A BURKEIAN ANALYSIS

OF THE

RHETORIC OF MARGARET THATCHER

DISSERTATION

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By

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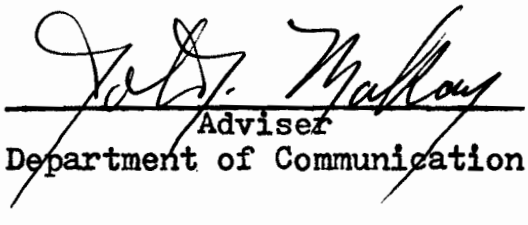

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To My Parents:

Daniel and Rita Fallon

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Development of the Study

Throughout the course of history, human beings have frequently engaged in verbal and nonverbal behavior directed toward the enactment of change. Students of history and culture who examine the transcripts of the past find that such enactments of change sometimes range from the dramatic and revolutionary to the nondescript and evolutionary, and have affected all aspects of human life. Social, political, economic, personal, educational, and even religious realms have all experienced the powerful and often creative forces of change.

Communication scholars, today, recognize the significance of the rhetorical strategies utilized by human beings in their attempts to change or alter their respective societies. In particular, scholars are examining how it is that a person who initially experiences vague feelings of discontent can eventually become so dynamic an advocate of change as to achieve desired ends. Clearly, investigation and analysis into the rhetorical strategies of a leader, or change-agent, and into the rhetorical strategies of his/her homophilous group of followers will reveal something of the process

through which change occurs.

One remarkable occasion of change, in the history of western nations, occurred on May 4, 1979. The date is to be remembered for an unprecedented event which earned the attention of the world. On that day, Margaret Hilda Roberts Thatcher, leader of the United Kingdom's Conservative (Tory) Party, assumed the highest political position in that country's governmental structure: that of Prime Minister. Mrs. Thatcher's political ascent to this prestigious and powerful position was the direct result of the previous day's electoral successes and victories of her fellow Tory Members of Parliament (M.P.'s).

In the eyes of the world, the initial significance of the event was that Margaret Thatcher became the first woman ever supported by a majority to head the government of a major, western nation. For the people of the United Kingdom, however, the significance of the General Election of May 3, 1979, had far greater meaning than just a concern for the gender of the nation's highest ranking political official. For the British, this particular election signaled an end to the leadership of a Labour government with its strong philosophy of domestic welfare and Socialism, and the beginnings of the leadership of a Conservative government with its challenging philosophy of free enterprise and Capitalism. After having faced several defeats in General Elections in the early part of the decade, the Tories had at last returned to power. The uniqueness of the occasion was, of course, all

the more startling since it was a woman who championed the Tory cause.

Superficially, this Tory victory may appear as nothing more than the success of one political party over competing parties in any given election. But the in-depth and long-term consequences of what the return of a Tory government would mean for Britain is of far more serious import than just a seemingly arbitrary decision on the part of the electorate to support one party over any others. In order to gain an understanding of the gravity of the 1979 election, it is necessary to review briefly the major political trend in the United Kingdom during the last few decades. An historical perspective will also facilitate an understanding of Margaret Thatcher's own political career as she steadily became more politically active, publicly obvious, and nationally important--especially during the last seven years.

Historical Background

The modern British political system appears, today, to be evolving gradually into a multi-party system, but despite this development the governments of the last thirty years have, nevertheless, been formed by either Conservative or Labour factions. The Conservatives, Tories, find their roots in mid-nineteenth-century England, while Labourites are newcomers in the early twentieth-century. At present, however, both parties are firmly entrenched in British political and social life.

During the course of World War II, the Tories, guided by the leadership of Sir Winston Churchill, exercised control over the war-time government. The end of the war, though, brought not only long-awaited peace, but also the formation of a Labour government. In the ballot booth, the populace had mandated that the powers of government put on a "working class" visage in place of that of the traditional "ruling class."

Within a few years, the Conservative Party, again inspired by that eminent statesman, Churchill, did regain dominance. But the political campaigns and elections of the 1950's, the 1960's, and the 1970's continued to pit the Conservatives and the Labour Parties against each other. The significance of each contest, however, rests in the seemingly imperceptible escalation of socialistic political thought, juxtaposed with a corresponding de-escalation of capitalistic political thought.

Post-war Britain was gradually becoming a socialist society. The Labour Party encouraged this trend, and the Conservative Party did little to discourage it; that is, until the mid-1970's when the Tories began to clamor and to campaign actively against what had become a welfare-state economy and a welfare-state mentality.

