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ABSTRACT

This annotated bibliography lists 43 books, periodicals, and essays in the area of governmental-political communication. Topics include: social justice, lying, cheating, ethics, public duties, public policy, language, rhetorical strategies, and propaganda. (MS)

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## RESPONSIBILITY IN GOVERNMENTAL-POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

A Selected, Annotated Bibliography Prepared By  
Richard L. Johannesen, Northern Illinois Univ., March 1988

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### Books

Ackerman, Bruce A. **Social Justice in the Liberal State.** New Haven: Yale UP, 1980. Espec. pp. 3-30, 177-180, 349-378. As standards for responsible deliberation and decision-making, the tests of rationality, consistency, and neutrality are elaborated for a system of Neutral Dialogue.

Barber, James David. **The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House.** 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977. Chapter 13 includes evaluation of the ethics of some of Richard Nixon's rhetorical habits and tactics.

Bok, Sissela. **Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life.** New York: Pantheon Books, 1978; Vintage Books paperback, 1979. A thorough survey of past and present views on the nature, uses, and justifications of lying, including chapters on lying in specific contexts such as politics and national crises.

Bok, Sissela. **Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation.** New York: Pantheon, 1983; Vintage paperback, 1984. Includes two chapters on secrecy in the government and in the military.

Bosmajian, Haig. **The Language of Oppression.** Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1974. Irresponsible and de-humanizing communication is examined in chapters on the language of antisemitism, of white racism, of American Indian derision, and of war.

Bowie, Norman E., ed. **Ethical Issues in Government.** Philadelphia: Temple University Press, Philosophical Monographs, 1981. Includes two essays that examine the government's responsibility to inform the public and six essays that probe the degree to which legislators should serve primarily their conscience or their constituents.

Bowyer, J. Barton. **Cheating: Deception in War and Magic, Games and Sports, Sex and Religion, Business and Con Games, Politics and Espionage, Art and Science.** New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. The author does not make ethical judgments about cheating, but simply explains and illustrates how the process has worked in diverse fields. Chapter 2 presents a theory of the structural elements in cheating/deception.

Denton, Robert E., Jr., and Gary C. Woodward. **Political Communication in America.** New York: Praeger, 1985. Chapter 10 examines the problem of ethical standards, audience obligations, media ethics, and four "corruptions" of political discourse. Pages 263-270 discuss ghostwriting and accountability.

Ellul, Jacques. **The Political Illusion.** New York: Vintage Books, 1972. A critique of the various "myths" pervading post-industrial democracy: that all problems are political, that the populace controls decision making, etc. Chapter III is particularly relevant to issues of accountability.

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Felkner, Bruce. **Dirty Politics**. New York: Norton, 1966. In this fascinating sourcebook of examples, the former director of the non-partisan Fair Campaign Practices Committee examines the ethics of political campaigning.

Fleishman, Joel L., et al., eds. **Public Duties: The Moral Obligations of Government Officials**. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981. Twelve essays organized around the subjects of serving and defining the public interest, of the influence of roles and institutions, and of methods for assessing governmental officials.

Green, Mark, and Gail MacColi. **Reagan's Reign of Error: The Instant Nostalgia Edition**. Expanded and Updated. New York: Pantheon Books, 1987. Evaluates Ronald Reagan's irresponsible use of evidence and anecdotes in his public communication.

Hilgartner, Stephen, et al. **Nukespeak: Nuclear Language, Visions, and Mindset**. Sierra Club Books, 1982. The authors document governmental doublespeak on nuclear power, including deliberate deception of the public and misuse of language to misinform.

Jaksa, James A., and Michael S. Pritchard. **Communication Ethics: Methods of Analysis**. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1988. Provides an orientation to ethics issues and possible standards. Includes many brief case studies that focus on political/ govt. communication and chapter 9 on Jebb Stuart Magruder's role in the Nixon Watergate scandal.

