollah's leader Hassan Nasrallah

The inception of this chapter will emphasize the credibility of Hezbollah's leader, how he managed to build up his image, appealing to his followers and the masses as a man of his word, a man who can be trusted on a moral scale and also by the expertise criterion. Once the reliability of Hassan Nasrallah is structured and established, the projection of the thesis' main theory will be undertaken; the following case study is the core of the whole dissertation. It is the vital living example of leaders' credibility and its impact on their effective psychological media warfare. By observing and probing social phenomenon, the researcher can induct the laws and limitations of social interaction. The discovered facts would be embedded in a structural complex of causations between different variables designated as a theory. The analysis of Nasrallah's image will be utilized to match the components of credible leaders. After asserting his credibility, a natural assumption will float corollary to the leader's image which is his ability to persuade the audiences using his credibility and investing it in order to influence people's beliefs and actions. Hence, Nasrallah's persuasive ability mainly forged on his credible image will lead to another assumption which is the success on Hezbollah's psychological media warfare in the 2006 war against Israel. After shedding light on Nasrallah's image, the alleged rapport between the leader and the party's propaganda techniques should be monitored and linked rationally according to the previously proven theory.

Initiated by Nasrallah's chronological evolution as an individual and a leader, the cultural background of the secretary-general has been religiously guided and influenced by several Shiites clergymen such as Al Sayyed Moussa Al-Sadder and the former secretary-general of Hezbollah, Al Sayyed Abbas Al-Mussawi, who established an intimate relationship with the young fellow partisan and comrade. Nasrallah grew up in the eastern suburbs of Beirut in Al Karantina area, an impoverished and underprivileged location that may have had an impact on "his eminence's" development and way of thinking. Nasrallah wanted to become a clergyman, opposing his parents' will to become a doctor. He continued his religious education in Al Najaf in Iraq and Qom in Iran without attaining the highest levels of religious education, since he had many duties to fulfill as a partisan in the *Amal* party then in Hezbollah. His charismatic and composed figure and eloquence made the consultative council of Hezbollah opt him as secretary-general at the age of 32 years old, albeit he was the youngest member of the council; this significant election reflects the expertise, credibility, and potential that the young leader had amidst his comrades. As a leader and a secretary-general, Nasrallah embraced media as a powerful and substantial weapon in parallel with the military organizations; he acquired the skills of an effective propagandist emanating from his religious figure as not only a regular Shiites clergyman but also a *Sayyed* crowned by a black turban, referring to his descent from the Prophet Mohammad's lineage. However Nasrallah's figure transcended his religious appeal, reaching different cultural and religious congregations primarily from his oratorical proficiency. The confident, calm, and serene image of Nasrallah reflected in his appearance was combined and associated with a well-rounded coherent and rational rhetorical template that addressed a multitude of receivers.

Nasrallah always divides his messages between miscellaneous Lebanese and Arab societies. When referring to his comrades, followers, “Ummat Hezbollah”, and the whole Shiites community, Nasrallah tends to use intimate descriptions and labels, mainly inspired by religious symbols and icons. Thus, Nasrallah addresses the religiously-guided dogma instilled in his followers. He uses an emotional rhetoric to reach the sentiments, the instincts and the sub-consciousness of the Shiites masses; he targets the Shiites audiences constantly and redundantly to involve them in his conveyed message, reflecting a special bond or identification between the leader and his followers. Hence, Nasrallah used the pronoun “we” in his rhetoric on the 16th of July, 2006, 117 times, which is a high number compared to the repetition of the “I” pronoun repeated only 7 times. He also used the word “Mujahedin” five times and the word “God” ten times, reflecting his religious ideology and intriguing the primitive emotions of the belligerents, and connecting with the masses’ values as a way to inspire and to win credibility at the same time. However, if the scope were to be widened, his rhetoric on the 22nd of August, 2006, marking the war end and the promotion of a “divine Victory” was more inclusive, encompassing messages mainly addressed to the Lebanese people as a nation, mentioning them ninety nine times. The following number embeds both Lebanese allies and opponents that Nasrallah addressed, using an optimal mixture of emotional triggers and logical argumentation. He also significantly used the word “resistance” fifty five times, in more inclusive connotations, encompassing not just Hezbollah followers but also the Lebanese and Arab nations. On the other hand, when he addresses his Arab rivals, the content of his rhetoric becomes more argumentative, technical, and informative, embedded on a strong rational template of hypothetical questions, counter-arguments, and many historical chronicles used as examples and evidence to support his logic. He always concentrates, in his rhetoric, on the Arab world. Thus,

he repeated the word “Arab” ten times in his “divine victory” rhetoric, and especially emphasizing on the Palestinians, considering them as a part of his “victory”. Hence, the word Palestine was repeated fourteen times. Nasrallah’s rhetoric reaches the regional level, when he addresses the Iranians by words of gratefulness and appreciation, and consequently the word “Iran” was repeated in the same rhetoric on the 22nd of August, 2006, five times. Within the same rhetoric, Nasrallah addressed the international community, mainly the United States, considering the American administration as the sponsor of the July war, 2006; hence, he designated the United States eight times in his oratory and the whole world twenty seven times. When he addresses his enemies, specifically Israel, he uses all propaganda techniques to demonize them; he addresses them redundantly and relentlessly. Hence, he referred to them as “the enemy” ten times, as “Israelis” four times and as “Zionists” six times in his “divine victory” rhetoric. When conveying them a message, his oratory becomes more cynical, libeling and slandering; he transitions to a more descriptive content including threatening messages, ironic comments, an ultimate concentration on the enemies’ flaws and mistakes, depicting the latter not just as the enemy of Hezbollah but also the enemy of religion, democracy and freedom, and the cause of all clashes and crisis. Nasrallah’s rhetoric addressed toward his enemies reflects an emotional and irrational template based on biased and prejudiced accusations that lack mere and objective facts; he emphasizes the enemies’ weaknesses, instilling in their hearts before their minds some unreasonable fears and anxieties abiding by the techniques of “appeal to fear” and “appeal to authority”. However, Nasrallah embeds his propaganda in a deviously logical cover, presenting some historical comparisons and arguments that can be countered. During the July war 2006, he shed the light on a new aspect of his rhetoric, separating in his televised addresses between the

Israeli government and the Israeli people, as an endeavor to implant the seeds of dissent within the enemy's community.

How did Nasrallah achieve his credibility? This question should be answered according to a certain structure previously mentioned in the literature review. Credibility was perceived differently by many theorists and researchers. Thus, many structures were deemed as the optimal paradigms to achieve credibility. The measurement of Nasrallah's image will abide to multiple scales, projecting the components of credibility deemed by a variety of writers on his actions and behaviors, in order to highlight the associations between the indispensable elements of the leader's credible image and Nasrallah's figure.

Starting with Kouzes and Posner's theory, according to their perception, credibility is built upon ground rules or themes:

First of all, credible leaders need to introspect themselves in order to probe and elicit their intrinsic motives, shedding light on what they want to do. Hence, Nasrallah's introspection to his intrinsic motives and energy appeared prematurely during his childhood and tagged along with him during his whole life. What really incited this leader and aroused him to improve and rise was his passion for theological studies. "He attended an-Najah school. Nasrallah studied at the Shi'a seminary in the Beqaa Valley town of Baalbek. Hasan Nasrallah traveled to a seminary in Qom, Iran to further his religious studies...In 1989, Nasrallah resumed his efforts to become a religious jurist by moving to the Iranian city of Qom to further his studies." (Cohen, 2009)

Second of all, credible leaders should acquire the appreciation and knowledge of the followers. Nasrallah gained and earned major respect among his followers. They expressed exaggerated feelings for their leader. The following allegation can be verified by displaying certain behaviors of the masses: "In February 2010, a Pew Research Center survey showed that

97 percent of Lebanon's Shiites have a favorable view of Hezbollah". (Kaplan, 2010) Many television reports promoted Shiite people as saluting Nasrallah and declaring their will to sacrifice their life, their property and even their children for his sake. The divine victory parade revealed the huge Shiite support for Hezbollah. Big posters and portraits of Nasrallah are plastered in most of the Shiite areas. Even his speeches are set as cell phone ringtones.