Traditionally, the Conservative Party has seen itself as "the natural party of government."[1] It had enjoyed success for so many decades prior to World War II, that it had underestimated the formidableness of the Labour Party as a national, competitive party. But because the Labour leaders had spent so many years in opposition as a shadow government,

they had become adept at putting mounting pressure on the Conservatives who constantly found themselves in a defensive position. The challenges and policy changes sought by Labourites caused Tories to defend loyally what they perceived as the status quo. In continually striving to justify their brand of government and free enterprise philosophy, the Tories were remiss in initiating even modest reforms. Thus, when Labour did come to power, intermittently since the war, new social and economic policies were instituted which gradually served to transform the countenance of British social and political life. And each time the Tories returned to power, they inadvertently allowed many of the Labour reforms to stand. In a rather unconscious manner, the Tories were compromising themselves and were indirectly condoning the steady growth of Socialism.

In the early 1970's, it at last became apparent to the Tories that the conservative status quo, in which they had believed for over a century, no longer existed. It also became apparent to the Tories that they themselves no longer espoused true Conservatism. Indeed, they too had mellowed and had mildly succumbed to government's control over numerous dimensions of British life. The Labour Party had been able to establish a new status quo, one that endorsed Socialism.

Finally, in 1975, while in opposition, the Tories engaged in a symbolic and reactionary about-face as characterized by the choice they made in the party leadership election in February of that year. Under the leadership of Margaret

Thatcher, the Tories operated as a shadow government and launched an offensive campaign against what they now perceived to be the dangers of a socialist government. This role-reversal gave to the Tories an image of being political radicals intent on upsetting the Labour government which had, by this time, come to represent an accepted way of life, the Labour status quo.[2]

But it was not until March, 1979, that the Conservative Party was able to bring about the "no confidence" in the government vote, in Parliament. For over four years, the Tories had goaded the Labour leadership; and the General Election set for May 3, 1979, came to represent the ideological competition between these two major political parties.

In retrospect, the decade of the 1970's in Britain was an exciting one. In particular, the years 1975 through 1979 demand close scrutiny. For it was during this time that Margaret Thatcher, the Member of Parliament from Finchley, was elected party leader for the Tories; established a radical and offensive shadow government; dogged the Labourites with her image, her appeals, her rhetoric, and her political platform; effectively incited the "no confidence" vote; and led her party to victory in the General Election of May 3, 1979. Clearly, it is not easy to dismiss the role that Margaret Thatcher played in the return of the Tories to political power.

In these years, a rhetorical situation existed in Britain.[3] The suffering economy and the growth of the

welfare state created an exigency--an urgent need for someone to respond, somehow, and in some way. Mrs. Thatcher, as rhetor, responded rhetorically again and again, and offered a new social reality to the public audience of electors. The task which Mrs. Thatcher faced was monumental. Hers was an up-hill struggle beset by constant criticism. Constraints, in the form of prejudicial factors and opposing political and ideological views, worked to affect the decision-making processes of those who were in a position either to reject or to endorse the Tory vision.

Purpose of the Study

The British political scene of the past decade demands more than just a cursory glance. It is the purpose of this study to conduct an in-depth and scholarly analysis and investigation of the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher in order that further knowledge about this recent period of history be uncovered and revealed.

In light of Margaret Thatcher's present position as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and in light of the Conservative Party's endeavor to re-shape British life, it seems appropriate that a careful analysis be made of both Mrs. Thatcher's and her party's rhetorical efforts, strategies, designs, and techniques which were utilized primarily in the latter 1970's as symbolic acts which were intended to induce political and social change.

Unquestionably, Margaret Thatcher, as a collegial Member

of Parliament and as party leader, has been extremely influential. Her philosophy of life, her vision of how life should be, her Tory message, have all been well-received by many thousands of voters in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales. In addition, as a result of some of her public addresses which were made during her extensive travels, Mrs. Thatcher has won the endorsement of numerous foreign heads-of-state.

Part of the attraction, however, in studying such a public figure as the one who became the first female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, rests in the obvious fact that beside her supporters, stand her critics. Margaret Thatcher has been, and continues to be, a very controversial politician. There are those who swear their undying loyalty to her, and there are those who chafe at the mere mention of her name. Sill others, devoid of political affiliations, are intrigued by this sometimes enigmatic, but always remarkable, woman. She is a woman who, at any time, can evoke in others a broad array of feelings ranging from fealty and fascination, to a raging fury.

