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A Rhetorical Criticism and Analysis of President Ronald Reagan's Inaugural Address: Applying the Burkeian Dramatistic Pentad Approach

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A Rhetorical Criticism and Analysis of President Ronald Reagan's Inaugural Address: Applying the Burkeian Dramatic Pentad Approach

(TITLE)

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

It is no accident that Ronald Reagan rose to the pinnacle of power at a moment when there was a rising wave of intellectual pessimism. Numerous theories were being offered as to why the trajectory of the American experiment has passed its apogee. Reagan's greatest gift to his country has been his soaring sense of possibilities. To see where he got it, look at what he has seen in a long life. However, a great communicator will communicate complicated ideas, hard choices and bad news. Reagan has had little aptitude and less appetite for those tasks. But, then, communication is not really Reagan's forte. Rhetoric is. Rhetoric has been central to Reagan's presidency because Reagan has intended his statecraft to be soulcraft. His aim has been to restore the plain language of right and wrong, good and evil, for the purpose of enabling the people to make the most of freedom. For all his deplorable inattentiveness regarding many aspects of his office, he has been assiduous about nurturing a finer civic culture, as he understands it. Here, then, is the crowning paradox of Reagan's career. For all his disparagement of government, he has given it the highest possible purpose, the improvement of the soul of the nation. This paper investigates Ronald Reagan's
First Inaugural Address by applying the Burkeian Dramatistic Pentad Approach. In the course of investigation, this paper utilizes the Burkeian Concept of Identification and dramatistic pentad. By employing these methods, it is believed strongly that a thorough analysis of the rhetorical effort would provide the critic with a more comprehensive understanding of the real motives and motivations of the speaker. The Burkeian approach to rhetorical analysis leads the critic in a unique direction. Rather than asking oneself how the speaker attempted persuasion, the Burkeian critic asks how the pentad functioned in the pursuit for identification. Identification is the process by which the speaker binds himself with the audience "consubstantially", a super-identification of the audience with the actor or orator in which listeners suspend their sense of individuality and perceive the speaker as a projection of themselves as a group. Reagan (agent) sought to establish identification through various means (AGENCIES) such as rhetorical questions, statistics, and narratives. Beyond these verbal agencies, physical trappings aided in setting the proper atmosphere (scene) for speaker-audience identification. The speech (act) dealt with Reagan's desire to get the American public to
support all his proposed plans. His goals (purposes) were to appeal to the American public, to promote social cohesion, and to reinforce audience commitment. He had relied upon many rhetorical strategies. He used first person plural pronouns, strong admonitions, personal, patriotic, and fear appeals. Reagan also employed echos and paraphrases by past famous presidents to produce a sense of realism as to the amount of time and effort needed to solve America's problems. Many uniting phrases, such as "all must share," "all of us together," are used. More importantly, he deployed the spirit of solidarity by siding with the people against the common enemy, the government. The Inaugural Address centered on the theme of the capacity of ordinary people performing extraordinary feats. Throughout his four hundred and forty four speeches delivered during his presidency, Reagan depended on positive populism - a set of appeals that emphasize the quiet strengths of the common people, and indirectly to the commonness of the leader (Reagan). Reagan traded on the notion, inherent to populist discourse, that when you compliment people a lot, they cannot help liking you for it. Reagan was simply a master of the populist anecdote. His ability to express the essence of ordinary life in endearing and reassuring images, and at
the same time associating himself with them via his personal life history, contributed significantly to his avuncular ethos. The author is confident beyond a shadow of reasonable doubt that Ronald Wilson Reagan will go down in history as being placed in the front rank of the second echelon of American presidents. The first echelon includes those who were pulled to greatness by the gravity of great crises. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were yanked by the perilous flux of the founding era. Abraham Lincoln was drawn by disunion and the need to define the nation's meaning. Theodore Roosevelt was hauled by the pressing need to tame the energies of industrialism. Woodrow Wilson by America's entry into the vortex of world affairs, Franklin Roosevelt by the Depression and the dictators, and John F. Kennedy by his tactful handling of the Cuban affairs, the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the Civil Rights movement. Reagan is the last president for whom the Depression will have been a formative experience, the last president whose foremost model was the first modern president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Reagan, like Roosevelt, has been a great reassurer, a steadying captain who calmed the passengers and, to some extent, the unpredictable rough sea.
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Finally, but not the least important is my immediate family. Without my childrens' presence and source of constant insouciant provocation throughout the completion of this task, I shudder to think of the dreadful consequences. My sagacious and capricious soul mate, Badariah, who never fails to amaze me with her ability to encourage and spur me on to success. To all these people and others that I have inadvertently failed to mention, may The Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds bless them forever.

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INTRODUCTION

Why do we study a speech, especially one that occurred some time back? Johannesen, Allen & Linkugel (1992) observed that the study of speeches can play an important role in the intellectual development of being a speaker and further stimulate our thinking about the importance of such a study. Through such studies, they maintained that we may expect "to increase our knowledge of humanity, to derive standards for the critical appraisal of public discourse, to enlarge and deepen our understanding of rhetorical theory and to develop an appreciation for eminence in public address."

Wichelns (1925), noting that "conditions of democracy necessitate both the making of speeches and the study of the art," examines how literary critics have approached the study of speeches. He distinguishes literary from rhetorical criticism and finds that most critics have failed in the type of criticism he prefers. Rhetorical criticism, Wichelns believes, is not concerned with "permanence or beauty" but with how a speaker "imparts his or her ideas to a given audience to achieve a preferred effect. By using three topics,
"the man," "his work" and "his times," Wichelns settles on a methodological process for attaining effective criticism.

Baird (1956) not only endorses Wichelns' concern for the audience and effect but goes further by requiring recognition of the truth by speakers who also become worthy when they identify with sound ethics and morals and commit themselves to the good of others. To Baird, the public speaker must be a "good man." He believes critical skill should "do more than guide us in our estimate of other's speaking skills" and claims it "should suggest desirable procedures for our own speech improvement."

