This collection of abstracts is part of a continuing series providing information on recent doctoral dissertations. The 26 titles deal with the following topics: United States Presidential rhetoric; the public speaking of David O. McKay; rhetorical analyses of the crisis in Northern Ireland; of the Americanization of the Zionist movement from 1896 to 1918; and of Julia S. Tutwiler's speeches; enthymeme and metaphor in the rhetoric of the restoration movement in the United States, 1800 to 1830; a rhetorical study of legislative hearings; a rhetorical-humanistic analysis of the relationship between First Ladies and the way women find a place in society; the rhetorical strategies of Margaret Sanger, of Benjamin Elijah Mays, and of Meir Kahane and the Jewish Defense League; Richard H. Weaver's unpublished works; a rhetorical evaluation of the 1976 Democratic convention keynote addresses; the Reverend Ian R.K. Paisley and status quo discourse; the speeches of William L. Garrison; the rhetoric of the United States space program in the Eisenhower years; the public controversy over the Panama Canal treaties; a dramatistic examination of an organization's changing image; Cesar Chavez's nonverbal communication and nonviolence, and public opinion; the rhetorical vision of the "Christian Science Monitor," 1898 to 1910; a rhetorical study of Lew Sarett; a symbolic analysis of the print image of Henry Kissinger; and the rhetoric of radical feminism. (FL)
Rhetoric and Public Address:

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Weiss, Tracey Bernstein
THE RHETORIC OF RADICAL FEMINISM: A PENTADIC ANALYSIS OF THE INCEPTION OF A RHETORICAL MOVEMENT

Workman, Randall Herman
LYNDON B. JOHNSON AND VIETNAM: THE RHETORICAL INFLUENCE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER
This study is an analysis of presidential rhetoric and its effect on the maintenance of a foreign policy consensus. The rhetoric of Dwight D. Eisenhower was chosen because, for the most part, rhetorical scholarship has ignored the Eisenhower style. Foreign policy regarding the Middle East was selected because of its general continuity during the Eisenhower Administration.

The constraints on the Eisenhower rhetoric, including his background, his rhetorical training, his concept of leadership, and his attitude toward politics, are traced and developed for their impact on his rhetorical choices. The rhetorical nature of the United States Presidency is also examined.

The problems of the Middle East confronted by the Eisenhower Administration are portrayed through an historical analysis of the area and its conflicts. This analysis shows the reader that the problems facing Eisenhower were indeed rhetorical, that solutions to the Middle Eastern conflicts could not be manufactured overnight, and that Eisenhower would have to rely on words more than acts to convince the American people that their country's policy in the Middle East was viable.

The rhetoric employed by Eisenhower in dealing with the Middle East is examined along with the political climate including Congressional and public attitudes; these attitudes are examined for their effect on the Eisenhower rhetoric.

The Eisenhower rhetoric is subjected to a non-traditional, historical-rhetorical criticism and a more traditional Aristotelian analysis. Because of the nature of Presidential rhetoric and the difficulty in source attribution, the non-traditional analysis was applied to an effort to measure the success of presidential rhetoric rather than trying to assess its content. The traditional analysis was applied to see what conclusions could be drawn about stylistic consistency in Presidential rhetoric.

Eisenhower assumed four rhetorical postures in dealing with the Middle East: reduction, generalization, emotion, and action-justification. These four postures allowed him to restore confidence in a foreign policy that was under attack from the Democrats and greeted with skepticism by the people.

Eisenhower was able to maintain the consensus on foreign policy in the Middle East because of his own ethos with the electorate. Because the people wanted to believe him, he had the opportunity to minimize embarrassing situations while taking very positive actions.

Presidential rhetoric needs to be analyzed as the product and process of a group of people. Such a rhetorical perspective offers the scholar an opportunity to validate much of the theory relative to audience analysis and persuasion.
Easter season of 1974, emerges as the Republican anecdote; while the Reverend Ian Paisley's "A Call to the Protestants of Ulster", delivered to his congregation in the early months of 1975, represents the Loyalist perspective.

Rhetorical criticism demands evaluation of acts; and Chapter Five considers the consequences of the ideological positions concluding that no dialectical transcendence of dramatic transformation is likely in Northern Ireland. Both cultures' ideologies are characteristic of those associated with regressive movements, those which find their salvation in adherence to an idealized view of the past and both extort what Richard Weaver described as a "tyrannizing" force over the cultural elements and individuals within them. The result is that the rhetoric expressing Loyalist and Republican ideology functions to perpetuate cultural forms which bear little relation to the surrounding scenic conditions and which deny the humanity of those caught within those images during questioning periods that move toward dialectic transcendence which traps Northern Ireland as a prisoner of its own history and, consequently, of its own rhetoric.

The comprehensive rhetorical strategy of the movement represented a religious program indigenous to the American frontier. The primary spokesmen of the early movement were Barton Stone, Thomas Campbell, and Alexander Campbell. Together they formulated a religious program seeking the restoration of New Testament Christianity, the union of all believers, and, ultimately, the conversion of the world.

The principal objective of the study is reconstructive and interpretive. It attempts to search out the full meaning of the Christian union rhetoric of the Restoration movement, seeking to discover patterns of attitudes of the spokesmen, and of the audience as perceived by the spokesmen, as they are reflected in the message itself.

