This bibliography lists 40 books and 18 periodical articles, published between 1954 and 1976, which deal with accountability and responsibility in governmental-political communication. Most of the works were written after 1970. The topics covered include: ethically suspect communication practices of the federal government, both prior to and during the Watergate era; ethics and techniques of political campaigning; research in political communication; presidential power and accountability; the ethics and control of propaganda; the philosophy of communication; and the communications structure in contemporary America. (GW)
ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN GOVERNMENTAL-POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: A SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Richard L. Johannesen

Thomas Farrell

BOOKS


An insightful treatment of the legal issues raised by citizen group attempts to achieve access to the media. Barron's documentation of media restriction is selective, but strong.


Bernstein, Carl and Bob Woodward. All the President's Men, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

Perhaps the paradigm journalistic inquiry into the Nixon administration's use and mis-management of the media.


An equally definitive, though more controversial, account of the last days in the public life of the Nixon administration documented above. Both works are interesting not only as popular history, but also as illustrations of positivistic assumptions about "facts" and acts of "faith" in selective, self-serving sources.


A useful volume, containing integrated summaries of the most promising recent empirical research. Both the editor and the authors of separate studies acknowledge that the cumulative impact of such research is hampered due to the lack of a refined conceptual base.


An ambitious attempt to create an inclusive cybernetic model of political communication, complete with loosely operationalized notions like consciousness, integrity, evil, love, curiosity and grace. Nonetheless, its problems are instructive for the attempt to attribute responsibility to an empirically localized phenomenon.

Originally published in 1927; this work offers a pragmatically defined conception of communication and public responsibility. The progressive democratic assumptions are dated, but the definitions and argument remain strong.


The ethics of propaganda are discussed on pages xv, xvii, 27, 38, 166-70, 174-175, 197, 217, and 250.


A broad-based analysis and attack mounted against the various "myths" pervading post-Industrial democracy, i.e. that all problems are political, that the populace controls decision-making, etc. Chapter III, "Politics in the World of Images" is particularly relevant to issues of accountability.


A radical and somewhat romantic critique of the media's inclusive, consciousness-formation powers. Raises some inadvertent, but important questions of access and the control of propaganda.


In this fascinating sourcebook of examples, the former director of the non-partisan Fair Campaign Practices Committee examines the ethics of political campaigning.


A theoretical critique of the moral neutrality aims of contemporary political science. Chapters four and five provide helpful summaries of the methodological problems faced by the attribution of moral responsibility.


Details government efforts to inform the public about national security matters with good contemporary examples. Goulding was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs under McNamara and Clifford. Not an apologia.


Describing himself as a "marxist outlaw," Gouldner explores the procedures by which ideology becomes institutionalized in post-Industrial society. The analysis is dialectical, and the implications, while occasionally obscure, are provocative. Chapters 4 and 5 ("The Communications Revolution: News, Public, and Ideology," and "From the Chicago School to the Frankfurt School," are particularly relevant.


A classic manuscript, setting forth the theory of conversational implicature. This theory regards certain assumptions of clarity, order, relevance, and so forth as analytic to our conventional understanding of communication. With modest extension, these assumptions may be useful as criteria for the assessment of responsibility.


One of the few indispensable works in the philosophy of communication. Habermas critiques systems theory as insufficient to account for the existence of crises, turns to a reconstituted theory of communication as action in order to supplement the systems view, and renders decision-making elite and media accountable to the membership of social systems for the generation of meaning sufficient to earn public consensus.


The author explores the decline of confidence in truthfulness in public communication, explains seven perspectives for ethical evaluation (religious, legal, utilitarian, political, ontological, dialogical, situational), discusses twelve basic ethical issues, and presents fourteen examples for analysis. An appendix reprints four complete ethical case studies and a bibliography contains over 180 items.

A documented indictment of the federal executive branch (pre-Watergate era) for lying, unwarranted secrecy, and misleading news manipulation.


An extremely useful study with concrete illustrations of Governmental violations, as well as principles which explain them.


The classic and now-controversial study by America's foremost philosopher of journalism. Argues that the American public (circa 1952) had become too powerful, preempting the initiative and freedom of the executive branch. McGeorge Bundy is acknowledged for "his very helpful criticism of the text."


