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THE USE OF LOGICAL PROOF IN THE SPEECHES OF
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
AS SHOWN BY AN ANALYSIS OF EIGHT SELECTED SPEECHES
DELIVERED BETWEEN THE DATES OF
DECEMBER 17, 1963, AND JANUARY 4, 1965

By

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B.A. Augustana College, 1964

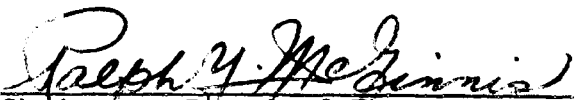
Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1965

Approved by:


Chairman, Board of Examiners



Dean, Graduate School

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Lyndon Baines Johnson, thirty-sixth President of the United States, has played an important role in the recent history of his country. His life has been one of service to the nation. As a teacher, a high school debate coach, a congressional assistant, the Texas State Director for the National Youth Administration, a member of the House of Representatives, a Senator, the Senate Majority Leader, Vice-President, and President, Lyndon Johnson has often articulated his views on a wide range of subjects. The communication and speeches of Lyndon Johnson have had a profound effect upon the policies of the United States Government and the opinions of its citizens. Since he is a contemporary political figure, analysis of Johnson's speeches are very limited. Much has been written concerning Johnson's political life and philosophy, but little has been written analyzing his rhetoric. This study will attempt to discover the uses of logical proof as it appears in eight of Lyndon Johnson's selected speeches.

Because of influential speakers and politicians such as Lyndon Johnson people are constantly modifying their opinions, joining new causes, changing their minds, and making new decisions. These changes take place because something is brought to their attention which prompts

a change in attitude or position. Persuasion is a mode of activity common not only to the politician, but to all persons in their day to day lives. William N. Brigance has stated this idea very aptly: "Life is a fiery furnace in which our ideas are forever smelted, fused, drawn, and recast. Convincing other people is an everyday act of life."¹

In everyday life listeners sometimes evaluate persuasive communication and in doing so they frequently draw a distinction between rational and emotional appeals. The distinction between rational logical appeals and psychological emotional appeals is expressed in variant terminology by a wide range of authorities. Ehniger and Brockriede consider the distinction in terms of the choice a listener must make:

When men are called on to make choices or decisions, they proceed in one of two ways. Either they examine the available evidence and survey accepted motives and values to discover what conclusion may be warranted, or, disregarding evidence and values, they leap to a conclusion impulsively on the basis of desire, superstition, or prejudice. Decisions of the first sort are called "critical"; those of the second sort, "uncritical".²

The development of critical thinking ability has long been a pervasive concern of American education. This emphasis upon man's rationality has motivated schools to instruct students in argumentation and debate, which is one of the oldest disciplines in Western education with its genesis traceable to ancient Greece and Rome. Argumentation, as a discipline, utilizes reasoning and analysis to form bases for belief and action. Its primary concern is with logical proof in discourse.

¹William Norwood Brigance, Speech Composition (New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts, Inc., 1937), p. 62.

²Douglas Ehniger and Wayne Brockriede, Decision by Debate (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1963), p. 3.

Logical proof functions as a basis of advocacy. In American society citizens are free to promote many causes and interests. There is no homogeneous majority in political philosophy, economic interests, religious affiliation, racial background, or geographical loyalty. Consequently dispute and debate flourish throughout the entire realm of social affairs. Those citizens who advocate a controversial point of view are often judged by their use of supporting proof. Since the age of Aristotle, in the ancient Greek Democracy, men have studied the logical principles underlying the formulation of proof.

Proof in effective persuasive communication is constructed from many ingredients. Two important ingredients that are commonly considered to be part of persuasive communication are emotional appeals and logical appeals. These appeals function reciprocally in an attempt to produce the communicator's desired response; ie., a logical proposition often contains an element of emotive appeal, and an emotive appeal often contains an element of logical reasoning. Successful speakers understand and make use of logical and emotional appeals. They realize that successful persuasion blends the ingredients of these appeals to achieve the desired communicative effect. Often the listener is aware of either the emotional appeal or the logical appeal of an address when in reality the speaker is utilizing both types of appeal. In this study logical appeals will be analyzed disregarding the frequent simultaneous operation of emotive appeals.

Logical appeals are derived from the speaker's reasoning. Much of a speaker's support for a contention is based on reasoning. The process of supporting contentions through the use of reasoning has for centuries been termed logical proof by rhetorical theorists. Aristotle believed

that in oral discourse logos (the logical division of proof) utilized reasoning and pertained to "the argument proper, in so far as it actually or seemingly demonstrates."³

There is a distinction between the type of proof used in oral discourse and that applied by the formal logician or scientist. It may be anticipated that the reasoning employed by the persuasive speaker will be less precise in method and less complete in development.⁴ Very seldom is a speaker expected to demonstrate elaborate reasoning patterns in support of a proposition, but he is expected to base his statements upon some sort of intelligent reasoning which may be generally termed logical proof. Arthur Hastings draws the distinction in this manner:

In scientific experiments or formal logic each variable or each step must be carefully analyzed, and the conclusion is tested by established criteria. In rhetorical reasoning the advocate may report less of the probative process, ignoring some factors and presenting only minimal evidence.⁵

Arnold, Ehninger and Gerber also point out the distinction between scientific and rhetorical proof. They define proof in the following manner:

Proof: Broadly, anything about a speech that induces belief or action. This general meaning is common in rhetoric, although in logic and science proof usually refers only to the result of evidence. Aristotle's view that rhetorical proof takes four forms is still widely accepted: there is proof (1) arising from the logic of reasoning and evidence; (2) arising from the feelings aroused in the audience (emotion); (3) arising from the reputation of the speaker and the impressions he creates while speaking (ethos); and (4) supplied by the introduction of such aids to argument as documents, witnesses, photographs, and the like.⁶

³Aristotle, The Rhetoric, trans. Lane Cooper (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932), p. 9.

⁴Glen E. Mills, Reason In Controversy (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1964), p. 125.

⁵Arthur Hastings, "Reasoning Processes," ibid., p. 126.

⁶Carroll C. Arnold et al. The Speaker's Resource Book (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1961), p. 308.

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem

As noted earlier, the purpose of this study is to discover the uses of logical proof in the speeches of Lyndon Baines Johnson as shown by an analysis of eight selected speeches delivered between the dates of December 17, 1963, and January 4, 1965.

Importance of the study

The importance of such a problem and study lays in the importance of the man being studied. As the leader of the world's most powerful nation and the leading spokesman of the free world, Johnson's significance and place in history is easily recognizable. The speeches themselves are, like their author, cogent pieces of the human register of history. They encompass topics ranging from international affairs to domestic policy and the death of John F. Kennedy. The importance of the study rests not only in the consequence of the man and the speeches studied, but also in the hope that it may be an aid to the understanding of Lyndon Baines Johnson's rhetoric.

Limitations of the study

Rhetorical proofs are of three types; ethos, pathos, and logos.⁷ Ethos refers to the ethical character of the speaker which affects his persuasiveness. Pathos refers to the use of emotive appeals by the speaker. Logos is the sphere of proof with which this study will be concerned. The logical method of constructing persuasive discourse constitutes the Aristotelian concept of logos.⁸ In discussing logical

⁷Ethos, pathos, and logos are the classic distinctions set forth by Aristotle in The Rhetoric, p. 7.

⁸Ibid., p. 9.

proof Aristotle stated that: "proofs are of two kinds, artistic and non-artistic."⁹

By 'non-artistic' proofs are meant all such, as are not supplied by our own efforts, but existed beforehand, such as witnesses, admissions under torture, written contracts, and the like. By 'artistic' proofs (means of persuasion) are meant those that may be furnished by the method of Rhetoric through our own efforts.¹⁰

The specific criteria for logical proofs are defined and their uses are reported and recorded later in the study. Many aspects of Johnson's public address, such as delivery, style, psychology, and audience response, have not been included and will not be mentioned in the analysis. Because this study is not a complete rhetorical analysis, but deals with a restricted focus, a more penetrating and through analysis of Johnson's use of logical proof is possible.

Definition of logical proof

There is one important term requiring definition at this point. The other vital terms are explained in the examination of the criteria for evaluation. The broad term "logical proof" requires some explanation in order that the analysis be more clearly understood.

In order to clarify what is meant by logical proof, for the purpose of this study, it is necessary to establish what it is not. Logical proof is not concerned with ethical proof. The character of the speaker and the ethical code he utilizes are important but do not fall within the domain of logical proof. There are innumerable methods of appealing to the emotions of the audience but emotional proof constitutes an area of analysis that can also be distinctly separate from logical proof.

⁹Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 9.

Logical proof is concerned with the persuasive processes of non-artistic proof and the artistic proof forms of induction and deduction. These aspects of logical proof are explained in detail in Chapter III.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Biographies of Lyndon Baines Johnson are limited. There are several books concerning the life of Johnson available; however none of them can be regarded as a comprehensive work. No one has undertaken the task of compiling a comprehensive biography of the thirty-sixth President because, of course, he is a contemporary figure still making history. An all-inclusive biography, if written at the present time, would require revision and addition upon Johnson's retirement or death.

Numerous periodicals have printed biographical sketches of Johnson's life. These are helpful in obtaining a skeletal overview of his life.

It is interesting to note that in July, 1965, the University of Montana library contained only one work of definitive nature, William S. White's The Professional: Lyndon B. Johnson, which is, in this writer's opinion, the best of the books currently available on the life of the thirty-sixth President. Mr. White is a well known and respected journalist and his book is entertaining and enlightening, but is by no means a comprehensive study of his subject.

The other two biographical works available in Missoula, as of July 1965, are Clark Newlon's L.B.J., The Man from Johnson City and Henry A. Zeiger's Lyndon B. Johnson: Man and President. Neither work is as complete or well written as Mr. White's book.

All these books conclude their survey of history with, or shortly following, the assassination of John F. Kennedy and consequently their time span parallels that of this study only tangentially. A certain amount of political motive may have been involved in the publishing of these books as each was printed a number of months preceding the election.

Robert N. Hall who has studied the contemporary literature concerning Lyndon Johnson is in agreement with this writer's evaluation.

Although historians and scholars have still not written about Johnson, the professional biographers, including William S. White, have deluged the market with "campaign" biographies. At this writing ten books about the exemplary and humanitarian life of President Johnson were on the book stands, and there are more to come.¹¹

OTHER STUDIES ON THE SPEAKING OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Studies of Lyndon Johnson's speaking are, as in the case of earlier biographical material, very limited. Speech Monographs, which lists all of the Ph.D. and M.S. dissertations and theses in the areas of speech and public address, noted only one study of a rhetorical nature done on Johnson, to date.

A doctoral dissertation was recently completed by Robert N. Hall at the University of Michigan entitled "A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Speeches of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, 1955-61." This study constituted a rhetorical criticism of Johnson's speaking during the time that he was the majority leader of the Senate. Hall's dissertation analyzed six speeches that were considered to be a representative cross section of Johnson's oratory. In each of the six speeches Hall found that induction

¹¹Robert N. Hall, "Lyndon Johnson's Speech Preparation," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (April, 1965), 168.

was the reasoning form upon which rested the development of major contentions.¹² This induction usually consisted of presenting a group of specific particulars which led systematically to the conclusion. The use of analogy was also apparent although many of the analogies drawn were not fully developed.¹³ Johnson almost universally ignored the use of deductive reasoning in these six speeches. The application of non-artistic proof was limited and when evidence was presented it was of a restricted type.¹⁴

When he did employ evidence, he never documented or cited any source in the attempt to strengthen the credibility of the material. His use of evidence was apparently derived from his own experiences and he also apparently believed that the audiences were willing to accept him as the recognized authority on the topic.¹⁵

Arguments from authority were based solely upon personal authority.

The present study, being concerned with a later chronological period, goes beyond the scope of Hall's study in certain respects. Hall's analysis provides a convenient basis for comparison of Johnson's use of logical proof at two chronological periods of his career. It would seem reasonable to expect that some changes in Johnson's rhetoric may have taken place during the interim period of the two studies. When he became Vice President in 1961 Johnson was thrust into the role of emissary for the Kennedy administration. In this role he encountered many more formal speaking situations than he had as a Senator. As President of the United States his utterances are scrutinized by vast numbers of observers around the world.

¹²Robert N. Hall, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Speeches of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, 1955-61." (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Speech, University of Michigan, 1963), p. 66.

¹³Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 152.

Hall has also studied Lyndon Johnson's speech preparation.¹⁶ This study is not germane to an analysis of logical proof. Hall was concerned mainly with data related to Johnson's use of "ghost writers". The results of the study are summed up in the following manner:

There is still much to be learned about the preparation of a Johnson speech. One thing is clear: no matter who writes the speeches the end product is likely to be strictly Johnsonian. The achievement of a distinctive flavor is the result of Johnson's effort to get his habits of language and of structure integrated into the work of the ghost writer. Without such integration there would be no Johnsonian style as we know it today.¹⁷

According to the 1964 annual survey of Speech Monographs there are no other studies of Lyndon Johnson's public speaking in progress. As well as can be determined, this thesis will be the first in the field of speech to evaluate a group of Johnson's addresses solely on the basis of the use of logical proof.

¹⁶Hall, "Lyndon Johnson's Speech Preparation", p. 169.

¹⁷Ibid.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

SELECTION OF CRITERIA FOR THE ANALYSIS

Criteria for evaluation of Johnson's eight speeches were synthesized from an analysis of eight books written by logicians and eight argumentation and debate textbooks. The works on logic were chosen for their natural relationship to the area of logical proof.¹⁸ The argumentation and debate texts were selected because they deal with the use of logical proof in discourse.¹⁹

¹⁸The following are the eight works on logic from which the criteria were synthesized:

- Castell, Albury. A College Logic. New York: Macmillan Co., 1937.
Copi, Irving M. Introduction to Logic. New York: Macmillan Co., 1961.
Grote, George. Aristotle. London: John Murray, 1872.
Joseph, H.W.B. An Introduction to Logic. Oxford: Clarendon Press., 1916.
Larrabee, Harold A. Reliable Knowledge. Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1945.
Stebbing, L.S. A Modern Introduction to Logic. London: Methuen & Co., 1950.
Whately, Richard. Elements of Logic. New York: Sheldon & Co.
Wolf, A. Textbook of Logic. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930.

¹⁹The following are the eight works on argumentation and debate from which the criteria were synthesized:

- Baird, A. Craig. Public Discussion and Debate. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1937.
Behl, William A. Discussion and Debate. New York: Ronald Press, 1953.
Ehninger, Douglas, and Wayne Brockriede. Decision by Debate. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1963.
Ewbank, Henry Lee, and J. Jeffrey Auer. Discussion and Debate. New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1941.
Foster, William Trufant. Argumentation and Debating. Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1932.
Freeley, Austin J. Argumentation and Debate. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1961.
McBath, James H. et al., Argumentation and Debate. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston Inc., 1963.
McBurney, James H., and Glen E. Mills. Argumentation and Debate. New York: Macmillan Co., 1964.

The area of logical proof is divided into three groupings, non-artistic proof and the two divisions of artistic proof, deductive reasoning, and inductive reasoning. The authorities consulted were nearly unanimous in their agreement on deduction and induction as divisions of logical proof.

Under each of the three major groupings are their various components. For the purpose of a lucid evaluation it is necessary to take each one of the sub-divisions separately and examine it in terms of the sixteen books which provide the criteria.

Non-artistic Proof

The first area of analysis is that of non-artistic proof and its sub-divisions. Non-artistic proof is a division that was shunned by several authorities and lacked agreement by others as to the terminology employed in its classification. There is traditionally however general agreement among rhetoricians regarding factors which constitute an area of non-artistic proof. This type of proof is distinguished from induction and deduction in that it exists immediately as adopted proof and requires no relation to other propositions. Non-artistic proof is often discussed in terms of evidence. Some authorities feel that non-artistic proof is more clearly described as direct evidence because it embodies no mediate operation or related facts to prove a point. Freeley explains direct evidence as "That evidence which tends to show the existence of a fact in question without the intervention of the proof of any other fact."²⁰ Foster had formulated much the same concept at

²⁰Freeley, p. 53.

an earlier date and believed that men act upon direct evidence as immediate proof.²¹

The first type of non-artistic proof to be considered is the argument from sign. Stebbing interprets the concept of sign in the context of everyday life:

In the situations of everyday life our senses are being constantly stimulated by a variety of sense-impressions amongst which we have learnt to pay attention to some as being signs of something else in which we are interested. When one thing signifies another, there is between them that connection which enables us to pass in thought from one to the other.²²

McBurney and Mills state that as a reasoning form the argument from sign strives to demonstrate immediately that a proposition is true without explaining why it is true.²³ An example of the argument from sign may be a person observing that it will rain because there are dark clouds in the sky.

The argument from authority constitutes the second classification of non-artistic proof. "As a culture becomes increasingly specialized, people tend to rely more and more on the experience and judgment of others. Such reliance on others is the basis for authoritative proofs."²⁴ Thus according to Ehninger and Brockriede, modern man is becoming more dependent on the argument from authority. Freeley clarifies the use of the term: "Argument from authority is a phrase sometimes used to indicate that expert opinion is presented to establish a contention in

²¹Foster, p. 104

²²Stebbing, p. 4.

²³McBurney, and Mills, p. 119.

²⁴Ehninger and Brockreide, p. 158.

an argument."²⁵ Copi also clarifies and then presents an example of argument from authority:

The argumentum ad verecundiam is the appeal to authority, that is, to the feeling of respect people have for the famous to win assent to a conclusion. If laymen are disputing over some question of physical science and one appeals to the testimony of Einstein on the matter, that testimony is very revelant.²⁶

The third element of non-artistic proof is the argument from document. To many authorities the argument from document is synonymous with written evidence. In usual context it consists of any statements that have been printed and are quoted by a speaker as proof.²⁷ "A document may be defined as any material written by someone other than the speaker and accepted by the audience on that basis."²⁸ An example of the argument from document could be a speaker quoting the United States Constitution in support of the contention that segregation is not lawful.

Following, in outline form, are the methods of non-artistic logical proof as they are used in the evaluation:

Non-artistic Proof

Sign
Authority
Document

Artistic Proof - Deductive Reasoning

The second of the three groupings of logical proof is deductive reasoning. Because authorities agree closely on the properties of this category it is relatively easy to delineate its components. Wolf explains that: "Deduction, or deductive inference, is usually defined as inference

²⁵Freeley, p. 62.

²⁶Copi, p. 61-62.

²⁷Behl, p. 72-73.