Methodology is both historical and critical. The analytical tools are fundamentally two, the rhetorical modes of enthymeme and metaphor. The study examines both explicit and implicit attitudes through the interpretation of repeatedly and consistently selected enthymemes and metaphors. It proceeds upon the assumption that an interpretive analysis of clusters or patterns of enthymemes and metaphors within discourse may be posited as evidence of existing attitudes.

The analysis of the enthymematic and metaphorical patterns of the Restoration rhetoric revealed both a rhetoric of offense and a rhetoric of attack. The former supported revealed religion, and the latter opposed ecclesiasticism. Stone and the Campbells gathered philosophical support for their program from both the Scottish common sense philosophy of Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart, and from the natural rights philosophy of John Locke. They found theological support for their plea in the rigid biblicism of mainline, as well as sectarian, Protestant principles.

Several presumptions formed the foundation of the stated and implied attitudes of the movement. Often these presumptions were without sufficient substantiation. Many of the rhetorical themes of the movement were, however, well adapted to the general ideology of the frontier, themes similar to those addressed in both social and political arenas. As the appeal of Stone and the Campbells reflected attitudes consistent with the themes of freedom, individualism, simplicity, and others, the religious community of the frontier began to view the Restoration movement as a viable option in which to place its allegiance.

The comprehensive rhetorical strategy of the movement embraced a triad of restoration, union, and conversion as sequential objectives. The simplicity of this strategy led eventually to the failure of the proposed program. The absence of a clear, concrete, and practical plan was its major weakness.

Both Stone and the Campbells recognized that the success of their program required rhetorical effectiveness. They viewed the rhetoric of the written message as most crucial to the promotion of their objectives. Through their respective periodicals and publications the rationale and apology for Christian union was scattered to religious audiences throughout the western frontier. Their audience was wide and diverse and required complicated rhetorical analysis and adaptation. Eventually, the movement found itself unable to successfully adapt its program to the complexities of American religion. Nonetheless, the enthymemes and metaphors chosen by Stone and the Campbells in the early decades of the movement revealed attitudes, and provided data to better understand the strategy and the appeals, and as the ideological substructure, of the Restoration plea for Christian union.

ENVIRONMENT AND COMMUNICATION: A RHETORICAL STUDY OF LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS

Davis, Kristine Marie Dieter, Ph.D. The University of Iowa, 1978. 273pp. Supervisor: Associate Professor Bruce E. Gronbeck

This dissertation attempted to explore environmental shaping of discourse and, in so doing, to provide a basic description of communication in legislative hearings. Characteristics of the working environments of the House Ways and Means Committee, the Senate Finance Committee, and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Health were developed, based upon knowledge of the committees' rules, norms, member goals, and sources of external pressure. Transcripts of forty-eight sessions of the 1971 hearings on national health insurance were examined by means of a formal content analysis of even attributes of members' utterances were investigated: type, thrust, valence, time focus, problem/solution orientation, audience, and topic. Results were reviewed both for similarities among committees and for differences which might be explained, at least in part, by environmental variations between them.

Legislative hearings were shown to differ from appropriations and investigative hearings in terms of their lesser focus on past events, infrequent references to members' home states or districts, and lower proportions of directed questions. On the whole, legislative hearing communication was characterized by a high number of assertions, an emphasis on clarification and elaboration, a slightly negative tone on substantive matters, a relatively balanced attention to problems and solutions, a preoccupation with the present, a low degree of attention to external audiences, specific questioning, and little coloquialism. These findings suggested that members tried to maintain the initiative in their interactions, and that hearings were not argumentative, and that information-gathering in hearings may be a verifying rather than a discovery function. The predominant function of the hearings for the committees as a whole appeared to be record building; members seemed primarily concerned with constructing a sourcebook for use in discussions to come.

Explorations of differences between committees revealed that some salient factors may have some, if minor, explanatory power in accounting for disparities in member commentary. While not all working hypotheses were confirmed, several relationships were found: (1) Seniority, apprenticeship, and specialization norms may help explain variations in member participation. (2) Specialization also may be associated with type and thrust of utterances. (3) Nonpartisanship norms may guide opinion and attitude expression. (4) Member goals may be related to the temporal and problem/solution orientation. (5) Impulses and utterances may assist in explaining apparent audience variations. Patterns observed across committees, as well as variations found between them, indicated that the types of witnesses appearing at sessions may be related to variations in the nature of member remarks. Location also appeared as a guide to the character of hearing discourse. Field sessions were more controlled than Washington sessions; specific questions predominated, simple response units were frequent, and procedural remarks were high. Discussion focused on past and
The increasing interest in political communication has been paralleled by a concern with the use of misrepresentative or deceptive language by political elites including the President of the United States. This study elucidates the phenomenon of misrepresentative or deceptive language in politics by identifying the social and political conditions under which it might be related. A review of the literature suggests that discourse in American politics may be characterized by a high-point of controversy within the Jewish community regarding the acceptance and rejection of the movement. In this study, Americanization has been defined in two respects: changes in the original European values and appeals of the movement and the ability to attract a large number of followers in the United States.

The methodology used in this study was inductive criticism. Adaptation of an approach suggested by Golden and Reike, the study assumed that Zionism was a movement and attempted to explain the rhetorical components of the movement related to Americanization. The generalizations presented at the end of the study stress two points. First, they focus on a movement which arose in one scene but was transplanted to another. Second, they emphasize the notion of identifying a vision in examining the rhetorical components of a movement.

