

Political Rhetoric in Theory and Practice

Political Rhetoric in Theory and Practice is an introduction to the art of rhetoric or persuasive speaking. A collection of primary sources, it combines classic statements of the theory of political rhetoric (Aristotle, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cicero) with a rich array of political speeches, from Socrates to Martin Luther King Jr., Pericles to Richard Nixon, Sojourner Truth to Phyllis Schlafly. These speeches exemplify not only the three principal kinds of rhetoric – judicial, deliberative, and epideictic – but also the principal rhetorical proofs. Grouped thematically, the speeches boast a diversity of speakers, subject matters, and themes. At a time when the practice of democracy and democratic deliberation are much in question, this book seeks to encourage the serious study of rhetoric by making available important examples of it, in both its noblest and its most scurrilous forms.

ROBERT C. BARTLETT is the Behrakis Professor in Hellenic Political Studies at Boston College. He is the author or editor of ten books, including *Sophistry and Political Philosophy: Protagoras' Challenge to Socrates* (2016) and *Against Demagogues: What Aristophanes Can Teach Us about the Perils of Populism and the Fate of Democracy* (2020), and is the translator of a new edition of Aristotle's *Art of Rhetoric* (2019).

NASSER BEHNEGAR is the Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Political Science at Boston College. He is the author of *Leo Strauss, Max Weber, and the Scientific Study of Politics* (2003) as well as studies of the political thought of John Locke, Shakespeare, and Carl Schmitt.

Political Rhetoric in Theory and Practice

A Reader

Edited by

ROBERT C. BARTLETT

Boston College, Massachusetts

NASSER BEHNEGAR

Boston College, Massachusetts



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-36737-0 — Political Rhetoric in Theory and Practice: A Reader
Edited by Robert C. Bartlett, Nasser Behnegar
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009367370

DOI: 10.1017/9781009367400

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Bartlett, Robert C., 1964– editor. | Behnegar, Nasser, 1963– editor.

TITLE: Political rhetoric in theory and practice : a reader / edited by
Robert C. Bartlett, Boston College, Massachusetts, Nasser Behnegar,
Boston College, Massachusetts.

DESCRIPTION: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2024. | Includes
bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023025077 | ISBN 9781009367370 (hardback) |
ISBN 9781009367400 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Communication in politics. | Rhetoric – Political aspects.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JA85 .P6545 2024 | DDC 320.01/4–dc23/eng/20230828
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023025077>

ISBN 978-1-009-36737-0 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-009-36738-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this
publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

Introduction	page 1
PART I WHAT IS RHETORIC?	9
1 Classical Foundations	11
1 <i>Socrates' Account of Rhetoric: Plato, Gorgias 463a-c, 464b-465d</i>	11
2 <i>Aristotle, Art of Rhetoric 1.1-3 (excerpts)</i>	12
3 <i>Cicero, "On Oratorical Partitions" (excerpts)</i>	15
4 <i>Quintilian, "What is Rhetoric?" Institutes of Oratory (excerpts)</i>	19
2 The Three Kinds of Rhetoric According to Aristotle	24
Deliberative Rhetoric	24
1 <i>Aristotle, Art of Rhetoric 1.4, 6, 8 (excerpts)</i>	24
2 <i>Thucydides, Corinth and Corcyra Appeal to Athens, Peloponnesian War 1.31-45 (433 BC)</i>	26
3 <i>Demosthenes, Second Philippic (excerpts) (344-343 BC)</i>	31
Epidictic Rhetoric	34
1 <i>Aristotle, Art of Rhetoric 1.9 (excerpts)</i>	34
2 <i>Thucydides, Pericles' Funeral Oration, Peloponnesian War 2.35-46 (431 BC)</i>	36
3 <i>Gorgias, Encomium of Helen (circa 414 BC)</i>	40
4 <i>Isocrates, Helen (circa 370 BC)</i>	43
5 <i>Gouverneur Morris, "Alexander Hamilton" (July 14, 1804)</i>	51
6 <i>Daniel Webster, "On the Deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson" (excerpts) (August 2, 1826)</i>	53
7 <i>Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address" (November 19, 1863)</i>	59
8 <i>Frederick Douglass, "Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln" (April 14, 1876)</i>	60
9 <i>Robert Kennedy, "Remarks on the Assassination of MLK" (April 4, 1968)</i>	67
	v