²⁸McBath et al. p. 155.

from a general proposition, or from general propositions, or as the application of laws (or rules) to relevant cases."²⁹ Copi discusses the theory of deduction in greater detail:

A deductive argument is one whose premisses are claimed to provide conclusive evidence for the truth of its conclusion. Every deductive argument is either valid or invalid: valid if it is impossible for its premisses to be true without its conclusion being true also, invalid otherwise. The theory of deduction is intended to explain the relationship between premisses and conclusion of a valid argument and to provide techniques for the appraisal of deductive arguments, that is, for discriminating between valid and invalid deductions.³⁰

The first and foremost type of deductive reasoning is the syllogism. The founder of the classic reasoning form was Aristotle who defined it in this manner: "It is a speech in which some positions have been laid down, something different from these positions follows as a necessary consequence from their being laid down."³¹ Many centuries after Aristotle's formulation of the syllogism, Baird described it in the following terms:

A syllogism is a set of three propositions: a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. The premises are so called because they contain a common term; the conclusion is so called because it presumably results from a comparison made in the premises between the two terms contained in the conclusion and a third term, called the middle term.³²

For the purposes of evaluation, in this study, three types of syllogistic reasoning will be considered. The first of these types is the catagorical syllogism. Behl has described the form in this manner:

The catagorical syllogism classifies without qualification. The major premise expresses an unqualified statement. To illustrate:

²⁹Wolf, p. 74.

³⁰Copi, p. 133.

³¹Grote, p. 205.

³²Baird, p. 130.

All human beings have two hands.
 John is a human being.
 Therefore, John has two hands.³³

In the preceding example the major premise, "All human beings have two hands", is a statement that refers to all members of the human species. The major premise is an unqualified statement and when the minor premise is expressed in relation to the major premise the conclusion necessarily follows.

The second type of syllogistic reasoning to be considered is the hypothetical syllogism. Ewbank and Auer assert that: "The general form assumed by the hypothetical syllogism is 'If this is true, then this follows'."³⁴ This type of syllogism employs not merely a subject and predicate, but also an antecedent and a consequent, ie., a condition and result, between which a connection is asserted. The organization of the hypothetical syllogism was described by Baird:

This syllogism is so called because the major premise is a hypothetical proposition. A hypothetical proposition is one in which the chief assertion is conditional. The sentence is complex in structure and the dependent clause is a condition. The conditional clause is called the antecedent and the main clause the consequent. The proposition thus implies a cause-to-effect relationship. The major premise is a hypothetical proposition, the minor premise is a categorical proposition which affirms or denies either the antecedent or the consequent of the major premise, and the conclusion affirms or denies that antecedent or consequent not affirmed or denied in the minor premise.³⁵

The third type of syllogism observed by most authorities is the disjunctive syllogism. It varies from other syllogistic forms in that it employs the conjunctions "either" and "or" in the major premise to state

³³Behl, p. 89.

³⁴Ewbank, and Auer, p. 119.

³⁵Baird, p. 136.

an alternative.³⁶ Joseph states that the disjunctive syllogism has three essential parts: a disjunctive proposition, a catagorical proposition, and a conclusion. The catagorical proposition, as the minor premise, either affirms or denies one of the alternatives in the disjunctive proposition. The conclusion affirms or denies the other alternative.³⁷ Freeley indicated that conjunctions other than "either" and "or" may be used in a disjunctive syllogism:

The disjunctive syllogism in which the major premise contains mutually exclusive alternatives. The separation of alternatives is usually indicated by such words as either, or, neither, but, although, either expressly stated or clearly implied. For example:

MAJOR PREMISE: Either Congress will amend this bill or the President will veto it.
 MINOR PREMISE: Congress will not amend this bill.
 CONCLUSION: Therefore, the President will veto it.³⁸

It is easy to realize that in everyday conversation or discussion meetings many arguments are tendered, but few are ever presented in formal syllogistic form. Yet many of these arguments are in reality expressed as abbreviated or expanded syllogisms. Authorities consulted in this analysis, generally agreed that the two major types of this kind of deductive reasoning were: (1) the enthymeme, and (2) the chain of reasoning or sorites.

An enthymeme is commonly thought of as a truncated syllogism, ie., an argument from which one or more propositions have been omitted.³⁹ Behl sets forth the enthymeme concept with clarity:

An enthymeme, for our purpose here, is a syllogism with one of the premises or the conclusion missing. To illustrate:

³⁶Whately, p. 116.

³⁷Joseph, p. 344.

³⁸Freeley, p. 109-110.

³⁹Castell, p. 145.

Suppose you argue that you should receive a high grade in a course because you have worked hard. You expressed your argument in the form of an enthymeme; the major premise is missing. This argument expressed in a complete syllogism would be:

All who study hard should receive a high grade.
I have studied hard.
Therefore, I should receive a high grade.

A little reflection concerning the many arguments that you use during the course of a day will reveal that most of your reasoning is done in enthymematic form.⁴⁰

Ewbank and Auer explain the sorites or chain of reasoning: "This type of argument which also appears in nonsyllogistic form is accurately described by its name, for it is actually a chain or succession of syllogisms with all conclusions but the last suppressed."⁴¹ The chain of syllogisms is distinguished from an unrelated group of syllogisms by the fact that each syllogism supports or is supported by the other.⁴² The sorites argument is a type of chain of reasoning. In discussing the chain of reasoning argument Copi says: "Where such an argument is expressed enthymematically, with only the premisses and the final conclusion stated, it is called a sorites. Sorites may have three, four, or any number of premisses."⁴³

The components of deductive reasoning used in this study are as follows:

Deductive Reasoning

Syllogism
 catagorical
 hypothetical
 disjunctive
Enthymeme
Chain of reasoning---sorites

⁴⁰Behl, p. 95.

⁴¹Ewbank, and Auer, p. 159.

⁴²Wolf, p. 90.

⁴³Copi, p. 219.

Artistic Proof -- Inductive Reasoning

The third grouping of logical proof is inductive reasoning. There is general agreement among authorities concerning the types of reasoning that constitute induction. As early as Aristotle it was contrasted with deduction when Aristotle wrote: "We believe everything either through Syllogism or upon Induction."⁴⁴

The inductive process searches for order among facts. This prompts the question, what is a fact? In this study a fact will be considered as any phenomena that may be observed by the senses. Murray would agree as he defines "fact" in the following manner. "We do not have 'facts' except as someone observes them. That is they do not exist in isolation; they exist only as a relation between an observer and something observed."⁴⁵

Induction differs from deduction in that it demonstrates only probability that a conclusion is valid. Deduction, on the other hand, customarily claims to provide conclusive evidence for the validity of its conclusion. Larrabee believes that the task of the inductive thinker is much more difficult than that of the deductive thinker.

For an inductive system must start with the facts which it is eventually to explain; while a deductive system may lay down its own conditions to which the facts may or may not happen to conform. As long as facts are disregarded, the speculative imagination is free to construct the most elegant and complicated systems of abstractions without the hindrance of any particular world to which they must apply. The task of the inductive thinker is far more difficult; he has two controls, and not just one, for he must keep an eye on

⁴⁴Grote, p. 268.

⁴⁵Elwood Murray, Integrative Speech (New York: Dryden Press, 1953) p. 85.

what is given in sense-experience as well as upon the ordering concepts which he uses in interpreting it. His job is to bring together fruitfully the order that is (sometimes dimly) in his mind, and the order in his subject-matter.

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 The inductive approach is obliged to be more modest in what it tries to establish. It is looking, not for an obviously necessary connection which can be wholly understood by an immediate inference as soon as it is pointed out (as in each step of a proof in geometry), but for a possibly hidden order among scattered facts by means of the mediation of imagined hypotheses. The problem situations which it tackles are characteristically those in which we do not see the connections which are later found to underlie the sequences of events. People are ill; or commerce languishes; or forms of taxation bring in unexpectedly large revenues -- yet we are unable, without the aid of a theory, to be sure that we understand of what conditions the illnesses or the depression or the increased revenue are the necessary consequences.⁴⁶

Baird provides an overview of induction as an argumentative type:

In inductive argument we proceed from a particular premise or statement to a general conclusion. We examine a number of concrete instances and then make a general statement which covers the field of these instances. Or we attempt to discover and express some general principle or law which arises from the concrete facts. This method is not so much that of leaping across a great chasm or gap, from the known to the unknown, as it is a method of discovering the general law or describing the general system in which the facts are placed.⁴⁷

As used for purposes of evaluation in this study, induction is partitioned into three categories: causation, analogy, and generalization. The first of these classes to be considered is causation. In the large sense cause operates constantly throughout the affairs of the world, Joseph claims, and he further states:

The world, as we have already insisted, is not a mere procession of events, but the events concern things; a cause is a thing acting; it produces a change in something. And the things exist before and after the action, sometimes apparently unchanged.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Larrabee, p. 202, 316.

⁴⁷Baird, p. 147.

⁴⁸Joseph, p. 426.

Copi believes that man must have some knowledge of causal connections in order to exercise control over his environment. The physician is an example because he must understand the causes of illness and the effects of the drugs he administers. Copi thus concludes: "It is a fundamental axiom in the study of nature that events do not just 'happen', but occur only under certain conditions."⁴⁹

"The process of reasoning by cause consists of inferring that a certain factor (a cause) is a force that produces something else (an effect)."⁵⁰ Foster further explains and delineates between the two main types of argument from cause:

The argument from effect to cause and the argument from cause to effect are both processes of reasoning from the known to the unknown cause. One process argues from a known effect to an unknown cause. The other argues from a known cause to a unknown effect. If we start with an observed act of a human being and attempt to find a motive for that act, we argue from effect to cause. If we start with a known motive and attempt to prove that it will result in a certain act, we argue from cause to effect.⁵¹

Argument from analogy is the second component of inductive reasoning. Stebbing points out that the term analogy has been used in various senses and that some ambiguity has engulfed it in the past.⁵² However, most authorities consulted were in agreement concerning the nature of analogy. McBurney and Mill's definition is representative:

In argument from analogy, the ground of inference is the resemblance between two individual objects or kinds of objects in a certain number of points, and the inference is that they resemble one another in some other point, known to belong to the one but not known to belong to the other.⁵³

⁴⁹Copi, p. 355.

⁵⁰Freeley, p. 96.

⁵¹Foster, p. 154.

⁵²Stebbing, p. 249.

⁵³Baird, p. 165.

Copi maintained that: "Most of our everyday inferences are by analogy" and consequently that it is the most commonly used type of argument.⁵⁴

Analogy is of two kinds, figurative and literal. Literal analogy is that type of comparison based upon a similarity of objects in the same field or class; figurative analogy is a comparison between relationships of objects in different fields or classes."⁵⁵

Behl defines argument from generalization as a process of examining specific examples of a given phenomenon in order to reach a conclusion.⁵⁶ This is the third major component of inductive reasoning. Whately discusses generalization in terms of assigning "common names" to individuals.

When, therefore, we are thus contemplating several individuals which resemble each other in some part of their nature, we can (by attending to that part alone, and not to those points wherein they differ) assign them one common name, which will express or stand for them merely as far as they all agree; and which, of course, will be applicable to all or any of them; (Which process is called generalization) and each of these names is called a common-term, from its belonging to them all alike; or a predicable, because it may be predicated---affirmatively of them, or of any of them.⁵⁷

The nature of the argument from generalization is defined as:

The process of inferring a more general conclusion from the examination of a number of specific instances or causes involves three separate steps. First, certain items, assumed to be representative members of a given class, are selected at random. Second, these items are examined critically, and if they are found to exhibit a common character a necessary connection is assumed to exist among them. Third, upon the basis of this assumed connection, a more inclusive judgment concerning all or a majority of the members of the class is made.⁵⁸

In sum, then, the criteria for evaluation of inductive reasoning in

⁵⁴Copi, p. 337-338

⁵⁵Baird, p. 165.

⁵⁶Behl, p. 103.

⁵⁷Whately, p. 139.

⁵⁸McBath, et al., p. 185.

the speeches of Lyndon Johnson are as follows:

Inductive Reasoning

Causation
 cause to effect
 effect to cause
 Analogy
 literal
 figurative
 Generalization

SELECTION OF SPEECHES

Johnson delivered many speeches during the period of time with which this study is concerned. It would be an extremely protracted endeavor to attempt to examine every speech delivered during this period. Therefore, inasmuch as it was impossible to consider them all, eight speeches were selected for analysis. These were chosen because they were published speeches which appeared to be significant samples of Johnson's oratory. The eight speeches represent four scopic topic areas; two speeches dealt with foreign policy, two were concerned with domestic policy, two were political addresses, and two were State of the Union addresses. The eight speeches are listed in chronological order and the circumstances surrounding each are briefly explained to exhibit its cogency as a sample.

Peaceful Revolution

Less than a month after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, on December 17, 1963, President Johnson addressed the United Nations to assure the world that a change in leadership had not altered the policies of the United States. He promised U.S. cooperation in the United Nations' effort to raise the standard of living for all of the world's peoples. He urged cooperation between nations and ended his speech with these words:

Man's age-old hopes remain our goal: that this world under God, can be safe for diversity, and free from hostility, and a better place for our children and for all generations in the years to come. And therefore, any man and any nation that seeks peace, and hates war, and is willing to fight the good fight against hunger and disease and ignorance and misery, will find the United States of America by their side, willing to walk with them every step of the way.⁵⁹

State of the Union: 1964

On January 8, 1964 President Johnson again went before Congress to present his State of the Union message. He dwelt at length on the necessity for passage of several new domestic policy bills. The attitude of this speech is well summed up in these words: "Let us carry forward the plans and programs of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, not because of our sorrow or sympathy, but because they are right."⁶⁰

The Tax Reduction Bill

In March of 1964 President Johnson had the enjoyable task of signing the "tax cut" into law. As the passage of this bill had been one of his prime legislative goals, the President used the signing ceremony as an opportunity to express his views on what the tax cut meant to the American people.

Our World Policy

The problems and potentials of United States foreign policy was the topic of a speech delivered by the President to the annual luncheon of the Associated Press at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City on April 20,

⁵⁹Lyndon B. Johnson, A Time For Action: A Selection From The Speeches and Writings of Lyndon B. Johnson. (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1964), p. 162-163.

⁶⁰Lyndon B. Johnson, "State of the Union", Vital Speeches, XXX (January 15, 1964), p. 194.

1964. This was a major policy address delivered by Johnson during the spring of 1964.

The Democratic National Convention

Because of the impending political campaign Johnson refrained from making any major speeches during the summer of 1964 until he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for President at Atlantic City, New Jersey. His acceptance address was delivered to his supporters at Convention Hall on August 27, 1964.

Campaign Address

On October 31, 1964, in Madison Square Garden, Lyndon Johnson delivered his last major address of the campaign. He attacked his Republican opponent and reiterated his belief in the need for a strong domestic policy.

U.S. Economic Problems

After the furor of the election had died away, the President addressed the Business Council in Washington, D.C., on December 2, 1964. He discussed the obligations of business and expressed the hope that a stronger partnership would come between Government and business.

State of the Union: 1965

President Johnson's message concerning the state of the union thirteen months after taking office was delivered to Congress January 4, 1965. The tone of the address was optimistic as the President urged that Congress move ahead with the business at hand.

APPLICATION OF THE CRITERIA

The criteria listed in "Selection of Criteria for the Analysis" will be used to examine the speeches discussed in "Selection of Speeches" on the basis of logical proof.

ORGANIZATION AND ENUMERATION OF THE FINDINGS

The various uses of logical argument will be enumerated in order to assess the relative frequency of Johnson's application of these criteria. This frequency pattern will then be organized into a schema that allows for a crude comparison of Johnson's use of the criteria.

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

The enumeration of usage of the logical proof patterns is of little consequence without an interpretation of the significance of the frequency schema. Therefore the significance of the enumeration of each logical proof pattern will be discussed. The discussion of the findings will also include the relationship of the logical proof patterns to the purpose and effect of the speech. Comparisons will be drawn between the speeches in respect to their use of the logical proof patterns. A comparison will be made of this study to Hall's analysis of Johnson's earlier speaking.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The prominent points that evolve from the discussion and interpretation of the findings will be summarized and conclusions will be stated.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The scope of this study is limited and therefore numerous recommendations will be made for further study of Lyndon Johnson's public address.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY

Chapter IV. The fourth chapter of this analysis will apply the

criteria and identify the logical proof patterns in Johnson's eight addresses.

Chapter V. The fifth chapter of this analysis will discuss the findings, group and compare the speeches according to four scopic topic areas, and compare this study with Hall's previous analysis of Johnson's speaking.

Chapter VI. The sixth chapter of this analysis will summarize the findings of the study and set forth recommendations for further study of Johnson's public address.

CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS IN THE ANALYSIS OF LOGICAL PROOF
OF
EIGHT OF LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S PUBLIC ADDRESSES

In this chapter the criteria for analysis discussed in Chapter III were applied to the eight speeches selected for study. An attempt was made to refer to every example of logical proof development in each address. The analysis was conducted in the same order in which the criteria were discussed and the speeches were examined in chronological order.

PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

On December 17, 1963, the new President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, addressed the United Nations. He spoke in broad sweeping terms of the possibility for fulfillment of man's hope for a better life. The types of proof utilized in this address appear to be congruent with the broadly based content. Most of the contentions were developed by means of induction. No applications of deductive argument were noted.

Non-artistic Proof

One contention in this address was developed with the argument from sign. President Johnson was discussing the responsibilities of United Nations members to improve world conditions. He stated: "In this effort,

the United States will do its full share."⁶¹ He then proceeded to support this argument with three signs:

In addition to bilateral aid, we have with great satisfaction assisted in recent years in the emergence and the improvement of international developmental institutions, both within and without this organization.

We favor the steady improvement of collective machinery for helping the less-developed nations build modern societies. We favor an international aid program that is international in practice as well as purpose.⁶²

Another instance of non-artistic reasoning occurred near the end of the address when Johnson made the following statement based upon personal authority:

My friends and fellow citizens of the world, soon you will return to your homelands. I hope you will take with you my gratitude for your generosity in hearing me so late in the session. I hope you will convey to your countrymen the gratitude of all Americans for the companionship of sorrow which you shared with us in your messages of the last few weeks.⁶³

He also used personal authority to support the contention that one-third of the world's populace suffered from poverty, hunger, and disease.⁶⁴

In my travels on behalf of my country and President Kennedy, I have seen too much of misery and despair in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America. I have seen too often the ravages of hunger and tapeworm and tuberculosis, and the scabs and scars on too many children who have too little health and no hope.⁶⁵

Induction

Two causal arguments were developed in this speech. Both may be classified as effect to cause arguments. One of these arguments was presented when the speaker sought to substantiate the proposition that the

⁶¹Johnson, A Time For Action: A Selection From the Speeches and Writings of Lyndon B. Johnson. p. 160.

⁶²Ibid., p. 160-161.

⁶³Ibid., p. 162.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 159-160.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 160.

United Nations could do something to remedy poor living conditions in the world.⁶⁶ He stated the ways in which he believed the goal could be attained:

I am not speaking here of a new way of life to be imposed by any single nation. I am speaking of a higher standard of living, to be inspired by these United Nations. It will not be achieved through some hopeful resolution in this Assembly, but through a peaceful revolution in the world, through a re-commitment of all our members, rich and poor, and strong and weak, whatever their location or their ideology, to the basic principles of human welfare and of human dignity.⁶⁷

The President was again reasoning from effect to cause when he said:

Like all human institutions, the United Nations has not achieved the highest of hopes that some held at its birth. Our understanding of how to live, live with one another, is still far behind our knowledge of how to destroy one another.⁶⁸

A number of analogical reasoning patterns were employed in this address. In the process of analyzing the social and economic problems of man Johnson declared: "But men and nations working apart created these problems, and men and nations working together must solve them."⁶⁹ The President next drew a comparison between the opportunity of the United Nations for social action and the opportunity that Franklin D. Roosevelt utilized in the depression years:

Now, on the world scale, the time has come, as it came to America thirty years ago, for a new era of hope, hope and progress for that one-third of mankind that is still beset by hunger, poverty, and disease.⁷⁰

President Johnson identified his philosophy with that of John F. Kennedy when he drew this parallel:

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 160

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 157.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 158.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 159-160.

