This collection of abstracts is part of a continuing series providing information on recent doctoral dissertations. The 17 titles deal with the following topics: (1) the symbolic processing of continuity and change using the case of Carl F. H. Henry, (2) rhetorical strategies and image projection in John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign, (3) the political preaching of Jerry Falwell on behalf of the Moral Majority, (4) the political myths of J. Edgar Hoover, (5) Charles Grandison Finney's lectures on revivals of religion, (6) persuasive strategies in the discourse of Sudanese President Gaafar M. Nimeiri, (7) the rhetoric of Irvin S. Cobb, (8) social order and rhetoric in the sixteenth century Rome of Pope Julius II, (9) persuasion and coercion used by the Carter Administration to promote human rights in South America, (10) the rhetoric of C. L. R. James, (11) paradox in the political discourse of Barry Goldwater and the resurgence of conservatism in American politics, (12) the character of eloquence in humanism, (13) the reformed liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church, (14) the rhetoric of Menachem Begin, (15) the Christian rhetoric of Gerard Manley Hopkins, (16) the rhetoric of the Sand Creek Indian uprising, and (17) Franklin D. Roosevelt as summit negotiator at Teheran and Yalta. (HTH)
Rhetoric and Public Address:

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Arnett, Nancy Carol
JOHN F. KENNEDY'S 1960 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN: RHETORICAL STRATEGIES AND IMAGE PROJECTION

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THE RHETORIC OF HUMANISM: THREE STUDIES IN THE CHARACTER OF ELOQUENCE

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Rowland, Robert Copeland
THE RHETORIC OF MENACHEM BEGIN: THE MYTH OF REDEMPTION THROUGH RETURN
THE SYMBOLIC PROCESSING OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE USING THE CASE OF CARL F. H. HENRY

ANDERSON, RANDALL EUGENE, PH.D. The Ohio State University, 1983. 891pp. Co-Advisers: Professor James L. Golkin, Professor William R. Brown

Within worldviews, whether based in politics, religion, science, or something else, the issue of continuity and change appears. For leaders committed to a particular worldview in a pluralistic setting, the issue is critical. For this need this study asks, how can leaders manage continuity and change so that worldviews are sustained through time? In answering this question, this study also addresses a persistent question in Western philosophy: how to unify and balance objectivity/subjectivity and absolutivity/relativity?

Rhetorical criticism is the general methodology. William R. Brown, a communication theorist who espouses a process-oriented worldview emphasizing symbolic change, provides the primary critical categories; Carl F. H. Henry, a significant American Protestant leader who espouses a content-oriented worldview emphasizing symbolic continuity, provides the case-study data. With Brown juxtaposed against Henry, the research proceeds in two phases: (1) data reduction through analysis of Henry's primary publications and an in-depth interview conducted for the study, and (2) rhetorical analysis and synthesis of the reduced case-study data.

For the first research question this study offers a communication-centered, strategy for effective, long-term worldview management. With worldview as "making for all existence," worldview leaders must manage worldview essence-stressing periods (the "meaning"), worldview application-stressing periods (the "for all existence"), and periodic attention-switches between them. Essence-stressing features language-as-content-and-process and thereby promotes symbolic continuity; application-stressing features language-as-process-and-content and thereby promotes symbolic change. The management of this stressing and shifting centers upon rhetorical tactics of increasing or decreasing the prominence of identity-imaging (discourse focused on worldview essentials).

For the second research question this study offers a language-centered view for unifying the subject-object and relative/absolute apsits in Western philosophy; communication invariably involves both language content and language process, though they may be variously stressed depending upon one's worldview commitments, which, on the basis of innate, universal language categories and processes, unify objectivity and subjectivity, absolutivity and relativity.

JOHN F. KENNEDY'S 1960 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN: RHETORICAL STRATEGIES AND IMAGE PROJECTION

ARNETT, NANCY CAROL, PH.D. The Florida State University, 1983. 346pp. Major Professor: Wayne C. Minnick, Ph.D.