Judicial Rhetoric	69
1 Aristotle, <i>Art of Rhetoric</i> 1.10, 12, 14 (excerpts)	69
2 Socrates' <i>Address to the Jury After his Conviction: Plato, Apology of Socrates</i> 38c–end (399 BC)	70
3 Cicero, <i>First Oration Against Catiline</i> (excerpts) (63 BC)	73
4 Thomas More, <i>Defense Speech</i> (July 1, 1535)	78
5 Emile Zola, "The Dreyfus Affair" (excerpts) (January 13, 1898)	80
6 Clarence S. Darrow, <i>Closing Argument in the Leopold and Loeb Case</i> (excerpts) (August 22 and 23, 1924)	83
7 William Jennings Bryan, <i>Closing Argument in the Scopes "Monkey" Trial</i> (excerpts) (July 21, 1925)	87
8 Nelson Mandela, "I am Prepared to Die" (excerpts) (April 20, 1964)	93
9 Johnnie Cochran, <i>Closing Argument, OJ Simpson Trial</i> (excerpts) (September 27–28, 1995)	100
3 The Modes of Persuasion: <i>Ethos, Pathos, Logos</i> (Character, Passion, Argument)	103
Pathos or Passion	103
1 Aristotle, <i>Art of Rhetoric</i> 2.1–2 (on anger) and 8 (on pity)	103
2 Thucydides, <i>Cleon on the Fate of the Mytileneans</i> , Peloponnesian War 3.37–40 (427 BC)	105
3 Shakespeare, <i>Mark Antony's Speech</i> , Julius Caesar 3.2.82–108	108
4 Huey Long, "Every Man a King" (excerpts) (February 23, 1934)	109
Ethos or Character	115
1 Aristotle, <i>Art of Rhetoric</i> 2.12, 16 (excerpts)	115
2 Richard Nixon, "Checkers" Speech (September 23, 1952)	117
3 Douglas MacArthur, "West Point Address" (May 12, 1962)	124
4 Barack Obama, "A More Perfect Union" (March 18, 2008)	128
Logos or Argument	135
1 Aristotle, <i>Art of Rhetoric</i> 2.18–20 (excerpts)	135
2 Shakespeare, <i>Brutus' Speech</i> , Julius Caesar 3.2.13–65	137
3 Frederick Douglass, "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro" (excerpts) (July 5, 1852)	138
4 Rhetoric and Diction	144
1 Aristotle, <i>Art of Rhetoric</i> 3.1–2 (excerpts)	144
2 Abraham Lincoln, "Temperance Address" (February 22, 1842)	145
3 Mark Twain, "Die Schrecken der Deutsche Sprache" [<i>The Horrors of the German Language</i>] (excerpts) (November 21, 1897)	151
4 General George S. Patton's <i>Speech to the Third Army</i> (June 5, 1944)	153