The purpose of this study has been to provide a rhetorical analysis of the Americanization of the Zionist movement between 1898-1918. Periodization of the study proceeded from the assumption that the era from 1898 to 1918 represents a time of considerable change for American Zionism, encompassing a high-point of controversy within the Jewish community regarding the acceptance and rejection of the movement. In this study, Americanization has been defined in two respects: changes in the original European values and appeals of the movement and the ability to attract a large number of followers in the United States.

The methodology used in this study was inductive criticism. Adapting an approach suggested by Golden and Reike, the study assumed that Zionism was a movement and attempted to explain the rhetorical components of the movement related to Americanization. The generalizations presented at the end of the study stress two points. First, they focus on a movement which arose in one scene but was transplanted to another. Second, they emphasize the notion of identifying a vision in examining the rhetorical components of a movement.
Concerning their image of womanhood, we become confused. Garvey, Barbara Oney, Ph.D. The Ohio State University, 1978. 371pp. Adviser: Professor John J. Makay.

In her popular song, "I Am Woman," Helen Reddy wrote that women were redefining their place in society. However, if we look at all the different statements women are making concerning their image of womanhood, we become confused about what it means to be a woman in 1978. Supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment argue that the amendment is the best of the "American Way," but the opponents of the ERA argue that the passage of the amendment will be the downfall of American society. Not only have women like Phyllis Schaffly and Marabel Morgan formed women's groups to counteract the National Organization of Women (NOW), but the women within NOW disagree about how radical the movement should be. Perhaps nothing is more indicative of the lack of agreement among women about their place in society than the 1977 Women's Year Conference. Sociologists, political scientists, and women's leaders noted that the conference accomplished far less than had been hoped because women failed to agree on what their problems were, let alone what the solutions were.

The one thing that women seem to agree upon is the admiration they feel for First Ladies, past and present. Each year our First Ladies rank in the top ten positions in polls concerning who women most admire. The initial assumption for the dissertation study was that relationships between the image a First Lady has of herself as a woman and the image an American woman holds of her place in society. In the first stage of the study, the rhetorical stage, I analyzed the written material about the First Ladies from Mamie Eisenhower to Rosalynn Carter--autobiographies, biographies, magazines, and newspapers. In the second stage of the study, the humanistic stage, I used a repertory grid and focused interview technique on 50 women of all ages, education levels, social backgrounds, and economic status to determine how the women defined their place in society by the way they talked about being a woman.

In the final stage of the study I considered the recent more realistic portrayal of First Ladies and its impact on to "-"s woman"s search for a definition of womanhood. Although the study offers some interesting observations about First Ladies, the main concern of the study is understanding the confusion most women feel about their definition of womanhood.

As the result of the study, I found that there was a gradual change in the kind of vision of womanhood the First Ladies presented to American women. Although the vision of devoted mother and political wife permeated throughout the media discussions of all the First Ladies, Mamie Eisenhower's total dependence upon her husband was very different from Rosalynn Carter's acknowledged partnership with her husband. The results from the Repertory Grids and Focused Interviews suggested that even though American women are beginning to consider participating in society in less traditional ways, their emphasis also is upon behavioral concerns (strength, helpfulness, honesty, manners, not intellectual or philosophical concerns). However, future generations of women and future First Ladies may soon be redefining their images. College women, the youngest group of women interviewed, are less bound to traditional expectations of marriage and motherhood than were their mothers and grandmothers. Also, with the recent recognition of the troubled lives of the past First Ladies, as well as the acknowledged accomplishments of the more active First Ladies, the position of First Lady may, in the future, be defined outside of the private sphere of wife and mother. Perhaps the truly activist First Lady can serve as a more realistic model for the American woman than the image of the First Lady as a devinely happy wife and an all-knowing mother. 


Benjamin Elijah Mays (1894-1982), President of Morehouse College from 1940 to 1967, active civil rights advocate, and member of the Atlanta School Board since 1969, helped in focusing attention on the need for implementing social change in the structure of American society. Initially Mays spoke from the church pulpit but as his popularity as a public speaker increased in the Fifties and Sixties, he spoke at many colleges and universities to advance his plea for social change. Hence, this study reports, describes and evaluates the ceremonial speaking of Mays from 1954 to 1975. It focuses specifically upon six commencement addresses and three eulogies.
Serving as a background for the analysis of Mays speaking, chapters include information about his early family life, his education, his speech training, and his professional career. The rhetorical analysis of the nine selected speeches takes into account the speaker, his speech, his audience, and the occasion. Finally, an appraisal is made of the man and his effectiveness as a ceremonial speaker.

Mays was always eager to give an address so that he could dramatize the plight of the needy and subsequently set into motion his pleas for social change. In his speeches he attempted to discuss the major social problems in the United States. Mays pleaded for peace among nations, aid for the impoverished, harmony between races, and justice for the oppressed. In the same way Mays was responsive in accepting speaking engagements, his early speech training disciplined him to be equally earnest in the preparation and delivery of his speeches. His ministerial training prepared him to speak to diverse listeners. Mays preferred a formal speech structure to assure clarity of ideas; and he appealed mainly to self-esteem, ethnocentrism, and fair play to achieve his goals. These appeals to the conscience resulted in a speaking popularity desired by many black speakers.

Mays was effective in speaking to audiences on sensitive social issues at a time when discussion created bitter opposition. In short, Mays was popular because of his ability to identify with his cause and because of his experience and authority in dealing truthfully and unselfishly with the prevailing social issues of the day.