Major Question: With all of this as background, the general over-riding question of this study asks: "What distinctive features in the character of Margaret Thatcher and in the nature of her rhetoric account for the political influences that both she and her rhetoric had on the British people in 1979?" Reasons which indicate why Mrs. Thatcher

and her rhetoric had such a profound effect on British politics must be determined.

An immediate, but superficial, response to this inquiry which deals primarily with Mrs. Thatcher's impact concerns her personal character and her ethical appeals. She is highly intelligent, well-educated (a barrister by profession), well-mannered, articulate, and quite attractive. Mrs. Thatcher presents a picture of personal and political success that most people only dream of, and few ever achieve. She is an advertisement for a way of life that promises something better.

These reasons may be valid, if only in a shallow sense. The fact that Margaret Thatcher was able to mobilize the Tories in a way that was originally intended to revitalize the status of the United Kingdom in relation to other world powers, indicates that it is necessary to probe much deeper in attempting to answer the question.

It is incumbent upon the critic to focus on Margaret Thatcher as a woman, as a politician, and as a public speaker in order to assess better her rhetorical style. Analysis of Mrs. Thatcher's persuasive strategies, including her uses of the media, should reveal relevant information vital to a credible assessment of her impact. Her audience, both national and international, must be studied in order that the viability of Mrs. Thatcher's responses to their respective needs be determined. In particular, an appraisal of Mrs. Thatcher's personal image along with the collective image of the Tories, contrasted with a general image of the British

public should reveal insightful data that would account for the building of feelings either of identification or of alienation.

A leading argument of this dissertation is that Margaret Thatcher is a public speaker whose rhetoric is successfully persuasive. Mrs. Thatcher's use of persuasion is in the best sense of the word. Her rhetoric epitomizes persuasion as "communication intended to influence choice."[4] In addressing her audiences, Mrs. Thatcher is not monologically manipulative; rather, she seeks to activate the audience members to choose the specific course of political action which she prescribes. She attempts to lead her receptors into agreement with her manner of thinking. But the ultimate choice, as always, is to be decided by the members of the audience when in the privacy of the ballot booth. Through her skillful use of figurative language, analogies, examples, and illustrations, Mrs. Thatcher tries to elicit similar attitudes and beliefs from her receptors. Via rhetorical strategies, she attempts to induce attitude change in them.

In order to provide backing for this argument, the dissertation will examine Mrs. Thatcher's political and social vision, and the symbolic and rhetorical processes involved in the transmission of that vision to others. Her fervent endorsement of a free enterprise system, her willingness to risk confrontation and criticism, and her continuance of such a strong and outspoken stance have rallied her supporters and have even impressed her critics.

In 1975, the Tories, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, embarked on a course of action that not only resisted the efforts of the Labour government, but that vehemently endeavored to re-structure their party and to re-define their philosophy. No longer were the Tories willing to acquiesce to the gradual growth of Socialism as an inevitability, or to modify and compromise their own political thoughts as they had in the past. Instead, these revitalized Tories, sparked by Margaret Thatcher, rejected both the Labourite mentality and their own previously complacent mentality. They began to create a new image of themselves and began to clarify their political and social positions that were decidedly different, not only from those of the Labourites, but also from their own in past days. Because of this, the 1979 General Election was not the culmination of a fairly normal political campaign. It was not simply a contest between competing parties which may differ on minor issues, but which essentially agree on a basic political system (such as national contests between Democrats and Republicans in the United States). Instead, this General Election gave to the British people the chance to make a clear and distinct break away from the socialist political system which had become the status quo, and to choose, if they wished, a capitalist political system which represented a radical difference from their then-present way of life. The May 3, 1979 election was not the equivalent of a presidential election in the United States. To vote into office either one of the

two leading parties in Britain meant to choose a specific social reality.

With all of this in mind, the argument can be stated that with the 1975 election of Margaret Thatcher to the position of party leader, the Conservatives became social activists. By implementing certain maneuvers and strategies, Mrs. Thatcher and the Tories triggered a progression of events that ultimately brought about the "no confidence" in the government vote. With regard to this resurgence of Tory activity and Tory ideology, Mrs. Thatcher as a pivotal agent-of-change, and her fellow Tories came to personify the action implicit in the meaning of the word "campaign."