Johannesen, Richard L. **Ethics in Human Communication**. 2nd ed. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1983. Illustrates seven perspectives for ethical evaluation of communication (political, human, dialogical, situational, religious, utilitarian, legal). Discusses ethical issues, presents examples for analysis, and reprints four case studies. Includes material on interpersonal, public, and mass communication and on formal codes of ethics. The bibliography contains over 300 items.

Johannesen, Richard L., ed. **Ethics and Persuasion: Selected Readings**. New York: Random House, 1967. Reprints 13 journal articles and book chapters, suggesting diverse standards for the ethics of persuasion, especially in govt.-pol. communication.

Kneupper, Charles W., ed. **Oldspeak/Newspeak: Rhetorical Transformations**. Arlington, TX: Rhetoric Society of America, 1985. Douglas N. Freeman, "Contemporary Applications of Orwell's Concept of Newspeak in 1984: An Analysis of Intentionally Misleading Political Rhetoric," pp. 38-53. James R. Bennett, "Doublethink and the Rhetoric of Crisis: President Reagan's October 22, 1983 Speech on Arms Reduction," pp. 54-66.

Ladd, Bruce. **Crisis in Credibility**. New York: New American Library, 1968. A documented indictment of the federal executive branch (pre-Watergate era) for lying, unwarranted secrecy, and misleading news manipulation.

Mueller, Claus. **The Politics of Communication**. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974. A cogent analysis of distorted communication in the tradition of the Frankfurt school of critics. Mueller's treatment of arrested and constrained communication suggests many contemporary parallels; however, his applications are politically partisan.

Nilsen, Thomas R. **Ethics of Speech Communication**. 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1972. A provocative blend of the political, dialogical, and ontological perspectives for judging the ethics of public and interpersonal communication.

Novak, Michael. **Choosing Our King: Powerful Symbols in Presidential Politics**. New York: Macmillan, 1974. Chapters 29 and 33 examine ethical standards.

Orman, John M. **Presidential Secrecy and Deception: Beyond the Power to Persuade.** Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980. Suggests standards to assess justifiability of presidential secrecy and deception. Offers categories of information that the President might appropriately keep secret or should be required to release automatically, and guidelines for when a President justifiably may lie. Case studies are from the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford administrations.

Rank, Hugh, ed. **Language and Public Policy.** National Council of Teachers of English, 1974. Contains a number of essays which examine ethical issues related to contemporary use and abuse of discourse in political communication.

Rank, Hugh. **The Pep Talk: How to Analyze Political Language.** Park Forest, IL: The Counter-Propaganda Press, 1984. Chapter 12 examines truth/accuracy, lies/deception.

Rasberry, Robert W. **The "Technique" of Political Lying.** Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981. Uses concepts from Jacques Ellul's view of propaganda to analyze the Watergate Affair of Richard Nixon.

Redford, Emmette S. **Democracy in the Administrative State.** New York: Oxford Press, 1969. Chapter 1 proposes a "democratic morality" rooted in fundamental values and processes vital to a healthy democracy. This democratic morality suggests guidelines for responsible governmental-political communication.

Rothwell, J. Dan. **Telling It Like It Isn't: Language Misuse and Malpractice, What We Can Do About It.** Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982. Of special interest is Chapter 6 on the language of racism and sexism.

Schroyer, Trent. **The Critique of Domination.** Boston: Beacon Press, 1973. A treatise in the Frankfurt School tradition, this work is a clear exposition of Jurgen Habermas' ideas and an explicit critique of the communications structure in America today.

Spero, Robert. **The Duping of the American Voter: Dishonesty and Deception in Presidential Television Advertising.** New York: Lippincott and Crowell, 1980. Analyzes the ethics of Presidential televised campaign advertising from Eisenhower to the present. Proposes a plan to "break the back" of political televised advertising, including a formal code of ethics administered by a private citizens group.

Thompson, Dennis F. **Political Ethics and Public Office.** Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1987. On responsibilities and constraints placed on public officials because of their role as representatives and the institutional/organizational nature of public office.

Wise, David. **The Politics of Lying: Government Deception, Secrecy, and Power.** New York: Random House, 1973. A pre-Watergate analysis of various ethically suspect communication practices of the federal government.