Marie Hochmuth (Nichols) (1955) defines the critic's role as one of discovering the "ends" for which rhetoric was used and the resources "available at the time to secure these ends." She describes the aims as "evaluating rhetorical effort or accounting for effectiveness or ineffectiveness in rhetorical situations"; part of this evaluation should include an examination of the truth of the speaker's premises. Criticism, she asserts, involves "discriminating among values" and concern about the total organism under study.
Historian William B. Hesseltine (1961) sees rhetorical criticism as a tool of the historian and the techniques of the historical critic as assistance to the student of public address. Hesseltine urges the student of public address "to be alert to the total situation in which an event occurred" and to be "concerned with ferreting out the causal relationships between events in a time sequence." His concern extends to "the impact of speech and speaker upon the course of human history."

Since speech is the primary means of communicating ideas, the criticism of public speaking has an important role in the proper functioning of society that goes beyond the mere granting of approval or disapproval. Criticism of the public dialogue in a democratic society is vital to improving the understanding of the many complex issues on which the public must pass judgment.

Public speaking is an art form based on natural ability, study of the basic principles of rhetoric, and extensive practice. By definition, an art is the systematic application of knowledge by a creative individual to produce a desired result or effect. The public speaker uses his skill and inspiration to affect
the audience in some way. In common with such other arts as painting or composing, speechmaking does not have a mechanical process that guarantees to produce a successful work. A knowledgeable and experienced speaker with a pleasing voice and an imposing presence may still fail to inspire an audience.

Understanding the reasons for the success of some speeches and the failure of others is essential to improving the theory, the teaching, and the practice of public speaking. Rhetoricians have been concerned with this problem since the study of speech began in Ancient Greece in the Fifth Century B.C.

Rhetoric has a tainted reputation in our time, for several reasons. One is the carnage created by murderous demagogues. Another is the public's uneasiness about modern means of mass manipulation, including propaganda and advertising. But rhetoric is indispensable to good politics and can be ennobling. Rhetoric is systematic eloquence. At its best it does not induce irrationality. Rather, it leavens reason, fusing passion to persuasion.
LITERATURE REVIEW

"Only as the constant companions of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, Fox, Channing, and Webster can we hope to become orators."

Woodrow Wilson

Political commentators refer to him as the "Great Communicator" and his adversaries have tried to explain his extraordinary success in politics by saying he survived all the trials and tribulations because he was an actor, but then as an actor he was only a moderate thespian (Ritter & Henry, 1982; King & Schudsom, 1987; Schickel, 1989; Stuckey, 1990). During his presidency was he merely acting out his role as the main actor by reciting prepared lines and adhering to well-written scripts? How did he survive successfully through all the demanding tasks and expectations of the general public and the world?

Balitzer (1983) remarked that perhaps no other post-World War II American leader surpassed Reagan in consistently understanding and articulating the crises of his time. This might not be far-fetched because
"his career could be seen as a lifetime in preparation for the rhetorical presidency" (Ceaser, Thurow, Tulis, & Bessette, 1981).

Reagan & Hubler (1965) recalled that in 1928 during Reagan's freshman year at Eureka College in Illinois, he had discovered the thrill of moving an audience when he spoke on behalf of a student strike. Erickson (1985) further explained that the strike was for the removal of the college's president, who wanted to cut special programs and reduce his teaching staff to save money. Recalling that speech, Reagan remarked: "I discovered that night that an audience has a feel to it and, in the parlance of the theater, that audience and I were together" (Reagan & Hubler, 1965). Herman (1990) further concluded that what Reagan had done was to transform what the audience "feel in their bones."

Was it his wit, charm or effectiveness in delivering the content that did the job by the end of the day? It could have been a combination of these factors and other influential circumstances but one thing is for sure; he made complete use of his theatrical skills. Ritter & Henry (1992) mentioned
that perhaps "no president had brought to the White House greater expectations as a public communicator" (p. 134). Oratory, after all, had been central to Reagan's rise to the presidency. He had conditioned himself efficiently for the ascendancy to the top position of the nation.

It all started when he launched a career as a radio sports announcer in Iowa. Boyarsky (1968) reported that Reagan proved especially adept at one of his tasks: "the recreation of baseball games based on the scant information he received from wire service ticker-tape reports" (p. 18). In fact, he was so overwhelmed by his own talent that he made up his mind to try to become an actor.

His voice and ability to use language to establish an emotional link with listeners lies behind his every success. Rosenblatt (1981) noted that Reagan's voice "... recedes at the right moments, turning mellow at points of intensity when it wishes to be most persuasive, it hovers barely above a whisper so as to win you over by intimacy, if not by substance ... he likes his voice, treats it like a guest. He makes you part of the hospitality" (p. 27). Boyarsky (1968)
further concluded that "it was the voice that carried him out of Dixon, Illinois (his birthplace) and away from the Depression."

This voice which he had so carefully cherished had its beginning from the time he made numerous public speeches when he participated in publicity tours and made personal appearances, as a standard feature of his movie career. From here he slowly developed a theatrical art skill so that he appears to be spontaneous, sincere, and natural (Weiler & Pearce, 1992).

Schickel (1989) acknowledged that Reagan's performance "as a rhetor was an artistic success."

Reagan's artistic success was the result of careful planning and refusing to try to impose himself on events, to shape them to his uses. In a way, however, he was lucky because he arrived on a scene where he could fully adapt his lifelong preparation and his acting career to the modern technological mass media.

Reagan was "part of a high-tech, state-of-the-art, sophisticated rhetorical enterprise that capitalized on the technological and social opportunities of the 1980s" (Jamieson, 1988, p. 165). He superbly adapted to visual communication media, particularly television which was
familiar ground given that he had hosted countless television episodes in the 1960s (Ritter & Henry, 1992).