President Kennedy, I am sure, would regard as his best memorial the fact that in his three years as President the world became a little safer and the way ahead became a little brighter. To the protection and the enlargement of this new hope for peace, I pledge my country and its government.⁷¹

The conclusion of the speech was in the form of a figurative analogy:

And, therefore, any man and any nation that seeks peace, and hates war, and is willing to fight the good fight against hunger and disease and ignorance and misery, will find the United States of America by their side, willing to walk with them, walk with them every step of the way.⁷²

Generalization emerged as the dominant reasoning structure in the "Peaceful Revolution" address. No less than thirteen contentions were supported by generalization. Johnson's introductory statement, "We meet in a time of morning",⁷³ was supported by three particulars: "My nation has lost a great leader. This organization has lost a great friend. World peace has lost a great champion."⁷⁴ A second generalization concerning the assassinated President was then developed to demonstrate that he was "the author of new hope for mankind".⁷⁵ Johnson said that Kennedy had a strong belief in the future and that, "He never quarreled with the past. He always looked at the future."⁷⁶ After the brief eulogy of John F. Kennedy President Johnson moved on to one of the main contentions of this address: "I have come here today to make unmistakably clear that the assassin's bullet which took his life did not alter his nation's purpose."⁷⁷ This contention was based on the following statements:

⁷¹Ibid., p. 162.

⁷²Ibid., p. 162-163.

⁷³Ibid., p. 156.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 156-157.

We are more than ever opposed to the doctrines of hate and violence, in our own land and around the world. We are more than ever committed to the rule of law, in our own land and around the world. We believe more than ever in the rights of man, all men of every color, in our own land and around the world. And more than ever we support the United Nations as the best instrument yet devised to promote the peace of the world and to promote the well-being of mankind. . . . the United States is committed to our joint effort to eliminate war and the threat of war, aggression, and the danger of violence, and to lift from all people everywhere the blight of disease, and poverty, and illiteracy.⁷⁸

An analysis of the success of the United Nations was as follows:

"But as our problems have grown, this organization has grown."⁷⁹ . . It had grown, said the President, "in numbers, in authority, in prestige, and its member nations have grown with it, in responsibility, and in maturity."⁸⁰ Another generalized point of analysis was: "We have seen too much success to become obsessed with failure."⁸¹ The particulars supporting this argument were:

The peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations has worked in the Congo, in the Middle East, and elsewhere. The great transition from colonial rule to independence has been largely accomplished. The decade of development has successfully begun. The world arms race has slowed. The struggle for human rights has been gaining new force.

And a start has been made in furthering mankind's common interest in outer space, in scientific exploration, in communications, in weather forecasting, in banning the stationing of nuclear weapons, and in establishing principles of law.⁸²

A further point of analysis was that "vast problems remain".⁸³ These problems were:

conflicts between great powers, conflicts between small neighbors, disagreements over disarmament, persistence of

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 157.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 158.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

ancient wrongs in the area of human rights, residual problems of colonialism, and all the rest.⁸⁴

President Lyndon Johnson expressed his belief that the nations of the world could solve their problems with the help of the United Nations.⁸⁵

This could occur when:

all members make it a workshop for constructive action, and not a forum for abuse; when all members seek its help in settling their own disputes as well as the disputes of others; when all members recognize that no nation and no party and no single system can control the future of man.⁸⁶

Johnson next declared that during the depression he worked with President Roosevelt to bring about a "peaceful revolution" that aided the poverty stricken segment of the United State's population.⁸⁷ Some of this aid consisted of the following specific actions:

We helped our working men and women obtain more jobs and we helped them obtain better wages. We helped our farmers to own and improve their own land, and conserve their soil and water, and electrify their farms.

We harnessed the powers of the great rivers, as in the Tennessee Valley and Lower Colorado. We encouraged the growth of cooperatives and trade unions. We curbed the excesses of private speculation. We built homes in the place of city slums, and we extended the rights of freedom of all our citizens.⁸⁸

In the quest for a better world the speaker asserted that: "Every nation must do its share."⁸⁹ There are three reasons why this goal can be reached: "All United Nations and their members can do better. We can act more often together. We can build together a much better world."⁹⁰

The President's next contention was that: "The greatest of human

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 158-159.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 159.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 161

⁹⁰Ibid.

problems, and the greatest of our common tasks, is to keep the peace and save the future."⁹¹ To support the magnitude of this statement Johnson declared that his chief commitment was to keeping and strengthening the peace.⁹² The other items of support were as follows:

All that we have built in the wealth of nations, and all that we plan to do toward a better life for all, will be in vain if our feet should slip, or our vision falter, and our hopes ended in another worldwide war . . . Peace is a journey of a thousand miles, and it must be taken one step at a time.⁹³

The final argument from generalization referred to the United States. Johnson stated "We know what we want".⁹⁴ He then listed the desires of the United States:

We know what we want: The United States wants to see the cold war end, we want to see it end once and for all; the United States wants to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons to nations not now possessing them; the United States wants to press on with arms control and reduction; the United States wants to cooperate with all the members of this organization to conquer everywhere the ancient enemies of mankind---hunger and disease and ignorance; the United States wants sanity, and security, and peace for all, and above all.⁹⁵

STATE OF THE UNION: 1964

The 1964 edition of the President's traditional State of the Union Message was delivered to a joint session of Congress on January 8, 1964.

Non-artistic proof

Six arguments from sign were employed in this address. The first of these arguments presented the thesis of the speech when the President

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 161-162.

said: "Let us carry forward the plans and programs of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, not because of our sorrow or sympathy, but because they are right."⁹⁶ Johnson next used this reasoning form in the discussion of poverty:

Poverty is a national problem, requiring improved national organization and support. But this attack, to be effective, must also be organized at the state and local level, and must be supported and directed by state and local efforts.

For the war against poverty will not be won here in Washington. It must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the courthouse to the White House.⁹⁷

Later in the address the President asserted that the United States would make proposals at Geneva for control and abolition of arms.⁹⁸ Support for this argument emanated from the following paragraph:

And it is in this spirit that in this fiscal year we are cutting back our production of enriched uranium by 25 per cent; we are shutting down four plutonium piles; we are closing many nonessential military installations. And it is in this spirit that we today call on our adversaries to do the same.⁹⁹

The application of the argument from sign was evident when Johnson stated:

Sixth, we must, continue, through such measures as the interest equalization tax as well as the cooperation of other nations, our recent progress toward balancing our international accounts.¹⁰⁰

In discussing the dangers of war the President asserted that: "We can fight, if we must, as we have fought before, but we pray that we will never have to fight again."¹⁰¹ The final instance of reasoning from sign

⁹⁶Lyndon B. Johnson, "State of the Union", Vital Speeches, XXX (January 15, 1964), p. 194.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 195.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 196.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

was presented in the concluding remarks: "My good friends and my fellow Americans, in these last sorrowful weeks we have learned anew that nothing is so enduring as faith and nothing is so degrading as hate."¹⁰²

The argument from authority consists of statements made by a recognized authority which support the speaker's assertion or contention. President Johnson evidently had strong faith in the theory that the audience would accept him as an authority. Many of his assertions, a dozen to be exact, were supported by nothing discernable other than the personal prestige of the President. These arguments based on personal authority covered a wide range of topics. The topics were the opportunity of Congress, unemployment statistics, poverty, the military, the defense of freedom, food for peace, space exploration, the gold value of the dollar, U.S. policy concerning countries of the Americas, U.S. policy toward our allies and the United Nations, U.S. relations with the countries of the East, and the world's sentiment toward the U.S. Listed respectively these arguments from personal authority were:

We have, in 1964, a unique opportunity and obligation to prove the success of our system, to disprove those cynics and critics at home and abroad who question our purpose and our competence.¹⁰³

One thousand dollars invested in salvaging an unemployable youth today can return \$40,000 or more in his lifetime.¹⁰⁴

Federal-local effort must pursue poverty, pursue it wherever it exists.¹⁰⁵

Our aim is not only to relieve the symptom of poverty, but to cure it, and above all, to prevent it.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 196-197.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 195.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

Third, we must make increased use of our food as an instrument of peace, making it available by sale or trade or loan or donation to hungry people in all nations which tell us of their needs and accept proper conditions of distribution.

Fourth, we must assure our pre-eminence in the peaceful exploration of outer space, focusing on an expedition to the moon in this decade, in cooperation with other powers, if possible, alone, if necessary.¹⁰⁷

This administration must and will preserve the present gold value of the dollar.

Seventh, we must become better neighbors with the free states of the Americas, working with the councils of the O.A.S., with a stronger Alliance for Progress and with all the men and women of this hemisphere who really believe in liberty and justice for all.¹⁰⁸

Ninth, we must strengthen our Atlantic and Pacific partnership, maintain our alliances and make the United Nations a more effective instrument for national independence and international order.

Tenth, and finally, we must develop with our allies new means of bridging the gap between the East and the West, facing dangers boldly wherever danger exists, but being equally bold in our search for new agreements which can enlarge the hopes of all while violating the interests of none.¹⁰⁹

First, we must maintain--and our reduced defense budget will remain--that margin of military safety and superiority obtained through three years of steadily increasing both the quality and the quantity of our strategic, our conventional and our antiguerrilla forces.

In 1964 we will be better prepared than ever before to defend the cause of freedom, whether it is threatened by outright aggression or by the infiltration practiced by those in Hanoi and Havana who ship arms and men across international borders to foment insurrection.¹¹⁰

On every continent and in every land to which Mrs. Johnson and I traveled, we found faith and hope and love toward this land of America and toward our people.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 197.

Deduction

The analysis of this address revealed scant use of deductive reasoning. Two enthymemes were identified. In the first instance of enthymematic reasoning the President was discussing the war on poverty when he stated: "The richest nation on earth can afford to win it." "We cannot afford to lose it."¹¹² Later in this address Johnson presented the idea that the United States must help develop the poorer free nations.¹¹³ The contention was based on this statement: "To do this, the rich must help the poor and we must do our part."¹¹⁴

Induction

The majority of the propositions set forth in the 1964 State of the Union Message were supported by means of inductive reasoning.

The speaker utilized ten causal reasoning patterns. The first of those patterns to be considered is the cause to effect form. The President employed cause to effect reasoning when he made the following statement concerning the success of the 1964 Congressional session:

If we fail, if we fritter and fumble away our opportunity in needless, senseless quarrels between Democrats and Republicans, or between the House and the Senate, or between the South and the North, or between the Congress and the Administration, then history will rightly judge us harshly.¹¹⁵

Johnson employed this pattern of support in considering the withholding tax:

It (the withholding rate) should now be reduced to 14 per cent, instead of 15 per cent. And I therefore urge the Congress to take final action on this bill by the first of February, if at all possible.¹¹⁶

¹¹²Ibid., p. 195.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 196.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 194.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 195.

Cause to effect proof forms supported the suggestion that a tripartite industry committee should be formulated to control the abuse of over-time:¹¹⁷

I believe the enactment of a 35-hour week would sharply increase costs, would invite inflation, would impair our ability to compete and merely share instead of creating employment.

But I am equally opposed to the 45 or 50-hour week in those industries where consistently excessive use of over-time causes increased unemployment.¹¹⁸

Two additional arguments from cause to effect were:

Fifth, we must expand world trade. Having recognized, in the act of 1962, that we must buy as well as sell, we now expect our trading partners to recognize that we must sell as well as buy.

Eighth, we must strengthen the ability of free nations everywhere to develop their independence and raise their standards of living and thereby frustrate those who prey on poverty and chaos.¹¹⁹

The President utilized effect to cause reasoning in commenting on the proposed success of the 1964 Congress: "But if we succeed, if we can achieve these goals by forging in this country a greater sense of union, then, and only then, can we take full satisfaction in the state of the Union."¹²⁰ Two arguments from effect to cause were advanced on the topic of poverty:

Unfortunately, many Americans live on the outskirts of hope, some because of their poverty and some because of their color, and all too many because of both.¹²¹

Very often a lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty, but the symptom.

The cause may lie deeper in our failure to give our fellow citizens a fair chance to develop their own capacities,

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 196.

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 194.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 195.

in a lack of education and training, in a lack of medical care and housing, in a lack of decent communities in which to live and bring up their children.¹²²

Johnson asserted that an effort should be made at Geneva to work out methods of arms control because: "Even in the absence of agreement, we must not stockpile arms beyond our needs, or seek an excess of military power that could be provocative as well as wasteful."¹²³

Generalization was the dominant form of reasoning used in this speech. This analysis identified sixteen contentions developed by generalization.

In the introduction the President asserted that the 1964 Congressional session could be the best in the nation's history. He elaborated to explain how this could be accomplished:

Let this session of Congress be known as the session which did more for civil rights than the last 100 sessions combined; as the session which declared all-out war on human poverty and unemployment in these United States; as the session which enacted the most far-reaching tax cut of our time; as the session which finally recognized the health needs of all our older citizens; as the session which reformed our tangled transportation and transit policies; as the session which achieved the most effective, efficient foreign aid program ever, and as the session which helped to build more homes and more schools and more libraries and more hospitals than any single session of Congress in the history of our republic.¹²⁴

He then reiterated his point:

All this and more can and must be done.
It can be done by this summer.
And it can be done without any increase in spending.
In fact, under the budget that I shall shortly submit, it can be done with an actual reduction in Federal expenditures and Federal employment.¹²⁵

Johnson stated that Congress could: ". . . demonstrate effective

¹²²Ibid.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 194.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid.

legislative leadership by discharging the public business with clarity and dispatch, voting each important proposal up or voting it down, but at least bringing it to a fair and final vote."¹²⁶

The President declared: "For my part, I pledge a progressive administration which is efficient and honest and frugal."¹²⁷ To substantiate this contention he stated the following points concerning his budget:

It will cut our deficit in half, from \$10 billion to \$4.9 billion.

It will be, in proportion to our national output, the smallest budget since 1951.

It will call for a substantial reduction in Federal employment, a feat accomplished only once before in the last 10 years.

While maintaining the full strength of our combat personnel in the Department of Defense since 1950. It will call for total expenditures of \$97.9 billion, compared to \$98.4 for the current year, a reduction of more than \$500 million.

It will call for new obligation authority of \$103.8 billion, a reduction of more than \$4 billion below last year's request of \$107.9 billion.¹²⁸

"But it is not a stand-still budget, for America cannot afford to stand still." To demonstrate the basis of this argument Johnson alleged that: "Our population is growing. Our economy is more complex. Our people's needs are expanding."¹²⁹ The President said that his reduced budget would provide the most Federal support in history for education, health, the unemployed, the poverty stricken, and the handicapped.¹³⁰ This budget proposal was made possible by four actions: "by closing down obsolete installations, by curtailing less-urgent programs, by cutting

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 195.

back where cutting back seems to be wise, by insisting on a dollar's worth for a dollar spent."¹³¹

In regard to the proposed budget the speaker set forth the following generalization:

This budget, and this year's legislative program, are designed to help each and every American citizen fulfill his basic hopes.

His hopes for a fair chance to make good.

His hopes for fair play from the law.

His hopes for a full-time job on full-time pay.

His hopes for a decent home for his family in a decent community.

His hopes for a good school for his children with good teachers.

And his hopes for security when faced with sickness, of unemployment or old age.¹³²

The assertion was made that the proposed poverty program would be a cooperative approach to attacking poverty. It was substantiated in this manner:

To help that one-fifth of all American families with income too small to even meet their basic needs, our chief weapons in a more pinpointed attack will be better schools and better health and better homes and better training and better job opportunities to help more Americans, especially young Americans, escape from squalor and misery and unemployment rolls, where other citizens carry them.¹³³

President Johnson voiced the belief that no single piece of legislation would cure the poverty problem.¹³⁴ This argument from generalization was aptly supported by mentioning the numerous pieces of legislation that were needed. This necessary legislation included an Appalachia bill, expansion of the area redevelopment program, youth employment legislation, a food stamp program, a National Service Corps, modernization of unemployment insurance, a high level commission on automation,

¹³¹Ibid., p. 194-195.

¹³²Ibid., p. 195.

¹³³Ibid.

extension of minimum wage laws, special school aid funds, provisions for building more libraries, nursing homes and hospitals, hospital insurance, a revised housing and urban renewal program, a modern mass transit program, and a program of tax reduction.¹³⁵

Concerning the programs mentioned in the preceding paragraph Johnson contended: "These programs are obviously not for the poor or under-privileged alone."¹³⁶ Three reasons were given to illustrate this:

Every American will profit by the extension of Social Security to cover the hospital costs of their aged parents.

Every American community will benefit from the construction or modernization of schools and libraries and hospitals and nursing homes, from the training of more nurses, and from the improvement of urban renewal and public transit.

And every individual American taxpayer, and every corporate taxpayer, will benefit from the earliest possible passage of the impending tax bill, from both the new investment it will bring and the new jobs that it will create.¹³⁷

In another argument from generalization the President expressed the opinion that action was needed immediately on the passage of the tax bill because:

The new budget clearly allows it.

Our taxpayers surely deserve it.

Our economy strongly demands it.

And every month of delay dilutes its benefits in 1964 for consumption, for investment, and for employment.

For until the bill is signed, its investments incentives cannot be deemed certain, and the withholding rate cannot be reduced.

And the most damaging and devastating thing you can do to any businessman in America is to keep him in doubt, and to keep him guessing, on what our tax policy is.¹³⁸

"We need a tax cut now to keep this country moving."¹³⁹ This

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 196.

statement was based on the following particulars:

In 1963, for the first time in history, we crossed the 70 million job mark, but we will soon need more than 74 million jobs.

In 1963, our gross national product reached the \$600 billion level, \$100 billion higher than when we took office. But it easily could, and it should, be still \$30 billion higher today than it is.

Wages and profits and family income are also at their highest level in history, but I would remind you that 4 million workers and 13 percent of our industrial capacity are still idle today.¹⁴⁰

Johnson declared that all racial discrimination must be abolished:

For this is not merely an economic issue, or a social, political, or international issue. It is a moral issue, and it must be met by the passage this session of the bill now pending in the House.

All members of the public should have equal access to facilities open to the public.

All members of the public should be equally eligible for Federal benefits that are financed by the public.

All members of the public should have an equal chance to vote for public officials and to send their children to good public schools, and to contribute their talents to the public good.¹⁴¹

The last contention developed by generalization in this address was:

"we must be constantly prepared for the worst and constantly acting for the best."¹⁴² Three reasons supported this contention:

We must be strong enough to win any war and we must be wise enough to prevent one.

We shall neither act as aggressors nor tolerate acts of aggression.

We intend to bury no one, and we do not intend to be buried.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 195-196.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁴²Ibid.