These explicit conducts and overwhelmingly expressed emotions towards the leader show the amount of appreciation they hold for Nasrallah.

Promoting the third theme in hand, credible leaders need to improve the abilities and the capabilities of their followers, consolidating them, encouraging them and fostering them to boost up. A credible leader must provide sufficient supplies for the followers, granting them the knowledge and expertise that they require.

Nasrallah acknowledged the relevance of enhancing the followers' capabilities and abilities, providing them sufficient supplies. That is why he established, through his party (Hezbollah), many foundations responsible for social care. In March 2006, an IRIN news report of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs noted:

Hezbollah not only has armed and political wings - it also boasts an extensive social development program. Hezbollah currently operates at least four hospitals, twelve clinics, twelve schools and two agricultural centers that provide farmers with technical assistance and training. It also has an environmental department and an extensive social assistance program. Medical care is also cheaper than in most of the country's private hospitals and free for Hezbollah members. (IRIN, 2006, p.2)

The fourth theme probes the designation of shared values between the followers and the leader, in order to establish common ground, common framework and common goals. They need

to disseminate the spirit of the group, creating the right ambiance for teamwork and a sense of belonging for all colleagues to a moral and institutional corp.

Mainly, Nasrallah focused on one perspective, acquired and acknowledged by the majority of the Shiite community, utilizing it as an original reference of all common values and shared cultural background, which is the religious dimension encompassing all frameworks and goals that should be achieved by every Shiite believer. Nasrallah has managed to designate and connote shared values with his fighters by fostering the martyr image and by using “*al Hussein*” martyrdom as a sacred example, and by using Hussein’s quotes such as “Death with honor is better than a life of degradation”, “Thus I do not see death but as happiness, and living with tyrants but as sorrow.”, “That we desire obedience to the mean ones, than the killings of the honorable [martyrdom]” and “It is sufficient humiliation for you to live and be coerced.” (Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet, is considered Impeccable by Shiites).

A fifth theme advocates that credible leaders must serve with a purpose. In essence, leadership is a service. In parallel, Nasrallah estimated that leaders must serve their followers not just by making decisions and preaching but also by identifying with the masses, feeling their pain and living through their bitterness. When a leader sacrifices something precious or someone close to him in order to serve a certain cause, this behavior could be deemed as other - serving or cause - serving.

The martyrdom of Hady Nasrallah, son of Hassan Nasrallah, was significant proof of Nasrallah’s common sense. In memory of his son’s martyrdom, Hassan Nasrallah said: “We in Hezbollah don’t preserve our children for the future...we are proud of our children when they go to the front lines...And we raise our heads high when our children fall Martyrs” (retrieved from Hezbollah’s Secretary-General’s televised address after his son Hadi’s death on 13/9/97).

Credible leaders should be visionary, inspiring, maintaining hopes and aspirations between the comrades. Nasrallah, a master of eloquent rhetoric and a media “celebrity”, acknowledged the relevance of the psychological warfare and propaganda in order to spread aspirations among his followers and to inspire the neutral audiences; he promotes an optimistic vision of the future full of victories and accomplishments:

After all the developments and events, if someone asks me, ‘are you ready to repeat the phrase that you keep saying?’ I tell you that knowing this enemy and knowing my people, ‘Like I promised you victory before, I promise you victory again...’ “I would like to tell the friend and enemy that our faith cannot be shaken. It is stronger than before. I also tell you that the strength of the Resistance today in Lebanon is higher and better than any other time since its establishment...”

(Retrieved from Nasrallah’s speech on the fifth anniversary of the “*Divine Victory*” on 26/7/2011).

Pagano and Pagano recognized nine key factors and conduct that every leader should use in order to attain transparency and credibility:

The first emphasized measure according to their rationale, concentrates on being overwhelming honest. Hence, Nasrallah often promoted himself as an honest man, a man of his word and a man of action, a leader that claims consistency between his words and his actions and objectives. A vivid example introducing Nasrallah’s honesty was his ability to establish a relationship based on trust and honesty with the Israeli audiences more than current Israeli leaders:

When Olmert visited the North to re-assure them that rocket fire will be stopped, after Hassan Nasrallah claimed that it will not halt its rocket-attacks unless Israel stopped

attacking civilian infrastructure. The people of the North, including the mayor of Kiryat Shmona, said that they believe Hassan Nasrallah more than any figure from the Israeli Leadership. (Slickblog, Nasrallah's Honesty, 24/3/2007).

A second authentic criterion focuses on gathering intelligence. The ability of Nasrallah in gathering intelligence was displayed during the 2006 war when he appeared successively on television, presenting elaborated data, concerning the ongoing clashes. Nasrallah also acquired a certain gathered intelligence concerning the assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, accusing the Special Tribunal for Lebanon (STL) to be biased and a part of a conspiracy against Lebanon and Hezbollah. "In an August speech, Nasrallah presented evidence proving that Israel had masterminded the assassination. The televised address featured video materials, captured by Israeli unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV), as well as recorded confessions by Israeli fifth columnists, substantiating that Tel Aviv had been behind the killing. Nasrallah said the investigators had been infiltrating deep into the country even before the tribunal took its current form." (Retrieved from Nasrallah's televised address concerning Hariri's tribunal on 28/10/2010) All of this presented information designates Nasrallah's capability to present technical reports using several experts.

A third feature highlighted by the ongoing logic is the leader's ability of being composed. The leader of Hezbollah was well known for his serene attitudes and media appearances, and what made his composed manners so vivid was his reaction towards his son's death in battle with Israeli soldiers. In memory of his son's martyrdom, he said: "We in Hezbollah don't preserve our children for the future...we are Proud of our children when they go to the front lines...And we raise our heads high when our children fall Martyrs". (Sayyed Nasrallah Martyrdom of his son Hadi, September 13, 1997, You Tube).

After Hadi's death, he said:

I thank Allah for his great bounty, as he generously blessed my family by choosing a martyr among us...He accepted us as members in the holy assembly of martyr's families, whom I used to feel ashamed when visiting them...We raise our praise to Allah for making my family and I, an empathy for the martyrs families and not only in martyrdom ...This is another similarity between us..." (Sayyed Nasrallah Martyrdom of his son Hadi, September 13, 1997, You Tube).

A fourth aspect of the coherent echelon sheds light on the leader's ability of letting their guard down. As a religious man and a leader of an armed party, Nasrallah is not supposed to let his guard down. However, on certain occasions, he promoted himself as an open, easy going and flexible person that could have a sense of humor about major and serious political and strategic issues. When he is not speaking in formal language, Nasrallah talks in a southern Shiite accent and uses common slang. He also replies to his supporters personally even if he is in the middle of a speech. (Hizbollah, January 22, 2007, You Tube)

The fifth prospect undergone by the previous logic is the leader's honesty, which is promoted by the leader keeping his/her promises. Nasrallah is prominent in keeping promises, especially in the 2006 war against Israel. He was sharply promoting his image as a man of his word, particularly when he conveyed his famous speech about the missile assault on the Israeli navy destroyer while the missiles were launched. The latter synchronization increased the leader's influence and impact on both Israeli military forces and civilians. Nasrallah claimed to accomplish the mission that led to the 2006 war. "The truthful promise" mission achieved its goals, he said, "Our operation succeeded, we have results and honor. We kept our promise to

kidnap soldiers [to secure] the release of prisoners, and therefore are calling the attack ‘Operation Promise Fulfilled’” (July 12, 2006).