Stuckey (1990) contended "that the single best known feature of the Reagan presidency is his extraordinary success with the U.S. media" (p. 37). His reputation as a master of imagery far exceeds his stature as a master of substance. Here is a president who is skilled at conveying righteous indignation at the media's approach to his presidency and therefore he got away from it unharmed (Rivers, 1982).

Most of his 444 speeches made during his two term presidency, always seem to center on a few common themes (Stuckey, 1990). Listening to his speeches, one might be enticed to dismiss his words as superficial; but more than that they illustrate his perhaps unconscious recognition of an important principle of political communication: "the rhetorical experience of uniting an audience in the words and character of one seeking to persuade them" (Erickson, 1985, p. 14).

His speeches almost always included heuristic features which have come to be known as Reagan's rhetoric. They include his emphasis on heroes, appeals
to values of freedom and progress, priestly or pastoral rhetoric concerning God and his fitting presentational manner (Ritter & Henry, 1992).

However, others (see Scheel, 1984; Morello, 1988; Vancil & Pendell, 1984; Murray, 1994) identify his speeches as having salient features such as a conversational manner; diligence in staying focused on a few broad, value-centered recurring themes; a reliance on anecdotes as dominant mode of proof, and a keen knack for constructing or embellishing dramas that shaped the public's perceptions of political reality. Many critics might argue that the words and messages were not purely his, because some ghostwriters might have chosen, arranged, edited, rehearsed, and even choreographed to the requirement of the time, but people have come to accept these processes as necessary to expedite the process of governing the nation. Furthermore, almost no officials have the time or the talent to write their own materials.

Ronald Reagan strives to be a perfectionist but strangely this effort has only helped him to be projected as a myth. Barber (1987) argued that his "indifference" to facts is matched only by his devotion
Rhetorical 11

to theatricality. His erroneous statements are not minuscule matters but rather the survival types, such as military strategy, arms control, nuclear proliferation, international trade, human rights, third world debt, domestic economics, welfare policy, public education, preservation of the environment, terrorism and terrorists, Israel's issues, and assertions which he happily continues making even after their falseness is revealed (Barber, 1987; Stuckey, 1989).

Auer (1992) philosophized that "most politicians spend their lives learning how to become convincing actors, but for Reagan, the arts merge; he had been learning to be a politician as an actor" (p. 46). No matter what he was perceived to have achieved legitimately or just another famous shyster who happened to possess a great timing in almost everything, credits cannot be denied from his magnificent oratory skills.

Auer (1992) categorizes at least four factors to determine the quality in the performer. First, "the performer must have a sensitivity to his audience, its makeup, mood, and expectations." Second, "he must project a positive public persona, an identifiable
personality, character, and image." Third, "he must generously display his distinctive abilities, whether dynamic delivery, wit, or personal style." Fourth, he must receive "a good script, merging the message with the moment."

Towards the end of his life, President Woodrow Wilson mentioned "the ends of oratory as pleasing to the ear, governing the emotions, giving a sense of definitiveness, and imparting a sense of reality" (Weinstein, 1981, p. 56). The president went on to describe the excitement he felt as giving his manner an appearance of confidence and self-command which arrests attention. How true this depiction of the enthusiasm that was present in Reagan (Owen Peterson, 1981, pp. 18-19).

Reagan's first inaugural address has been examined more fully than perhaps any other speech of his presidency (Chester, 1981; Bormann, 1982; Bradley, 1983; Phifer, 1983; Blankenship, 1986; Gronbeck, 1986; Hart, 1986; Windt & Farrell, 1987; and Aden, 1989) but this address has not yet been analyzed and criticized rhetorically by applying the Burkeian Dramatistic
Pentad approach (see Matlon & Facciola, 1987). The closest approach to this was attempted by Blankenship, Fine, & Davis (1983).

Reagan was one of the most ideologically consistent presidents of the modern era, but as Stuckey (1990) stated "It is only through a careful and systematic analysis of Reagan's rhetoric, carried out with specific regard to the politics connected to that rhetoric, that we can develop an accurate understanding of the relationship between rhetoric and policy during the Reagan administration." (p. 67)

It is this perspective that makes the "focus on rhetoric such an invaluable approach, for it is a methodology that unites questions of cultural values, ethical concerns, and policy outcomes." (Hart, 1984, p. 56). The characteristics of Reagan's rhetoric have been well documented.

Cannon (1982) argued that the "most important aspect of that rhetoric is the vision that Reagan projects," a vision that revolves around the parable of the "American dream" (Wills, 1985) and its relationship to the hopes and aspirations of the
American public. Alger (1985) further reinforced these statements by saying this gives him the ability to allow Americans to forget the struggles of the present, and focus on "the lost summertime of the nation's past, when neighborhoods were safe, when families held together, when U.S. power bestrode the world" (p. 24-25).

Research Questions

After discussing all the possible aspects relating to Ronald Reagan, the writer proposes to produce answers to two research questions in relation to Reagan's First Inaugural Address.

i. What was his strategy of identification that he used to fulfill his objectives as outlined in his speech.

ii. Was his intended message delivered in the Address effective in exhibiting his rhetorical skills.
RHETORICAL CRITICISM

As a methodology, rhetorical analysis takes into consideration the belief that the relationship between politics and political language is a reciprocal one - "that the way in which we talk about things is capable reconstituting the reality in which those things are embedded" (White, 1984, p. 4). The study of rhetoric is thus an inclusive methodology and one that allows the analyst a unique viewpoint into the political world (White, 1984).

Rhetorical analysis is a multidisciplinary approach, drawing from linguistics, anthropology, and philosophy (Denton & Hahn, 1986). Its greatest strength and clearest potential weakness is that it is interpretive. It is much closer to the philosophical approach than the scientific intellectual tradition. This does not necessarily constitute any interpretation other than that some researchers have their own preferences according to interest and other circumstantial reasons.