Though Marxist in its origin and overly programmatic in execution, Marković's treatise offers a direct assault on the assumption that accountability cannot be institutionalized.


A cogent analysis of distorted communication. Another offshoot of the Frankfurt school, Mueller's treatment of directed, arrested, and constrained communication suggests many contemporary parallels. The applications of Mueller's categories are politically partisan, however.


A provocative blend of the political, dialogical, and ontological perspectives for judging the ethics of public and interpersonal communication.


The standard campaign communication textbook, Nimmo's study of campaign management and public relations techniques is particularly insightful.

Perhaps written for a broader audience than *The Political Persuaders*, this work nonetheless documents the increasingly sophisticated image-foundation of contemporary political communication.


Chapters 29 and 33 examine ethical standards.


Park's doctoral dissertation (1904) recently reprinted. Along with Dewey's early work (*op cit.*), a seminal treatise on the foundation of consensus politics and collective interest.


A collection of recent work by British analytic philosophers on political theory. Chapter II, "Politics, Philosophy, and Ideology," by Partridge, and Barry's essays (on the "Public Interest," and the "Common Good") are relevant to the assessment of responsibility.


Contains a number of essays which examine ethical issues related to contemporary use and abuse of discourse in political communication.


Another recent treatise from the Frankfurt School, this work is among the clearer expositions of Habermas, and an unusually explicit critique of the communications structure in contemporary America.


The long-awaited ethical implication of McLuhan's communication theory. Schwartz argues that the concept of "truth-telling," is a "print ethic"—rather than a standard for ethical conduct in electronic media, such as political and commercial advertising on television.


Among other things, one of the foremost analytic explorations of responsibility attributions. The argument in section 8 on "deriving is from ought" has been subjected to thorough criticism. But it is at least a useful precedent.


Among essays included are those by such scholars as Jurgen Ruesch, Anatol Rapoport, Hugh D. Duncan, J.L.L. Aranguren, Martin E. Marty, Kenneth Boulding, William Stephenson, Frank E.X. Danice, Lee Thayer, and Kenneth Burke.


A series of essays sharing a common starting point: i.e. that authority is consensually based. Chapter 1 ("The Obligation to Disobey," and chapter X ("The Problem of Citizenship," are particularly insightful groundings of responsibility.


A pre-Watergate analysis of varied ethically suspect communication practices of the Federal government.


A partisan, but well-documented indictment of American intelligence gathering, and law-enforcement agencies.

PERIODICA LS and ESSAYS


Through a metaphorical prism, Brockriede characterizes three perspectives of a communicator toward an audience: rape, seduction, and love. Examines the ethical orientation of each type of communication.

An adaptation of Burke's pentad as a framework for moral assessment of rhetorical communication.


A useful overview of several definitional perspectives on political communication.


The central ethical standard advocated here is promotion of full confrontation of opposing opinions, arguments, and information relevant to decision-making.


An attempt to locate rhetoric through a type of consensus presumed to be held by the rhetorical audience; an exploration of the moral impulse behind this consensus.


An analysis and critique of two instances of political communication praxis: the pragmatic and incrementalist. Each rule-governed matrix of thought is probed for its moral implications and heuristic value.


The authors suggest ethical guidelines to govern statements by government officials which might impair citizens' rights of freedom of expression.


The basic ethical standard promoted here is the degree to which a persuasive technique enhances or undermines the human capacity to reason.


As ethical standards essential to a healthy political system, Hook suggests ten ground rules of controversy in a democracy.


While the entire issue is fascinating, the essays by Dworkin ("Paternalism"), Golding ("Obligations to Future Generations"), and McGinn ("Prestige and the Logic of Political Argument") are especially pertinent.


Moran's guidelines for distinguishing genuine communication from pseudocommunication also can be viewed as standards for determining ethicality in political communication.


Nilsen attempts to delineate the values essential to representative democracy and suggests their use as ethical criteria for evaluating political campaign communication.


Rogge argues that criteria for ethical assessment vary as factors in the specific speech situation vary, as the urgency for implementation of the speaker's proposal varies and as the leadership role of the speaker varies.


A content analysis which provides insight into citizens' perceptions of ethical and unethical campaign persuasion.


Based upon an analysis of fundamental democratic values, Wallace advocates four ethical guidelines for assessing
White discusses major categories for what he believes are ethical and unethical propaganda appeals.