This historical-critical investigation traces John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign from behind-the-scenes strategy sessions to formal speech making. The making and projecting of images are examined with focus on the methods by which an image was purposely created and conveyed to the public. Primary source material, largely from the John F. Kennedy Library, included unpublished, unedited letters, memoranda, briefing and position papers, recorded interviews, minutes of meetings, policy studies, and other types of personal and interoffice communication.

The investigation analyzes Kennedy's potential image liabilities: his age, his health, his wealth, his religion, and his lack of executive experience. How these problems were managed is explored with emphasis on Kennedy's most critical liability—his religion. The religious charges leveled against Kennedy found in periodical articles and anti-Catholic hate literature are examined. The various methods that local, state, and national organizations used to handle the "religious issue" are described.

The Community Relations Committee, an ad hoc group formed to combat the religious issue, is investigated and an assessment is made of the committee's effectiveness. Also included is an examination of the declarations and resolutions drafted by various Protestant denominations in response to the inflamed religious issue.

Kennedy's major address on religion was given to the September 12, 1960, Greater Houston Ministerial Association. The September 7 statement issued by the National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom acted as a chief motivating influence for Kennedy's accepting the Houston invitation. The statement, released by a group of prominent Protestant ministers, is analyzed using Kenneth Burke's dramaturgic theories. Conclusions are reached regarding the impact that the declaration had nationally.

Kennedy's Houston speech and the interrogation period that followed are analyzed using Kenneth Burke's pentad as a rhetorical tool. The analysis identifies rhetorical strategies and evaluates their effectiveness. Conclusions are reached on how Kennedy and his advisors diffused and neutralized the religious factor as an acceptable campaign issue.


BUCKELEY, ROY EDWARD, PH.D. University of Southern California, 1983. Chairman: Professor Walter R. Risher

The primary focus of this investigation was Jerry Falwell's speeches at 'I Love America' rallies in 1980, but it was informed by the whole body of his political rhetoric. Characterized as political preaching, Falwell's rhetoric is examined from five perspectives: (1) the rhetorical situation, (2) its message, (3) persuasive means, (4) ethics and (5) effects.

Organized around these perspectives, the study addressed five questions. First, what forces in the rhetorical situation gave rise to Falwell as a political preacher? The study took note of the New Right, the feelings of disenfranchisement among many Americans, the awareness by conservative Christians of their political power, the morality of secular humanism, and Falwell's commitment to the Biblical morality of Fundamentalism.

The second question concerned Falwell's message in terms of its purposes, presuppositions, premises, arguments, and appeals. Based on the Biblical morality of Fundamentalism, his moral positions were pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, pro-American, and pro-Israel.

Concerning what persuasive means Falwell employed, the study examined his political preaching and mass marketing. Characteristics of the jeremiad and the paranoid style were prominent in his political preaching. Because these features did not fully account for his rhetoric, a concept from ancient drama was adopted, catastrophe, which refers to the heightened action preceding the catastrophe. Grounded in the Fundamentalist doctrine of premillennialism, Falwell's political preaching was conceptualized as seeking the heightened rhetorical action necessary to delay or prevent the perceived catastrophe awaiting the nation or world. Mass Marketing was a principal means by which Falwell communicated his message.

A fourth question was whether Falwell was ethical in his political preaching. Ethical rhetoric was conceptualized as practices that promote freedom of choice, openness to other viewpoints, continued discussion, and justice. The study concluded that Falwell's political preaching did not meet these criteria.

The study concluded that Falwell was ineffective among voters other than Fundamentalist Christians and unsuccessful in passing moral legislation.

(Copies available from Micrographics Department, Doheny Library, U.C.L.A. Los Angeles, CA 90095.)
GIBSON, DIRK CAMERON, PH.D. Indiana University, 1983. 443pp. Chairman: J. Jeffery Auer

Although J. Edgar Hoover was an important actor on the stage of American government for nearly five decades, little reliable scholarship pertaining to the former director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation exists. Extent literature on Hoover typically supports one of two unidimensional, stereotypical caricatures, a God myth and a Devil myth. This dissertation involves the application of historical-critical methods to promote a more comprehensive understanding of the rhetorical characteristics of J. Edgar Hoover. Specifically, Hoover's hand-written comments on internal FBI memoranda are subjected to traditional rhetorical criticism techniques, to attain a rhetorical perspective. In addition, the competing Hoover myths are systematically sketched to reveal Hoover's personality, his professional performance, as well as that of the FBI. An FBI public relations campaign, responsible for the God myth, is described and criticized with respect to motives, ethics, and effects. The crux of this research considers Hoover's rhetorical style, functions, and motives, as discerned from his hand-written memoranda's comments.