THE TAX REDUCTION BILL

Non-artistic proof

In this address delivered at the signing ceremonies for the Tax Reduction Bill the President made limited use of non-artistic proof. There were no examples of document proof and only one use of the argument from sign. This occurred in the President's introduction when he stated:

Today I have signed into law an \$11.5 billion reduction in Federal income taxes, the largest in the history of the United States. It is the single most important step that we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II.¹⁴⁴

In the body of this speech Johnson utilized three successive arguments from authority, but referred to only one of the authorities by name.

This afternoon in New York, a leading industrial economist, Mr. Pierre Renfret, estimated that the tax reduction will materially stimulate a boom of capital goods expenditures in the year 1964 and 1965. Mr. Renfret predicts that capital expenditures in 1964 alone will be 20 per cent higher than last year.

And one of New York's leading corporation executives told me by phone about 4 o'clock that his company that now invests about \$100 million a year in new capital investments planned to increase their capital investments when this bill is signed by an additional 15 per cent.

One of the largest employers in America was in the White House last week and he told me that when this bill went into effect that they would make capital expenditures in their company that would provide 18,000 new jobs for new employees.¹⁴⁵

Deduction

Only two forms of deductive proof were apparent in this speech. A sortes argument was developed to demonstrate that the tax cut would have

¹⁴⁴Lyndon B. Johnson, "The Tax Reduction Bill", Vital Speeches, XXX (March 15, 1964), 322.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 323.

the effect of raising the demand for goods.

The first effect of the cut will be to put more than \$25 million per day into the hands of the American consumer. This money at the grocers or in the department store---the store owners in turn then will spend it for their own needs ---and in this fashion the money will circulate through the economy, raising the demand for goods several times the amount of the tax cut.¹⁴⁶

President Johnson employed a disjunctive syllogism to explain why the tax cut was chosen as the best method of stimulating the United States' economy. Of the tax cut Johnson said: "This is a bold approach to the problems of the American economy."¹⁴⁷ Then he proceeded to develop the deduction: "We could have chosen to stimulate this economy through a high level of Government spending. We doubted the wisdom of following that course."¹⁴⁸ The conclusion was: "Instead, we chose tax reduction."¹⁴⁹

The hypothetical syllogistic reasoning form was hinted at, but not fully developed when the following antecedent was set forth:

If America responds to this new opportunity with increased investment and expansion, with new production and new products, with the creation of new jobs which we anticipate.¹⁵⁰

The consequent: "then the tax cut will bring greater abundance to all Americans"¹⁵¹ was stated. A second consequent was also in view: "Then the Federal Government will not have to do for the economy what the economy should do for itself."¹⁵² Because this argument was not developed as a hypothetical deduction it must then be classified as an inductive inference.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

Induction

The preceding argument which could possibly have been cultivated as a hypothetical deduction stands in a form that classifies it as a causal argument. The statement of antecedent causes and projected effects allocates this argument to the classification of a cause to effect induction.

Two examples of effect to cause reasoning may be noted. In the first example Johnson declared: "But our long-term objective is to raise the entire level of our American economy. The dollars that you no longer pay in taxes will do this."¹⁵³ The second example was as follows:

No economic system anywhere has ever had the success of the American economy. By placing maximum reliance on the initiative and the creative energies of individual businessmen and workers, we have created here in our land the most prosperous nation in the history of the world.¹⁵⁴

One analogy was noted. This figurative analogy began by referring to the Ways and Means Committee:

they have proven their faith in us by passing this tax bill, and we're trying to, going to keep faith with them by cutting expenditures. By taking this course, we have made this bill an expression of faith in our system of free enterprise.¹⁵⁵

The major portion of the body of this speech was concerned with the substantiation of two points that were expounded near the beginning of the address in the following paragraph:

The tax cut will have two far-reaching effects. First, it will immediately increase the income of millions of our citizens and most of our businesses by reducing the amount of taxes that you must pay. Secondly, by releasing millions of dollars into the private economy it will encourage the growth and the prosperity of this land we love.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 322.

The first point was substantiated entirely by generalization, while the second employed various methods which have been previously mentioned.

In substantiating his first point, that the income of individuals and businesses would rise because of the tax cut, Johnson cited six specific statistical illustrations. The following is representative of those six illustrations:

If you and your wife both should be working and your combined earnings are \$10,000 a year, your taxes will be reduced by \$258 a year, or a 20 per cent cut. If your income is \$20,000 a year, you're paying approximately \$4,100 in Federal income taxes today. Your taxes will be reduced now to about \$3,400.¹⁵⁷

The President applied these six illustrations to reach the conclusion of the generalization: "These are only a few examples. The real important point is that this bill that we have just signed means increasing income for almost every taxpayer and every business in America."¹⁵⁸

Later in his address President Johnson declared that his administration was analyzing and attempting to implement methods of reducing Government expenditures.¹⁵⁹ This generalization was supported by describing four ways in which expenses were currently being cut in the Executive Branch of the Government.

To express the opinion that a strong United States economy is a potent tool in the defense of freedom Johnson stated the generalization that: "No one can bury us or bluff us or beat us so long as our economy remains strong."¹⁶⁰ In support of this generalization he had said:

But abundance is only the visible evidence of the benefits of a healthy economy. More important is what a

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 323.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

strong United States economy means to the preservation of freedom in this world in which we live. There is no asset more precious to freedom; there is no guarantee more vital to liberty than a robust American economy.¹⁶¹

Within the conclusion of this address was a final generalization that took the form of a plea directed toward the citizenry:

With your help and the help of this legislation, let us unite, let us close ranks, and let us continue to build a nation whose strength lies in our program for prosperity, and our passion for peace. This is the kind of a country, the kind of a land, the kind of a nation that offers a better life for you and your family. And it's the kind of a land that we want to preserve and protect.¹⁶²

OUR WORLD POLICY

Non-artistic proof

This address, delivered at the annual luncheon of the Associated Press at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City on April 20, 1964 utilized many varied types of logical proof.

President Johnson applied the argument from sign to substantiate several contentions. The first use of this reasoning form was as follows:

we seek to add no territory to our dominion, no satellites to our orbit, no slavish followers to our policies. The most impressive witness to this restraint is that for a century our own frontiers have stood quiet and stood unarmed.¹⁶³

The President was reasoning from sign when he stated: "I am taking two actions today which reflect both our desire to reduce tension and our unwillingness to risk weakness."¹⁶⁴ One action was: "I have ordered a further substantial reduction on our production of enriched uranium to be

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Ibid.

¹⁶³Lyndon B. Johnson, "Our World Policy" Vital Speeches, XXX (May 1, 1964) 418.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 419.

carried out over a four-year period."¹⁶⁵ The other action was: "At the same time I have reaffirmed all the safeguards against weakening our nuclear strength which we adopted at the time of the test ban treaty."¹⁶⁶

Panama was used as a sign in this assertion: "the resumption of relations with Panama proves once again the unmatched ability of our inter-American system to resolve these disputes among our own good neighbors."¹⁶⁷

The following contention concerned Cuba: "The use of Cuba as a base for subversion and terror is an obstacle to our hopes for the Western Hemisphere."¹⁶⁸

In the following statement the President noted the lessons of history as a sign to foreign nations concerning events on the American scene during an election year:

This year is an election year in the United States. And in this year let neither friend nor enemy abroad ever mistake growing discussion for growing dissension, or conflict over programs for conflict over principles, or political division for political paralysis.¹⁶⁹

Johnson used the argument from authority many times in this address. Only two applications of this reasoning form were from other than personal authority. The theory that an international dispute between nations should be conducted on a basis of equality was a contention stated in this address as a direct quote from Woodrow Wilson: "You cannot be friends on any other terms than upon the terms of equality."¹⁷⁰ A statement from Secretary of State Rusk was paraphrased by the President when he asserted that the fighting spirit of South Vietnam was a reality.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 420.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 421.

¹⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 420.

Many of the speaker's statements depended upon personal authority for support. An example was the President's statement about the United States military buildup: "since Korea we have labored to build a military strength of unmatched might. We have succeeded."¹⁷² The following statements also demonstrated the use of no support other than personal authority:

Our own position is clear. We will discuss any problem, we will listen to any proposal, we will pursue any agreement, we will take any action which might lessen the chance of war without sacrificing the interests of our allies or our own ability to defend the alliance against attack.¹⁷³

the steadfast effort of all who share common goals, will shape the future. And unity based on hope will ultimately prove stronger than unity based on fear.¹⁷⁴

In the third area of continuing concern---Latin America---we have renewed our commitment to the Alliance for Progress, we have sought peaceful settlement of disputes among the American nations, we have supported the O.A.S. effort to isolate Communist-controlled Cuba.

The Alliance for Progress is the central task today of this hemisphere. That task is going ahead successfully.¹⁷⁵

We will continue this policy with every peaceful means at our command.¹⁷⁶

Armed Communist attack on Vietnam is today a reality.¹⁷⁷

The request of a friend and an ally for our help in this terrible moment is a reality.¹⁷⁸

The door is always open to any settlement which assures the independence of South Vietnam, and its freedom to seek help for its protection.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 418.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 420.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 419.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 421.

Nor can anyone doubt our unalterable commitment to the defense and the liberty of free China.¹⁸⁰

This year I ordered that our request be cut to the absolute minimum consistent with our commitments and our security, allowing for no cushions or no padding, and that was done.¹⁸¹

In these areas and in other areas of concern we remain faithful to tested principle and deep conviction while shaping our actions to shifting dangers and to fresh opportunities.¹⁸²

I hope candidates will accept this offer in the spirit in which it is made---the encouragement of the responsible discussion which is the touchstone of the democratic process.¹⁸³

Prophecy is always unsure. But if anything is certain it is that this nation can never again retreat from world responsibility.

You must know and we must realize that we will be involved in the world for the rest of our history. We must accustom ourselves to working for liberty and the community of nations as we have pursued it in our community of states.¹⁸⁴

Argument from document was applied as the foundation of two contentions. Johnson cited the Old Testament:

Thus I am very hopeful that we can take important steps toward the day when, in the words of the Old Testament, "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore."¹⁸⁵

The official orders to the first diplomatic mission to the Far East were quoted: "we will never make conquests, or ask any nation to let us establish ourselves in their countries."¹⁸⁶

Deduction

The enthymeme was the only type of deductive reasoning utilized in

¹⁸⁰Ibid.

¹⁸²Ibid.

¹⁸⁴Ibid.

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸¹Ibid.

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

this "World Policy" address. The analysis revealed six applications of the enthymeme. One enthymeme related to the attitude of the United States toward communism:

Communists, using force and intrigue, seek to bring about a Communist-dominated world. Our convictions and our interests and our life as a nation demand that we resolutely oppose with all of our might that effort to dominate the world.¹⁸⁷

The President made this statement concerning the security interests of the United States and Europe:

The experience of two world wars has taught us that the fundamental security interests of the United States and of Europe are the same. What we learned in time of war we must not now forget in time of peace.¹⁸⁸

The discussion of the war in Vietnam produced two enthymematic reasoning patterns. The first of these was: "No negotiated settlement in Vietnam is possible as long as the Communists hope to achieve victory by force."¹⁸⁹ The second of these two enthymemes was: "Once war seems hopeless, then peace may be possible."¹⁹⁰

This enthymeme was developed concerning the relationship between Communist China and the United States:

As for China itself, so long as the Communist Chinese pursue aggression, so long as the Communist Chinese preach violence, there can be and will be no easing of relationships.¹⁹¹

A final enthymematic pattern was: "But America must base her acts on present realities and not on future hopes."¹⁹²

Induction

The majority of argumentative propositions presented in this address

¹⁸⁷Ibid.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p. 420.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 421.

¹⁹⁰Ibid.

¹⁹¹Ibid.

¹⁹²Ibid.

were developed by induction.

President Johnson relied heavily on arguments from causal relation. Twenty-nine causal relationships were identified.

A cause to effect argument stated this about American freedom:

But we have also learned in this century, and we've learned it at painful and bloody cost, that our own freedom depends upon the freedom of others, that our own protection requires that we help protect others, that we draw increasing strength from the strength of others.¹⁹³

The reasoning supporting America's strengthened defenses was based on a cause to effect relationship:

the costs of weakness are far greater than the costs of strength and the payment far more painful.

And that is why, in the last three years, your Government has strengthened the whole range of America's defenses.¹⁹⁴

Johnson applied two cause to effect statements that pertained to relations between the United States and the Soviet Union:

Today as we meet here there are new pressures and new realities which make it permissible to hope that the pursuit of peace is in the interests of the Soviet Union as it is in ours.

And our own restraint may be convincing the Soviet leaders of the reality that we in America seek neither war nor the destruction of the Soviet Union.¹⁹⁵

The President announced that both the United States and the Soviet Union had taken steps to reduce their production of nuclear weapons. Concerning his announcement the President induced: "it is a hopeful sign and it is a step forward which we welcome and which we can take in the hope that the world may yet one day live without the fear of war."¹⁹⁶

The speaker presented the following assertion referring to United

¹⁹³Ibid., p. 418.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 419.

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

States economic aid to Europe: "We worked for a stronger and more prosperous Europe, and Europe is strong and prosperous today because of our work and beyond our expectation."¹⁹⁷

The following two propositions were developed from cause to effect reasoning:

We realize that sharing the burden of leadership requires us to share the responsibilities of power and as a step in this direction we support the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force composed of those nations which desire to participate.¹⁹⁸

In the last 20 years in two wars, millions of Americans have fought to prevent the armed conquest of free Asia. Having invested so heavily in the past, we will not weaken in the present.¹⁹⁹

The President related a number of facts about the war in Vietnam and then made this statement:

The statement of the SEATO allies that Communist defeat is "essential" is a reality. To fail to respond to these realities would reflect on our honor as a nation, would undermine world-wide confidence in our courage, would convince every nation in South Asia that it must now bow to Communist terms to survive.²⁰⁰

Other cause to effect arguments in this address were as follows:

Our mastery of technology has helped men to learn that poverty is not inevitable, that disease and hunger are not laws of nature.²⁰¹

the world must not be divided into rich nations and poor nations, or white nations, or colored nations. In such divisions I know you must realize stand the seeds of terrible discord and danger in the decades ahead.²⁰²

Every dollar cut from that request of \$3.4 billion will directly diminish the security of the United States and you citizens. And if, in spite of this clear need and

¹⁹⁷Ibid.

¹⁹⁹Ibid.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 421.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 420.

²⁰⁰Ibid.

²⁰²Ibid.

this clear warning, substantial cuts are made again this year, in either military or economic funds, I want to sound the warning that it will be my solemn duty as President to submit supplemental requests for additional amounts until the necessary funds of \$3.4 billion are appropriated.²⁰³

Now let those at home who share in the great democratic struggle remember that the world is their audience and that attack and opposition to old policies must not be just for opposition's sake, but it requires responsible presentation of new choices; that in the protection of our security, the protection of American security, partisan politics must always yield to national need.²⁰⁴

I recognize that those who seek to discuss great public issues in this election year must be informed on those issues. And therefore I have today instructed the Departments of State and Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency to be prepared and to provide all major candidates for the office of President with all possible information helpful to their discussion of American policy.²⁰⁵

More assertions were substantiated by effect to cause relationships than by cause to effect relationships.

Four consecutive effect to cause patterns were employed in the following series of statements:

Thus to allies we are the most dependable and enduring of friends, for our own safety depends upon the strength of that friendship. And to enemies we are the most steadfast and determined of foes, for we know that surrender anywhere threatens defeat everywhere.

For a generation, without regard to party or region or class, our country has been united in a basic foreign policy that grows from this inescapable teaching.

The principles of this foreign policy have been shaped in battle, have been tested in danger, have been sustained in achievement. They have endured under four Presidents of the United States because they reflect the realities of our world and they reflect the aims of our country.²⁰⁶

²⁰³Ibid.

²⁰⁵Ibid.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁶Ibid., p. 418.

In the course of discussing American foreign policy President Johnson said that: "we must not mistake day-to-day changes for fundamental movements in the course of history".²⁰⁷ He then stated the cause for that statement: "It very often requires greater courage and resolution to maintain a policy which time has tested than to change it in the face of the moment's pressures".²⁰⁸ The President then expressed this viewpoint: "If the threat of war has lessened, it is largely because our opponents realize that attack would bring destruction."²⁰⁹

Johnson declared that: "we have worked for the revival of strength among our allies."²¹⁰ This aid was given to the allies for two reasons:

initially, to oppose Communist encroachment on war-weakened nations and in the long run because our own future rests on the vitality and the unity of the Western society to which we belong.²¹¹

The speaker asserted that: "we have encouraged the independence and the program of developing nations."²¹² The cause for this encouragement was:

Our own position is clear. We will discuss any problem, we will listen to any proposal, we will pursue any agreement, we will take any action which might lessen the chance of war without sacrificing the interests of our allies or our own ability to defend the alliance against attack.²¹³

"The United States has nothing to fear from peaceful competition."²¹⁴

This contention was substantiated in the following manner:

We welcome it and we will win it. It is our system which flourishes and grows stronger in a world free from the threat of war. And in such a competition all people everywhere will be the gainers.²¹⁵

²⁰⁷Ibid.

²⁰⁹Ibid.

²¹¹Ibid.

²¹³Ibid.

²⁰⁸Ibid.

²¹⁰Ibid., p. 419.

²¹²Ibid.

²¹⁴Ibid.

²¹⁵Ibid.

The President believed that the goal of a unified Europe would not be easy to achieve because it demanded increased unity and partnership.²¹⁶

The freedom of Asian nations is important to the United States, said the President, because the United States opposes aggression and conquest.²¹⁷

"In Laos we continue to support the Geneva agreements."²¹⁸ The reason for this support, said Johnson, was that they offered: "what we think is the best hope of peace and independence for that strife-born land."²¹⁹

Modern technology has created the hope that poverty is not inevitable.²²⁰ President Johnson believed that this hope must be satisfied because if it were not: "we will witness a rising discontent which may ultimately menace our own welfare."²²¹ The war on poverty would produce a battle and the President contended that: "This battle will not be easy or will it be swift. It takes time to educate young minds and to shape the structure of a modern economy."²²²

The concluding effect to cause argument concerned the struggle for world liberty:

The struggle is not merely long. The struggle is unending for it is part of man's ancient effort to master the passion of his mind and the demands of his spirit and the cruelties of nature.²²³

Eight analogical patterns of reasoning were used in this address.

²¹⁶Ibid.

²¹⁸Ibid., p. 421.

²²⁰Ibid.

²²²Ibid.

²¹⁷Ibid.

²¹⁹Ibid.

²²¹Ibid.

²²³Ibid., p. 421-422.

Most of these patterns were literal analogies similar to the following historical pattern:

The world has changed many times since General Washington counseled his new and weak country to "observe good faith and justice toward all nations." Great empires have risen and dissolved. Great heros have made their entrances and have left the stage. And America has slowly, often reluctantly, grown to be a great power and a leading member of world society.²²⁴

Conquest and colonialism were not part of American policy.²²⁵ To demonstrate the validity of this contention Johnson stated: "That was our policy in 1832 and that is our policy in 1964."²²⁶ The President drew a parallel between the Korean war and the war in Vietnam:

In Korea we proved the futility of direct aggression. In Vietnam the Communists today try the more insidious, but the equally dangerous, methods of subversion and terror and guerrilla warfare.