Another issue to deal with and promote is the leader’s ability to properly handle mistakes. Nasrallah tried to admit that the 2006 war was not planned, prepared for or sought by Hezbollah. He also admitted a miscalculation in predicting the Israeli retaliation after executing mission “the truthful promise”. However, he shrewdly argued that what seems to be a miscalculation cannot be deemed as a mistake:

Nasrallah devoted a significant portion of his speeches to trying to justify the attack on Israel to the Lebanese public, after he misjudged - by his own admission - the force of the Israeli response. He argued that the soldiers' abduction that precipitated the war was legal according to the platform of the Lebanese government, to which Hezbollah belonged, and that the organization was forced to take action after Israel refused to reconsider a new exchange deal for the release of Lebanese prisoners it was holding. (Harel, 2010)

Also abiding by the latter scale, leaders should adeptly acquire the competence of delivering bad news well. Nasrallah is extremely talented in delivering bad news encompassing the death of Hezbollah leaders, commanders, militants and even his own son as a heroic martyrdom. His argument originates from Islamic religious ideology and view of martyrdom *that opens the gates of the garden for a believer*. After the assassination of Imad Mughniyah, a prominent commander in Hezbollah, Nasrallah declared:

The consequences of shedding the blessed, pure blood of Hajj Imad Mughniyah, Shaykh Raghīb, Al-Sayyid Abbas, Fathi al-Shaqaqi, Ahmad Yasin, and the other martyrs, leaders, and mujahadeen [Muslim warriors] will destroy this cancerous, usurper entity which has been planted in the heart of our Arab and Islamic nation. (ADL, 2012)

Nasrallah knew how to shunt the funeral of a relevant leader and a huge strategic loss to a euphoric event prompted to mobilize the audience

Pursuing the same norms, the leader must avoid destructive comments. Paradoxically, Nasrallah was extremely conscious and wary about his allegations and threats vacillating between mob statements on one hand: "If they [the Jews] all gather in Israel, it will save us the trouble of going after them worldwide", and rationale, moderated and witted declarations, avoiding any fanatic positioning or harsh comments on the other hand:

It's not the first time that I speak with American journalists. I've had meetings with many different newspapers and stations, and I've never had a problem with meeting with American journalists... We did not start a fight with America, and we don't want a war with America. If someone launches an attack, though, we will respond. We will not take rejection or humiliation. We do not want to fight. (Brainyquote, Hassan Nasrallah, 2001-2012).

Closing the ongoing rationale, it is critical to mention the emotional influence of the leader and his capability to show care for others. Nasrallah expresses gratitude for the "nation of Hezbollah" or the followers, using warm and intimate greetings in each of his speeches' inceptions; he refers to the audiences as "his brothers and sisters":

Every year on this occasion, I find it my duty even if briefly to salute and thank the souls of the martyrs - the martyrs of the army, people and the Resistance with all its factions - as well as the families of the martyrs, all those who were wounded and their families, all those who were detained in that war and returned, all those who were displaced from their homes, all the good hearts who sheltered them and embraced them, all those whose houses were demolished and whose wealth was demolished and remained patient and all

those who supported, backed and aided with a deed, action, stance, prayers, smile or tear in Lebanon, the Arab and Islamic world and all around the world whether countries, governments, peoples, institutions, forces, parties, groups, personalities or individuals.

(Dignity and Victory Festival--Hizbullah SG Full Speech on 27 July, 2011)

Shifting to other scales and evidence, Heintzman, Leathers, Parrott, and Cairns estimated that nonverbal actions are essential sources of communication that can foster the credibility, the status and the image of the leader. Hence, Nasrallah's body gestures can be very explicit, implying the drive of this leader, his certitude and his decisiveness. The famous gestures made by Nasrallah reflect a firm and unyielding attitude. Nasrallah is well known for pointing his index finger while making his speeches. Consequently,

When the index finger is pointed, it's either used consciously to indicate direction, or unconsciously (without your awareness), to indicate aggression and assertiveness. Early civilizations would point and prod a spear, or sharpened stick at enemies, or threatening animals. The pointing and prodding was threatening, boldness and defensive behavior.

(Harrison, 2005)

Also, he uses sharply angled hand shapes, demonstrating his confidence and authority. However, when making statements and appearing on big screens, he often opens his palms. This gesture refers "to openness and honesty. Stone-age people would show they had no weapons in their hands, by showing their hands were empty". (Peters, 2010) Other gestures excessively made by Nasrallah such as crossed fingers refer to a person thinking, evaluating or deciding. Outward and upward facing palms noticed in Nasrallah's body language infer to "a person's defenses are down and that they're speaking sincerely with an open heart conveying open and positive message." (Harrison, 2005)

Thus, an allegedly self confident, powerful, and honest leader would gain some credibility by his personal appeal and body language.

A relevant, non-verbal communication skill deemed as an essential component in his arsenal is the nuance of his vacillating voice tonality between speed rates inferring to excitement: “Speeding up will invariably make the tone of voice more urgent and compelling” and making pauses to stress and emphasize important concepts: “Doing that will make you punch out what comes next to show the audience this is important”. He also includes vivid facial expression or bigger gestures when he gets to an emotional or dramatic part of his presentation: “More expressive body movement will often be reflected in the tone of the voice”, and/or includes dialogues in his speech; “Narrating a conversation will cause you to vary speaking rate and volume to accommodate the different characters in your story so that your tone of voice will be more expressive”. (Boyd, 2003, p.1)

Another substantial argument consolidating reliability and trustworthiness of the leader among his followers is Great Man Theory and Charisma, a perception emerging from the 19th century, deeming that the power of the leader emanates from holy, divine and spiritual higher powers. Characteristics and features were not substantial pillars in recognizing a leader. It is a sanctified theocratic relationship between the leader and the alleged subtle force that makes the followers believe that the man in charge has the absolute authority that should not be questioned or opposed, and he is the chosen one accomplishing a divine mission. As for Nasrallah, the legitimate mandate is a direct order from Wali Al-Faqih that cannot be refused by the Shiites community which believes in *Wilaiat Al-Faqih* as an ideology. The legitimate mandate is *Al-Mahdi's* will represented by his deputy Wali Al-Faqih and the violation of such an order would have pernicious consequences on a Shiite's afterlife. Nasrallah deemed that the legitimate

mandate means responsibility. Hence, who holds this responsibility should have reached certain credibility among his people.

Thus, by considering Hassan Nasrallah as the legal emissary of Khamenii in Lebanon and holder of the title *Al-Sayyid*, who is a clergyman descended from Mohammad, he has the same credibility and reliability of Wali Al –Faqih amid his followers.

4.2 Introducing Hassan Nasrallah’s abilities and persuasive techniques

After promoting the image of Nasrallah as a credible leader, utilizing the mix and match procedure used in scales and indexes, amid the theoretical criteria and Hezbollah’s leader’s statements, his ability to persuade successively and effectively is verified, according to a literature genuinely based on the leader’s credibility as well as other components. Much ground work, surveys and research have elicited four elements indispensable for the accomplishment of the persuasion process:

Incepting by the leader’s responsibility to stimulate followers in order to exploit all their intrinsic capabilities, the leader must acquire and establish his credibility. Consequently, Nasrallah, in his rhetoric, instills incentives, motivation and incitements among the Nation of Hezbollah, urging them to resist the Israeli foes, and stand firm in battles; his persuasion techniques emphasize the emotional triggers of an euphoric audience, utilizing verses from the Qur’an and religious comparisons, the most sanctified, emotionally arousing way to intrigue Islamic hordes. Nasrallah appeared on TV and gave a speech in which he made a comment which has been used for 1300 years; he said this to the Israeli leaders and to Bush at a second degree: “Your days are only counted, and your friends are not infinite, gather all the people and all your strength, because I swear you will never wipe us from history.” This was originally said

by Al-Zahra after the Kerbala Battle in which the historical Muslim icon, Imam Hussain, was killed.

A second measurement that should be considered is the leader's responsibility to emphasize and highlight the followers' suggestions and skills, listening intently and engaging himself in fruitful debates.

It is well known that the political structure of Hezbollah is religiously oriented. However, the Shiites believe in the consensus model in making decisions. Thus, Nasrallah must rely on a systematic, consensual procedure in making decisions. For Hezbollah to run candidates for political office, to maintain a military capable of defending against Israeli interventions, and to provide a broad array of social programs and activities, it had to develop an efficient and capable organization. A 17-member Majlis al-Shura Council is the primary decision-making unit within Hezbollah. The party made another shift or improvement within its structure "to include both a political wing governed by a 15-member Politburo and a military wing (known as the Islamic Resistance) largely controlled by regional commanders". (Staten, 2008, p.38) Nasrallah was deemed as a reformer within his party. He began modernizing the organizational structure by appointing military commanders on the basis of expertise and competence rather than membership in particular clans or professed supporters of particular Shiite clerics.