Results include the following: although the FBI public relations efforts were initially justified, and quite effective in the short term, they were ethically suspect and incapable of long-term image maintenance. It can be concluded that Hoover was an effective inter-office communicator, endowed with an intuitive understanding of rhetorical theory and practice. His style was terse, brief and clear, occasionally characterized by vehemence. Unprofessional conduct included attacks on critics and complaining excessively.

NEITHER GOD NOR DEVIL: A RHETORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE POLITICAL MYTHS OF J. EDGAR HOOVER
Order No. DA8406802

HAMID, ABDUL RAHIM NUR ELON, PH,D. Purdue University, 1983. 236pp. Major Professor: Ralph Webb, Jr.

This dissertation was the analysis of the political rhetoric of President Nimeiri of the Sudan 1970-1980. Persuasive strategies were defined in a sampling of discourse to persuade. Political rhetoric was defined as the strategic management discourse to create and sustain political order.

An analysis of African political rhetoric, such as in this study, must be grounded in an appropriate theoretical position. Accordingly, this dissertation was placed into a known theory of "situational communication" as expressed in the words of Bitzer, Black, Campbell, Jamieson, Scott, Simons and White, among many. The situational view of communication appeared advantageous. It allowed the researcher to account for the utilization of strategies in respect to situational constraints. It allowed the researcher to trace the articulation, maturation and decay in the use of the persuasive strategies under scrutiny.

The purpose of this dissertation was to identify the persuasive strategies employed by President Nimeiri. Thirteen presidential speeches were carefully selected and analyzed. Two methods were employed in the identification of the strategies: (1) content analysis and (2) a qualitative assessment. Content analysis enabled the researcher to account for the degree of emphasis given to each strategy by its frequency distribution and percentage of occurrence. A more qualitative assessment was useful in that it assisted the researcher in explicating the utilization of strategies in relation to the exigent flow of events.

The study showed that the discourse of President Nimeiri was characterized by eight strategies: revolutionization, legitimation, delegitimization, mobilization, unification, theorization, dedication, and Afro-Arabization. In addition, the study indicated that the rhetoric of President Nimeiri was intrinsically characterized by: the radicalization of language, language intensity, coercion and verbosity.

The study revealed that the situational constituents had a great bearing in shaping the articulation, maturation and decay in the use of the persuasive strategies under investigation.

CHARLES FINNEY'S PRAYER: A DRAMATISTIC INTERPRETATION OF CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY'S LECTURES ON REVIVALS OF RELIGION, 1834-1835
Order No. DA8406197

GRIFFIN, CHARLES JAMES GRANT, PH.D. University of Missouri - Columbia, 1983. 152pp. Supervisor: Dr. James Gibson

Charles Finney (1792-1875) was one of the premier speakers for revivalism in the nineteenth century. The fiery evangelist from western New York moved thousands through his preaching and through his influential course of lecture on religion delivered in 1834-35. Historians have attributed Finney's great influence to his success in addressing the public's need for a religion compatible with changing secular conditions. Historians of American public address have echoed this conclusion, while stressing Finney's powers as a pulpit orator. Yet Finney's experiences as a skeptic, convert, and young minister strongly suggest that he viewed his audience as troubled by secular concerns than by a more fundamental loss of communion with God. The problem of the revival, he sensed, was quintessentially a problem in communication.