They conduct a campaign organized, directed, supplied and supported from Hanoi. This too we will prove futile.²²⁷

Johnson presented an analogical statement directed to the people of Communist China:

we will say to our historic friends---the talented and courageous Chinese people on the mainland, that just as we are opposed---just as we opposed aggression against them, we must oppose aggression by their rulers and for the same reasons.²²⁸

The new nations of Africa and Asia were the topic of the following analogical reasoning pattern:

We welcome their emergence; for their goals flow from hopes like our own. We began the revolt from colonial rule which is now reshaping other continents and which is now creating new nations.²²⁹

²²⁴Ibid., p. 418.

²²⁵Ibid., p. 420.

²²⁶Ibid.

²²⁷Ibid.

²²⁸Ibid., p. 421.

²²⁹Ibid.

The emerging nations came under further analogical discussion:

What we desire for the developing nations is what we desire of ourselves---economic progress which will permit them to shape their own institutions, and the independence which will allow them to take a dignified place in the world community.²³⁰

Two figurative analogies were utilized in this address. The first figurative analogy pertained to Latin America: "To struggle to stand still in Latin America is just to 'throw the sand against the wind'."²³¹ The other figurative analogy supported the President's contention that a world wide war on poverty should be undertaken: "For the wall between rich and poor is a wall of glass through which all can see."²³²

Reasoning by generalization was applied often in this foreign policy address. Concerning United States foreign policy Johnson generalized when he said: "Particular actions must change as events change conditions."²³³ Three conditions were enumerated in support of the proposition: "We must be alert to shifting realities, to emerging opportunities, always alert to any fresh changes."²³⁴

The President asserted that during the tenure of the Democratic Administration America's defenses were greatly strengthened:

We have increased defense spending in these three years by approximately \$6 billion a year over the last year of the Eisenhower Administration, and this year we are spending approximately \$8 billion more on defense than we were during that last year.²³⁵

This assertion was presented: "we have resisted---strongly resisted

²³⁰Ibid.

²³²Ibid., p. 421.

²³⁴Ibid.

²³¹Ibid., p. 420.

²³³Ibid., p. 418.

²³⁵Ibid., p. 418-419.

---Communist efforts to extend their domination and successfully resisted efforts to expand their power."²³⁶ The particulars supporting the assertion were:

We have taken the risks and we have used the power which this principle demanded. We have avoided purposeless provocation and we have avoided needless adventure.

The Berlin airlift, the Korean war, the defense of Formosa, the Cuban crisis, the struggle in Vietnam, prove our determination to resist aggression.²³⁷

The United States, said the President, has pursued every hope of a lasting peace.²³⁸ To demonstrate this point he listed these actions:

From the Baruch Plan, named after that noble resident of this city, to the test ban treaty, we have sought and we have welcomed agreements which decrease danger without decreasing security. And in that pursuit, for 20 years we have been the leading power in the support of the United Nations. In that pursuit this year, as in every year, we will work to reach agreement on measures to reduce armament and lessen the chance of war.²³⁹

Johnson expressed the conviction that the United States was applying its historically tested principles in a world that has changed greatly since 1945.²⁴⁰ To establish the fact of change he cited these examples:

Europe seeks a new role for strength rather than contenting itself with protection for weakness. The unity of Communism is being eroded by the insistent forces of nationalism and diverging interest. A whole new group of societies is painfully struggling toward the modern world.²⁴¹

The basic principles of United States foreign policy were adequate, said the President, but he wished to make it clear that: "foreign policy is more than just a set of general principles."²⁴² This contention was

²³⁶Ibid., p. 419.

²³⁷Ibid.

²³⁸Ibid.

²³⁹Ibid.

²⁴⁰Ibid.

²⁴¹Ibid.

²⁴²Ibid.

elaborated and supported in the following manner:

It is the changing application of those principles to specific dangers and to specific opportunities. It involves knowledge of strengths and awareness of limitations in each new situation.

The presence of offensive missiles in Cuba was a fact. The presence of fallout in the atmosphere has been a fact. The presence of guerrillas in Vietnam at this hour is a fact. And such facts cannot be dealt with simply by historical judgments or general precepts. They require concrete acts of courage, and wisdom, and often restraint.²⁴³

The speaker stated the belief that peace would not come suddenly.²⁴⁴

This he felt was an accurate appraisal for the following reasons:

It will not emerge dramatically from a single agreement or a single meeting. It will be advanced by concrete and limited accommodations, by the gradual growth of common interests, by the increased awareness of shifting dangers and alignments, and by the development of trust in a good faith based on a reasoned view of the world.²⁴⁵

"The underlying forces of European life are eroding old barriers and they are dissolving old suspicions."²⁴⁶ This declaration was based on the following specific examples:

Common institutions are expanding common interest. National boundaries continue to fade under the impact of travel and commerce and communication.

A new generation is coming of age, unscarred by old hostilities or old ambitions, thinking of themselves as Europeans, their values shaped by common Western culture.²⁴⁷

Concerning the people of Eastern Europe Johnson said:

For more than a decade we have sought to enlarge the independence and ease the rigors of the people of Eastern Europe. We have used the tools of peaceful exchange in goods and in persons and in ideas to open up communication with these restless nations that Mr. Krushchev refers to sometimes as children who have grown up too big to spank. We have used limited direct assistance where the

²⁴³Ibid.

²⁴⁵Ibid.

²⁴⁷Ibid.

²⁴⁴Ibid.

²⁴⁶Ibid., p. 420.

needs of our security have allowed us to follow the demands of our compassion. In that spirit within the last month I have exercised the power granted the President by the Congress and I have reaffirmed the right of open trade with Poland and Yugoslavia.²⁴⁸

The President asserted that the Alliance for Progress meant more than economic assistance and investment because:

It requires us to encourage and to support those democratic political forces which seek essential change within the framework of constitutional government.

It means preference for rapid evolution as the only real alternative to violent revolution.²⁴⁹

The generalized contention was presented that: "anti-Communism alone will never suffice to ensure our liberty or never suffice to fulfill our dreams."²⁵⁰ To ensure liberty the speaker said that it:

is going to take leadership, leadership that is dedicated to economic progress without uneconomic privilege, to social change which enhances social justice, to political reform which widens human freedom.²⁵¹

Johnson discussed American policy toward Cuba and claimed that the policy was functioning effectively. He demonstrated that it was working by enumerating examples of events that could have taken place had the policy not been in effect:

The problems of this hemisphere would be far more serious if Castro today sat at the councils of the Organization of American States, disrupting debate and blocking decision, if Castro had open channels of trade and communication along which subversion and terror could flow, if his economy had been a successful model rather than a dismal warning to all of his neighbors.²⁵²

Another generalization pertained to the same topic when the President asserted that: "The effectiveness of our policy is more than a matter of

²⁴⁸Ibid.

²⁴⁹Ibid.

²⁵⁰Ibid.

²⁵¹Ibid.

²⁵²Ibid., p. 420.

trade statistics."²⁵³ This was so, he felt, for the following reasons:

It has increased awareness of difference and danger, it has revealed the brutal nature of the Cuban regime, it has lessened opportunities for subversion, it has reduced the number of our adversaries who are spending more than a million dollars a day.²⁵⁴

The war situation in Vietnam prompted the President to say: "let no one doubt that we are in this battle as long as South Vietnam wants our support and needs our assistance to protect its freedom."²⁵⁵ This paragraph substantiated the preceding statement:

I have already ordered measures to step up the fighting capacity of the South Vietnamese forces, to help improve the welfare and the morale of their civilian population, to keep our forces at whatever level continued independence and freedom require.²⁵⁶

Johnson declared that the United States recognized: "the need for more stable prices for raw materials, for broader opportunity for trade among nations."²⁵⁷ Two examples were used to support the declaration:

We are ready to help meet these claims as we have already done, for example, with the negotiation of the international coffee agreement, and as we will do in the weeks ahead in the Kennedy round.²⁵⁸

The generalized statement was presented that: "In the past 20 years we have gradually become aware that America is forever bound up in the affairs of the whole world."²⁵⁹ This statement was supported in the following manner:

Our own future is linked to the future of all. In great capitals and in tiny villages, in the council of great

²⁵³Ibid.

²⁵⁵Ibid., p. 421.

²⁵⁷Ibid.

²⁵⁹Ibid.

²⁵⁴Ibid.

²⁵⁶Ibid.

²⁵⁸Ibid.

powers and in the rooms of unknown planners, events are being set in motion which will continually call upon our attention and demands on our resources.²⁶⁰

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

Lyndon Johnson accepted the Democratic Party's nomination for President on August 27, 1964. The propositions stated in this acceptance address were developed mainly from non-artistic and inductive proof.

Non-artistic proof

Only two uses of the argument from sign were identified in this speech. One utilization of this reasoning form occurred when Johnson was discussing prosperity: "Too many have worked too long and too hard to see this threatened now by policies which promise to undo all that we have done together over all these years."²⁶¹

The President used the image of John F. Kennedy to signify the necessity for passage of the Democratic legislative program:

So let us here tonight, each of us, all of us, rededicate ourselves to keeping burning the golden torch of promise which John Fitzgerald Kennedy set aflame.

And let none of us stop to rest until we have written into the law of the land all the suggestions that made up the John Fitzgerald Kennedy program and then let us continue to supplement that program with the kind of laws that he would have us write.²⁶²

Many of Johnson's assertions were supported by only personal authority. The following statements were supported in that manner:

We are in the midst of the largest and the longest period of peacetime prosperity in our history.

And almost every American listening to us tonight has

²⁶⁰Ibid.

²⁶¹Lyndon B. Johnson, "The Democratic National Convention", Vital Speeches XXX (September 15, 1964), 709.

²⁶²Ibid., p. 708.

seen the results in his own life. But prosperity for most has not brought prosperity to all.²⁶³

Since 1961, under the leadership of that great President, John F. Kennedy, we have carried out the greatest peacetime build-up of national strength of any nation, at any time in the history of the world.

And I report tonight that we have spent \$30 billions more on preparing this nation in the four years of the Kennedy Administration than would have been spent if we had followed the appropriations of the last year of the previous administration.

I report tonight as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces on the strength of your country and I tell you that it is greater than any adversary's.

I assure you that it is greater than the combined might of all the nations in all the wars in all the history of this planet.

And I report our superiority is growing.²⁶⁴

I pledge the firmness to defend freedom; the strength to support that firmness, and a constant patient effort to move the world toward peace instead of war.²⁶⁵

Our problems are many and are great. But our opportunities are even greater. And let me make this clear. I ask the American people for a mandate, not to preside over a finished program, not just to keep things going. I ask the American people for a mandate to begin.²⁶⁶

I am determined in all the time that is mine to use all the talents that I have for bringing this great Lovable Land, this great nation of ours together, together in greater unity in pursuit of this common purpose.²⁶⁷

The Founding Fathers dreamed America before it was. The pioneers dreamed of great cities on the wilderness that they had crossed. Our tomorrow is on its way. It can be a shape of darkness or it can be a thing of beauty. The choice is ours--is yours. For it will be the dream that we dare to dream.²⁶⁸

Tonight we of the Democratic party confidently go before the people offering answers, not retreats; offering unity, not division; offering hope, not fear or smear.

We do offer the people a choice. A choice of continuing

²⁶³Ibid., p. 708-709.

²⁶⁴Ibid., p. 709.

²⁶⁵Ibid.

²⁶⁶Ibid.

²⁶⁷Ibid., p. 710.

²⁶⁸Ibid.

on the courageous and the compassionate course that has made this nation the strongest and the freest and the most prosperous and the most peaceful nation in the history of mankind.²⁶⁹

The argument from document was employed in two instances in this address. The President made the following contentions:

And those who have received the bounty of this land, who sit tonight secure in affluence and safe in power, must not turn from the needs of their neighbors.

Our party and our nation will continue to extend the hand of compassion and extend the hand of affection and love, to the old and the sick and the hungry.²⁷⁰

He supported these contentions by paraphrasing the Bible: "For who among us dares betray the command: Thou shalt open thy hand unto thy Brother, to thy poor and thy needy in thy Land?"²⁷¹ The second utilization of document support referred to the United States Constitution: "So long as I am your President, I intend to carry out what the Constitution demands and justice requires. Equal justice under law for all Americans."²⁷²

Deduction

Restricted application of deductive reasoning was apparent in this address. Two enthymematic forms were identified. The first occurred when Johnson stated: "Weapons do not make peace; men make peace."²⁷³ The second enthymeme could be classified as a disjunctive deduction because it could easily have been stated in the form of a disjunctive syllogism:

And I say tonight to those who wish us well and to those who wish us ill the growing forces in this country are the forces of common human decency and not the forces of bigotry and fear and smears.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹Ibid.

²⁷¹Ibid.

²⁷³Ibid.

²⁷⁰Ibid., p. 709.

²⁷²Ibid.

²⁷⁴Ibid.

Induction

In this address there was substantial application of reasoning patterns that employed causal relations. These patterns were almost evenly divided between cause to effect and effect to cause forms.

The speaker moved quickly from the antecedent to the consequent in this statement concerning America's prosperity: "For 30 years, year by year, step by step, vote by bote, men of both parties have built a solid foundation for our present prosperity."²⁷⁵

President Johnson presented the following series of statements which contained three cause to effect relationships:

peace comes not through strength alone, but through wisdom and patience and restraint.

And these qualities under the leadership of President Kennedy brought a treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere and a hundred other nations in the world joined us.

Other agreements were reached and other steps were taken. And there single guide was to less the danger to men without increasing the danger of freedom.

Their single purpose was peace in the world. And as a result of these policies, the world tonight knows where we stand and our allies know where we stand, too.²⁷⁶

Candidate Lyndon Johnson made this politically motivated statement:

Let no one tell you that he can hold back progress and at the same time keep the peace. This is a false and empty promise. So to stand in the way of ordinary progress is to encourage violence.²⁷⁷

Johnson's final cause to effect argument concerned Social Security:

For more than 30 years, from Social Security to the war against poverty, we have diligently worked to enlarge the freedom of man, and as a result Americans tonight are freer to live as they want to live, to pursue their ambitions to meet their desires, to raise their families than in any time in all of our glorious history.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵Ibid.

²⁷⁶Ibid.

²⁷⁷Ibid.

²⁷⁸Ibid., p. 710.

Effect to cause arguments included the following two:

I believe most of the men and women in this hall tonight and I believe most Americans understand that to reach our goals in our own land we must work for peace among all lands.

America's cause is still the cause of all mankind. Over the last four years, the world has begun to respond to a simple American belief---the belief that strength and courage and responsibility are the keys to peace.²⁷⁹

The President developed three additional effect to cause relationships in the following series of statements:

So let us, let us join together in giving every American the fullest life which he can hope for, for the ultimate test of our civilization, the ultimate test of our faithfulness to our past has not been our goods and has not been our guns. It is in the quality---the quality of our people's lives and in the men and women that we produce.

This goal can be ours. We have the resources; we have the knowledge. But tonight we seek the courage.

Because tonight the contest is the same that we have faced at every turning point in history. It is not between liberals and conservatives, it is not between party and party or platform and platform. It is between courage and timidity.²⁸⁰

Two analogies were drawn in this address. The first saw a comparison of the Johnson administration to the Truman administration: "We will try to lead you as we were led by that great champion of freedom, the man from Independence, Harry S. Truman."²⁸¹ The second analogy concerned the Democratic party of 1964:

We have written a proud record of accomplishment for all Americans. If any ask what we have done, just let them look at what we promised to do.

For those promises have become our deeds; and the promises of tonight, I can assure you, will become the deeds of tomorrow.²⁸²

²⁷⁹Ibid., p. 709.

²⁸¹Ibid., p. 708.

²⁸⁰Ibid., p. 710.

²⁸²Ibid.

Generalization was a prominent reasoning pattern in this acceptance address delivered to the Democratic National Convention. Of the Democratic Party Lyndon Johnson said: "Tonight we offer ourselves for all Americans, an all-American party for all Americans."²⁸³ He supported the prededing statement with the following particulars:

This prosperous people, this land of reasonable men, has no place for petty partisanship or peevish prejudice.

The needs of all can never be met by parties of the few.

The needs of all cannot be met by a business party, or a labor party; not by a war party or a peace party; not by a Southern party or a Northern party.

Our deeds will meet our needs only if we are served by a party which serves all our people.²⁸⁴

Johnson stated the following generalization: "The needs that we seek to fill, the hopes that we seek to realize, are not our needs, our hopes alone. They are the needs and hopes of most of the people."²⁸⁵

The generalization was supported in this manner:

Most Americans want medical care for older citizens, and so do I.

Most Americans want fair and stable prices and decent income for our farmers, and so do I.

Most Americans want a decent home in a decent neighborhood for all, and so do I.

Most Americans want an education for every child to the limit of his ability, and so do I.

Most Americans want a job for every man who wants to work, and so do I.

Most Americans want victory in our war against poverty, and so do I.

Most Americans want continually expanding and growing prosperity, and so do I.²⁸⁶

The President asserted that: "This is a dangerous and a difficult

²⁸³Ibid.

²⁸⁴Ibid.

²⁸⁵Ibid., p. 709.

²⁸⁶Ibid.

world in which we live tonight."²⁸⁷ This he demonstrated by means of three points:

. . . our adversaries have learned again that we will never waver in the defense of freedom.

The true courage of this nuclear age lies in the quest for peace. There is no place in today's world for weakness, but there is also no place in today's world for recklessness.

We cannot act rashly with the nuclear weapons that could destroy us all. The only course is to press with all our minds and all our will to make sure, doubly sure, that these weapons are never really used at all.²⁸⁸

A contention concerning fair play for all Americans was presented and supported by generalization:

And here, at home, one of our greatest responsibilities is to assure fair play for all of our people.

Every American has the right to be treated as a person. He should be able to find a job. He should be able to educate his children. He should be able to vote in elections.²⁸⁹

President Johnson declared that he would not allow the great purpose of equal justice under law for all citizens be endangered by violence.²⁹⁰ He then supported that declaration:

Those who break the law, those who create disorder, whether in the North or the South, must be caught and must be brought to justice.

And I believe that every man and woman in this room tonight joins me in saying that in every part of this country the law must be respected and violence must be stopped.

And wherever local officers seek help or Federal law is broken, I have pledged and I will use the full resources of Federal Government.²⁹¹

The President developed a generalization around one of his favorite topics: "This nation, this generation, in this hour has man's first

²⁸⁷Ibid.

²⁸⁸Ibid.

²⁸⁹Ibid.

²⁹⁰Ibid.

²⁹¹Ibid.

chance to build a great society, a place where the meaning of man's life matches the marvels of man's labor."²⁹² This generalization was supported with the listing of the desired goals of the great society:

We seek a nation where every man can find reward in work and satisfaction in the use of his talents. We seek a nation where every man can seek knowledge and touch beauty and rejoice in the closeness of family and community.

We seek a nation where every man can in the world work of our oldest quality---follow the pursuit of happiness ---not just security, but achievement and excellence and fulfillment of the spirit. So let us join together in this great task. Will you join me tonight in starting, in rebuilding our cities to make them a decent place for our children to live in?