All of these citations refer to Nasrallah's fruitful engagement with followers and his openness to suggestions, since he made concrete improvements on the structural level, without any restraints.

A third indication that should be considered is the leader's ability to reflect dedication and integrity, holding the interest of the group in mind and at heart.

Nasrallah, through Hezbollah's institutions, has largely contributed to maintaining a fair social service aid mainly to the Shiite community. "Construction Jihad" was one of the most important of these institutions which has reconstructed about seventeen thousand houses, shops and facilities that were destroyed by the Israeli occupation and by the Civil War. In the south of Lebanon, the party established a wide range social network of schools, hospitals and martyrs' families associations, and helped farmers by providing pesticides, water pumps and other services. In addition, Hezbollah has founded Martyr's Institute (Al-Shahid Social Association), which guaranteed to provide living and education expenses for the families of fighters who died in battle. Nasrallah's care for his followers' interests was vividly expressed by actions and also by words: "I will not fall silent for the insult of people of the resistance..." he said. (Hizbollah, January 22, 2007, You Tube)

A forth criteria is that the leader's mental and emotional stability and endurance should be combined with a strong, steady character reflecting certain reliability.

The latter privilege was virtually sorted as one of Nasrallah's features after his balanced and steady reaction over his son's death, as previously mentioned in this chapter.

Understanding the audience and framing a common ground is an essential objective for credible leaders. First of all, the leader must eloquently advocate their position, shedding light on the advantages of their paths and relating them to tangible profits.

Nasrallah is very eloquent when it comes to justifying his battles against Israel and adjusting the militants' sacrifices to higher sanctified causes. He declared on the resistance wounded day:

You already see the results of your sacrifices -Thank God- in this life. The results of your wounds, your blood, the chaste bodies of martyrs, these pains and agonies of our people,

the captives, the displaced, those whose houses were destructed, all these we see their product in this life. The results of all this is what we see in the liberation, this dignity, this glory, this feeling of freedom, existence. It is indeed beautiful that a human lives away from being humiliated, oppressed, and underestimated by his enemies or by others. It is beautiful indeed that a human or entity lives dignified, free, standing straight on his feet and raising his head high. (Rida, 2009)

Second of all, the leader must emphasize the hinges that could be appealing to the followers' value system. Nasrallah's rhetorical pillars stand on a religious, in depth comparison between the biography of Islamic, sanctified characters and current events and crises, which would be extremely appealing to a horde of Islamic Shiite believers or the Nation of Hezbollah. During his resistance wounded day speech, he inferred to the injured and the handicapped because of the Israeli assaults, saying:

You can work and play your role with the energy and capability you have left and that was bestowed upon you from God the Almighty. You have responsibilities that you can handle and tasks that you can do, as you follow the example of that whose right hand was amputated, and then the left, but continued his jihad; this was the stand of Al Abbas, our example, guide, and symbol. (Rida, 2009)

Providing evidence is a substantial credential that should be acquired by the leader. The latter must present proof and verification, such as stories, graphs, images, metaphors and examples. A leader's statement can be made by using vivid language that complements graphics.

A vivid metaphor was used by Nasrallah in his speech on the resistance wounded day when he made an affiliation between the Karbala Battle and the current Lebanese position, using

the historical divine yarn to counter the statements of Lebanese political opponents on one hand, and to motivate Hezbollah militants on the other:

One of the political terminologies in Lebanon called "neutrality" was what it would have taken Al Abbas and his brothers to save their lives, but what was the stand of Al Abbas? His stand was well-known, he rejected safety, also cursed those who suggested this idea and objected it and said "in the battle of fighting for right and sanctities, there is no place for neutrality," this is how the noble, great people, people of right were throughout history. (Rida, 2009)

Probing his rhetoric, Nasrallah's eloquence emanated from his elaboration on every argument, linking every statement he declares to relevant religious historical events or to a divine character's journey, then he continues his argument by using historical and current political statuses related to his opinion. Nasrallah's persuasion ability emerges from well structured, highly informed and comparative reasoning. He empowers and consolidates his opinions through a diversity of verification, mainly adjusted with the Shiite's cultural background and value system and more vaguely the Lebanese and Arab societies. An efficient pattern used by Nasrallah to reach the Lebanese cultural diversity and his deep knowledge of his audience's backgrounds and emotional triggers, allow him to shrewdly elect appropriate and suitable examples when defending his convictions. When directing his speech to the Nation of Hezbollah, condoling the injured militants, he argued:

It is the promise of God, his prophet, his chaste household, and the Qur'an to you that your efforts do not go astray. This is what our prophets sayings, stories and preaching assure us. You will be paid for your efforts, just like the *mujahideen* and the wounded; you have reached the degree of the *mujahideen* and the wounded. Those who left the

world with wounds in their bodies and were sincere in their fight for the cause then these will remain with the martyrs and will be rewarded for their good deeds. (Rida, 2009)

When tackling, in his speech, current Lebanese national issues such as toppling former Prime Minister Saad Hariri, clarifying Hezbollah's position, Nasrallah stated:

If the fate, dignity, institutions, stability, salvation and rescue of a country- no matter how small or big it is - is linked to the occupation of a definite person the premiership post without giving way for another personality which has the competence and the capability, this is tantamount to a national catastrophe. This belittles the nation and the Lebanese people. It is scornful to the nation and the Lebanese people when it is said for all of us that the fate of the country depends on the premiership of a definite person apart from his competency and capability which we differ on evaluating. (ABNA, 2011)

Comparing the criterion of both examples, Nasrallah's ability shifts from "Allah's will", when conveying a message to the Shiite community, to competence, capability, institutions and salvation, when tackling the issues on a national level. This refers to his adept presentation of his arguments accordingly to the audiences' values.

Nasrallah has a very rich Arabic vocabulary which allows him to stress his point expressively and fluently. His descriptive ability adds more value to his point of view, especially when he generates and enumerates a multitude of synonyms and adjectives, depicting vividly his thoughts. A virtual example reflecting vividly and expressively the latter allegations is Nasrallah's speech at the Divine Victory Rally held in Beirut:

Peace to you, oh most honest, most righteous and most pure people...Peace on your martyrs and the families of your martyrs...Peace on your wounded and the scars of your bleeding wounds...Peace on those you lost prisoners, peace on your blood, peace on your

tears, peace on your orphans, peace on your widows, peace on your demolished homes, peace be on your scorched possessions, peace on your souls and your solid will...”

(Retrieved from Nasrallah’s speech at the Divine Victory Rally held in Beirut on 22-09-2006)

Elaborating on Nasrallah’s ability to connect emotionally with the audience, first of all, the leader should make a decision based on a complexity of emotions, needs, and intellect. Hence, a leader must advocate his/her position by merging the two latter aspects in his/her display, getting through the minds and hearts of his/her followers.

Nasrallah is very precise when it comes to combining emotional and motivational speech with rational interpretations. The pre-eminence of his speech originates from an optimal formula, merging emotions and intellect in the same discourse; in his speech directed to the wounded resistance, he used logical arguments to emphasize and evaluate the militants’ sacrifices, convincing them that they should have no regrets since the costs are expensive but the benefits are much higher. The cost-benefit rationale is a persuasion technique aimed at the minds of the audiences. As for the benefits, the exaggeration and the magnification of the profits enumerating several discrete religious and social concepts, feelings and sensations, promotes and assures his ability to tackle the audiences’ hearts:

Brothers and sisters, your sacrifices were put in the right place, right time, and the right battle. You never fought or were injured in defense of a leader or sect. Your battle has always been a battle in defense of the country and the homeland, of the people and the sanctities, of the just cause and the nation, and this is your blame...Results of all this is what we see in the liberation, this dignity, this glory, this feeling of freedom, existence.