RHETORIC AND CULTURE: A CRITICAL EDITION OF RICHARD M. WEAVER'S UNPUBLISHED WORKS

GOODNIGHT, Gerald Thomas, Ph.D. University of Kansas, 1978. 8 11pp.

Richard M. Weaver's popular success as a leader of the conservative cause and his profound influence with important areas of twentieth century rhetoric are two factors which when studied in conjunction, reveal profound insights into the development of American culture. It is the purpose of the present study, by referring to works Weaver was near completing toward the end of his career, to give a detailed account of Weaver's writings as an historian, critic, teacher and advocate of conservative political philosophy.

The primary sources of this study is a body of manuscripts, speeches and lectures by Richard M. Weaver which may be located in a collection at Vanderbilt University, but attention has been paid to the broad corpus of critical essays, book reviews, and longer works available in published form. Chapter I, introductory in nature, discusses the procedure for editing the works and the general format of the study. Chapter II constructs an interpretative format for presenting Weaver's unpublished works in relation to his broader concerns with culture. Chapter III presents essays on American and British culture; Chapter IV, speeches on behalf of the Conservative cause; Chapter V, lectures and miscellaneous papers. Chapter VI summarizes Weaver's position as rhetorician and teacher. Thus, this study aims to make available Weaver's works and thoughts as they neared completion toward the end of his career.

A RHETORICAL EVALUATION OF THE 1976 DEMOCRATIC KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

GREEN, Earnestine, Ph.D. The Ohio State University, 1978. 154pp. Adviser: Professor Goodwin F. Berquist

This study was designed to evaluate the 1976 Democratic keynote addresses to determine if they were effective, which was more effective, and to account for the difference. To facilitate the process, the writer also examined addresses from 1960-1972 to determine their role. Those findings, along with the assessment of the 1976 addresses, were compared to the function of pre-1960 keynote addresses, as pinpointed by other writers.

Barbara Jordan and John Glenn were the keynoters in 1976. To conceptualize the many circumstances to which their rhetoric responded, Lloyd Bitzer's approach was used. Bitzer suggested that because rhetoric occurs in situations where solutions are wanted and where the exigences of the situation can be modified or changed by discourse, the critic should seek out and examine exigences for change. Consequently, the writer viewed the speakers and the audience as humanly responsive entities in the situation and observed that the situation as a whole had brought into force opportunities and limitations within which and through which Jordan and Glenn had to work in order to be effective. Secondly, because keynote speeches belong to that class of oratory known as epidictic, the speeches were measured against a values criteria.

Seven objectives served as the framework for the study. The writer sought to determine the following:

- To what degree do contemporary keynote addresses (1960 and after) conform to the traditional role of keynote addresses?
THE REVEREND IAN R. K. PAISLEY: A CASE STUDY IN STATUS QUO DISCOURSE

HALE, Carolyn Mae, Ph.D. The University of Oklahoma, 1978. 98pp. Major Professor: Paul A. Barfield

This study was concerned with the nature, function, scope, and role of revolutionary discourse in social change. To accomplish this purpose the study focussed on a single national situation and a central character within that context, and analysed Irish revolutionary conflict as both social and political context, concentrating on the pivotal role of Reverend Ian Paisley's work. Specifically, the study investigated Reverend Ian Paisley's "revolutionary" discourse as it impacted upon social change in Northern Ireland from 1968-1976. One initial qualification is crucial, however; as the research progressed it became increasingly evident that Reverend Paisley, although working in a revolutionary context and using revolutionary tactics, was not revolutionary per se. Quite the contrary, his work was found to represent a highly volatile and successful form of status quo discourse. From the perspective of the hegemony status quo defense, however, there developed a unique and productive perspective for studying the interaction of the diverse conflicting groups in Northern Ireland.

This purpose was operationalized in the three central questions and thesis of the study: (1) How can one best characterize the diverse competitive forces struggling to determine the future of Northern Ireland? (2) How does Ian Paisley fit into this context? (3) What are the sources of Ian Paisley's effectiveness? Two general theses were demonstrated: (1) A thematic analysis of Ian Paisley's rhetoric clearly depicted the portions of the diverse forces in contemporary Northern Ireland. (2) An analysis of the rhetorical strategies and tactics used by Ian Paisley demonstrated the interactive patterns of the diverse forces in contemporary Northern Ireland.

A STUDY OF THE RHETORIC OF THE UNITED STATES SPACE PROGRAM CONFLICT DURING THE EISENHOWER YEARS, 1957-1961

HAUSHALTER, Warren Bruce, Ph.D. Northwestern University, 1978. 314pp. Chairman: David Harris

The purpose of this study was to determine through rhetorical analysis the nature of the United States space program conflict during the Eisenhower years of 1957 to 1961. Special attention was given to the competing arguments and rhetorical strategies developed and utilized by those individuals and groups advocating President Eisenhower's long haul approach to United States space exploration and those individuals and groups advocating a more urgent, vigorous and spectacular approach to national space exploration. The study identifies and evaluates the rhetorical choices made by the proponents of the two diametrically opposed approaches as these proponents argued for acceptance of their respective positions.