Will you join me tonight in starting a program that will protect the beauty of our land and the air that we breathe?

Won't you join me tonight in starting a program that will give every child education of the highest quality that he can take?²⁹³

A short generalization was developed when the President said: "The man who is hungry, who cannot find work or educate his children, who is bowed by want--that man is not fully free."²⁹⁴

CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

Non-artistic proof

Lyndon Johnson delivered his last major campaign address at Madison Square Garden in New York City. Several forms of non-artistic proof were evident in this speech.

Because he was speaking in New York Johnson evidently found it convenient to use New York as a sign to support the following statement:

²⁹²Ibid.

²⁹³Ibid., p. 709-710.

²⁹⁴Ibid., p. 710.

We are going to keep moving forward. And we are going to keep moving forward with the leadership and support of New York State.

The leaders of New York have always believed in the future.²⁹⁵

The other sign relationship utilized by the President in this speech referred to the desk of Franklin D. Roosevelt:

When I first came into the White House, I moved a desk into my office which had been used by one of the towering figures of American history---Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York.

Whenever I feel I've done a good day's work; whenever I feel I've really accomplished something, I look at that desk. And then I go back to work, because I know I've only begun.²⁹⁶

Johnson appealed to the authority of Franklin D. Roosevelt when he used this quotation as a contention:

Franklin Roosevelt once said: "Too many who prate about saving democracy are really only interested in saving things as they were. Democracy should concern itself also with things as they should be."²⁹⁷

Later in this speech the President appealed to the collective authority of Al Smith and Woodrow Wilson:

New York has had many great leaders. One of them has an important meaning for this campaign---that great American, Al Smith.

When he received the Presidential nomination he said he would follow the principles of Woodrow Wilson: "First, the people as the source, and their interests and desires, as the text, of law and government. Second, individual liberty as the objective of all law."²⁹⁸

Several assertions stated by Johnson were supported by no means

²⁹⁵ Lyndon B. Johnson, "Text of Johnson's Address at Rally in the Garden", New York Times, November 1, 1964, p. 78.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

other than his personal authority. The following statements referred to the philosophy of Johnson's political opponents:

This is not a conservative philosophy. This is not a Republican philosophy. This is not a philosophy ever before embraced by a major American leader.

"Conservative" may be written on their banner. But "radical" is in their hearts.²⁹⁹

The President was speaking of the opportunity to extend the freedom of the American people when he said: ". . . we have the capacity to do that on a scale greater than ever before in the history of man."³⁰⁰ The conclusion of the address was based upon the weight of the speaker's authority:

The path to progress stretches in front of us, not back along the way we came.

And with the help of that Almighty God Who has guided us whenever we have been true to Him, that is the way we are going.³⁰¹

The President stated the belief upon which his "Great Society" was based: "For the first time, in man's weary journey on this planet, an entire people has greatness almost within its grasp."³⁰²

Deduction

The preceding belief stated by the speaker formed a basis for the one enthymeme identified in the address: "This is your goal. This is the goal to which I will try to lead."³⁰³

A series of statements previously identified as being substantiated by personal authority could also be identified as a fallacious deduction. This occurred when Johnson said that his opponent's philosophy was not conservative, not Republican, but a philosophy never before embraced by

²⁹⁹Ibid.

³⁰¹Ibid.

³⁰³Ibid.

³⁰⁰Ibid.

³⁰²Ibid.

any other American leader.³⁰⁴ This series of statements does not qualify as a valid deduction because each of its premises is negative.

Induction

A number of causal reasoning patterns were developed in this campaign speech. Two cause to effect relationships were identified. In the first Johnson made this statement concerning the campaign issues of his opponent: "Well, the American people prize their liberty too dearly--- they have fought for it too hard to yield to these attacks now."³⁰⁵ The other cause to effect argument related to the problem of poverty in America: "We will work to eliminate the conditions which chain men to hopeless poverty and in this way, to eliminate poverty in America."³⁰⁶ An interesting application of causal argument was developed in the following quotation. A number of statements about the actions of the Republican candidates were made. These statements became effects when the causes for them were set forth:

now we are in the closing days of this campaign.

And what do we hear?

We hear not philosophy, but mudslinging---not ideas, but smears and scandal---not programs, but the old worn-out slogans of an old worn-out effort to frighten the American people.

Well, it's not going to work.

I can tell you why they're doing it. They found out that the American people would overwhelmingly reject their ideas and their programs. They found out that the great silent vote was a myth. They discovered that the revolution of the extremists was a dying ember.

They ran smack into the solid good sense of the American people.³⁰⁷

Referring to the United States the speaker said: "We are rich and

³⁰⁴Ibid.

³⁰⁵Ibid.

³⁰⁶Ibid.

³⁰⁷Ibid.

we are powerful, but that is not enough. We must turn our wealth and our power to a larger purpose."³⁰⁸

Prosperity was not enough in the judgement of the President:

Millions of Americans have achieved prosperity, and they have found prosperity alone is not enough. They need a chance to seek knowledge and touch beauty ---to rejoice in achievement and in the closeness of family and community.³⁰⁹

Two final effect to cause arguments were formulated when Johnson asserted the effects that America stood at the "margin of decision" and there was "only one way to go":

We, too, stand at the margin of decision.

Ahead is the prospect of a shining nation of towering promise. Behind is a threatening tide of change and growth---of expanding population and exploding science.

There is only one way to go.

The only way to preserve the values of the past is to meet the future.³¹⁰

Two figurative analogies were developed in this address. They were as follows:

This is the last chapter in a great tradition. This is the last Presidential campaign to reach its climax in this arena.

But it is the continuation of another tradition. For here we end a campaign which will see the American people choose the leadership of the Democratic party.³¹¹

This goal cannot be measured by the size of our bank balances.

It can only be measured in the quality of the lives our people lead.³¹²

The analysis discerned the speaker's employment of generalization to support seven contentions. The first use of generalization occurred

³⁰⁸Ibid.

³⁰⁹Ibid.

³¹⁰Ibid.

³¹¹Ibid.

³¹²Ibid.

in the introduction of the speech:

Four years ago we came here and promised to get America moving.

We have fulfilled that pledge.

In fact, this administration has passed more legislation, made more progress and fulfilled more promises than any Administration since the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt.³¹³

Lyndon Johnson asserted this about his opponents:

In this campaign we face those who are interested in destroying things as they are.

They are not conservatives in the American tradition. They are interested in tearing down institutions, not to preserve them. They are dedicated to extreme ideas, not to old values. They advocate aggressive interference with other nations, not increased reliance on others to order their own affairs.³¹⁴

Johnson contended that his opponents operated only under the pretense of the pursuit of individual liberty.³¹⁵ He supported the contention in this manner:

time and time again, they have struck at the foundation of our American freedom.

They call for freedom and attack the courts which protect that freedom.

They call for freedom and they would strip away the rights of those accused of crime--rights developed over centuries to protect against arbitrary power.

They call for freedom and yet accuse their opponents of being soft on Communism or worse---branding as heretics or traitors all those who disagree with them.

They call for freedom and they attack our religious leaders for trying to exercise their ancient responsibility ---as clergymen and citizens---to guide people in the course of right.

Worst of all, they call for freedom, and yet they help create the atmosphere of hate and fear and suspicion in which individual liberty faces its maximum danger.³¹⁶

The assertion was made that: "We are going to work to enlarge the

³¹³Ibid.

³¹⁵Ibid.

³¹⁴Ibid.

³¹⁶Ibid.

freedom of the American people."³¹⁷ This assertion was supported by the following statements:

Our first task is to complete the work of the last 30 years---we will work to give every citizen an equal chance to hold a job, to vote, to educate his children, to enjoy all the blessings of liberty, whatever his color or race.

.
We will work to protect the old, and feed the hungry and care for the helpless.³¹⁸

The "great society" was the theme of another generalization:

This nation, this people, this generation, has man's first opportunity to create the Great Society.

It can be a society of success without squalor--- beauty without barrenness---works of genius without the wretchedness of poverty. We can open the doors of learning of fruitful labor and regarding leisure---not just to the privileged few, but to everyone.³¹⁹

Johnson said that attaining the goal of the "great society" would not be easy.³²⁰ He demonstrated this point in the following manner:

It means ensuring the beauty of our fields and streams, and the air we breathe.

It means education of the highest quality for every child.

It means making sure that machines liberate men instead of replacing them.

It means reshaping our cities to make them safe, and a decent place to live.

It means all these things and more---much more.

I have already assembled more than a dozen groups--- the best minds of America---to help find answers to these problems.³²¹

The conclusion of this speech contained a generalization pertaining to Johnson's personal life:

I have taken a long journey from a tenant farm in West Texas to this platform.

³¹⁷Ibid.

³¹⁹Ibid.

³²¹Ibid.

³¹⁸Ibid.

³²⁰Ibid.

I have seen the barren fields of my youth bloom
with harvest.

I have seen despairing men made whole with enrich-
ing toil.

I have seen America grow and change and become a
leader among the nations.³²²

U.S. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Non-artistic proof

This address, delivered to the Business Council on December 2, 1964,
did not utilize non-artistic proof to an extensive degree.

President Johnson employed the argument from sign to substantiate
three points. The first of these points was:

I believe it is especially important for business
to recognize prudently that we live in a growing economy
---and an increasingly stable economy. Demand is growing
50 per cent in a decade.³²³

The President mentioned actions by the Federal Reserve and the
F.D.I.C. and then used these actions as a sign: "These actions demon-
strate once again that we will do whatever is required to safeguard the
strength of our dollar."³²⁴ This line of thought was further pursued
by the President in another sign relationship:

But Chairman Martin---both by his words and by the
actions of the Fed---has shown his determination to assure
the continued ample availability of reserves to banks and
therefore of credit to business.³²⁵

Johnson applied one argument from authority. He was speaking of
Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve system when this statement was made:

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Lyndon B. Johnson, "U.S. Economic Problems", Vital Speeches XXXI
(December 15, 1964), p. 131.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

He does not believe---nor do I---that the discount rate action will either lead to any appreciable rise in market yields on long-term bonds---or justify any general increase in the rates which banks charge their customers.³²⁶

Other arguments from authority were based on personal authority. These statements included an assertion about economic progress: "We must not allow that progress to be slowed down."³²⁷ Another assertion from personal authority was: "Times are good---we hope and expect them to continue."³²⁸ Two other series of statements with no support other than personal authority were:

Discrimination in all its forms---including the lack of comparable education opportunities---is costing us nearly \$20 billion a year. That is more than 3 per cent of our G.N.P (Gross National Product) it is a cost the public and private sectors together must labor constantly to reduce and remove.³²⁹

I welcome---and am grateful for---the effective role of the Business Council. I hope that through your example a closer partnership may come between business and Government. On that partnership---and partnership with all segments---we can build more wisely and successfully for America's greatest years. For that is our opportunity and obligation now at this turning-point time in the decade of the nineteen-sixties.³³⁰

Deduction

The analysis discovered four instances of the application of enthymematic reasoning in this speech. One of these enthymemes was: "Government can not maintain a healthy, prosperous economy by its own efforts. But neither is it fair nor possible to demand that business solve our economic problems alone."³³¹ Another enthymeme concerned the obligation of business to stimulate prosperity: "But if prosperity is

³²⁶Ibid.

³²⁸Ibid., p. 130.

³³⁰Ibid., p. 131-132.

³²⁷Ibid.

³²⁹Ibid., p. 131.

³³¹Ibid., p. 130.

to be realized, obligations must be met by business and labor and consumers, too. We look to business to contribute."³³² The following reasoning pattern pertained to American overseas trade: "I remind you Government cannot sell American goods abroad. Business itself must do that."³³³ A final enthymematic pattern was:

For all the challenges before us, the answer cannot come from Government alone---nor from the man who occupies the Presidency alone. The quality of America's future depends upon the quality of America's leadership---at every level.³³⁴

Induction

More assertions were supported by causal reasoning than by any other reasoning criterion. The introduction to this address was based on a cause to effect relationship:

One hundred years ago, at the midpoint of the decade of the eighteen-sixties, this nation emerged from a paralyzing period of division, bitterness and strife.

A spirit of new unity and confidence appeared.

As a result, America entered the most expansive decades of the last century. Our nation grew. Our economy grew. The hopes and horizons of our people began to grow---as never before.³³⁵

Three short paragraphs presented an interesting example of cause to effect reasoning. Two cause to effect patterns were established with the middle paragraph being the effect of the first pattern and the cause of the second:

A fresh spirit of unity and confidence is strong---in all sections and among all segments.

As a result, we are approaching the midpoint of this decade of the nineteen-sixties ready---as never before ---for America's greatest expansion, growth and success.

We of this generation have the opportunity---and we have the obligation---to put in place the foundation for the America of the 21st century.³³⁶

³³²Ibid., p. 131.

³³⁴Ibid.

³³⁶Ibid.

³³³Ibid.

³³⁵Ibid., p. 130.

The statement was made that: "The task of sustaining our domestic prosperity in the year ahead faces a new handicap not of our own making."³³⁷ The preceding statement served as the basis for a series of cause to effect reasoning relationships:

Events overseas have compelled the Federal Reserve to raise our discount rate. At the same time, the Fed and the F.D.I.C. (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation) have lifted the ceiling on the interest rates banks may pay on certain types of deposits---with primary emphasis on short term deposits. Increases in these short-term rates were necessary at this time to guard against the possibility of an outflow of funds from this country.³³⁸

A causal contention was stated that utilized one cause and two effects:

If our Federal revenues slip off because the economy is running slower, the Federal deficit will surely grow. But pressure will also converge on the Congress and the President to keep Federal expenditures up in every section of the country.³³⁹

The following contention was set forth pertaining to United States' balance of payments:

The third concern is with our balance of payments.

On this, government's responsibility is major--- and we take this responsibility most seriously. That is the reason for our strong commitment to cost and price stability---and to reducing the flow of short-term funds abroad.³⁴⁰

Another cause to effect statement was: "What troubles me is the risk that a general upward movement of bank lending rates might slow down our economic advance."³⁴¹ From this statement another causal relationship was developed:

The first casualty of such a slowdown will be the support I need for my determined effort to control

³³⁷Ibid., p. 131.

³³⁹Ibid.

³⁴¹Ibid.

³³⁸Ibid.

³⁴⁰Ibid.

Government expenditures in order to get back to the balanced budget we must have---a balanced budget in a prosperous economy.³⁴²

A final cause to effect assertion was: "Our young people must be better trained for productive roles in our economy---and there must be assurance of jobs for them once they are trained, regardless of their race."³⁴³

Two contentions were substantiated by effect to cause reasoning:

I am confident that American bankers will consider the long-term interest of the nation in sustaining a healthy and vigorous rate of economic growth. I am sure they know that their own long-term interest is inseparable from the prosperity of the nation.³⁴⁴

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I have said before---and I say again: We cannot solve the social problems of our society at the end of a billy club. If we are to assure ourselves of law and order, if we are to reduce crime and delinquency, if we are to enjoy together the life of one nation and one people, we must make sure that opportunity is equal for all our people---of all ages, all races, all religions, all regions.³⁴⁵

Many of the major contentions in this address were supported by generalization. The first major point relating the Federal Government's obligations to promote prosperity is an example:

First, there is the problem of sustaining prosperity.

I believe the Federal Government's role is to create a climate conducive to prosperity. To do this, there are six primary obligations.

1. A tax system that does not overburden businessmen or consumers---and maintains the incentives for productive effort.
2. Expenditure programs that promote development of human and natural resources and make the social investments needed to support private activity.
3. Keeping a clear field for private initiative in

³⁴²Ibid.

³⁴³Ibid.

³⁴⁴Ibid.

³⁴⁵Ibid.

the wide range of activities where competitive enterprise is the most efficient way of getting things done.

4. An over-all budget policy that promotes balance between purchasing power and productive capacity.

5. Monetary and credit policies that provide funds to nourish an expanding economy without overfeeding it.

6. Finally, there must be an alertness and a willingness to act promptly and decisively when the nation is threatened by either recession or inflation.³⁴⁶

In discussing further the preceding obligations of Government another generalization was formulated:

These are obligations this Administration has been willing to assume. And we have met them through such measures as the last year's tax cut, our frugal but forward-looking budgets, and the policies of the Federal Reserve and the Treasury.³⁴⁷

The President's second major contention was also supported by generalization:

The second concern facing us on both sides of the desk is whether we can achieve rapid economic growth without sacrificing reasonable price stability. We can if both government and business make the contributions they should.

For its part, Government must avoid overheating the economy, encourage cost-reducing investment in the private sector, support steady and sustained growth of markets and plan now for future public and private need to help lessen bottlenecks to expansion in the future.

I believe, also, that through wage-price guideposts government can offer leadership on the kind of voluntary private wage and price policies that are consistent with achieving sustained prosperity, full employment and price stability.

Business---for its part---can contribute to price stability by supporting and practicing active competition in free markets and by looking beyond short-term economic conditions. It is imperative that business policies provide a steady flow of new low-cost capacity to meet our growing demands, assure the training of the kinds of workers our economy will need before bottlenecks arise, seek profits from market expansion rather than exploitation of short-run opportunities, and pass on high-productivity gains through lower prices.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶Ibid., p. 130-131.

³⁴⁷Ibid., p. 131.

³⁴⁸Ibid.

The assertion that the President's administration was reducing the flow of short-term funds abroad was presented and substantiated by generalization:

Government payments abroad have been cut back--- from more than \$3.8 billion in 1960 to \$2.7 billion this year, a cut of nearly one-third. Further cuts in overseas costs are due next year---without cutting our effectiveness.³⁴⁹

"We are trying in every way to help American exporters find and develop profitable markets abroad."³⁵⁰ This generalization was based on two particulars: "We are seeking continually to remove foreign barriers to American goods---and the trade negotiations now starting in Geneva will be conducted on a truly reciprocal basis."³⁵¹

A fourth generalized major contention was:

Fourth---and finally---we face the problems of teen-age unemployment and economic opportunities for our minorities.

Over all, our unemployment rate is 5 per cent. That is too high. But the teen-age unemployment rate is almost three times higher---at 14.5 per cent. And among the non-white teen-agers in our labor force, the rate is an almost unbelievable 30 per cent.³⁵²

In his concluding remarks pertaining to discrimination Johnson utilized a final generalization: "As a nation, we have made great headway on these problems this year---in national legislation, in local community programs, in attitudes of employers and workers."³⁵³

STATE OF THE UNION: 1965

Non-artistic proof

The 1965 State of the Union message made substantial use of non-

³⁴⁹Ibid.

³⁵¹Ibid.

³⁵³Ibid.

³⁵⁰Ibid.

³⁵²Ibid.

artistic proof.

The argument from sign was employed in a number of varying cases. For example, the President stated that: "we must keep our nation prosperous."³⁵⁴ This was apparently meant to signify the reasoning behind the statement: "I will present a budget designed to move the economy forward."³⁵⁵

In regard to health service in the United States Johnson set forth two signs:

We already carry on a large program for research and health.

In addition, regional medical centers can provide the most advanced diagnosis and treatment for heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other major diseases.³⁵⁶

These two signs supported the following contentions:

New support for medical and dental education will provide the trained men to apply our knowledge.