It is fairly obvious already that in attempting to answer the major question,--"What distinctive features in the character of Margaret Thatcher and in the nature of her rhetoric account for the political influences that both she and her rhetoric had on the British people in 1979?"--other questions arise. Some of these additional concerns deal with Mrs. Thatcher's projected personal image, the rhetorical strategies which she utilized, the issues and the political situation to which she was responding, the Tory vision of how life should be, and the kinds of actions in which Mrs. Thatcher engaged in order to agitate for change. These concerns, as well as others raised by additional questions, are major focal points which require explication and are attended to in the remaining chapters.

But before continuing with further explanations about the questions and the intentions of this dissertation, it is imperative to establish first some useful definitions of the word "rhetoric" and to explain what is meant by "rhetorical criticism."

Terminology

Rhetoric: Though rhetoric seems to defy a narrow definition, it is a word that is, nonetheless, well-rooted in the rich, classical heritage of western civilization. The foundation upon which a multitude of definitions has been built is credited to Aristotle, that ancient Greek philosopher who earned the title, "Father of Science." According to Aristotle, rhetoric is "the faculty [power] of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."[5] The element of persuasion, which implies a leading of others to a specific choice, is apparent in most contemporary definitions of rhetoric.

Various scholars representing different schools of thought proffer definitions of rhetoric that are viable and respect-worthy extensions of the core meaning set forth by Aristotle. For example, Richard Crable says that rhetoric is "symbolic interaction aimed at mediation."[6] Kenneth Burke suggests that rhetoric functions in such a way as "to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents."[7] Chaim Perelman adds that rhetoric tries to obtain "the adherence of the audience to some thesis."[8] Wayne Brockriede says

that rhetoric is "argument;" that it seeks to understand how human beings come to reason their way from one belief to the acceptance of a different belief.[9]

A commonality running through each of these definitions is that rhetoric is potentially capable of bringing people together to achieve some type of understanding or some consensus of thought. Rhetoric utilizes both verbal and nonverbal symbols during any dynamic encounter between at least two people who are trying to come together and reach agreement. Kenneth Burke calls this kind of identification of one with another, "consubstantiality."[10] Each person is a separate entity but through rhetorical discourse can come together with another. To be consubstantial means to be separate, but also to be joined.

Rhetoric, then, is communication with a design, with a strategy, that is intended to persuade the other(s) to accept a particular idea, thing, belief, or course of action. For our purposes, it becomes increasingly more clear that Margaret Thatcher acted as a dominant rhetor whose rhetoric was specifically designed to persuade the British public to follow the Tory path.

Rhetorical Criticism: Since verbal and nonverbal rhetoric signify human creations, human products, and human artifacts, rhetorical criticism is logically an analysis of those creations, products, and artifacts. According to Edwin Black, rhetorical criticism is "the investigation and

appraisal of the products of man."[11] Criticism for Black strives to gain an understanding of the individual person. For Marie Hochmuth Nichols, criticism is "judgment engaged in discriminating among values."[12] Nichols believes that a judgment is made according to conscious standards of what is better and what is worse.

Charles Stewart presents his definition of criticism as "an evaluation of peoples' past attempts to change the behavior of their fellow beings."[13] Presumably these past attempts are made primarily through the use of verbal symbols. Wayne Brockriede claims that the purpose of criticism is "discovery."[14] For Brockriede, a critic who argues is more informative and makes a more significant contribution to knowledge than those who do not.

Karlyn Campbell sees criticism as: (1)"descriptive analysis, (2)"historical-contextual analysis, and (3)"interpretive analysis."[15] Campbell argues that good criticism must make the discourse more understandable to the reader and she emphasizes the lasting qualities of criticism while rejecting that which is inconsequential and ephemeral.

Kenneth Burke says that in order to do a rhetorical criticism, "a critic's perspective implicitly selects a set of questions that the critic considers to be key questions . . . . leading questions."[16] His theory of dramatism offers a useful method that raises important questions about the use of a rhetor's terms in such a way that the answers are meaningful and insightful. In keeping with Burke's call for

"key questions," this dissertation, too, proposes questions and seeks to find accurate and valid answers.

It is hopeful that all of this information regarding rhetoric and criticism makes clear that this study pursues the generation of new knowledge, scholarly additions to rhetorical theory, and conclusive judgments based on an analysis of the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher as she rose to a position of power in the United Kingdom and led the Conservative Party to a national victory. This critical study attempts to account for Mrs. Thatcher's impact and influence by examining her own rhetorical products and by rendering a thoughtful and qualified judgment about Mrs. Thatcher as rhetor.