This methodology involves ascertaining answers to certain questions. These questions concern the reasons behind the rhetor's choice of rhetorical strategies,
the consistency among and between those strategies, the probable effectiveness of the strategies on supportive and approving audiences, and the context within which the strategies are played out (Windt, 1986). It is neither possible nor desirable for rhetorical analysis to be systematized because of its dependency upon interpretive techniques.

Black (1978) says that it is a technique that is unlikely to be easily or exactly replicated. The analyst is still bound by the rules of evidence and therefore good interpretation will minimize the "personal responses, peculiar tastes, and singularities of the critic" (Black, 1978, p. 38). Stuckey (1990) stated that the goal of rhetorical analysis is "to uncover the meaning of a text." That meaning resides in "the life of the reading itself, to which both the text and the reader contribute" (White, 1984, p. 57).

No interpretation is definitive, for the meaning of a text changes with the context in which it is read. However, Stuckey (1990) maintained that "a good interpretation will offer tools by which we can attain an understanding of both the context within which the text was created and the context within which it is
Kenneth Burke, one of this century's most insightful scholars concerning the use of rhetoric, sees political address and dramatic acting as two forms of the same thing. In both cases, argued Burke, speakers aim for what he calls consubstantially, a super-identification of the audience with the actor/orator in which listeners suspend their sense of individuality and see the speaker as a projection of themselves as a group (Burke, 1954).

For the purpose of this analysis and criticism, a few techniques of research will be integrated, together with the principle technique, the Burkeian Dramatistic Pentad Approach, to further analyze the text and the orator.
METHODOLOGY

Structuring Burke's rhetorical theories into a system of rhetorical criticism necessitates 1) identifying his philosophy of rhetoric, 2) framing a structure that reflects his philosophy, and 3) showing how the dramatistic approach unites substance and rhetorical devices. Burke indicates that one "assesses the human situation and shapes appropriate attitudes by constructing his conception of the world around him" (Burke, 1961, p. 135). By starting with man as he reacts symbolically to his environment, Kenneth Burke arrives at the function of rhetoric - "the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents" (Burke, 1950, p. 57). The act of using language to induce cooperation among people automatically focuses one's attention upon the language or the symbols employed (Burke, 1950).

Burke demonstrates clearly his view that verbal symbols are meaningful acts from which motives can be derived when he discusses the relationship between symbols and action. He further described man's society as a dramatistic process, which "includes the elements
of hierarchy, acceptance and rejection, guilt, purification, and redemption" (Burke, 1954, pp. 231-232).

Burke's dramatistic approach to rhetoric supplies a language that describes man as he responds to his world, but to be useful to the critic, this language must be transformed into a more definite structure. Two concepts can be used as rhetorical tools to discover the attitudes expressed within a speech and to describe its dramatistic process (Burke, 1950). Identification is the major tool used to discover the attitudes and the dramatistic process: the pentad provides a model for their description.

At the heart of Burkeian analysis are his concept of identification and his dramatistic pentad. According to Burke, the key word in the "Old Rhetoric" is "persuasion"; the key word in the "New Rhetoric" is "identification" (Burke, 1951, p. 203). The old rhetoric analyzed the audience, the issue, and the context to discover the available means (arguments/proofs) of persuading the audience. The new rhetoric seeks to facilitate the process of identification between the speaker and the audience operating on the premise that people who identify "consubstantially" with one another
are "one in substance" and will act together (Burke, 1969, pp. 20-21).

This suggests the basis of Burke's rhetorical methods. Since he views rhetoric as an act, he believed that the dramatistic approach provided the most practical means of analysis. Therefore, he analyzed it from a dramatistic perspective on the basis of the act (what was done), the agent (who did it), the scene (in what context), the agency (through what means), and the purpose (why it was done). Burke believed that a thorough analysis of the rhetorical effort applying these analytical tools would provide the critic with a more comprehensive understanding of the real motives and motivations of the speaker (Burke, 1969, pp. xv-xvi).
THE DRAMATISTIC PENTAD

Most analyses on Reagan's speeches would readily identify that he employs a strategy of identification. He seeks to achieve his goal through identification. In carrying out his strategy of identification to reach his goals, he would outline a few target objectives that he wanted the American people to immerse themselves into. However, before analyzing his methods of achieving identification, first we have to set the scenario by using Burke's dramatistic pentad approach as the main basis of finding the root of Reagan's inner most ultimate goals.

In Ronald Reagan's January 20, 1981 presidential Inaugural Address to the nation, we can identify these elements of Burke's pentad:

The scene: The immediate scene included the new symbolically changed position from the West Front of the Capitol instead of the East Front. The extended scene was that provided live to millions of homes, throughout the world, the mass media's coverage of the event.
The Agent: Ronald Wilson Reagan, the 40th President of the United States.

The Act: Presidential Inaugural Address.

The Agency: A formal platform, language, speech, and rhetorical devices.

The purpose: Ever since the first president, newly elected presidents are expected traditionally to perform this act.
EXPLANATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE PENTAD

The scene - The Inaugural Ceremony was conducted for the first time in over fifty years from the West Front of the Capitol instead of the East Front. Reagan did this not only symbolically to announce his serious intention of bringing about a huge change, but more importantly he intended to tap into the hidden but known qualities of the American public. Inflation elected Ronald Reagan in 1980. The hostages taken in Iran filled the newspapers during that year's campaign; they were a temporary distraction from the illness that had been draining power from Jimmy Carter, as it took money from wallets, month after month. The hostages, in fact, had given Carter months of illusory vitality and rallied the nation so fervently, if briefly, to the President that he might have been reelected had the hostages been taken just three or four months before voters went to the polls (Owen Peterson, 1981, pp. 18-19).