Community centers can help the mentally ill and improve health care for school-age children from poor families, including services for the mentally retarded.³⁵⁷

In regard to transportation the President declared: "In a country that spans a continent modern transportation is vital to continued growth."³⁵⁸ This sign supported two conclusions:

I will recommend heavier reliance on competition in transportation and a new policy for our Merchant Marine.

I will ask for funds to study high-speed rail transportation between urban centers. We will begin with test projects between Boston and Washington. On high-speed trains, passengers could travel this distance in less than four hours.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁴ Lyndon B. Johnson, "State of the Union", Vital Speeches, XXXI (January 15, 1965), 196.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 197.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 196.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

Johnson was reasoning from sign when he examined how a President shaped his vision of America:

The answer was waiting for me in the land where I was born.

It was once barren land. The angular hills were covered with scrub cedar and a few live oaks. Little would grow in the harsh caliche soil. And each spring the Pedernales River would flood the valley.

But men came and worked and endured and built.

Today that country is abundant with fruit, cattle, goats and sheep. There are pleasant homes and lakes, and the floods are gone.

Why did men come to that once forbidding land?

Well, they were restless, of course, and had to be moving on. But there was more than that. There was a dream--a dream of a place where a free man could build for himself, and raise his children to a better life--a dream of a continent to be conquered, a world to be won, a nation to be made.

Remembering this, I knew the answer.

A President does not shape a new and personal vision of America.³⁶⁰

A conclusion concerning the differences between nations was developed from sign: "It is far better to throw these differences open to the assembly of nations than permit them to fester in silent danger."³⁶¹

The other contentions developed from sign in this address were:

In Asia, Communism wears a more aggressive face. We see that in Vietnam.³⁶²

Our continued prosperity demands continued price stability. Business, labor and the consumer all have a high stake in keeping wages and prices within the framework of the guideposts that have already served the nation so well.³⁶³

With the free republics of Latin America I have always felt--and my country has always felt--special ties of interest and affection. It will be the purpose of this Administration to strengthen these ties.

Together we share and shape the destiny of the New

³⁶⁰Ibid., p. 197.

³⁶¹Ibid., p. 195.

³⁶²Ibid.

³⁶³Ibid., p. 196.

World. In the coming year I hope to pay a visit to Latin America. And I will steadily enlarge our commitment to the Alliance for Progress as the instrument of our war against poverty and injustice in the Hemisphere.³⁶⁴

Johnson's arguments from authority included the appeal to the authority of Andrew Jackson:

In our relations with the world we shall follow the example of Andrew Jackson, who said: "I intend to ask for nothing that is not clearly right and to submit to nothing that is wrong.

And he promised that "the honor of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me for the statement of truth or the performance of duty." That was our policy in the 1830's and that is our policy today.³⁶⁵

Thomas Jefferson was also quoted to form the basis for the following argument: "Thomas Jefferson said no nation can be both ignorant and free. Today no nation can be both ignorant and great."³⁶⁶

The President voiced many arguments that were supported by nothing more than his personal authority. At one point it was asserted that "Free Europeans must shape the course of Europe."³⁶⁷ To substantiate this statement the President said: "I found this truth confirmed in my talks with European leaders in the last year."³⁶⁸ Other arguments from personal authority were the following:

Our concern and interest, compassion and vigilance, extend to every corner of a dwindling planet.³⁶⁹

In Eastern Europe restless nations are slowly beginning to assert their identity.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁴Ibid., p. 195.

³⁶⁶Ibid., p. 196.

³⁶⁸Ibid.

³⁷⁰Ibid., p. 195.

³⁶⁵Ibid., p. 194.

³⁶⁷Ibid., p. 195.

³⁶⁹Ibid., p. 194.

In Africa and Asia we are witnessing the turbulent unfolding of new nations and continents.

We welcome them to the society of nations.

We are committed to help those seeking to strengthen their own independence, and to work most closely with those governments dedicated to the welfare of their people.

We seek not fidelity to an iron faith, but a diversity of belief as varied as man himself. We seek not to extend the power of America but the progress of humanity. We seek not to dominate others but to strengthen the freedom of all.

I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion of world population and the growing scarcity of world resources.³⁷¹

Finding new markets abroad for our goods depends on the initiative of American business. But we stand ready--with credit and other help--to assist the flow of trade which will benefit the entire nation.³⁷²

An educated and healthy people require surroundings in harmony with their hopes.³⁷³

Many of you in this chamber are among my oldest friends. We have shared many happy moments and many hours of work, and we have watched many Presidents together. Yet, only in the White House can you finally know the full weight of this office.³⁷⁴

A President's hardest task is not to do what is right, but to know what is right.³⁷⁵

Deduction

Deductive reasoning patterns were almost non-existent in this State of the Union address. Two enthymemes were utilized. The first concerned the United Nations: "The frustrations of the United Nations are a product of the world we live in, not of the institution which gives them voice."³⁷⁶ The second enthymeme was: "But the unity we seek cannot realize its full promise in isolation. For today the state of the union depends, in large measure, upon the state of the world."³⁷⁷

³⁷¹Ibid.

³⁷³Ibid., p. 197.

³⁷⁵Ibid.

³⁷⁷Ibid., p. 194.

³⁷²Ibid., p. 196.

³⁷⁴Ibid.

³⁷⁶Ibid., p. 195.

Induction

Again, as in the case of the preceding speeches analyzed, induction was the prominent reasoning form. One-half of the inductive arguments were based upon causal reasoning.

The following series of statements contains four separate cause to effect relationships:

I confidently predict what every economic sign now tells us--the continued flourishing of the American economy.

But we must remember that fear of a recession can contribute to the fact of a recession. The knowledge that our Government will, and can, move swiftly will strengthen the confidence of investors and business.

Congress can reinforce this confidence by insuring that its procedures permit rapid action on temporary income tax cuts. And special funds for job-creating public programs should be made available for immediate use if recession threatens.³⁷⁸

In an assertion concerning agriculture the President presented a series of statements in which two cause to effect relationships are definable. The effect of the first pattern becomes the cause for the second:

Our economy owes much to the efficiency of our farmers. We must continue to assure them the opportunity to earn a fair reward. I have instructed the Secretary of Agriculture to lead a major effort to find new approaches to reduce the heavy cost of our farm programs and to direct more of our effort to the small farmer who needs help most.³⁷⁹

Johnson believed that "Greatness requires not only an educated people but a healthy people."³⁸⁰ From this belief he concluded: "Our goal is to match the achievements of our medicine to the afflictions of our people."³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 196.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 197.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

A group of contentions pertaining to crime evolved from cause to effect reasoning:

In our urban areas the central problem today is to protect and restore man's satisfaction in belonging to a community where he can find security and significance.

The first step is to break old patterns--to begin to think, work and plan for the development of entire metropolitan areas. We will take this step with new programs of help for basic community facilities and neighborhood centers of health and recreation.

New and existing programs will be open to those cities which work together to develop unified long-range policies for metropolitan areas.

We must also make important changes in our housing programs if we are to pursue these same basic goals.

A department of housing and urban development will be needed to spearhead this effort in our cities.

Every citizen has the right to feel secure in his home and on the streets of his community.

To help control crime, we will recommend programs:

To train local enforcement officers.

To put the best techniques of modern science at their disposal.

To discover the causes of crime and better ways to prevent it.

I will soon assemble a panel of outstanding experts to search out answers to the national problem of crime and delinquency.³⁸²

Other cause to effect arguments included: "The community of nations requires mutual respect. We shall extend it--and we shall expect it."³⁸³

This European policy is not based on any abstract design. It is based on the realities of common interests and common values, common dangers and common expectations. These realities will continue to have their way--- especially in our expanding trade and our common defense.³⁸⁴

Yet, it is not merely our concern but the concern of all free men. We will not, and should not, assume it is the task of Americans alone to settle all the conflicts of a torn and troubled world.³⁸⁵

In the preceding argument President Johnson asserted that it was

³⁸²Ibid.

³⁸⁴Ibid., p. 195.

³⁸³Ibid., p. 194.

³⁸⁵Ibid., p. 194.

the duty of all free men to defend freedom. He then proceeded to develop two effect to cause patterns from the first assertion:

Let the foes of freedom take no comfort from this. For in concert with other nations, we shall help men defend their freedom.

Our first aim remains the safety and well-being of our own country.

We are prepared to live as good neighbors with all, but we cannot be indifferent to acts designed to injure our interests, our citizens, or our establishments abroad.³⁸⁶

In discussing Vietnam Johnson asked the question: "Why are we there?"³⁸⁷

He then stated the causes for American military involvement in Vietnam:

We are there, first, because a friendly nation has asked us for help against Communist aggression. Ten years ago we pledged our help. Three Presidents have supported that pledge. We will not break it now.

Second, our own security is tied to the peace of Asia. Twice in one generation we have had to fight against aggression in the Far East. To ignore aggression would only increase the danger of a larger war.

Our goal is peace in Southeast Asia. That will come only when aggressors leave their neighbors in peace.

What is at stake is the cause of freedom. In that cause we shall never be found wanting.³⁸⁸

Other effect to cause patterns included:

Our own freedom and growth have never been the final goal of the American dream.

We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty and abundance in a worldwide desert of disappointed dreams.³⁸⁹

Yet we still live in a troubled and perilous world. There is no longer a single threat. There are many. They differ in intensity and danger. They require different attitudes and different answers.³⁹⁰

Second we must open opportunity to all our people. Most Americans tonight enjoy a good life. But far too many are still trapped in poverty, idleness, and fear.³⁹¹

³⁸⁶Ibid.

³⁸⁸Ibid.

³⁹⁰Ibid., p. 195.

³⁸⁷Ibid., p. 195.

³⁸⁹Ibid., p. 194.

³⁹¹Ibid., p. 196.

In this address the President used reasoning from analogy only once. This occurred when he stated: "Free Americans have shaped the policies of the United States. And because we know these realities, those policies have been, and will be, in the interest of Europe."³⁹²

Nineteen assertions in this address were supported by means of generalization. The President presented a brief sketch of American history in his introduction and from it he generalized: "we have achieved a unity of interest among our people unmatched in the history of freedom."³⁹³ The President then went on to say: "And now, in 1965, we begin a new quest for union."³⁹⁴ This quest for union was:

We seek the unity of man with the world he has built---with the knowledge that can save or destroy him---with the cities which can stimulate or stifle him---with the wealth and machines which can enrich or menace his spirit.

We seek to establish a harmony between man and society which will allow each of us to enlarge the meaning of his life and all of us to elevate the quality of our civilization.³⁹⁵

The speaker felt that the United States was moving toward its destiny of reducing ignorance, misery and tyranny in the world. This was demonstrated by the following statements:

In this period we have built a military power strong enough to meet any threat and destroy any adversary. And that superiority will continue to grow so long as this office is mine---and you sit on Capital Hill.

In this period no new nation has become Communist, and the unity of the Communist empire has begun to crumble.

In this period we have resolved in friendship our disputes with our neighbors of the hemisphere, and joined in an Alliance for Progress toward economic growth and political democracy.

³⁹²Ibid., p. 195.

³⁹⁴Ibid.

³⁹³Ibid., p. 194.

³⁹⁵Ibid.

In this period we have taken more steps toward peace---including the test ban treaty---that at any time since the cold war began.

In this period we have relentlessly pursued our advances toward the conquest of space.³⁹⁶

Other contentions, related to foreign affairs, that were supported by generalization were: the President's belief that: "the United States has emerged into the fullness of self confidence and purpose", the United States sought peaceful understanding with the Soviet Union, Communism was not the only source of world trouble, and "World affairs will continue to call upon our energy and courage."³⁹⁷

The topic of the address shifted to domestic policy and Johnson contended that: "we are in the midst of the greatest upward surge of economic well-being in the history of any nation."³⁹⁸ This conclusion was based upon: "Our flourishing progress has been marked by price stability unequalled in the world. Our balance of payments deficit has declined and the soundness of our dollar is unquestioned."³⁹⁹

The President used generalization to support one of his favorite themes: "we're only at the beginning of the road to the Great Society."⁴⁰⁰ To describe the nature of the "Great Society" President Johnson said: "It proposes as the first test for a nation: the quality of its people."⁴⁰¹ To substantiate this point he elaborated:

This kind of society will not flower spontaneously from swelling riches and surging power.

It will not be the gift of Government or the creation of Presidents.

It will require of every American, for many generations, both faith in the destination and the fortitude

³⁹⁶Ibid., p. 194-195.

³⁹⁷Ibid., p. 195.

³⁹⁸Ibid.

³⁹⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰Ibid.

⁴⁰¹Ibid., p. 196.

to make the journey.

Like freedom itself, it will always be challenge and not fulfillment.⁴⁰²

The President then asserted that the challenge of the "Great Society" would be accepted.⁴⁰³ In demonstration of this argument he stated the following proposals:

I propose we begin a program in education to ensure every American child the fullest development of his mind and skills.

I propose we begin a massive attack on crippling and killing diseases.

I propose that we launch a national effort to make the American city a better and more stimulating place to live.

I propose we increase the beauty of America and end the poisoning of our rivers and air that we breathe.

I propose we carry out a new program to develop regions of our country now suffering from distress and depression.

I propose we make new efforts to control and prevent crime and delinquency.

I propose we eliminate every remaining obstacle to the right and opportunity to vote.

I propose we honor and support the achievements of thought and the creation of art.

I propose we make an all-out campaign against waste and inefficiency.⁴⁰⁴

The next contention voiced by the President was: "We can help insure continued prosperity through a regional recovery program to assist development of stricken areas left behind by our national progress."⁴⁰⁵ This could be accomplished by providing workers with modern training, extending coverage of the minimum wage, revising the unemployment compensation system, and repealing the "right to work" laws.⁴⁰⁶

Johnson asserted that too many people were still poverty stricken and that a just nation should: "throw open to them the city of promise."⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰²Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶Ibid.

⁴⁰³Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷Ibid.

This could be done, he felt, by implementation of the following measures:

To the elderly, by providing hospital care under Social Security and by raising benefit payments to those struggling to maintain the dignity of their later years.

To the poor, through doubling the war against poverty this year.

To Negro Americans, through enforcement of the Civil Rights Law and elimination of barriers to the right to vote.

To those in other lands seeking the promise of America, through an immigration law based on the work a man can do and not where he was born or how he spells his name.⁴⁰⁸

The speaker declared that he was recommending a new program for aid to education and contended that: "It will help at every stage along the road to learning."⁴⁰⁹ The generalization was supported in this manner:

It will help at every stage along the road to learning.

For the pre-school years we will help needy children become aware of the excitement of learning.

For the primary and secondary school years we will aid public schools serving low-income families and assist students in both public and private schools.

For the college years we will provide scholarships to high school students of the greatest promise and greatest need and guaranteed low interest loans to students continuing their college studies.

New laboratories and centers will help our schools lift their standards of excellence and explore new methods of teaching. These centers will provide special training for those who need and deserve special treatment.⁴¹⁰

Other generalizations concerning domestic affairs pertained to the beauty of America, the promotion of the arts and sciences, revising the structure of the Executive Branch, and the elimination of hazards to the continuity of Government.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸Ibid.

⁴¹⁰Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹Ibid.

⁴¹¹Ibid., p. 197.

Johnson credited "the scattered hopes of the American past" with the formulation of the President's personal vision of America.⁴¹² To him this personal vision was important because:

It existed when the first settlers saw the coast of a new world, and when the first pioneers moved westward.

It has guided us every step of the way.

It sustains every President. But it is also your inheritance and it belongs equally to the people we serve.

It must be interpreted anew by each generation for its own needs; as I have tried, in part, to do today.

It shall lead us as we enter this third century of the search for "a more perfect Union."⁴¹³

In the conclusion to his address the President constructed one final generalization when he referred to all the previous content of his speech by stating: "This, then is the State of the Union: free, restless, growing and full of hope."⁴¹⁴

⁴¹²Ibid.

⁴¹⁴Ibid.

⁴¹³Ibid., p. 198.

CHAPTER V

TREATMENT OF THE FINDINGS

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The findings exhibited in Chapter IV are discussed in Chapter V. A chart has been included on this page to illustrate the number of times Johnson utilized each pattern of logical proof. A frequency enumeration of each of the logical proof patterns, without the consideration of other factors, does not allow for a sound or complete analysis. Other factors such as the significance of the frequency of each pattern, and the relationship of the pattern to the purpose and effect of the speech have been considered.

LOGICAL PROOF CRITERIA	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Non-artistic Proof . . .	3	20	4	24	17	8	8	25	108
Sign.	2	6	1	6	2	2	3	7	29
Authority	0	0	3	2	0	2	1	2	10
Personal.	1	14	0	14	13	4	4	15	65
Document.	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
Artistic Proof									
Deduction	0	2	2	6	2	1	4	2	19
Syllogism	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Catagorical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hypothetical.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disjunctive	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Enthymeme	0	2	0	6	2	1	4	2	17
Sorites	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Induction	19	31	9	54	20	18	23	39	213
Causation	2	10	3	29	11	9	13	18	95
Cause to Effect	0	6	1	13	6	2	11	12	51
Effect to Cause	2	4	2	16	5	7	2	6	44
Analogy	4	5	1	8	1	2	2	2	25
Literal	3	4	0	6	1	0	1	0	15
Figurative.	1	1	1	2	0	2	1	2	10
Generalization.	13	16	5	17	8	7	8	19	93
Total Patterns.	21	53	15	84	39	27	35	66	340

Column A . . . "Peaceful Revolution" Address
 Column B . . . "State of the Union: 1964" Address
 Column C . . . "The Tax Reduction Bill" Address
 Column D . . . "Our World Policy" Address
 Column E . . . "The Democratic National Convention" Address
 Column F . . . "Campaign Address"
 Column G . . . "U.S. Economic Problems" Address
 Column H . . . "State of the Union: 1965" Address
 Column I . . . Total number of times reasoning pattern used

Non-artistic Proof

Sign. Johnson did not make extensive use of sign reasoning. It was utilized in each of the addresses analyzed but only in "State of the Union: 1964", "Our World Policy", and "State of the Union: 1965" was it employed more than six times. The argument from sign appeared to be applied by Johnson when a more elaborate proof pattern was deemed unnecessary.

In the addresses analyzed major contentions were not supported by sign reasoning. Sign reasoning was usually applied in support of minor contentions that were not of critical importance to the thesis of the speech. The purpose of Johnson's sign patterns was either developed in detail or immediately recognizable. By this means the sign pattern achieved the desired result of being quickly understandable. An excellent example of the manner in which this reasoning pattern was used by Johnson occurred in the "U.S. Economic Problems" address. The President used the statement: "Demand is growing 50% in a decade" as a sign that the United States economy was stable and growing.⁴¹⁵

Authority. Speaking as the President of the United States Lyndon Johnson was in a position unique to those who hold a status of high trust, power and prestige. He was able to present assertions and statements of

⁴¹⁵ Supra, chap. IV, p. 80.

evidence without elaboration of the source or cognitive process that prompted the statement.⁴¹⁶ Johnson evidently assumed that the vast majority of his listeners would accept him as a credible authority on any topic on which he spoke. This obvious assumption was soundly based as the President has access to immense quantities of reliable data gathered by the executive branch of the Federal Government. Yet, strictly speaking a skeptical observer could accuse the President of the fallacy of unsupported assertion in respect to contentions that he presented which were void of any support other than the authority of President Lyndon Johnson. These contentions could have been strengthened by the speaker if he had mentioned their origin.