One of the key emphases in the analysis was upon the preemptive choices made by President Eisenhower as he employed the gatekeeping and agenda-setting functions of the Presidency to encourage acceptance of his national space program approach. The analysis also demonstrates the manner in which President Eisenhower, his administration and his space program supporters gained commitment for his approach and the reasons for his insistence on that approach. The analysis evaluates the degree to which the Eisenhower program advocates were successful and offers reasons for their success. The study also evaluates the degree of success of the vigorous space program advocates and the reasons for their relative lack of success in gaining commitment to their approach. Substantial discussion focuses on the rhetorical choices made by these Eisenhower space program opponents.

The analysis begins by providing evaluation of the rhetorical situation as it existed just after the October 4, 1957 launching of the first Russian sputnik and the early rhetorical choices made by President Eisenhower. The beginning portion of the study also identifies the early rhetorical choices made by the Eisenhower approach opposition. The analysis focuses on the changing rhetorical situation between 1957 and 1961 as it proceeds to discuss the responses made by the Eisenhower space program advocates and the vigorous space program advocates. In part the analysis centers on the changes in emphasis which evolved in the United States space program conflict as a result of increased participation and public speaking by a broad range of politicians, scientists, industrialists, private citizens and competing agencies, councils and committees.

It was found that President Eisenhower was highly effective in using the gatekeeping and agenda-setting functions of the Presidency to promote his long haul approach to United States space program development and to gain support for that approach.
President Eisenhower achieved his success by effectively using executive branch prerogatives by creating new agencies, councils, and committees to support his approach and also by diminishing the effectiveness of new space program advocates by impeding and preventing the development of cohesive organizational structures which could have been used by the opposition to promote their viewpoints and approach. Suggestions are provided which in retrospect could have improved the opposition's chances of success. The election year 1960 is analyzed from the perspective of the impact of the space program conflict on the presidential election campaign and the impact of the election campaign on the space program conflict.

Finally, the analysis focuses on the transitional period after the 1960 election during which President Eisenhower and his approach advocates continued to use the office of the Presidency to develop and implement space policy supportive of his long haul approach. This period was characterized by early evidence that the Kennedy administration would establish a space program with a new approach by creating new approaches and the impetus of the election campaign on the space program year 1960 is analyzed from the perspective of the impact of the space program conflict on the presidential election campaign and the impact of the election campaign on the space program conflict.

The purpose of this study was to criticize public rhetoric surrounding the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties. The study examined public rhetoric dating from May 1978 through April 1979. The study analyzed the three rhetorical visions generating public dramas with respect to the canal treaties; (2) examines the elements of these visions' responses to the canal controversy; and (3) examines reasons for the success of the power politics rhetorical vision.

The Panama Canal controversy is considered a watershed issue capable of shaping public attitudes on a variety of foreign policy issues. The study begins by analyzing the Cold War rhetorical vision which engaged the vast majority of Americans until the public rejection of the Vietnam War. Next the development of the competing power politics and new world order visions which set the scene for the public discussion of the canal treaties is explained.

The Cold War drama, which seemed to be fading in light of public rejection of the Vietnam War, was again an influential public force. This vision depicted Panama as a scene in an ongoing conspiratorial drama and cast the Panamanian leaders as dopes or conspirators. Returning the canal to the Panamanians was condemned as an act of appeasement which would further these conspiratorial demands. Cold War dramatists depicted the canal as an important symbol of American power and achievement and believed that the canal was in fact American property. Surrendering American property would merely increase the conspiratorial demands for more concessions.

The new world order rhetorical vision emphasized that people were basically good and essentially alike. The source of conflict in the world was the tendency of governments to disregard the will of the people and engage in immoral confrontations. War was condemned, and new world order visionaries emphasized that it was avoidable if nations acted morally. Panama was depicted as a scene in which the United States had acted immorally from the very beginning. The 1903 treaty had been unfairly negotiated and therefore must be retracted by the passage of new agreements which would return the canal to Panama. These visionaries dramatized that the United States had never possessed a legitimate claim to the canal and that attempting to cling to the existing immoral relationship would provoke a bloody confrontation.

The power politics rhetorical vision dramatized a world of competing nation states all seeking to satisfy their own selfish objectives. Conflict was endemic to such a world and avoidable only by skilled professional negotiators who met in secrecy attempting to mediate differences and form agreements among nations. The canal confrontation, according to the power politics drama, was a scene where conflict could be avoided by reaching agreements mutually satisfying to both the United States and Panama. The United States must win assurances of continued access and the Panamanians must secure control of the canal. The form of the agreement was secondary to the substance. The potential gains to the United States from ratifying new treaties outweighed the risks and mandated American action. Ratification of new treaties was dramatized as likely to improve the United States' relationships throughout the world. Failure to ratify might lead to the destruction of the waterway by sabotage and worsened foreign relations.

An examination of the three visions operating in the canal controversy reveals that power politics vison(s) might shape future foreign policy rhetoric.

A DRAMATISTIC EXAMINATION OF CHANGING IMAGE: THE AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION 1931-1938

The Air Line Pilots Association was founded in 1931 due to discontent caused by changes in commercial aviator wage scales. Between 1933 and 1938, ALPA leaders conducted the public speaking campaigns during which they defended pilots' economic interests and strove to improve safety in commercial aviation. A result of their campaigns was the legalization of a wage formula, elements of which determine airline pilot pay to this day. The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the public speaking of the Air Line Pilots Association as it pertained to the changing image of the airline pilot.