...It is beautiful indeed that a human or entity lives dignified, free, standing straight on his feet and raising his head high. (Rida, 2009)

4.3 Introducing Nasrallah's psychological media warfare, elaborating on the techniques used in the 2006 war

"While a bullet can wound a soldier or two, a picture can wound all of Israeli society"
(Hezbollah's slogan)

Shifting to Nasrallah's propaganda techniques used during the July 2006 war against Israel, the leader's rhetoric and his excessive televised addresses – ten times during thirty three days of war - played a huge role in the party's psychological warfare.

First, it is relevant to emphasize the progression and the evolution within Hezbollah on a psychological media level; the latter party "has been a master of propaganda and psychological warfare since it was founded in 1982." (Weimann, n.d., p.3) The party also created what was called the department of war information to cover all activities and operations undertaken by the Islamic Resistance. Hezbollah continued its progress by establishing *Al Manar* and launched the network in 1991, and created many websites, such as, "Moqawama" (i.e., the Islamic resistance), "The Israeli Aggression on Lebanon", "Moqavemat" (i.e., the resistance, in Persian), "Shi'a Web"... Al-Nour Radio, and Hezbollah publication Al-Intiqad websites..."Wa'ad" (i.e., the promise), "Islamic Digest", "Somod" (properly transliterated, *sumud* in Arabic means "firm stand")... the websites of the towns and villages of Bint Jbeil, Taybeh, Deir Qanoun al-Nahr, and Houla... Hezbollah's social organizations and designated websites, including the Mu'assasat al-

Shahid (shahid's organization) website, the Imam al-Mahdi Scouts website, and the Samir al-Kuntar website, promoting the release of the prisoner held in Israel (these websites have been inactive lately)... In addition to the above websites, there are also Hezbollah-associated websites in Spanish in South America (mostly in Venezuela)... in addition of publishing house "...The Dar al-Hadi publishing house...Iman Khomeini Cultural Center..." (Erlich and Kahati, June 2007)

After drawing the media progression of Hezbollah and its growing capabilities, acknowledging the major role of media in times of peace and genuinely in wartimes, especially in rallying and mobilizing the masses, conducting psychological operations against the foes and magnifying and highlighting the allies' statuses, we will narrow down the scope, probing propaganda emanating from the top of the party's structure and hierarchy, the head of the pyramid, Hassan Nasrallah.

Before being elected as secretary-general, Nasrallah filled the position of the executive official in the party. He had great communication skills and adeptly conveyed his messages. He was deemed as a talented propagator and "had broad relations with the base, and he had the ability to consolidate the union of the party after the harsh strike it received. In addition, Nasrallah was the best candidate to invest his friend's testimony sentimentally for the sake of the cause and the party on a public level". (Imamreza, 2012)

The group's leader and frequent spokesperson, Nasrallah, may well be a major component of the Hezbollah information and media campaign. Commenting on the group's early use of propaganda, he stated in a 6 March, 2005 press conference aired on "Al-Manar": "The media know this game very well; we are part of you because we worked in the media during the resistance days."

In the July 2006 war, Nasrallah launched a well equipped arsenal of propaganda techniques aimed at the Lebanese community, the Israel Defense Forces, the Israeli civilians and the Arab and international communities. Indexing Nasrallah's oratory within the previously mentioned propaganda techniques, his expertise in psychological media warfare is clearly recognizable. Every word, every presentation, every rhetoric, every argumentative or televised address emerges from an in depth knowledge of propaganda means retrieved from literature and textbooks. Nasrallah's pre-eminent rhetoric originates from his communication skills, his well gathered information and his eloquent and rich vocabulary; a threefold combination can lead to a "charismatic and legendary" leader.

Elaborating on the techniques used by the secretary-general in the July 2006 war:

After probing and analyzing Nasrallah's successive and excessive televised addresses, interpreting the tacit messages conveyed by the secretary-general, it is vividly recognizable that his television appearances were the substantive tactic of Hezbollah's psychological warfare, relying on the image of a sincere and credible Nasrallah, the figure of the leader who possesses an adequate and adept ability to persuade allies and foes, admirers or rivals, utilizing his communicational explicit and implicit skills or what some observers define as charisma, genuinely implied in his rhetoric.

Incepting with the first propaganda technique or Ad Hominem used by Nasrallah in his oratory during the July war 2006, "His eminence" encountered the accusations, convictions, denouncements and contempt made by the international community against Hezbollah's assault on an IDF patrol. Nasrallah argued eloquently, wondering how could the international community even compare the military act executed by the Islamic resistance to free its prisoners, especially that it is directed to a patrol of Israeli soldiers and after the failure of all diplomatic

paths, to a crucial, inhuman, barbaric reaction, in other words, a war that provoked the killing of many civilians and the destruction of the Lebanese infrastructure bypassing all customs and international laws. He continues his elaboration by a second wonderment, asking if any rationale could accept to believe that Hezbollah is a terrorist party while the enemies are killing Lebanese women and children, razing their houses and villages, committing crimes of war. (The eighth televised address of the secretary-general after mission “the Truthful Promise”, 14 August, 2006)

As previously mentioned, Nasrallah is a fluent orator, encompassing rich vocabulary on a variety of levels and topics; He uses Ad nauseam, repetition, enumeration, and a multitude of synonyms connoting and tackling the same concept, many examples and metaphors to emphasize the same latent content. In all his televised addresses during the July war, Nasrallah was tirelessly depicting the Zionists as “killers of children”, “killers of women”, “barbarians”, “savage enemy”, “cowards”, “aggressors”, “assaulters”, “invaders”, “inadequate losers” ; when describing the militants of Hezbollah, he stressed certain adjectives to consolidate and incite them such as , “Mujahidin” , “heroes”, “legendary resistance” , “miracle achievers” , “you are the hope, you are the bet, you are the triumphant, you are the victorious” , “most righteous humans”, “heroic steadfast”, “heroic clashes”, “fulfillers of national duty, humanitarian duty and religious duty”. Nasrallah mastered the psychological warfare during the clashes by tackling the relationship between the Israeli government and civilians, distinguishing between a “stupid”, “arrogant”, “foolish” , “silly “and “inexpert” government and passive, powerless civilians tricked into this war. When evaluating the results and outcome of the ongoing clashes, Nasrallah utilized expressions that became prominent slogans afterward, such as “divine victory” , “strategic victory”, “historic victory”, “epic victory” (Sixth, seventh and eighth televised

addresses of the secretary-general after mission “the Truthful Promise”, 9 August, 2006, 12 August, 2006 and 14 August, 2006).

In his first televised address on 15 July, 2006, after executing mission “the truthful promise”, Nasrallah initiated his propaganda campaign, adopting the Bandwagon Appeal to his psychological warfare against the Zionist entity, disseminating and spreading widely the steadfast and standing, firm values, formulating an interdependent relationship between Hezbollah’s militants’ performances, patience and success along with Lebanese dignity, patriotism, liberty, sovereignty, immunity and existence; he adeptly used the inevitable victory technique:

With God’s blessing and help, with the ultimate faith I have in Hezbollah’s *mujahidin* and the Lebanese people; As I promised you victory before, I promise victory again...Trust me, our current position is better than ever, I bet, better say, I know and I’m certain that the majority of our people are redemptive and sacrificing...As for the *mujahidin* I want to tell them that they are the title of our dignity and honor. With them our virtues and values are held...Who relies on them is righteous and his victory will be virtual, vivid and near...The victory is eminent- eminent in God’s will.