Methodology

Kenneth Burke once said that "Politics above all is Drama."[17] With this in mind and because the intent of this research project is directed toward political activity, it is fitting that Kenneth Burke's dramatistic "pentad" be used as a methodological tool to reveal the working relationships of all the elements of the British political stage in the 1970's. Before delineating the parts of the pentad, however, Burke's concept of dramatism must be explained. For Burke, "dramatism is a method of analysis and a corresponding critique of terminolgy designed to show that the most direct root to the study of human relations and human motives is via

a methodological inquiry into cycles or clusters of terms and their functions."[18] Within this method of analysis are included certain key concepts that are crucial to an understanding of Burke's perspective and of his approach to rhetorical criticism.

According to Burke, a key concept as well as a primary focus of the dramatistic theory is that language represents symbolic action. Words, then, are "symbolic acts" that are utilized in such a strategic way as to project particular "attitudes" held by the respective rhetor on a given occasion.[19] In this way, rhetoric "is rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols"[20] Obviously, meaningful interaction among human beings depends on a shared symbol system, and that shared symbol system is capable of shaping and reflecting a shared reality.

Burke describes the human being as "the symbol-using, symbol-misusing, and symbol-making animal" whose world view and whose conception of reality are structured by his/her use of symbols.[21] Burke stresses our need to recognize and to acknowledge "just how overwhelmingly much of what we mean by 'reality' has been built up for us through nothing but our symbol system."[22] Language, then, plays a vital role in the adoption, continuance, or rejection either of an individual's own perception of reality or of a collective's commonly-held

perception of reality. The words that are articulated by a person (or by a group) are capable, at times, of revealing and of betraying the inner-most nature and feelings of the articulator(s). The words which one chooses to use in any situation construct, directly or indirectly, the image of reality held by that person at that time. Words help us to make sense out of the chaos that frequently characterizes our lives. Our words help us to name our feelings, our emotions, and our attitudes in such a way that we, as human beings, are able to cope with the complexities of life. Our words can be seen as strategies designed to respond to certain situations. "These strategies size up the situations, name their structure and outstanding ingredients, and name them in a way that contains an attitude toward them."[23] The choice of one word over another is a deliberate act that mirrors the speaker's attitude. "For this reason verbal symbols are meaningful acts from which human motives can be derived. These motives constitute the foundation or the substance of the speech."[24]

Kenneth Burke advises us to examine with care and with scrutiny the language that a rhetor uses, because to understand a rhetor's words is to understand the rhetor's behavior and the rhetor's motives. Language, for Burke, is the key to a rhetor's motives. He says that "a motive is not some fixed thing, like a table, which one can go and look at. It is a term of interpretation, and being such it will naturally take its place within the framework of our Weltanschauung as a whole."[25] In this philosophical sense, a motive is a

"distinctly linguistic product."[26] The theory of dramatism calls for an examination of motives; that is, an examination of those linguistic terms that, for Burke, represent completed action. "From this viewpoint, language frequently is used to label behavior after it has been enacted. Language fits and adjusts behavior to a symbolically created world."[27] In this way, words, then, are also motives. "Motives lie not only in some kind of experience 'beyond' symbols, but also in symbols. In sum, symbolism is a motive because symbolism is a motivational dimension in its own right."[28]

A symbol, or word, used by a speaker represents a kind of filter which is indicative of the perspective through which the respective speaker views the world. Burke refers to this kind of choice of words as the choice of particular "terministic screens." According to Burke, "we must use terministic screens, since we can't say anything without the use of terms; whatever terms we use, they necessarily constitute a kind of screen; and any such screen necessarily directs the attention to one field rather than another."[29] A given term basically functions in one of two ways. It either serves to "put things together" or it serves to "take things apart."[30] This notion that words function in such a way as to bring about associations or disassociations between a speaker and the speaker's audience is an underlying principle of Burke's approach to rhetorical criticism. For Burke, terministic screens have the potential either to

enhance or to diminish "identification" between human beings.