The critical apparatus of this study is drawn from the vocabulary of Burkeian dramatism. Kenneth Burke's concepts of symbolic act and secular prayer and his analytical tool, the pentad, are especially relevant to this interpretation of Finney's revival lectures, which views them as a collective act through which Finney sought to resolve the problem of man's loss of communion with God and to satisfy his own moral quest for speeches. The lectures, it is argued, evinced qualities not unlike those attributed by both: Burke and Finney himself to prayer.

The prayer-like nature of the Finney lectures is the key to their substance as communicative. However, this quality remains submerged when public address historians adopt the paradigm of social and intellectual history, which is designed to detect the flow of ideas and allegiances in history. Seen from the vantage of social and intellectual history, communicative acts are always reflective of larger, ideological questions. But the Finney lectures demonstrate that communicative acts may also address human concerns which are specifically communicative in nature. Historians of public address should be sensitive to the role which the imperative to communicate has played in shaping the course of history. As they study the history of man speaking, they should do so with an ear to the prayer that is in communication.

Order No. DA8400361

IRVIN S. COBB: A RHETORICAL BIOGRAPHY
Order No. DA8406811

For more than forty years Irvin S. Cobb (1876-1944) circulated his ideas through the media of newspapers, film, radio, drama, fiction, and public speeches. His short stories, that mixed the business of persuasion with the pleasure of story-telling, commanded the highest prices in the American short story market. The New York Times called him the "premier after-dinner speaker of his time." In 1923, he was ranked first in "contemporary letters" as humorist, reporter, local colorist, writer of horror stories, and teller of anecdotes. This study of Cobb evaluates his humor and fiction as vehicles of persuasion, since Cobb was an acknowledged humorist and a sometimes self-confessed, sometimes surreptitious rhetorician. It also analyzes his written and oral strategies, as in Cobb's highly propagandistic articles and speeches before and during World War I. Cobb, a perennial reporter, combined a straightforward style with layers of description under which he disguised persuasive messages. Human interest coverage of "news" allowed him license for evaluations and characterizations that would have been taboo for the impartial news gatherer. His descriptions exploited all the senses. While adept at presenting logical proofs, Cobb also took advantage of audience vulnerability to emotional appeals especially during wartime.

This analysis of Cobb's work reveals both the differences and similarities between early and late twentieth-century culture, particularly the cultural values of the South. Cobb embodied the mind of the post-Golden Age South as a stand in the front of the "New South," "old South" cultural values, and economic and political upheaval. Although a politically progressive social critic regarding prohibition, religious tolerance, and problems of the poor, Cobb was a true conservative in matters of literary style, "proper" subject matter, and preservation of America's older values.
This thesis is about the learned men of the Rome of Pope Julius II (1503-13). It describes the roles of these men in the city, especially in relation to the powerful and the influential, and it studies how their works—treatises, orations, poems, and paintings—reflected and shaped the social order to which they belonged.

Chapter One discusses how Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura pose problems central to an historical investigation of the learned society of the time. The frescoes present vividly the problem of the classification of Renaissance culture, and of the social arrangement of that culture's creators and interpreters.

The next two chapters study that social arrangement. Chapter Two investigates the various "intellecctual" roles in Renaissance Rome—poet, painter, theologian, jurist, -consult each role in part characterized by a particular form of discourse. Holders of these identities were integrated into society by virtue of other roles they played at the same time, most importantly, those of cleric, curial, familiar, and client. Taken together, the roles an individual played earned him a place in Roman society, a society rigidly hierarchical in nature.

Chapter Three looks at specific connections among the learned, and between them and the major patrons of the day. Men gathered together in private homes, libraries, schools, printshops, gardens, and cloisters. They were also joined by common association with the pope, and at courts of particular cardinals.

The focus of the work then turns to the writings produced by this society. Given the closely integrated nature of the social structure, and given the occasional nature of the public production of the society, it is not surprising that this production evidences the constraints of particular interests. Chapter Four analyses how the rhetoric of the literary production of Julian Rome responded to the social situation of its writers, to the political exigencies of the moment, and in general to the ambitions and ideals of Pope Julius.

In the end, we return to the Stanza della Segnatura, for it, too, is a rhetorical piece with a particular view to which it seeks to persuade. Hopefully, the foregoing study will have shed light on both the reality and the ideal which the painting addresses, and also upon the methods of its persuasiveness.