<i>Contents</i>	vii
PART II POLITICAL RHETORIC IN PRACTICE	157
5 Civil Rights and Race in the United States	159
1 Booker T. Washington, <i>Atlanta Exposition Speech</i> (September 18, 1895)	159
2 W.E.B. Du Bois, "A Negro Nation Within a Negro Nation" (June 26, 1934)	162
3 Martin Luther King Jr., "The Montgomery Boycott Speech" (excerpts) (December 5, 1955)	164
4 John F. Kennedy, "Report to the American People on Civil Rights" (excerpts) (June 11, 1963)	167
5 Martin Luther King Jr., "I Have a Dream" (August 28, 1963)	170
6 Malcolm X, "Message to the Grassroots" (excerpts) (November 10, 1963)	173
6 The Women's Movement	179
1 Sojourner Truth, "Ar'n't I a Woman?" (1851)	179
2 Susan B. Anthony, "On a Woman's Right to Vote" (excerpts) (1873)	180
3 Lucy Parkman Scott, "Be Women and Do a Woman's Work" (April 10, 1895)	182
4 Josephine Jewell Dodge, "Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights" (November 1914)	184
5 Gloria Steinem, "Living the Revolution" (May 31, 1970)	188
6 Phyllis Schlafly, "What's Wrong with 'Equal Rights' for Women?" (January 1, 1972)	194
7 Ambassador Samantha Power, <i>Commencement Address at Barnard College</i> (May 17, 2015)	200
8 Christina Hoff Sommers, "The Real Oppression that Campus Feminists Aren't Talking About" (June 8, 2015)	206
7 Rhetoric in Times of Crisis and Doubt	209
1 Abraham Lincoln, "A House Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand" (June 16, 1858)	209
2 Theodore Roosevelt, "Citizenship in a Republic," <i>Address to the Sorbonne</i> (excerpts) (April 23, 1910)	214
3 Jimmy Carter, "Crisis of Confidence" (also known as the "Malaise" Speech) (July 15, 1979)	224
4 Bill Clinton on Monica Lewinsky ("I did not have...") (January 26, 1998)	229
5 Donald J. Trump, <i>Inaugural Address</i> (January 20, 2017)	231
6 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, "A World Split Apart," <i>Harvard Address</i> (excerpts) (June 8, 1978)	234
7 Allan Bloom, "Western Civ.," <i>Address to Harvard University</i> (December 7, 1988)	244

8	War and Conflict	258
1	<i>Shakespeare, "St. Crispin's Day Speech," Henry V 4.3.18–67</i>	258
2	<i>Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural (March 4, 1865)</i>	259
3	<i>Franklin D. Roosevelt, "For a Declaration of War Against Japan" (December 8, 1941)</i>	261
4	<i>Franklin D. Roosevelt, "State of the Union Address to Congress" (January 6, 1941)</i>	262
5	<i>Neville Chamberlain, "Munich Agreement" (October 3, 1938)</i>	268
6	<i>Duff Cooper, Speech in the House of Commons (October 3, 1938)</i>	270
7	<i>Winston Churchill, "Blood, Toil, Tears, and Sweat" (May 13, 1940)</i>	277
8	<i>Winston Churchill, "Their Finest Hour" (excerpts) (June 18, 1940)</i>	279
9	<i>John F. Kennedy, The Cuban Missile Crisis (October 22, 1962)</i>	282
10	<i>Winston Churchill, Iron Curtain Speech, "The Sinews of Peace" (March 5, 1946)</i>	286
11	<i>Ronald Reagan, "Tear Down This Wall" (June 12, 1987)</i>	294
12	<i>Margaret Thatcher, Falklands War Speech (June 15, 1982)</i>	298
13	<i>George W. Bush, 9/11 Address to the American People (September 11, 2001)</i>	300
14	<i>George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress (September 20, 2001)</i>	302
9	Tyrannies Left and Right	308
1	<i>Maximilien Robespierre, Address to the National Convention (excerpts) (February 5, 1794)</i>	308
2	<i>Vladimir Lenin, "Thesis and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (excerpts) (March 4, 1919)</i>	319
3	<i>Joseph Goebbels, "Our Hitler" (April 19, 1933)</i>	325
4	<i>Adolf Hitler, Closing Address to the Nazi Party Congress, Nuremberg, Germany (September 10, 1934)</i>	329
5	<i>Joseph Stalin, "Defects in Party Work and Measures for Liquidating Trotskyite and Other Double-Dealers," Report to the Plenum of the Central Committee (excerpts) (March 3, 1937)</i>	330
6	<i>Adolf Hitler, Speech Declaring War on the United States of America (excerpts) (December 11, 1941)</i>	336
7	<i>Mao Tse-Tung, "A Great Leap Forward" (excerpts) (May 17, 1958)</i>	348
8	<i>Deng Xiaoping, Address to the Martial Units – Tiananmen Square (June 9, 1989)</i>	354
	<i>Index</i>	361