Against this background, in came Reagan delivering his twenty-minute Presidential Inaugural Address. The New York Times (1981, January 20) reported that Reagan
started preparation for the speech with about fifty pages of ideas, notes, and memoranda assembled from various advisers, wrote a preliminary draft and a final draft himself, and created his own structure and phraseology. Political analysts gave their approval outright.

The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Supreme court, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the President's Cabinet, diplomats and other dignitaries, were all invited to attend this momentous and stupendous occasion. Being a once in four year's occurrence helped to dramatize the importance of the occasion and provided the greatest possible audience for the President's message. While this constituted the immediate scene for the speech, the networks carried the entire speech over the radio and television, therefore creating the extended or impalpable vista.

It was estimated over fifty million Americans watched the speech on television and millions more heard it live over radio. The rhetorical opportunities and implications were apparent to the President and his political aids. In fact, many critics such as the New York Times columnist such as Tom Wicker and William Saffire declared unabashedly that Reagan could survive
the presidency through Reagan's presidential rhetoric. The real target of the Inaugural Address was the American public but ostensibly it was delivered to the immediate audience.

The agent was Ronald Wilson Reagan, the fortieth President of the United States, former Governor of California, former Hollywood B movies leading actor, former President of the Screen Guild's Union, former radio and sports announcer who, since 1964, had been regarded as one of the most effective political speakers in the United States. The presidency allowed him more avenues to increase his prestige and stature as a public speaker. He came to this auspicious occasion with the reputation of a conservative Republican who had won an impressive victory over an incumbent Democratic president with a manifested mandate to reduce federal spending and cut the size and power of the federal government.

The act involves the actual delivery of the speech to the multitude of audience from all walks of life and the viewing and listening public. This involves the customary accolades for the present illuminaries, the proposed plans and budgets for the future, the evocation of underlying feelings the
audience and public have, and general outlining of the future of America. More importantly, it was his convictions and strong beliefs that people were looking forward to carry out the job entrusted to Reagan. The full text of his speech was later published in selected books (see the full speech in the appendix).

The verbal agency is the actual speech which Reagan delivers. The agency is, however, more than the speech itself. The expected entrance of the President, the anticipated reaction from the public and the presence of the highest officials of government, all the dignitaries and foreign illuminaries, the decorated banners and buntlings of the American flags, all provide the justification for a high-powered performance. This performance presented to the viewing public was even more dramatic than that seen by the members of the immediate audience because of the ability of the mass media, namely, television, to dramatize special events to make it appear more appealing and have a sense of regalia atmosphere enveloping them.

The purpose of the speech was supposedly a traditional task undertaken by all new presidents ever since President George Washington. In his address,
President Reagan signaled his intent to change the course American government had followed over the previous fifty years. To embark upon that change would require all the fortitude and abilities of a mystical western hero, and therefore inevitably heroism became the theme of his Inaugural Address. In short, he was moving the real and tangible audience, the American people, rather than the immediate audience of government officials. He knew he would have a hard time convincing a disillusioned public who had begun to lose a number of the fundamental values common among the American public. Fortunately, he had the fortification of his well-groomed oratory skills built over a long period of acting out his roles in Hollywood movies.

This brings us back to Reagan's strategy of identification to achieve his well-planned objectives. In fulfilling his strategy he seeks to:

i. Appeal to the American public that even though all was not well for the country, together they can pull it through by sticking together and embracing the challenges that lie ahead.
ii. Promote social cohesion. In multifarious manners, Reagan seeks to promote a spirit of national unity growing out of his overwhelming victory over President Jimmy Carter.

iii. Reagan also seeks to renew and reinforce audience commitment to a number of fundamental American values: determination, courage, hope, strength, faith, dignity, and compassion.

An analysis of the speech will demonstrate how he sought to accomplish these goals.
APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

Reagan's goal was to rally the American public in support of all his programs. He used first person plural pronouns, collective nouns, strong admonitions, personal, patriotic, and fear appeals to achieve his purpose. Reagan employed echos and paraphrases of speeches by previous venerated and well-respected American presidents. To underscore the need for immediate action, in paragraph 15 Reagan captures the urgency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words at an earlier time of economic crisis: "This nation asks for action, and action now." In echoing President Abraham Lincoln, Reagan speaks of "government for, by, and of the people." A sense of realism as to the amount of time and effort needed to solve our problems appears in paragraph 17.

Compare this particular paragraph to John Fitzgerald Kennedy's earlier Inaugural Address in which Kennedy said, "Many months of sacrifice and self-discipline lie ahead, months in which both our patience and our will will be tested. Months in which many
threats and denunciations will keep us aware of our dangers" (Johannesen, Allen, & Linkugel, 1992, p. 347).

In both these speeches, a sense of evocation of the solidarity and unity will overcome the insurmountable barriers faced by the public. What is needed is for the public and the government to persevere and never give up.

The strategy's success hinged on Reagan's ability to engage in pastoral or priestly rhetoric. He adopted early in his tenure a confident approach to presidential oratory. His speeches had four features: a conversational manner; diligence in staying focused on a few broad, value-centered themes; a reliance on stories as a dominant mode of proof, and a keen knack for constructing or embellishing dramas that shaped the public's perceptions of political reality (Ritter and Henry, 1992, pp. 62-63).

In at least two ways, Reagan's speech clearly reflected these traits: he placed the people at the center of his call for a new beginning and he used the authority of the country's most revered presidents to generate support for his political philosophy. The text's significance derived perhaps even more, though, from its
merging of the speciously symbolic features with specific policy issues -- the economy and renewed military stature in particular.