The work concludes with an appendix of biobibliographical entries on the individuals whom I have taken to make up the learned community of Julius' Rome.

系统 of analysis allows for the dynamics of the process to be explained, thereby going beyond conventional rhetorical analysis. (3) The coercion used by the Carter Administration did not produce the intended results, in part, because of the cultural biases of the Latin American leaders precluding them from accepting the Carter position; the "action-justification" responses of the Argentine, Brazilian, and Chilean leaders, and the fact that the coercive threats and promises were not perceived to be compelling enough to change the status quo in the countries considered in this study. This study suggests that persuasion and coercion coexist and helps to establish a new basis for examining the persuasive strategies of diplomats.

C. L. R. JAMES: THE RHETORIC OF A DEFIANT WARRIOR

Lopez, Consuelo, Ph.D. Indiana University, 1983. 224pp.

C. L. R. James, author of The Black Jacobins, Minty Alley, World Revolution, Beyond a Boundary, Facing Reality, and many lesser-known works, is a leading Pan-African speaker and historian. Raised and educated in colonial Trinidad, he launched his activist and literary career in London in 1932. He was a cricketer correspondent for the Manchester Guardian. He agitated in favor of African and West Indian Independence. In 1938, he moved to the United States where he lectured and wrote for the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party. In 1939, he discussed plans for an independent black movement with Leon Trotsky in Mexico. For fifteen years, he led a group of American Marxist intellectuals, the Johnson-Forest Tendency. In 1935, he formed the Workers and Farmers Party to oppose Truman's ruling party. A persuasive speaker, he has influenced intellectuals as well as African (Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta), Caribbean (Eric Williams, Michael Manley, Maurice Bishop), and American (Stokely Carmichael) political leaders. This study analyzes and evaluates James's rhetorical strategies for developing and encouraging mass movements built on Marxist theories. A student of classical and British rhetoric, James modelled his speeches after those of Edmund Burke. From the Greeks, he acquired a vision of democratic society and the role oratory in expressing the concerns of the people; from Burke and Whitman historians, he learned of history as movement. Adapting the myth of progress to promote his ideological views, he emphasizes mass action as the means to social equality. His speeches follow Aristotelie's rhetorical guidelines. His proofs combine logical and emotional appeals. Enunciation, clarity, and effective structure enhance his arguments. His rhetorical strategies rests in his ethos and his persuasive use of history. By comparing present with past movements and historical events, he indicates future action. James's ethos expresses a moral view rooted in the cherished values of his audience. As a public figure, he undertook unpopular stands that attest to the strength of his convictions: as a colonial writer encouraging black radical pride, as an early Pan-African agitator, as a Trotskyite during a "Stalinist era," as a sharecroppers' strike leader during Word War II, and as organizer of the populist Workers and Farmers Party. His association with prominent figures of social movements reinforces his authority among disenfranchised Left.


Moore, Mark Paul, Ph.D. Indiana University, 1984. 412pp. Chair: James Andrews

This study identifies, defines and describes the use of paradox as a rhetorical strategy in the resurgence of conservatism (the "new right") in American politics between 1950 and 1964, with a particular focus on the rhetorical works of Barry M. Goldwater and his 1964 Presidential campaign. The dissertation focuses on two problems: (1) defining "paradoxical rhetoric," and (2) providing an example in the rhetoric of Barry Goldwater. Paradoxical rhetoric is defined as including at least the following elements: (1) contradiction (which for the most part is only "apparent") with the potential for valid meaning;
and (2) some degree of, or potential for persuasibility or "effect." This "expanded" view of paradox includes rhetoric that contains, appears as, or alludes to contradiction, but can be viewed or interpreted as consistent. An examination of the rhetoric itself, both written and spoken, reflects the methods of identification found in classical, medieval, and modern rhetorical theory, which provide examples of paradox that promote potential truth, argumentation, controversy, language embellishment, social comment, and mental conditioning. These characteristics, therefore, constitute paradox as a rhetorical strategy.