Nasrallah mastered adeptly the appeal to authority technique and acknowledged his impact and influence on the Israeli audience; he redundantly conveyed to them messages, knowing that his words are considered more reliable to them than the statements of their government. Nasrallah’s authority was not coincidentally established. The first indispensable element of the leader’s authority is his kept promises, introducing the secretary-general as a man of his word, presenting the consistency between his actions and words. The second element is the leader’s credibility and trustworthiness among the masses. The third element emanates from his

deeply rooted religious beliefs and ideologies, his essential motivational guide that triggers and incites the *mujahidin* to fight until their “martyrdom”. The fourth element emerges from Nasrallah’s communication skills and his media minded capabilities that designate him as a pre-eminent propaganda master in the region. A fifth element comes from his credentials and intelligence - gathering expertise in strategic and tactical planning on political and psychological warfare levels. Another element related to his authority over the Shiite community originates from his black turban, referring to his lineage as a descendant of the Prophet Mohammad. The complex combination of the following elements, introduces Nasrallah as a mighty, authoritative regional player; he used his acquired authority on different occasions in the July war, especially when aiming his rhetoric toward the Israeli civilians:

You Zionists claim in your opinion polls that you believe me more than you believe your officials. This time I sincerely ask you to hear me and believe me ...I won’t say today, if you strike Beirut we will strike Haifa. I won’t tell you today, if you strike the southern suburbs of Beirut we will hit Haifa. You wanted this balance to fade, so let it be. You wanted an open war and an open war it is. We are ready for it on every level to Haifa, and believe me, to beyond Haifa and to beyond and beyond Haifa... (Nasrallah’s first televised address after mission “the Truthful Promise”, 15 July, 2006).

Nasrallah used the appeal to fear technique in his oratory, claiming that the alternative of the heroic and epic steadfast of the *mujahidin* would be a shameful truce, leading to an Israeli reigning era and a new Middle East dominated by Zionism and American hegemony. He elaborated on dangerous repercussions on both political and security levels if the *mujahidin* and the Lebanese population failed to resist this Israeli assault, claiming that the situation will be harder than the 1982 period or the May 17th agreement phase.

Nassrallah used the same technique in his rhetoric, directing his discourse toward Arab leaders:

I want to direct my speech to the Arab leaders, informing them that in a “new Middle East” there is no place for their thrones. It is not acknowledgeable that their countries will keep existing...Their sates will be scattered in the map of the new Middle East, to cantons and mini-states divided according to sectarian, racist and ethnic scales. Big and united Arab states will vanish as their rich resources, thrones and chairs...For their thrones’ sake, I ask them to combine between their chairs and humanity, making an effort to stop the Israeli aggression on Lebanon... (The sixth televised address of Nasrallah after mission “the Truthful Promise”, 3 August, 2006)

Nasrallah utilized the appeal to prejudice technique in all his speeches; it is loaded in all the hinges of his rhetoric’s structure. Appeal to prejudice was amplified and multiplied in Nasrallah’s oratory during the July war, especially when he directed his dialogue towards a certain congregation or community. Nasrallah refused to convey messages to the international community since “he has believed in existence of such thing called international community”. When aiming at the Lebanese audiences, Nasrallah spoke to them deeming “the Lebanese people made the miracle of victory, stunning the world and humiliating the Zionists...We are against two choices, either we yield to Israel which would lead us to a Zionists era of hegemony with all its repercussions or we steadfast...and triumph again...” When directing his words to the *mujahidin*, Nasrallah claimed that “whoever relies on them is virtuous and righteous”. As for the Israeli civilians, Nasrallah addressed his words saying: “You will soon discover that your administration is foolish, stupid, and inadequate and doesn’t know how to estimate things...You don’t know who you are fighting; you are fighting the people who possess the strongest belief

system on the globe”. Addressing his discourse to the Israeli administration Nasrallah stated: “I kiss the hands of the *mujahidin*, through their pulling triggers God is striking the assassins of his Prophets of his people, those notorious corrupted hordes”. Addressing his discourse to the Arab leaders Nasrallah stated “in 1982 the Arab leaders claimed that we are crazy and we proved that we are the sober wise ones, as for who is crazy...that is another issue” (Secretary-general’s first televised address after mission “the Truthful Promise”, 15 July, 2006).

Nasrallah redundantly promoted himself as a common man or one of the *mujahidin* during the July war in 2006; he estimated the relevance of a humble attitude, especially since he is sheltered in an unknown place and his militants are facing direct confrontations on the front lines of the battles. He always refers to them as “beloved ones”, “brothers” and in his forth televised address after mission “the Truthful Promise” on 29 July, 2006, he conveyed them a message stating: “I kiss your foreheads that fulfilled us with pride; I kiss your hands pulling the trigger...I kiss your feet, rooted in this land steadily...I thank you if you accepted me as one of you. As your brother, you are the commanders and the leaders and the proud of our nation...”

As previously mentioned, Nasrallah concentrated in all his televised addresses on demonizing the enemy or the Israelis by describing them as “corruptors of the land”, “killers of Prophets”, “women and children killers”, “invaders”, “tyrants” and “savage and barbaric”.

During the July war in 2006, Nasrallah was not able to organize euphoric events to boost up the spirits and morale of militants and civilians, since all Lebanese territories were exposed to Israeli air strikes. Instead, he used his rhetoric to disseminate euphoric sentiments among Hezbollah’s militants stating: “Zionists, today you don’t know whom you are fighting. You are fighting the sons of Mohamed and Ali and El-Hassan and El-Hussein and the family of God’s messenger”.

He often used to spread euphoric sentiments by stressing religiously guided emotions. Nasrallah emphasized another source of euphoria stating that “victory is very near”, “victory is eminent, eminent...”, and “as I promised you victory before, I promise you victory again” (Nasrallah’s first televised address after mission “the Truthful Promise”, 15 July, 2006). His rhetoric on the 22nd of August, 2006, mainly focused on “victory” as a key word repeated sixteen times.

The postwar period unfolded the truth about the casualties and losses on both sides. Hence, a mere analysis of Nasrallah’s rhetoric cannot claim any use of the “disinformation technique” as it is theoretically defined. However, Nasrallah altered the previous technique by displaying exaggerated information and data about the IDF casualties. As for the “cult of personality technique”, Nasrallah was not obligated to emphasize his superiority as a leader among his followers during the July war, since he is a black turbaned clergy man. The turban infers to his lineage as a descendant of the Prophet Mohammad. Shifting to “the indoctrination of children technique”, Nasrallah’s rhetoric during the war did not encompass what could be deemed as children indoctrination. However, Hezbollah’s organizational structure emphasizes this technique by establishing many schools and institutions in charge of instilling “the culture of resistance” in the minds and hearts of the Shiite youth as did the Americans after the 9/11 chronicles when they established the *Al Hurra* television channel to address the growing Anti-Americanism in the Middle East region. Nasrallah’s rhetoric reflected the indoctrination of children technique by repeatedly designating the Zionists as “killers and assassins of children”.

4.4 Introducing the Israeli leaders' lack of credibility and their major negative impact on their psychological warfare during the 2006 war

Another aspect or dimension of the hypothesis' verification is the falsification of the counter-theory. Hence, the promotion of the Israeli government's lack of credibility among its population, as a causal factor responsible for weakening the influential power and success of psychological media warfare campaign, will be considered as a confirmation of the hypothesis.

Initiating with the Israeli government's lack of credibility, an in depth probe will shed light on the insufficient and inadequate expertise that led to a vivid lack of trustworthiness among the Israeli people. Starting with the lack of expertise of the protagonists of the war, "Ehud Olmert, was relatively a new Prime Minister who had never had national security responsibilities before... Labor leader Amir Peretz, Olmert's defense minister, despite his lack of experience in national security decision-making, fatally closed the political and operational loops in favor of the war." (Cobban, 2006)

Shifting to a general assessment of the IDF expertise abilities on an operational military level, Yoram Peri, a seasoned analyst of Israeli strategic decision-making, has written: "This military option was discussed in the cabinet for less than three hours, was not countered by any diplomatic option and was approved in a conceptual void." (Cobban, 2006)

After trying to enter the village of Maroun Al-Ras, one kilometer north of the border, a soldier of the finest Maglan units in the IDF stated the following: "We didn't know what hit us ... We expected a tent and three Kalashnikovs, that was the intelligence we were given...Further underlying Israel's lack of preparation was the failure of its leadership to acknowledge the operation against Hezbollah to be a war rather than a retaliatory raid or more limited military action." (Inbar, 2007, pp. 57 - 65)