In paragraphs 23-24, President Ronald Reagan lists examples to help the American public visualize the nature of "we the people." To help them envisage the consequences of the economic problems facing and lurking everyone, he engages vivid active verbs: distort, crush, penalize, threaten, and shatter. Antithetical phrasing functions to stress the proper role of the government (paragraph 35) and to preach the noninevitability of national decline (paragraph 39), were intelligently employed. He even displayed usage of metaphorical imagery with such terms as 'beacon of hope' (paragraph 56), "last and greatest bastion of freedom" (paragraph 17), "remove roadblocks" (paragraph 50), and reawaken the industrial giant" (paragraph 52). All these techniques were meant to draw out a sense of togetherness, combining forces working for a common goal.
Clearly one of Ronald Reagan's aims was promotion of social cohesion. Reagan knew he had to do something solid to pull the nation together and heal the wounds left by the earlier administration (Peterson, 1981, pp. 18-19). The task that lay ahead was not going to be easy but with a strong vision of promoting a spirit of national unity, Reagan utilized all the possible avenues starting with the Inaugural Address, which presented a remarkable opportunity to close the ranks and invoke a sense of belonging and love bondage. Throughout the speech presentation, he included many uniting phrases such as "all must share" (paragraph 27), "all of us together" (paragraph 21), "our command" (paragraph 40), and inserted the words "us", "we", "they", "them", and other words to its effect.

Unifying the themes of America's chosen people as heroes and the nation's destiny as the savior of freedom, Reagan concluded: "Above all we must realize that no arsenal or no weapons in the munitions dump of the world is so formidable as the volition and moral valor of free men and women. It is a weapon our
adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that American people have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors" (paragraphs 62-65). Turning to the narrative form upon which he would often rely during his presidency to illustrate the first principle for which he stood, Reagan told the story of Martin Tretow to illustrate that price.

As Reagan explained in his address, during World War 1, Treptow left his job as a small-town barber in 1917 to "join the famed Rainbow Division" in France. There, "on the Western front, he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire" (paragraph 74-80). Reagan had recognized intuitively that Treptow was an ideal example of American's willingness to sacrifice for the nation's honor.

Reagan's speechwriter had promptly investigated and discovered that the story was accurate to a point, except that Treptow was buried in Wisconsin, not in the Arlington National Cemetery as Reagan had assumed. Reagan, however, was unwilling to sacrifice the sensationality of the drama of his story by relocating
poor Treptow's body to the Midwest. Instead, he and
the speechwriter carefully crafted the language of the
speech so that Treptow was introduced with the words:
"under one such marker lies a young man, Martin Treptow"
(paragraph 76).

Without actually stating that Treptow was buried
in the Arlington National Cemetery, Reagan thus adjusted
the facts to mould into the storyline. Having retained
Martin Treptow's full dramatic value for the speech at
hand, Reagan told his inauguration audience that
Americans do not have to make such sacrifices taken by
the soldier, but, nevertheless, they did require "our
best effort, and our willingness to believe in
ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform
great deeds; to believe that together with God's help
we can and will resolve the problems which now confront
us. And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We
are Americans" (paragraph 82-83).

Reagan's faith that the nation would rise to the
crisis rested on his conviction in Americans' penchant
for heroic deeds. reagan also integrated the
ceremonial and deliberative functions of his speech in
a skillfully constructed peroration.
Ronald Reagan also seeks to rediscover and reinforce audience commitment to a number of fundamental American values: courage, determination, strength, hope, faith, equality, compassion, impartiality, freedom and dignity. He made the public see America's vision as their own. The first step which he did in calling forth a long-favored theme, was to recognize that "in this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problems; government is the problem" (paragraph 18). He was excellent in showing the spirit of solidarity, as if the people and Reagan were one force battling the evil hands of the "Government."

Furthermore, he stated that the solution resided in "We the people": "All must share in the productive work of this 'new beginning'," he declared, "and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy." What he did was to address the common day issues with ease and conviction that the public can relate easily.

The president's Inaugural Address is instructive in at least two ways. Broadly, the symbolic discourse
that would often be used to define Reagan as the "Great Communicator" was indeed present. He attached his most illustrious predecessors to his cause, praised the innate heroism of the American public, and illustrated his ceremonial theme with a representative narrative, a discursive form of which he was particularly fond of using from time to time.

Under more precise scrutiny, however, the text's merging of deliberative and epideictic functions makes equally clear the president's devotion to first principles. Far beyond the requisites of ceremony demanded of the occasion, Reagan preached to the nation the need to narrow its attention to two overriding substantive issues. Casting economy recovery and a revival of U.S. military stature as his primary policy goals, he used "freedom" both to define the pragmatic objectives of those policies and as the abstract ideal that urged their adoption as America embarked upon its "new beginning" (paragraph 27).
REAGAN'S SUCCESS IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SPEECH

The Burkeian approach to rhetorical analysis leads the critic in a unique direction. Rather than asking oneself how the speaker attempted persuasion, the Burkeian critic asks how the (1) scene, (2) agent, (3) act, (4) agency, and (5) purpose, functioned in the pursuit for identification.

Burkeian philosophy recognizes human beings as physically separate entities, individual in their feelings, thoughts, attitudes, and experiences. Identification is the process by which the speaker binds himself with the audience "consubstantially." Reagan (agent) sought to establish identification through various means (agencies) such as rhetorical questions, statistics, testimony, illustrations, and narratives as well as brilliant use of first person plural pronouns.

Beyond these verbal agencies, physical trappings aided Reagan in setting the proper atmosphere (scene) for speaker-audience identification. The speech (act) dealt with Reagan's desire to get the American public to support and back him up for all his proposed plans.
His goals (purposes) were to stimulate national unity, conviction, and social cohesion while at the same time appeal to the American people of their responsibilities towards the nation, and lastly renewing and reinforcing audience commitment. To achieve these goals, Reagan turned to the method of identification which is central to Burkeian philosophy.