The results of the study reveal paradox as a rhetorical strategy in Barry Goldwater's discourse with respect to three areas: (1) political image formation; (2) political ideology formation; and (3) articulation of political issues. In general, his rhetoric resembled conservative dogma, but it also diverged in many respects, producing a "radical" conservative ideology that enhanced his paradoxical style. In particular, the use of paradox as a strategy for argumentation and social comment was most characteristic, while usage for language embellishment was also apparent, but to a lesser degree. An overall consequence of controversy was also revealed in his political discourse and behavior, resulting in a blend of style and action that not only used paradox as a strategy, but characterized it as well.

THE RHETORIC OF HUMANISM: THREE STUDIES IN THE CHARACTER OF ELOQUENCE


Adviser: John Gage

Humanism has been described in widely various ways and in terms of lofty and dignified aims. Following the practice of Renaissance humanists and the ideas of modern rhetoricians, this study defines Humanism by its means rather than by its ends. Humanistic method is treated here as endeavoring to realize a certain kind of eloquence. Eloquence depends on the legibility of an ethos for its effects. It represents the techniques whereby the personality of the speaker is made understandable to a particular audience.

There are many rhetorical strategies by which humanistic writing achieves this, and various uses for it. The following essays consider the varieties of eloquence in three widely different contexts. The first essay treats Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and Hamlet as companion plays which focus on the uses of rhetoric. The second essay reviews Robert Frost's theory of "sentence sounds" and applies it to a rhetorical analysis of his poetry. The final essay considers the neoclassical ethos of Lewis Lapham, editor of Harper's magazine from 1976 to 1983. From these studies we infer three modes of eloquence in humanistic discourse. We learn in Hamlet that eloquence can be a means of exploiting conflict. Hamlet uses what we might call "combative eloquence," which translates experience into unresolvable oppositions. In Robert Frost's poetry we find similar traces. But rather than advancing conflict beyond the point of no return, Frost encourages the reader to look for subtle interplay among contrasting voices. We might call this kind of writing "sympathetic eloquence.

In Lewis Lapham's writing we witness the language of the sage. The eloquence of "The Easy Chair" relies on an ethos which carries hidden assumptions about the preexistence of wisdom and requires faith in the availability of self-evident truths. Lapham's style could be called "priestly eloquence." Our final mode, "belliestic eloquence," comes from Troilus and Cressida. It refers to the love of words for their own sake. Belliestic eloquence comes under "formulatory rhetoric," on the one hand, and falls on the other into the traditional genre of the epideictic. These four modes represent the abiding ethic of humanistic communication, evolving from the writer's desire to "take in" his audience.

TOWARD A RHETORIC OF LITURGY: A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE REFORMED LITURGY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Rosser, Aelred Robert, Ph.D. University of Southern California, 1983. Chairman: Professor W. Ross Winterowd

The new liturgy has both strengths and weaknesses; granting the former and addressing the latter in the light of modern rhetorical theory yields insights upon which progress may proceed in a more productive rhetorical climate.

The gains and losses of liturgical reform are related, according to Luis Maldonado, whose formulation of them is adopted here: (1) The rediscovery of the Word is a great gain; the wordiness accompanying the rediscovery is a loss. (2) The introduction of the vernacular is a move forward; the resulting emphasis on rational intelligibility threatens the ritual nature of liturgy. (3) The recovery of the prophetic sense of Christian worship is a positive gain; insofar as it has led to a concealment of the gratuitous nature of the liturgy (an end in itself), the prophetic sense distorts liturgy's purpose.

Three modern rhetoricians are especially helpful in addressing the situation. Kenneth Burke provides both an organizational schema and a heuristic in the Pentad--by which the liturgy can be viewed from various perspectives and analyzed according to the ratios among them. His theory of form is applied to the problem of verbalism in liturgy.

Wayne Booth's "rhetoric of assent" is used to examine rational intelligibility versus faith, belief, and nondemonstrable proof--the split between fact and value.