Statements from personal authority were utilized to a significant extent in four addresses: "The Democratic National Convention", "Our World Policy", "The State of the Union: 1964", and "The State of the Union: 1965". Sixty-five assertions depended solely upon Johnson's personal authority for support. The argument from personal authority was a prominent proof form in most of the eight addresses.

Statements from personal authority were often vital to the purpose of the speech. They were essential because they set forth contentions of significance to the thesis of the address.⁴¹⁷

Judging from strict rhetorical standards Johnson's use of the argument from personal authority may have been over-used in the four addresses mentioned above, but was probably not objectionable to the majority of his audience.

⁴¹⁶Contentions of this type were referred to in Chapter IV as "arguments from personal authority."

⁴¹⁷An example of a major contention developed from personal authority occurred in the 1964 "State of the Union" address when the President stated that in 1964 the United States had a unique opportunity to prove the success of its system. Supra, chap. IV, p. 37.

Johnson appealed to the authority of experts in five of the eight addresses: "The Tax Reduction Bill", "Our World Policy", "Campaign Addresses", "U.S. Economic Problems", and "State of the Union: 1965". The President cited the contemporary figures of: Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve System, the economist, Pierre Renfret, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Historical authorities that lent support to Johnson's reasoning included Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, Al Smith, and Franklin Roosevelt. The contemporary authorities that were quoted lent cogent substantiation to the speaker's contentions. The historical authorities served a much lesser purpose since their statements were broad and philosophical in nature and seldom applied to the thesis of the speech.

Johnson might have made additional advantageous use of reasoning from authority. In this writer's opinion some statements relating statistical assertions and expert opinion could have been more powerful in effect had the original source been acknowledged.

Document. Quoted material from identified sources was apparent only four times; twice in "Our World Policy" and twice in "The Democratic National Convention". The documents ascribed to were The Bible, The Constitution of the United States and the official orders to the first diplomatic mission to the Far East.

Johnson's speeches seemingly did not require frequent use of the argument from document. When a document was cited it was more for illustrative effect than for the creation of sound logical proof. The statements quoted were philosophical and bore little relevance to the main proposition of the speech. Very few of the contentions presented in these addresses required quoted documentation and, subsequently, the lack of

document proof did not likely constitute a serious defect from the standpoint of the audience' evaluation.

Artistic Proof - Deduction

Syllogism. The analysis of Johnson's eight speeches identified only one application of a fully developed syllogism. This occurred in "The Tax Reduction Bill" address when Johnson used a disjunctive syllogism.⁴¹⁸ The absence of fully developed syllogistic reasoning forms is not startling as this form is frequently awkward to employ in a public address. Often all the premises of a syllogism need not be stated to reach a conclusion that the audience will accept as logically sound. Practical considerations such as time limits and interest value of arguments frequently make it imperative to use an elided or truncated syllogism in lieu of a fully developed syllogism.

Enthymeme. Truncated or elided syllogisms were identified as enthymemes by this study. Seventeen enthymemes were utilized by Johnson in six addresses: "State of the Union: 1964", "Our World Policy", "The Democratic National Convention", "Campaign Address", "U.S. Economic Problems", and "State of the Union: 1965". Many of the enthymemes were concerned with foreign policy. Representative of these are the two enthymematic patterns regarding Vietnam found in Johnson's "Our World Policy" address.⁴¹⁹

The enthymemes identified by this analysis typically omitted a premise that was common knowledge or was easily recognizable to the audience. As such the enthymemes did not establish contentions of principal

⁴¹⁸Supra, chap. IV, p. 47.

⁴¹⁹Supra, chap. IV, p. 54.

import, but they did compose minor contentions that gave valuable support to the theme of the address. When enthymemes were used they fit effectively into the persuasive pattern of the address. They were logically valid and the audiences confronted with these enthymemes were probably receptive to the conclusions that resulted. Because his application of enthymematic reasoning appeared successful Johnson could have developed more contentions in this manner.

Sorites. In his address on "The Tax Reduction Bill" Johnson applied the solitary sorites identified by this analysis.⁴²⁰ The sorites, as a chain of deductive reasoning, did not appear to lend itself to Johnson's overall scheme of development. Usually the premises and statements necessary to develop a sorites were omitted in the interest of brevity. Johnson seldom elaborated to demonstrate how a conclusion was reached if it was probable that the audience would accept the contention without being exposed to its underlying logical structure.

Induction

Causation. In the speeches analyzed more causal reasoning patterns were identified than any other pattern. Fifty-one cause to effect relationships and forty-four effect to cause relationships were found with each speech utilizing at least several causal arguments. This was apparently one of Johnson's favorite patterns for developing reasoned contentions.

When using causal reasoning the advocate is seeking to show "why" his contention is valid.⁴²¹ This may have been a reason why Johnson used

⁴²⁰Supra, chap. IV, p. 46-47.

⁴²¹Freeley, p. 97.

numerous causal reasoning patterns. He understandably wanted his contentions to be accepted by the audience and by showing "why" his conclusions were warranted Johnson was presenting contentions that were generally forceful. An example was his cause to effect argument concerning the Social Security system in the address to the Democratic National Convention.⁴²²

Another reason why Johnson used causal reasoning to a great extent may have been that it provided an easily understood reasoning structure. Causal reasoning is a common process in man's cognition on personal matters.⁴²³ Because of this universality audiences should not have had difficulty interpreting conclusions drawn from Johnson's causal reasoning patterns.

In the eight addresses causal reasoning was utilized to develop both minor and major contentions. Causal relationships were manipulated effectively in various modes depending upon the context. For instance, a number of causal arguments consisted of a series of interrelated causal relationships that produced a contention of major importance to the thesis of the address. An example of this type of development which concerned foreign policy occurred in "The Democratic National Convention" address.⁴²⁴

Analogy. Twenty-five analogical reasoning patterns were employed by Johnson with each of his eight addresses applying at least one literal or figurative analogy. Ten figurative analogies were used in seven

⁴²²Supra, chap. IV, p. 69.

⁴²³Freeley, p. 97.

⁴²⁴Supra, p. 69.

addresses. Only "The Democratic National Convention" address did not employ figurative analogy.

Fifteen literal analogies were identified by this analysis. They were utilized in five addresses with "Our World Policy" and "State of the Union: 1964" exercising the greatest use of this reasoning form. The employment of literal analogy in these addresses is of more import than the employment of figurative analogy. Literal analogy bears greater validity than figurative analogy since it consists of a comparison of objects in the same field or classifications.⁴²⁵ Johnson tended to use literal analogy to support contentions that were of greater consequence to the thesis of the speech than those supported by figurative analogy. This tendency is apparent when a comparison is made between Johnson's use of the two types as they appeared in his "Our World Policy" address.⁴²⁶

Generalization. The dominant pattern of reasoning in Johnson's speeches was generalization. Ninety-three reasoning patterns were developed by means of generalization. The mere notation of the number of generalization patterns identified is not sufficiently meaningful. The development of many of Johnson's generalizations is a lengthy process when viewed in comparison to the other criteria of this analysis. Due to this length of development a large portion of the wordage in each of the eight addresses contained reasoning from generalization.

Johnson's speeches had a relatively small number of main points that were vital to the chief persuasive purpose of the speech. These main points were usually based upon reasoning from generalization. The "Peaceful Revolution" address is an excellent specimen of a public address

⁴²⁵Freeley, p. 94.

⁴²⁶Supra, chap. IV, p. 59-61.

with each of its main points developed by generalization.⁴²⁷

Most of Johnson's generalizations were well formulated and consequently should have been effective in eliciting the desired response. However some contentions developed by generalization were vague. This was due to the ambiguity of the specific examples upon which the generalization was based. A sound argument from generalization must be predicated upon examples that are distinct, relevant, and typical in respect to the conclusion presented. The conclusions Johnson derived from ambiguous examples lacked clarity. Perhaps another reason for the vagueness of some generalized contentions was the indistinct nature of the concepts the speaker was presenting.

GROUPING AND COMPARISON OF THE SPEECHES

As was noted in Chapter III the eight speeches selected for analysis represented four scopic topic areas. The "Peaceful Revolution" and "Our World Policy" addresses dealt with foreign policy. The speech delivered at the signing of the tax reduction bill and the "U.S. Economic Problems" address were concerned with domestic policy. Two political addresses were included: Johnson's acceptance address delivered to the Democratic National Convention and his speech delivered at Madison Square Garden in the closing days of the 1964 campaign. The fourth topic area grouping consisted of Johnson's first two state of the union messages: "State of the Union: 1964" and "State of the Union: 1965". The speeches in each of these topic area groupings are discussed on the following pages in order to assess the effect the topic area had upon Johnson's development of logical proof.

⁴²⁷Supra, chap. IV, p. 29-35.

Foreign Policy Addresses. When Johnson was speaking of foreign policy he used logical proof patterns with generally the same type of emphasis described in the preceding section. Three exceptions to this emphasis were noted.

Special emphasis was given to the argument from personal authority when matters of foreign policy were being discussed. In comparison to the use of personal authority in the other speeches the "Our World Policy" address showed significant reliance upon personal authority. In the state of the union messages the discussion of foreign policy was often based largely on personal authority. Johnson evidently felt that his audiences would accept him as a foreign affairs expert.

Johnson very seldom employed enthymematic reasoning in the eight addresses, but when it was engaged it usually substantiated a foreign policy contention. Of nineteen applications of enthymematic reasoning eleven related to foreign policy. Six enthymematic patterns in "Our World Policy", all the enthymematic patterns in the state of the union messages, and one of the enthymemes in "The Democratic National Convention" address were concerned with foreign policy. When he constructed enthymemes the President disbursed the most effort in the development of enthymemes concerning foreign policy.

Another logical proof form that was seldom utilized, except when the topic of discourse was foreign policy, was the literal analogy. Both the "Our World Policy" and the "Peaceful Revolution" addresses developed several effective literal analogies and only a very few additional analogies appeared in the other six speeches.

Domestic Policy Addresses. Two characteristics of Johnson's logical proof development appeared that were variant from his usual mode

of development. These characteristics may be recognized in correlation with the domestic policy topic area.

Johnson rarely used the argument from authority. When he did apply it powerfully, ie., when he quoted contemporary experts rather than the philosophy of historical figures, it was in support of domestic policy contentions. The "U.S. Economic Problems" address and the "Tax Reduction Bill" address both employed the testimony of well-known economists.

An interesting tendency was noted in respect to the argument from authority. Johnson tended to use personal authority extensively in developing foreign policy contentions, but when discussing domestic policy he put greater reliance on expert authority. It might be hypothesized that Johnson tended to use an authority more expert than himself when his topic dealt directly with the economic well-being of his audience. His audience was, of course, the American voting public.

The other distinctive characteristic of Johnson's development of domestic policy contentions concerned generalization. The President used much less generalization in his two domestic policy speeches than in the other six addresses. Johnson's generalizations were often vague and consequently one might postulate that he tended to refrain from using this reasoning form in favor of reasoning forms that embodied more clarity.

Political Addresses. Johnson's political addresses, "The Democratic National Convention" and "Campaign Address", were similar to the other addresses in their development of logical proof in all categories but causation. These political addresses utilized causal reasoning to a greater degree than the speeches in other topic groupings.

State of the Union Addresses. The 1964 and 1965 editions of the

State of the Union address canvassed various areas of interest to the American public. These speeches utilized a cross-section of logical proof forms that did not vary significantly from Johnson's customary usage of those forms as presented in the first section of this Chapter V.

COMPARISON OF THE FINDINGS TO A PREVIOUS STUDY

Hall's doctoral dissertation on the rhetoric of Lyndon Johnson from 1955 to 1961 provides a convenient basis for comparison of Johnson's use of logical proof at two variant periods of his career.⁴²⁸

Non-artistic Proof. Within the category of non-artistic proof Hall discovered two significant characteristics which correlate with the findings of the present study.

Hall found that in Johnson's use of the argument from authority he depended solely upon personal authority and did not use expert authority.⁴²⁹ The present study found that Johnson did not make considerable use of expert authority. Johnson's utilization of the argument from authority changed very little.

Document evidence, Hall discovered, was never used by Johnson. In the six speeches he analyzed Hall did not find a single instance of documented evidence.⁴³⁰ The present study identified only four applications of the argument from document. The employment of the argument from document was not altered appreciably from the earlier analysis to

⁴²⁸The findings of Hall's dissertation were previously discussed in the second section of Chapter II.

⁴²⁹Robert N. Hall, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Speeches of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, 1955-61", p. 87.

⁴³⁰Ibid., p. 80.

the present study.

Artistic Proof - Deduction. Hall's analysis ascertained that as a Senator Johnson did not use deductive proof in his oratory.⁴³¹ The present analysis discovered that Johnson as President made very limited use of deductive proof. It would appear that after a period of several years Johnson was at least progressing toward the utilization of more varied logical proof patterns.

Artistic Proof - Induction. Hall discovered that "Senator Johnson made use of induction as the basis of his artistic proofs."⁴³² The present study found that as President, Johnson also based his artistic proofs almost entirely on induction. In fact induction constituted two-thirds of the logical proof patterns identified by this study.

The present study revealed that President Johnson's use of literal analogy was of more import to the purpose of his addresses than his use of figurative analogy. Literal analogy was also used more often than figurative analogy in the eight addresses. Hall disclosed that when Johnson used analogy "it was usually an incomplete comparison because he did not fully develop the idea."⁴³³ Hall was in effect revealing that most of Senator Johnson's analogies were figurative. Consequently it may be concluded that Johnson used analogical reasoning more effectively as the President than he had as a Senator.

The present study has contended that many of the President's generalizations were vague because of the ambiguity of the examples on

⁴³¹Ibid., p. 87.

⁴³²Ibid., p. 66.

⁴³³Ibid., p. 86.

which the generalizations were based. Hall discerned that Senator Johnson reflected the same tendency. Hall established that in Senator Johnson's use of generalized verbal supports a general pattern of avoidance of details was observable.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁴Ibid., p. 82-83.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to discover the uses of logical proof in eight speeches of Lyndon Johnson. Criteria for the evaluation of Johnson's speeches were synthesized from eight books written by logicians and eight argumentation and debate textbooks. The criteria were applied to eight speeches delivered between the dates of December 17, 1963, and January 4, 1965. The logical proof criteria consisted of three major categories: non-artistic proof, and the two classifications of artistic proof, deduction and induction.

The analysis of non-artistic proof revealed that Johnson used sign reasoning chiefly to substantiate minor contentions. He used the argument from authority very seldom. An excessive number of his contentions were based solely on personal authority. His speeches were almost totally void of document proof.

Johnson did not adapt deductive proof patterns to his style of proof development. Sorities and completed syllogistic reasoning forms were not used. A few enthymematic patterns were employed but Johnson generally scorned the use of deductive proof.

Johnson's artistic proof was established by means of induction. Causal patterns occurred most frequently and were usually forceful and

easily understandable. Analogies were not applied often and only Johnson's literal analogies were of probative value. Generalization was the reasoning pattern that Johnson used to develop his main contentions. Based on a strict rhetorical viewpoint, many of the President's generalizations were vague. This was due not to poor construction of generalized patterns, but to the inherent and probably unnecessary ambiguity of ideas and concepts that were presented in the speaker's discourse.

A comparison between the eight speeches in respect to their topic areas revealed that Johnson was inclined to use less generalization when discussing domestic policy. It was postulated that he was sensitive to the principle of using more specific proof patterns when addressing his constituency on matters regarding their economic welfare.

A comparison of the findings of this study with Hall's analysis of Johnson's speaking as a Senator disclosed that Johnson had made only limited progress toward the utilization of more varied logical proof forms. This study, like Hall's, found that Johnson relied almost entirely upon induction and personal authority for the development of logical proof.

From the standpoint of Johnson's logical reasoning structure it may be concluded that he selected simple and concise reasoning patterns. His inductive patterns were easily understandable and he evidently preferred these patterns to deduction which would have required a somewhat more complex development of contentions. The President was reserved toward the use of deductive reasoning that would theoretically demonstrate certainty rather than the probability of the correctness of his propositions.

It is disappointing to note that Johnson, a former high school

speech teacher and debate coach who had taught the techniques of use of logical proof in persuasion, used these rhetorical techniques in such an elementary manner.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This analysis dealt with a very small phase of a much larger area of study. The analysis was concerned with only eight of dozens of speeches delivered by Johnson during the period from December 17, 1963, to January 4, 1965, and it made no attempt to include speeches either prior to or after this period. Johnson, in the course of his political career, has spoken upon innumerable topics on innumerable occasions. This fact alone divided the speeches into four scopis topic areas: foreign policy, domestic policy, political addresses, and State of the Union addresses. Using the topic of foreign policy as an illustration, a study might have been made of Johnson's foreign policy addresses. Likewise the other topic areas could lend themselves to separate studies. Other periods of Johnson's career could also be subjected to analysis.

Not only could additional studies be conducted in various time periods and topic areas, but there are many opportunities for variation in the type of study conducted. This analysis dealt with only the logical proof (logos) dimension of Invention. A study of the other dimensions of Invention, emotional proof (pathos) and ethical proof (ethos), would be an excellent sequel to this analysis. Comparison studies between Johnson's use of logical proof to his use of emotional or ethical proof would be valuable aids to the understanding of his rhetoric.

A study of Johnson's speaking need not be confined to Invention only. The other areas of rhetorical analysis: Style, Arrangement, and

Delivery could be studied separately or in conjunction with Invention to formulate a complete rhetorical analysis.

This study analyzed Johnson's logic and it would be interesting to observe a study comparing Johnson's use of logic to that of other prominent political figures. His logic could be compared to that of statesmen like Churchill and Stevenson. A comparison could be drawn between Johnson's use of logical proof and other Presidents such as Kennedy, Eisenhower, or Roosevelt. An intriguing study might well be a comparison of Johnson's logic and the logic of his 1964 campaign opponent, Barry Goldwater.

The analysis of published speeches does not always represent the complete rhetorical stature of a speaker. The speaker attempting to persuade his audience should also be judged by his effectiveness. A measurement of audience response to the speeches of Lyndon Johnson would provide an indication of the effectiveness of his use of logical proof.

This study could be useful in the formulation of a schema for rhetorical criticism. It could serve as one example of how a study had been conducted of a speaker's utilization of logos.

From the above discussion of possible additional studies the conclusion was drawn that this particular analysis of Lyndon Johnson's speaking was very limited in scope. The conclusions which were drawn by this study were drawn from a very restricted area. Many more specific studies and detailed analyses of Lyndon Johnson and his public address remain to be done.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In concluding this study of a few selected speeches made by

Lyndon B. Johnson, this writer would hope that it might serve as an aid to the general understanding of Johnson's rhetoric and the specific understanding of his logical proof. The writer further hopes that this study will be seen as a contribution toward the goal of a full knowledge of complete rhetoric.

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