The effectiveness of the speech is well supported by many critics such as veteran political observer, James Reston, who characterized the Reagan address as "theatrical triumph between his supporters and opponents at home and abroad." "In his long years as an actor and a politician," Reston asserted, "Ronald Reagan never had such a perfect setting": Everything was planned to perfection for television ... The new President was amiably serious and made one of the best inaugural speeches in recent memory. It was flawlessly presented, and divided into three parts. First, he was courteous to President Carter, thanking him for the transition from one administration to another, but ignoring Carter's successes while emphasizing his failures.
Second, he blamed Carter, among others, for the economic distress of the nation. Yet in the last part of his speech, Mr. Reagan was not only generous but wise and even compassionate. He has demonstrated in his Inaugural Address, unlike most politicians these days, that he has the gift of speech (New York Times, January 21, 1981, p. 31).

Another fellow columnist, Tom Wicker, although he had his reservations about some parts of the speech, conceded Reagan's sincerity and noted that "Many Americans needed reassurance, renewed faith, their confidence restored" (New York Times, January 23, 1981, p. 23).

William Safire, who at one time was a speechwriter for Richard Nixon, thought that Reagan gave two speeches. "The first was an Franklin Delano Roosevelt-style warning of economic peril, coupled with an attack on big government as the source of our problem." In the second speech, beginning about halfway through according to Safire, Reagan "resurrected the 'forgotten American' and evoked memories of patriotic fervor,

The New York Times, in an editorial, observed: Words, particularly inaugural words, often reverberate and haunt the Presidents who speak them. They represent no achievement, only aspiration. With his first words on the greatest stage of all, Ronald Reagan left the impression that he inspires to lead not a revolution but a revival, not a global crusade but an inspiring diplomacy (New York Times, January 21, 1981, p. 30).

J. Jeffery Auer (1992) identified ten salient and heuristic characteristics that distinguished Ronald Reagan's magniloquent public speaking skills. They are presented here without following any hierarchical order.

First, Reagan in a public, ceremonial sense, has all the attributes that make people feel there is someone in control. It was clear Reagan's training as an actor that made him "comfortable with himself." Second, Ronald Reagan demonstrated that folksy and especially self-deprecating humor can still be effective with contemporary audiences, particularly when it is presented in an avuncular attitude, with a cocked
head, a calculated simper, and an innocent disposition.

Third, Ronald Reagan, like any seasoned and dependable thespian, has demonstrated the critical value of adapting one's style to the medium. Reagan knows that he is addressing individuals -- perhaps two or three in a family group around the television set, and not a vast audience in a great hall. Consequently, his style becomes conversational and intimate, dramatizing and storytelling, self-disclosing, personal and intense, and emphasizing upon memorable phrases.

Fourth, Ronald Reagan the actor, created a new political art form, the visual press release. It centralized the president's own role in making the news. Fifth, Ronald Reagan had a fondness for political language that was often divorced from political reality. Sometimes this was loose handling of the facts or ignoring them altogether, and substituting anecdote for analysis or wishful thinking for wisdom.

Sixth, Ronald Reagan has always been known as "a quick study," and with an old actor's ability to "milk the script." That makes him more at ease and more efficacious in formal presentations than press conferences. Seventh, Ronald Reagan, like most actors,
is always willing to take one more bow, ready to make one more speech. Indeed, he appears to revel in the opportunity to monopolize the media. Eighth, Ronald Reagan has always enjoyed public speaking and "is good at it that he sets an impossible standard for those who aspire to replace him" (p. 119).

Ninth, Ronald Reagan's presidential career must surely send a note of friendly warning to all aspiring presidential candidates that effectiveness in political communication is a critical ingredient for success, and that "if they are not naturally gifted, they should seek professional help in developing competence" (p. 119). By Reagan's own testimony, he was not a born orator.

Tenth, Ronald Reagan's heavy reliance upon speechwriters certainly provides a lesson that will impress all presidential aspirants and other political speakers: "Even if you fancy your own way with words, hire the best speechwriters you can afford, and preferably ones who will be comfortable with your ideology and philosophy" (p. 127).
CONCLUSION

Ronald Wilson Reagan, from the day he entered the Oval Office until the last ride to Santa Barbara, never stopped attacking the bureaucratic, congressional, and journalistic elites. His was a presidency that relied, perhaps more than any in this century, on populist discourse -- and with stunning success. Despite the depressing effect of the Iran-Contra scandal, Reagan left office with his personal popularity largely intact, a testament in part to how much Americans still considered this millionaire and former Hollywood star one of them.

How did he pull it off? A part of the answer rests on his skilled employment of positive populism, that set of appeals that emphasize the quiet strengths of common people and, in the same attractive sense, the "commonness" of the leader himself. Reagan's speech centered on the theme of the capacity of ordinary people performing extraordinary accomplishments. Reagan traded on the notion, inherent to populist discourse, that when you compliment a lot, they can't help liking you for it.
The First Inaugural Address was filled with instances of this kind of discourse. Examples from Reagan's discourse of this kind of flattery could be multiplied almost endlessly. Of course, such appeals are common in political rhetoric. But the extent to which Reagan used them is not. One might expect perhaps two or three references of this type in a typical inaugural address, but in Reagan's case, virtually the entire speech used populist appeals in one form or another. His reliance on such appeals was always extraordinary. Positive populism consists not just flattering the people but in making the orator one of them.

Reagan was simply a master of the populist anecdote. His ability to express the essence of ordinary life in endearing and reassuring images, and at the same time to associate himself with them via his personal life history, contributed significantly to his avuncular ethos. These stories, together with his incessant praise of the wisdom and heroism of ordinary people, make Reagan one of American political history's most successful positive populists.
REFERENCES


p. 30.
APPENDIX A

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

1 Thank you. Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker. Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens:

2 To a few of us here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion. And, yet, in the history of our nation it is a commonplace occurrence.

3 The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place as it has for almost two centuries and few of us stop to think how unique we really are:

4 In the eyes of many in the world, this every-four-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

5 Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition.