Stirring to another major and substantial component of credibility, Israeli leaders' trustworthiness had suffered a serious diminution during and after war: "Critics claim that Olmert and Peretz's lack of military command experience makes them unqualified to head the state during a war. Both had held only low-level positions during required military service and neither had served beyond that time." (Yedi'ot Aharonot, August 18, 2006)

On August 25, 2006 Yediot Aharonot published the results of a poll which revealed that "63 percent of Israelis feel that Prime Minister Ehud Olmert failed in managing the war in Lebanon and should resign...Following the 2006 Lebanon War, Olmert's popularity ratings fell, and on 15 September 2006, former chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon publicly stated that Olmert should resign". (Yedi'ot Aharonot, August 25, 2006) In May 2007, Olmert's approval rating fell to 3 percent, and he became the subject of a Google Bomb for the Hebrew for "miserable failure". (Time, Olmert Under Fire, May 2007)

The combination of insufficient expertise on political and military levels, in addition to a vivid lack of popularity and trustworthiness, have led to weak credibility amid the Israeli leaders during the July 2006 war. Subsequently, vivid inconsistency between the words of politicians and their actions emerged, especially after the failure of the IDF to eliminate Hezbollah, or to deter Hezbollah's ability to launch missiles, or to free the two kidnapped Israeli soldiers in Northern Israel, three main goals claimed by the Israeli administration.

Corollary to the ambivalent, reluctant, inexpert government lacking credibility, the psychological media warfare campaign launched during and after the war did not achieve its goals neither by re-establishing the reputation of the IDF as the invincible deterring power in the region nor by achieving a strategic victory. The Israeli propaganda also failed to restore some of the domestic support acquired by Olmert during the eight months prior to the elections.

The results of different polls published by the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* on 24 August, 2006 show that the so called “Arabs of 48” supported Nasrallah, according to an Israeli research center *Daf*. Other research showed that the Israeli audience followed and attended Nasrallah’s televised announcements patiently, since they considered it more credible than the statements of their leaders. A conducted experiment called “the Administration of Media During the Second Lebanese War”, involved selecting a sample of six Israeli groups and showing them different tapes with recorded media statements extracted from both sides of the war; An aftermath analysis reflected Nassralah’s superiority in comparison to Israeli leaders in terms of credibility. Ironically, another result emanating from the latter experiment was that the Israeli public waited for Nasrallah’s announcements instead of the announcements of the Israeli official spokesman.

According to the Israeli journalist and political analyst, Yoram Ben Nour, Nasrallah has mastered psychological media warfare to the extent that prominent numbers of Israelis believed him and distinguished him from stereotypical Arab leaders; they took his words seriously and credibly.

Parallel to the Israeli audience, Israeli media experts, stated that their government lacked an ultimate media campaign and failed to conduct effective psychological warfare; Instead, they relied on throwing leaflets that encompass some statements and caricatures of Nasrallah lacking any reliability, efficiency or influence on Hezbollah ‘s militants.

An essential turning point in Nasrallah’s credibility and corollary to his effective psychological warfare during the July war in 2006, was his utter synchronization between his promises and the achievements. He optimally combined his words with concurrent actions to promote himself as a credible leader, and his words should be taken seriously, which in my opinion, acquired him a pre-eminence on the propaganda level. Returning to the turning point

that noticeably increased Nasrallah's credibility and concomitantly the effectiveness of his media warfare, was his announcement in the first televised address after mission "the Truthful Promise" on 15 July, 2006 : "...Now , parallel to Beirut's coast line the Israeli battleship that aggressed and assaulted the infrastructure, houses and civilians, look at it getting fired ..."

Israel encountered Nasrallah's statement with ambiguous and reluctant denial, making different unrealistic allegations, claiming that the attacked Israeli battleship was an ordinary commercial vessel, which turned out to be exposed misinformation. After the latter incident, Nasrallah's image gained more believability and credibility against a questionable reliability on the Israeli side. Hence, the Israeli audience and public opinion tended to trust Nasrallah more than their leaders, which made him succeed in applying effectively his psychological warfare afterward. According to this rationale, Nasrallah made the most influential announcement that virtually increased his credibility at the beginning of the war; the connotation analysis of the strategic timing chosen by the secretary-general to apply this assault, coherently with the previous rationale will designate Nasrallah's acknowledgement of credibility relevance before launching his propaganda campaign. He wanted to get the Israeli audience's attention and trust prior to his media warfare execution.

In conclusion, the culmination of this chapter infers clearly the causation between the leader's credibility and the effectiveness of his psychological media warfare.

Recommendations and conclusion

After inquiring, collecting data and analyzing the concept of leaders' credibility on a theoretical vague level, the concept's essential role was elicited in enhancing the leader's persuasion ability, then formulating the consecutive causation between leaders' credibility and persuasion on one hand and their ability to apply an effective propaganda campaign on the other. Consequently, the prior conclusions and assumptions on the case of Hassan Nasrallah were projected, probing his credibility and its impact on his launched media warfare campaign, embedded within his rhetoric in general and during the July 2006 war in particular.

Consequently, psychological media warfare and its dialectic relation with the leader's values, psyche, cultural background and rhetoric has majorly influenced the continuum of war and peace. The premises of International relations are mostly measured by means of power, and the unfolded chronicles designated propaganda as a power amplifier, guiding the conventional means of power to be more efficient by maximizing the benefits and minimizing the losses of war. Hence, the psychological media warfare incorporated within the leader's rhetoric could distort the international balance of power, rendering the diplomatic means more mutable.

Propaganda became a catalyst of force that can prevent war or arouse international crisis depending on its guidance. Thus, psychological media warfare could be deemed as an additional element to traditional economic and military powers. It is a magnifier that could generate major international influence from plain conventional potentials restructuring the international system.

The following recommendations are addressed to the secretary - general of Hezbollah aiming at the latent content of his oratory.

Incepting with Nasrallah's redundant linkage between religious historical events and current political crises, the leader is pulling a primitive, instinctive emotional trigger that can encompass certain rationale or wisdom, but is genuinely dominated by a collective rush of feelings. The latter technique could be deemed as acceptable propaganda when the leader utilizes his religious ideologies and philosophies to inspire and arouse the ability of his militants to steadfast or maintain their morale during times of war. However, Nasrallah's rhetoric revolves around religion, even when he is tackling diverse internal political topics. This could lead to serious repercussions. A mass, pivotally relying on religious historical events and wisdom, will be extremely mobilized and rallied, reacting emotionally to any issue, neglecting any rationale that contradicts with a divine one. A person rallied religiously would be hypersensitive to any discordance of opinions and would reject any diversity, estimating that the logic, the arguments, the concepts and the words of prophets given to them by a higher divine force should not be doubted or argued. This will lead to serious calamities. Hence, Nasrallah's rhetoric could at least virtually distinguish, when addressing his rhetoric, between domestic rivals and foreign enemies, since the culmination of constant religious mobilization will lead to a fierce war. Thus, this kind of rallying could be acceptable when inferring to an enemy not to an internal peer. Nasrallah's oratory confuses, deliberately or unwittingly, between legitimate foes and people advocating different opinions, which could be assumed as theocratic autocracy, exacerbating and escalating political debates, especially in a complicated and diversified country. A relevant notion to be considered is that the identification made by Nasrallah between the assassins of El Hussein or the notorious characters mentioned in the Qur'an and some of his local opponents, which could be deemed as a tacit invitation to commit crimes against the targeted parties or congregations. Nasrallah's latter technique did not fail him in maintaining prominent popularity and striking his

local rivals and toppling them. However, when a person is excessively arousing his followers, keeping their basic primitive emotions floating on the surface of their actions or letting their id control and dominate their ego, an unpredicted hysterical, reckless and chaotic state could prevail, sabotaging and permanently damaging the Lebanese society. The prospect can be recognized vividly if one interprets the incident of displaying the caricature of Nasrallah on a comic Lebanese show; a simple, mundane and plain event that would not be taken seriously in any of the modernized societies, has dragged a serious mob reaction on behalf of Nasrallah's followers, since his divine, untouchable figure must not be touched. Corollary to that, Nasrallah appeared in a televised address asking the people to terminate reckless behavior. But aren't his speeches always stressing sanctifications and divine powers, catalyzing and promoting an image of Nasrallah as God's spokesman, which led to this reaction? If the comic show decided to play a different character, equally prominent on the religious level, would the reaction have been the same?