Generalizations concerning the ALPA campaigns were derived from the application and testing of a method of criticism based upon theories of Kenneth Boulding and Kenneth Burke. Boulding argued that our subjective knowledge or image is formed by message systems. Congruent with this claim is Burke's contention that our interpretation of existence is one with our symbolicity. Intrinsic to Burke's semantical and rhetorical theory is his argument that identification with messages within language as symbolic action is a cause of persuasion. In this study, a salient image was traced through examination of messages. It was shown that identification with arguments based upon that image were persuasive. Since speakers consistently based arguments upon an identifiable image over a period of time, the sum of such appeals comprised campaigns. Concepts of Leland Griffin were combined with those of Leonard Binder to isolate the campaign nature of ALPA speaking. It was argued that ALPA campaign speech contained the elements of a movement.

The basis for rhetorical criticism in this study was the recognition and description of the airline pilot image as developed in Chapter II. The image contained the elements of a movement. In this study, a salient image was traced through examination of messages. It was shown that identification with arguments based upon that image were persuasive. Since speakers consistently based arguments upon an identifiable image over a period of time, the sum of such appeals comprised campaigns. Concepts of Leland Griffin were combined with those of Leonard Binder to isolate the campaign nature of ALPA speaking. It was argued that ALPA campaign speech contained the elements of a movement.

The first campaign was caused by a labor dispute with the Century Air Lines. The second was caused by discontent concerning changes in the pilots' pay scale by five major airlines. This is discussed in Chapter IV, "The Campaign for Decision 83 of the National Labor Board." Through examination of speaking in six hearings. It was concluded that a public speaking strategy based upon a salient image can be successfully conducted throughout a campaign which is a process of development and change toward a predetermined end.
The third campaign was discussed in Chapter V, "The Campaign for Protective Legislation." The ALPA succeeded in the legalization of the Decision 83 pay scale through reference first in the Air Mail Act of 1934 and later in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938. To achieve these goals, ALPA speakers endorsed appropriate aspects of pilot image at different times. Chapter V offered final proof that Burkelian identification with arguments based upon a salient image is a cause of persuasion.

Chapter VI summarized findings about ALPA speaking and offered suggestions for rhetorical criticism of imagic campaigns.

**THE SOCIAL FASTS OF CESAR CHAVEZ: A CRITICAL STUDY OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION, NONVIOLENCE, AND PUBLIC OPINION**

**HARRIS, Paul Anthony, Ph.D.** University of Southern California, 1978. Chairman: Professor McBeth

The general purpose of the study was to describe and evaluate Cesar Chavez's social fasts as types of nonverbal communication often used for the expression of nonviolence in the formation of public opinion. This overall purpose was divided into two constituent questions: (1) What was the nonverbal-communicative nature and probable influence of Chavez's social fasts on relevant public opinion? (2) What were apparent relationships between Chavez's fasts and his advocacy of nonviolence as a principle of social action?

The study provides a comprehensive survey of social fasts and hunger strikes as a context for analyzing Cesar Chavez's fasts. Viewing social fasting as a form of nonverbal communication, the study evaluates fasting as a means of expressing the social philosophy of nonviolence in order to influence public opinion.

Methodological procedures and techniques included a review of the literature from 1800 to the present, collection of research data from various printed sources, an interview with Cesar Chavez, and a critical analysis of the data. The interviews with Chavez employed an open-ended interrogation.

The study revealed a lack of systematic research into social fasting, although it has been a significant means of influencing public opinion from about 1900 to the present. The practice is both an expression of Cesar Chavez's philosophy of nonviolence and a principal means of his social influence. The most widely known contemporary practitioner of the fast as an instrument of persuasion, Chavez's fasts illuminate the social, psychological, and philosophical aspects of fasting. Fasting as a technique of persuasion tends to be employed when social issues, movements, or individual situations have become desperate for those involved. It is an extreme, culminating action used when other efforts at persuasion are frustrated. Fasting is particularly effective when undertaken by a grass-roots leader who has a dedicated and substantial following. This effectiveness is further enhanced if the leader and his issues have potential or actual public support. Fasting for social and personal reasons is especially important for leaders who advocate the philosophy of nonviolence. The most outstanding and successful practitioners of fasting have adhered rigorously to the philosophy of nonviolence as a principle of social change.

Two types of social fasts were identified. In one type, fasters themselves become the primary target, attempting to persuade others indirectly through a kind of purgative suffering. In the other, fasters try to persuade others to courses of action through direct forcible demands. As a nonverbal communication process, fasting is more efficient in communicating specific emotional messages than in transmitting abstract meanings to audiences. Nevertheless, while audiences are slower to understand abstract meanings underlying a fast, they correspondingly tend to more firmly accept or reject the meaning of the message.

Prolonged fasting produces unique effects on a faster's mental and physical condition. Contrary to what might be expected, prolonged fasting does not ordinarily produce senses of apathy, depression, or hopelessness. Although the general physical state of a faster deteriorates during such events, the individual usually experiences a heightened acuity of the senses. During lengthy fasts, fasters have claimed to gain a sharpened ability for decision making and greater self-esteem. Further, this study revealed the importance of social fasts or hunger strikes in influecing public opinion throughout the world. Because this work appears to have been the first attempt to investigate this phenomena, more research is needed to describe and evaluate these past and future events.

(Copies available from Micrographics Department, Doheny Library, USC, Los Angeles, CA 90007.)