#### Periodicals and Essays

Benoit, William L. "Richard M. Nixon's Rhetorical Strategies in his Public Statements on Watergate." Southern Speech Communication Journal. 47 (Winter 1982): 192-211. Examines Nixon's rhetorical strategies; concludes with a negative ethical assessment.

Crabbe, Richard E. "Ethical Codes, Accountability, and Argumentation." Quarterly Journal of Speech, 64 (Feb. 1978): 23-32. Describes useful argumentative functions served by codes of ethics; illustrates argumentative claims people use to assess communication in light of an ethical code. Uses examples from govt.-pol. communication.

Dowling, Ralph E., and Gabrielle Marraro. "Grenada and the Great Communicator: A Study in Democratic Ethics." Western Journal of Speech Communication, 50 (Fall 1986): 350-367. A harsh indictment of the communication ethics of President Reagan and his administration concerning the Grenada invasion.

Erickson, Keith V., and Wallace V. Schmidt. "Presidential Political Silence: Rhetoric and the Rose Garden Strategy." Southern Speech Communication Journal, XLVII (Summer 1982): 402-421. Especially pp. 417-420 on relevant ethical issues.

Ellul, Jacques. "The Ethics of Propaganda: Propaganda, Innocence, and Amoralty." Communication, 6 (#2, 1981): 159-177. Develops three reasons why contemporary governmental propaganda in technological societies is so pervasive and potent that it destroys, literally obliterates, any possibility of ethics.

Golden, James L. "Ethical Implications of the Watergate Hearings." In Rhetorical Studies in Honor of James L. Golden, ed. Lawrence W. Hugenberg. Dubuque, IA: Kendall-Hunt, 1986. Pp. 97-121. An analysis of the ethical justifications and standards used by participants in the Watergate scandal and of the ethical standards and arguments used by members of the Senate Select Committee.

Gouran, Dennis. "Guidelines for the Analysis of Responsibility in Governmental Communication." In Teaching About Doublespeak, ed. Daniel Dieterich. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1976. Pp. 102-110. Illustrates seven standards for assessing the communication behavior of government officials.

Hahn, Dan F. "Corrupt Rhetoric: President Ford and the Mayaguez Affair." Communication Quarterly, 28 (Spr. 1980): 38-43. Argues that the Ford administration discourse on the Mayaguez naval incident was corrupted by false description of the situation, by pseudo-diplomacy, and by false authority claims for taking military action.

Johannesen, Richard L. "An Ethical Assessment of the Reagan Rhetoric: 1981-1982." In Political Communication Yearbook 1984, eds. Keith R. Sanders, Lynda Lee Kaid, and Dan Nimmo. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1985. Pp. 226-241. Applies values and ethical standards rooted in representative democracy to evaluate President Reagan's use of statistics, examples, value appeals, and intentional ambiguity.

Johannesen, Richard L. "Haigspeak, Secretary of State Haig, and Communication Ethics." In The Orwellian Moment: Hindsight and Foresight in the Post-1984 World, eds. Robert Savage, James Combs, and Dan Nimmo. Fayetteville: Univ. of Arkansas Press, in press. Uses Orwell's principles of Newspeak and "Politics and the English Language" to evaluate Alexander Haig's public communication as Secretary of State.

Nimmo, Dan. "Ethical Issues in Political Communication." Communication, 6(#2, 1981): 193-212. Examines deceptive political campaign communication and explores ways to improve the ethical level of campaigning. Relevant for readers will be these Nimmo books: The Political Persuaders; Popular Images of Politics: Candidates and Their Images; Political Communication and Public Opinion in America; Subliminal Politics.

Rasmussen, Karen. "Nixon and the Strategy of Avoidance." Central States Speech Journal, 24 (Fall 1973): 193-202. Using both political and dialogical perspectives for ethical assessment, Rasmussen explains and condemns as unethical the avoidance strategy used by Richard Nixon during the 1972 presidential campaign.