THE RHETORIC OF MENACHEM BEGIN: THE MYTH OF REDEMPTION THROUGH RETURN


Humans create myths in modern societies to confront fundamental moral problems that cannot be solved through other means. In stories about heroes operating outside of historical time and space, these problems can be resolved. This study focuses on one modern myth, the myth which Menachem Begin created to confront the holocaust. Drawing upon the work of Joseph Campbell and Mircea Eliade, a definition of the characteristics found in modern myths is developed, which can be applied to explain and evaluate mythic rhetoric.

The death camps created enormous Jewish guilt and a religious crisis in Judaism that could not be answered by the myths of traditional Judaism and Zionism. However, as the work of three Jewish theologians of the holocaust--Richard Rubenstein, Eliezer Berkovits, and Emil Fackenheim--has made clear, the holocaust demanded a mythic response. While commanding the underground organization, Irgun Zvai Leumim, against the British between 1944 and 1948, Menachem Begin created a myth in response to the holocaust in his rhetoric. Both Begin's memoir of the Irgun, The Revolt, and his writings from the period in which he commanded the Irgun take the form of a myth promising redemption for the Jewish people through a return to the holocaust and land of ancient Israel. The myth of redemption through return did not disappear with the conclusion of the underground but can be found in Begin's modern rhetoric, including its most important rhetorical acts while serving as Prime Minister of Israel. A consideration of Begin's rhetoric suggests that many of the policies in the Begin government have been shaped by the myth. An evaluation of the myth reveals that it answers the problems created by the holocaust, but at the cost of making it difficult for Begin to compensate.
Of previous symbolizations; and (6) Actual Calls for wherein actions taken by the majority group are interpreted majority group as a reason for mobilization; (5) Self-Sealing (4) A Group Interest, money, land or power, not admitted by the group both dehumanizes and "names" the enemy; (3) A Precipitating Incident, either real or invented by elites majority group; (2) Antilocution, symbols with which Conspiracy Myth, picturing the minority Characteristics of a rhetoric of extermination similarities with the rhetoric surrounding My Lai symbolic strategies; more "Sand Creeks" developed countries. Under similar conditions; viewed as a "pre-enactment" of U.S. contacts permit the extermination solution.

Further, the symbols and images present in the rhetoric of Sand Creek function within the situation that was Sand Creek?" and "What do these symbols and images reveal about the relationship of white and Native Americans?" Utilizing a rhetorical functionalism derived from writings by Robert Berkhofer and others, the rhetoric related to Sand Creek was examined. Initially, authoritative sources were analyzed to determine the "key symbols" utilized by white Americans regarding Native Americans. It was concluded that white perceptions of Native Americans were distorted by mythic assumptions. Thus, many white Americans perceived Native Americans as treacherous, violent and unchangeable beings who constantly and consistently conspired against white interests.

Next the content of the rhetoric surrounding Sand Creek was analyzed for the presence of the key symbols. Issues of the Rocky Mountain News between 1860 and 1864 were surveyed, as was the rhetoric of John Evans, Territorial Governor of Colorado and John Chivington, Military Commander of Colorado. "Atrocity" stories presented in the Rocky Mountain News helped to define the Cheyennes as the "enemy," and identified extermination as the solution to the "Indian problem." Further, the symbols provided in the rhetoric of Evans and Chivington functioned so as to legitimate and to permit the extermination solution.

The relationship between whites and Native Americans could be viewed as a "pre-enactment" of U.S. contacts with "lesser" developed countries. Under similar conditions, augmented by similar symbolic strategies, more "Sand Creeks" may result. Thus, similarities with the rhetoric surrounding My Lai 4 were noted. Characteristics of a rhetoric of extermination included: (1) A Conspiracy Myth, picturing the minority group conspiring against the majority group; (2) Antilocution, symbols with which the majority group both dehumanizes and "names" the enemy; (3) A Precipitating Incident, either real or invented by elites to create a sense of urgency; (4) A Group Interest, money, land or power, not admitted by the majority group as a reason for mobilization; (5) Self-Sealing results wherein actions taken by the majority group are interpreted as proof of previous symbolizations; and (6) Actual Calls for extermination.
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