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF JULIA STRUDWICK TUTWILER'S REFORM SPEECHES: 1880-1900

**Order No. 2903141**

KUNKEL, Robert Raymond, Ph.D. The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1978. 207 pp. Supervisor: Dr. Waldo W. Braden

Julia Strudwick Tutwiler (1841-1916) affected the disposition of social issues, particularly in Alabama, during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Public speaking was one of the resources she employed to influence change in education for women and the treatment of prisoners. This study analyzes fifteen speeches presented between 1880 and 1900 and assesses her effectiveness as a public speaker.

Primary source materials for this study are the Julia Tutwiler Papers housed at the University of Alabama Library, the Journal of Proceedings and Addresses for both the Alabama and National Education Associations (1889-1910), the Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1883-1900), the Biennial Reports of the Alabama Board of Prison Inspectors (1880-1910), and a series of interviews with Tutwiler's relatives and former students.

Tutwiler was probably limited in her effectiveness as a speaker because of her loose organization, mixed speech purposes, and structured arguments, minimal logical proofs, and the repeated use of the same illustrations and examples. In spite of these apparent limitations her effectiveness supports Aristotle's conclusion that "ethos is the most potent of all the means of persuasion." Her education, her selflessness, and her devout Christianity contributed to her excellent reputation. Her forthrightness, fearlessness, and ability to establish her good character, good will, and intelligence lessened the shock of a woman speaking on the public platform and enhanced her posture as a speaker.

Her persistence brought most of her ideas to fruition. As a result of her efforts, the doors of the University of Alabama were opened to women, technical education for women became a reality with the establishment of the Alabama Girls' Industrial School, prison night schools were initiated, effective inspection of prisons was begun, reformatories were constructed for youths of both races, and a separate institution was provided for women prisoners.

Tutwiler emerges as a significant social reformer due, in part, to her speaking.

RHE TORICAL MOVEMENTS BASED ON METAPHOR WITH A CASE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ITS RHE TORICAL VISION, 1896-1910

**Order No. 7905354**


Contemporary rhetorical theorists have pushed the definition of metaphor far beyond the Aristotelian notion of it as stylistic ornament. From the literature on the topic this dissertation abstracts twelve "rules" for the rhetorical behavior of metaphor and then investigates the question: When a movement is based on metaphor (as, for instance, the New Deal, the War on Poverty, the Social Gospel, Christian Science, the Salvation Army), does the rhetoric used to promote it or to resist it follow these rules? If it does, then rhetorical critics could have a basis for predicting the course of the rhetoric of movements based on metaphor.
The Christian Science movement was taken as a case study for answering the question, and the rhetoric of an early stage in its development, 1868–1910, was examined. The rhetoric of established opposing groups was analyzed, and the interacting developments among competing rhetorics traced. Thus the study had the twofold task of recording the rhetorical development of a movement in interaction with its environment and of appraising the rhetorical activities from the perspective of metaphor.

The theoretical model used for rhetorical criticism was that of dramatic, or fantasy, theme, a method that pulls from the rhetoric those message bits that have departed from reasoned analysis to dramatize certain themes in such a way as to provide unmistakable heroes, villains, and recurring scenarios. It is these dramatic themes that expose the fundamental concerns, motives, and strategies of a group and, taken collectively, they reveal the group’s “rhetorical vision,” that position the group sees itself occupying in the drama of existence. It is the competition for audiences among these “dramas” that often determines the outcome of a movement’s efforts.

The study revealed that the Christian Science movement was dramatizing, celebrating, promoting, and attracting its converts through aspects of the two metaphorical sides, a rhetorical vision of the lawful, rather than supernatural, behavior of Christian spirituality, as well as its all-encompassing redemptive effect. In this activity the rules for successful metaphor were operating rhetorically to forward the movement as well as to hinder it.

Noting this, concerned opponents worked to split the metaphor, to separate the conjunction, re-associating each side with less attractive alternatives. For instance they dramatized the “Christian” aspect of the metaphor as actually faulty philosophical idealism, faith cure, or occultism, or the “science” aspect as actually positive thinking (which was indeed taught by Mind Cure, a movement regularly confused with, and in opposition to, Christian Science), imagination, or suggestion, thus a ludicrous and/or dangerous fraud. In either case they were able to dismiss it as beneath serious attention by also dramatizing it as merely a woman’s movement, hence characterized by absurd illogicalities, the unintentional futilities, and the immoralities, attributed at that period to women, who were too “stupid” and—by reason of their ovaries—to “sick” to pursue “sane” activities. Rules for the reception of new metaphors were therefore operating rhetorically among opponents also. As the rules would predict, most misunderstood the selective nature of metaphor, its essentially inseparable and interactive meaning, the both positive and negative rhetorical effects of novelty, and the like. They therefore resisted the new group with greater commitment than if it had not been supported with the rhetorical power of metaphor. Superficial movement-based movements on metaphor do tend to follow “rules” for metaphor-behavior was supported by instances of a similar pattern observed in the rhetoric surrounding other metaphor-based movements.

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF LEW SARETT


Lew Sarett is remembered primarily as an influential presence in the field of speech, although during his lifetime he enjoyed significant recognition as a region poet and as effective performer, as well. The aim of this study is to examine the rhetorical strategies which Sarett used, consciously or unconsciously, to define himself as a public personage, and with what ultimate effect.

Chapter I provides biographical information about Sarett; chapter II focuses on Sarett’s development as a poet and his subsequent abandonment of that pursuit. His relationship with Poetry, editor Harriet Monroe, is examined in this period of Sarett’s life, for it was she who acknowledged him as a serious artist. Yet, although he was one of a small cadre of pseudo-ethnic poets who were popular during the 20s, his early poetic promise dwindled until Sarett stopped writing poetry in the early 30s.