6 By your gracious cooperation in the transition process you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other. And I thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our republic.

7 The business of our nation goes forward.

8 These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions.

9 We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

10 Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, human misery and personal indignity.

11 Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

12 But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present.

13 To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political and economic upheaval.
14 You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means but for only a limited period of time. Why then should we think that collectively, as a nation, we are not bound by that same limitation?

15 We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding—we're going to begin to act beginning today.

16 The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now, as we have had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

17 In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.

18 From time to time we've been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by and of the people.

19 But if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?

20 All of us together—in and out of government—must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

21 We hear much of special interest groups. Well our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected.

22 It knows no sectional boundaries, or ethnic and racial divisions and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes and heal us when we're sick.

23 Professionals, industrialist, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies and truck drivers. They are, in short, "We the people." This breed called Americans.

24 Well, this Administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination.

25 Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs.

26 All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning," and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy.

27 With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong, prosperous America at peace with itself and the world.
So as we begin, let us take inventory.

We are a nation that has a government—not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the earth.

Our Government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the states or to the people.

All of us—all of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the states; the states created the Federal Government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it's not my intention to do away with government.

It is rather to make it work—work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on earth, it was because here in this land we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before.

Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on earth. The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of Government.

It is time for us to realize that we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We’re not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing.

So, with all the creative energy at our command let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope. We have every right to dream heroic dreams.

Those who say that we’re in a time when there are no heroes—they just don’t know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond.
42 You meet heroes across a counter—and they’re on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity.

43 There are individuals and families whose taxes support the Government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

44 Now, I have used the words “they” and “their” in speaking of these heroes. I could say “you” and “your” because I’m addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land.

45 Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes and the goals of this Administration, so help me God.

46 We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup.

47 How can we love our country and not love our countrymen? And loving them reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they’re sick and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

48 Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well the answer is a unequivocal and emphatic yes.

49 To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I’ve just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world’s strongest economy.

50 In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity.

51 Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow—measured in inches and feet, not miles—but we will progress.

52 It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means and to lighten our punitive tax burden.

53 And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles there will be no compromise.

54 On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might’ve been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, president of Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, “Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question upon which rest the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves.”
Well I believe we the Americans of today are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to insure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children and our children’s children.

And as we renew ourselves here in our own land we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment.

We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it—now or ever.

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will.

When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

Above all we must realize that no arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women.

It is a weapon our adversaries in today’s world do not have.

It is a weapon that we as Americans do have.

Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

I am told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day; for that I am deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each inaugural day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held, as you’ve been told, on this West Front of the Capitol.

Standing here, one faces a magnificent vista, opening up on this city’s special beauty and history.

At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man.
George Washington, father of our country. A man of humility who came to
greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant
nationhood.

71 Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The
Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence.

72 And then beyond the Reflecting Pool, the dignified columns of the
Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of
America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

73 Beyond those moments, monuments to heroism is the Potomac
River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery
with its row upon row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of
David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for
our freedom.

74 Each one of those markers is a monument to the kind of hero I
spoke of earlier.

75 Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, the Argonne,
Omaha Beach, Salerno and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tar­
awa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies
and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

76 Under such a marker lies a young man, Martin Treptow, who left
his job in a small town barber shop in 1917 to go to France with the famed
Rainbow Division.

77 There, on the Western front, he was killed trying to carry a message
between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

78 We are told that on his body was found a diary.

79 On the flyleaf under the heading, “My Pledge,” he had written
these words:

80 “America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save,
I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if
the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone.”

81 The crisis we are facing today does not require of us the kind of
sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called
upon to make.

82 It does require, however, our best effort, and our willingness to
believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds; to
believe that together with God’s help we can and will resolve the problems
which now confront us.

83 And after all, why shouldn’t we believe that? We are Americans.

84 God bless you and thank you. Thank you very much.
BURKEIAN DRAMATISTIC PENTAD APPROACH

(set the scenario as the main basis of finding the root of Reagan's inner most ultimate goals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE SCENE</th>
<th>THE AGENT</th>
<th>THE ACT</th>
<th>THE AGENCY</th>
<th>THE PURPOSE</th>
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<tr>
<td>the immediate scene, symbolic change, inflation, the hostages crisis, the guests of honor, networks carried live-extended or unseen scene. provided the greatest possible audience for Pres. message.</td>
<td>RWR-40th. Pres. Gov. of Calif., Pres. Screen Guilds Union, reputation as a conservative Rep. won an impressive victory over inc. Democratic Pres.</td>
<td>-actual delivery of the speech, accolades, proposed plans, budgets for the future of America (SPEECH)</td>
<td>-formal platform, language, speech, rhetorical devices, entrance, reaction from public, regalia, television coverage.</td>
<td>traditional act, signaled intention to change the course of the American gov., requires a mystical western hero.</td>
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STRATEGY OF IDENTIFICATION

(used this process to achieve his goals by identifying a few target objectives)

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

(stick together, support all his programs)

used first person plural pronouns, collective pronouns, strong admonitions, personal, patriotic, fear appeals. Reagan also employed echos and paraphrases of speeches by previous famous Presidents to produce a sense of realism as to the amount of time and effort needed to solve America's problems. (17). Displayed usage of metaphorical imagery to draw out a sense of togetherness.

SOCIAL COHESION

(a spirit of national unity)

promote social cohesion to pull the nation together after election. Many uniting phrases, "all must share"(27), "all of us together"(21), "we", "us", "they","them", Unifying the themes of America's chosen people as heroes and the nation's destiny as the savior of freedom (62-65).

AUDIENCE COMMITMENT

(renew and reinforce a number of fundamental American values)

showing the spirit of solidarity bysiding with the people against the government (18). Attached his most illustrious predecessors to his cause, praised the innate heroism of the Americans.