Stirring to Nasrallah's talent in connoting, labeling, titling and demonizing techniques, it is crucial to be more wary when using diverse arsenals adeptly, shunting from any prejudicial comparisons between his followers and other Lebanese citizens, to an exclusive usage against external enemies. When depicting his followers as most righteous, most honorable people, he is implicitly offending other opposing groups and this would widen the gap between two fellow citizens.

Moving to another recommendation, Nasrallah has wholesomely and shrewdly acquired his credibility. However, it is extremely tempting for the leader to take advantage of that reliability to disseminate some personal opinions provoking a national crisis. Credibility essentially differs from righteousness and integrity, since credibility is not an inherent value but

an achieved image; hence, a credible leader diverges from a righteous leader even if both acquire common values, thus the latter admits his misjudgments and tries to avoid their repercussions instead of defending them fluently, eloquently using his “divine inspirations” and professional-gathering intelligence to justify his actions.

Nasrallah’s rhetoric could be less authoritative and “divine” when referring to the Lebanese audience. His sharp edged gestures and intense voice should be spared to times of war and not when dealing with local political issues. His suggestions, like mine, should be implied in his rhetoric as recommendations or personal opinions, not imposed as legal decisions.

Nasrallah’s rhetoric could abide by some modernized and liberalized standards, tackling a multitude of topics, not just what is connected to religion and security, and should stress some unifying expressions and values more than religious verses and yarns. This could release the dogmatic followers from the pressure of an ideological template granting them liberty to select their beliefs, innovate and be creative as individuals.

Humanitarian aspects, democratic tolerance and flexibility is sometimes lacking in Nasrallah’s rhetoric, especially when he is basing his arguments on religious pillars. For example, the secretary-general’s most highlighted concept of martyrdom could be deemed simply as a brutal inhuman death in other cultures. Basing his interpretations on “the party of God is always vanquisher” rationale will terminate any chance of discordance, difference of opinions, critical opposition or fruitful dialogues. In other words, the concept of democracy would be annihilated from his rhetoric if he is following a religious rationale, an unbreakable dogma that cannot let Nasrallah to supposedly see that he might be mistaken.

Nasrallah’s rhetoric could be more inclusive, when encompassing more national issues, tackling prosperity, accountability, competences, merit system, reform, welfare state, equity,

convenient tax laws, democratic elections and less security issues, issues of deterrence, and defense and motivational rallying which are religiously guided.

As for the Lebanese audience, it is essential to acknowledge that the credible figures of leaders can be built on diversion and deception and high qualified propaganda techniques. Thus, they should be more analytical and selective, probing the latent content of the conveyed messages. "If you give a man the correct information for seven years, he may believe the incorrect information on the first day of the eighth year when it is necessary, from your point of view". (Qtd. in Jacobson, 2005, p.140)

Credibility is an indispensable component of persuasion and effective propaganda. Recognizing that fact, the audience should not generalize and take the credibility of a person as a whole. Each case should be interpreted on its own, since a credible leader possessing the trustworthiness and expertise could lack some integrity when it comes to sensitive, relevant interests or he can be biased and subjective, especially if he is religiously guided. Naturally, humans cannot be objective, since they are subjects holding a complex combination of emotions, instincts and psyche. Hence, credibility is not an ultimate concept that could be utterly acquired by a leader. It is a relative perception. Similarly, the truth can be seen subjectively from different angles according to a post-modern view. Thus, an individual should always doubt the allegations of leaders, especially the credible ones.

Advertising or commercial propaganda aims at promoting and selling commodities and services, utilizing the same logical echelon in media campaigns. However, the latter scheme includes, instead of leaders, marketing strategists who opt a prominent figure or a famous character, encompassing the right amount of expertise and experience that qualify the figure to acquire people's trust as an adept, skillful performer of a certain profession or as a master of a

specific field. Thus, the celebrity image reflecting certain credibility could be optimally invested by propagandists to launch an effective marketing campaign, persuading the people to buy a certain product by showing the targeted audience that credible figures are satisfied with the product, which should be recognized and deemed by the receivers as the “truth”. However, the material being promoted could be overestimated by the masses under the propaganda effects; hence, this rationale also applies to political leaders. The same logical, coherent template can be applied to Nasrallah, designating him as the credible figure invested voluntarily by the visionary strategist, Ali Khamenei, and the supreme guide of the Islamic Revolution in Iran; the recognized promoted material are the values and religious ideologies of the Islamic revolution covering all aspects of life. Before electing Nasrallah as secretary-general of Hezbollah, the dissemination of these convictions was limited to small, fanatic groups within the Shiite community. However, Nasrallah’s rise to power, showing a flawless paradigm of psychological media warfare based on a credible figure, provoked a widespread and a vague dissemination of Islamic revolution standards; consequently, Nasrallah achieved highly qualified reliability amid the Arab countries and leaders, especially after the July war in 2006. His progressive status allowed him to instill new concepts within several congregations of the Lebanese society and to defend his domestic and foreign allies efficiently against any accusations. Hence, Nasrallah has fully invested his knowledge and constancy to advocate what fits into his dogmatic system and whoever can adjust with his norms by his propagandist persuasive ability which mainly emanates from his well-designed credibility.

Tackling the subject from a different dimension, people, by nature, are deemed as utility-maximizers; hence, credible leaders could take advantage of their own image, reputation and

status to achieve more goals that could be estimated as “profitable” and “virtuous”, from their own personal interpretation of the truth.

The Lebanese audience should be more cultivated and aware of propaganda techniques used in peace and in war, to be capable of adjusting their opinions according to their knowledge of psychological media means.

No matter how skillful and sharp propaganda techniques are applied, it does not mean that the latter concept designates virtue and wickedness, righteousness and falsehood. It is simply a path that permits the propagator to disseminate his/her own views and beliefs. Thus, persuasion can vacillate between harmful manipulation and enlightening convictions according to the situation and the propagator’s intentions. Thus, credibility can be judged according to the context; it could be deemed as an optimal mixture of expertise and integrity or a perfect combination of deceiving proficiencies; unfortunately, in both cases, leaders, or better yet, humans, acquire certain trustworthiness. As Adolf Hitler once said, “By the skillful and sustained use of propaganda, one can make people see even heaven as hell or an extremely wretched life as paradise.” (Qtd. in Heininger, 2009, p.2)

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ANNEX 1: KEY CONCEPTS AND NOTIONS

- **Attributes:** characteristics of people or things
- **Causality:** There are three main criteria for causal relationships in social research: (1) the variables must be correlated, (2) the cause takes place before the effect, and (3) the variables are nonspurious.
- **Comparative research:** The examination of societies (or other social units) over time and in comparison with one another.
- **Content analysis:** The study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws.
- **Correlation:** An empirical relationship between two variables such that (1) changes in one are associated with changes in the other or (2) particular attributes of one variable are associated with particular attributes of the other. Correlation in and of itself does not constitute a causal relationship between the two variables, but it is one criterion of causality.
- **Dependent variable:** A variable assumed to depend on or be caused by another (called the independent variable).
- **Evaluation research:** Research undertaken for the purpose of determining the impact of some social intervention, such as program aimed at solving a social problem.

- **Hypothesis:** A specified testable expectation about empirical reality that follows from a more general proposition; more generally, an expectation about the nature of things derived from a theory. It is a statement of something that ought to be observed in the real world if the theory is correct.
- **Independent variable:** A variable with values that are not problematic in an analysis but are taken as simply given. An independent variable is presumed to cause or determine a dependent variable.
- **Inductive:** The logical model in which general principles are developed from the specific observations.
- **Qualitative analysis:** the nonnumerical examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships.
- **Nomothetic:** An approach in explanation in which we seek to identify a few causal factors that generally impact a class of conditions or events.
- **Variables:** Logical sets of attributes.