Chapter III follows Sarett’s speaking career, beginning with the early Chautauqua days. Sarett’s feelings of inferiority surfaced in idiosyncratic behavior as documented in this chapter. A highly effective and dynamic performer, much of Sarett’s success as a speaker lay in his delivery, rather than in his material.

Chapter IV looks at Sarett’s role in academe. After his early years on the faculty at the University of Illinois, Sarett spent more than thirty years with the School of Speech at Northwestern University. He is remembered by many students and colleagues as a great personage; yet, he left Northwestern disappointed with the students’ response to him, as he failed to adapt to inevitable changes in American culture.

Chapter V examines significant written discourse from a critical period spanning the 20s. One of Sarett’s favorite poems, “Four Little Foxes,” seems to speak of his early alienation from society. “The Box of God” can be read as a metaphoric expression of Sarett’s feelings of conflict about rejecting his Jewish heritage. “Let Me Flower As I Will” evidences Sarett’s ambivalent feelings about the two styles of life he might follow. His 12 October 1929 letter to Ralph Dennis reveals the numerous roles Sarett appeared to assume, in order to conform to different situations. “Night Letter” and relevant correspondence document Sarett’s life crisis, the outcome of which influenced the disposition of his future. Looking at this discourse affords the reader a special perspective from which to grasp some of the stresses and conflicts that worked on Sarett during this critical period.

Chapter VI points out how Sarett may be viewed essentially as a representative figure of popular culture, reflecting American society during the first half of this century. This study argues that Lew Sarett, a figure who clung to nineteenth century values well into the twentieth century, failed to adapt to his constantly changing milieu.

A SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS OF HENRY KISSINGER’S PUBLIC IMAGE IN THE PRINT MEDIA, 1969–1976

RONCELLI, Janet Maria, Ph.D. Wayne State University, 1978, 268pp. Adviser: Bernard L. Brock

This study investigates Kissinger from the rhetorical perspective of the public image. During his eight-year tenure as an American Statesman (1969–1976), Kissinger acquired worldwide notoriety under such guises as “Super K,” “Mideast cyclone,” “Secretary of the World,” and “Gulliver.” While these images served to characterize Kissinger in various situations, they also functioned to characterize the reality by which the world was judged. A final conclusion is that movements based on metaphor do tend to follow “rules” for metaphor-behavior was supported by instances of a similar pattern observed in the rhetoric surrounding other metaphor-based movements.

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Three significant and unique insights into one of the most celebrated and controversial men of our times are offered. The first, the criticism demonstrates that Kissinger was a victim of circumstances; that is, he played a leading but restricted role in eight years of foreign policy tinged by domestic upheaval. His public image was a source of power and illusion over which he had little control. Second, Kissinger's rhetoric was governed by his public image; it was a shadow of reality, but it was the image rather than himself that Kissinger consciously perfected. Third, Kissinger was a symbolic leader. His public image evolution exemplifies how society finds and serves needs by choosing people who best symbolize what other want or want to do. His power transcended the bureaucracy; structure because his image, at various times, represented a public vehicle of identification (hero) and a public vehicle of aggression (scapegoat).

General conclusions derived from the critic's methods regarding the public image are also relevant. It is the public image that governs mass behavior and serves needs by choosing people who best symbolize what the public wants or want to do. His power transcended the bureaucracy: structure because his image, at various times, represented a public vehicle of identification (hero) and a public vehicle of aggression (scapegoat).

Six implications emerge from this study. The first three are substantive ones, derived directly from the historical account of Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam. The last three are more theoretical ones, derived from the presumptions in this analysis that rhetorical choices were made, and that other options were open to Johnson.

First, had Johnson's legitimate authority not been questioned, his war rhetoric would have been much different. A review of Woodrow Wilson's and Franklin Roosevelt's wartime speeches indicates that the speeches of a President with legitimate authority to lead the country into war were more effective than Johnson's. Wilson and Roosevelt did not continually attempt to de-escalate the war and withdrawing from the 1968 presidential race. Rather than reversing the erosion of legitimate power, Johnson escalated the war from 1965 through 1967; but as he did so his support diminished. Johnson's failure to sustain support for his war policy, in part, a result of erosion in the legitimate power that inheres in the office of President. Rather than reversing the erosion of legitimate power, his public communication only exacerbated it. Finally, he recognized his rhetorical behavior with his need for legitimacy by de-escalating the war and withdrawing from the 1968 presidential race.

Six implications emerge from this study. The first three are substantive ones, derived directly from the historical account of Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam. The last three are more theoretical ones, derived from the presumptions in this analysis that rhetorical choices were made, and that other options were open to Johnson.
Fourth, this study implies a relationship between the arguments made in attempting to maintain a legitimate power base and the moral character of the persuader. It is reasonable for us to be concerned with the morality of arguments as well as with the morality of the men who make them. Fifth, this study implies that moral choices have to be made by those who are charged with securing the public good and typically that choice appears to be between candor and deceit. It is reasonable to suggest that studies might be made that focus upon the morality reflected in "lies for the public good." Finally, we are reminded once again that in this democratic society one cannot govern as President without the consent of the governed, and obtaining that consent ultimately depends upon one's ability to persuade the people by means of rhetorical discourse.
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