Burke explains this major concept leading to the achievement of identification in this way:

> A is not identical with his colleague B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so.[31]

This explanation of identification implies that human beings are intrinsically and respectively apart from each other in matters of personal identity, but are potentially capable of being united with, or identified with, each other in matters of perceived shared interests. Burke calls this kind of coming together, this kind of identification with another, "consubstantiality"; for "in being identified with B, A is 'substantially one' with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motives. Thus he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another."[32]

By stressing this concept of "identification" in an analysis of rhetoric, Kenneth Burke has expanded the classical dimension of rhetoric as "persuasion," while, at the same time, clearly binding the main ideas together. Burke says that:

> . . . we might well keep it in mind that a speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests; and the speaker draws on identification of interests to establish rapport between himself and his audience. So, there is no chance of keeping apart the meanings of persuasion, identification ("consubstantiality") and communication ("the nature of rhetoric addressed"). . . .[33]

Thus far, Burke's philosophy and perspective of rhetorical criticism offers us a rationale for choosing to focus on the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher. The key words, the themes, the leitmotifs, which are evident throughout Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric serve as terministic screens and as directional signs of her motives. Her words, themselves, are both symbolic acts and strategic responses to the socio-political crises of the 1970's; and as such, warrant critical attention so as to ascertain how she achieved identification with others and how she was able to induce cooperation and action in others. Because Burke says that "you persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, [and by] identifying your ways with his,"[34] it is imperative that these and similar multitudinous dimensions of Mrs. Thatcher's language be examined and assessed in order that a judgment be rendered with regard to her significance and impact as a rhetor.

Kenneth Burke's tool for analysis which invites inquiry into the study of a rhetor's symbolic acts and into the process of identification is the dramatistic pentad. He believes that all of life is a drama, a drama in which "men enact roles, they change roles, they participate. They develop social appeals" and as such "human relations should be analysed with respect to the leads discovered by a study of drama."[35] Structurally, the pentadic drama unfolds with its related "dramatis personae" as the critic looks at the act--what

happened? the scene--where? the agent--who? the agency--how? and the purpose--why? Burke explains the pentad in this way:

> You must have some word that names the act (names what took place, in thought or deed), and another that names the scene (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred); also, you must indicate what person or kind of person (agent) performed the act, what means of instrument he used (agency), and the purpose.[36]

For Burke, these five major elements of the pentad "are really questions. . . .They are really but a set of blanks to be filled out."[37] By essentially focusing on these elements and on how they interdependently represent a completed event, the critic is able to discern the motives--the compelling forces--behind the actions. The elements of Burke's pentad interact with each other according to ratios; however, it must be stressed that none of the elements of the pentad is fixed. The elements can shift in ratio, in proportion, and in importance; thus, the pentad can be used in a variety of ratios--each of which can provide new and valid insights into the rhetoric being studied. And even though an assortment of ratios can be featured, Burke believes that "act" is the pivotal element around which the other elements revolve.

The ratios of the pentad may be examined as they move intrinsically within the context of a specific speech, or as they move extrinsically about, or around, an entire situation that includes speech-making events. For the purposes of this dissertation, the elements of the pentad are used in the latter sense. A broad yet simple application of Burke's pentadic

model to the Britain of the 1970's, allows the model to function as a guide to aid the critic in understanding the rhetorical, political, and social interaction which occurred primarily in the second half of that decade. While recognizing the fluidity, the overlap, and the movement of the elements in the pentad, this study attempts to focus on the British political and social arena as it can be said to have constituted a "scene"; on Margaret Thatcher as she played the leading role as "agent" and on the British electorate as they served as "respondent-agents"; on Mrs. Thatcher's public addresses, interviews, informal remarks, and campaign strategies as they represented collectively a rhetorical "act"; on the General Election of 1979 as it was a formal channel or "agency" through which change was instigated; and on the controversial political and social issues as they contributed to the many reasons, motives, and "purposes" which caused Margaret Thatcher and the Tories to provoke and to incite the British people to act decisively in the ballot booth.

According to Burke, the pentadic approach to human motivation which is manifested in language (symbolic action) reveals "what is involved when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it."[38] The pentad also helps to reveal the rhetorical "substance." On this level, "to deal with the problems of motive is to deal with problems of substance."[39] For Burke, substance is akin to stance and represents the ideological foundation upon which a rhetor stands. The content of a speech, the "substance" of a speech, is then "the key to

the speaker's attitudes."[40] Thus, with respect to this study, Margaret Thatcher's words are, in fact, meaningful acts that reflect her attitudes and the attitudes of her party.

In addition to the potential understandings that can be gained from a pentadic analysis of the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher, is the recognition that Burke's notion of "order" is also apparent in the drama of life. Burke says that "the term 'Order' may apply to the realm of nature in general and to the specific realm of human sociopolitical organizations . . . . [and that] our ideas of the natural order can become secretly infused with our ideas of the sociopolitical order."[44] Implicit in the meaning of the word "order" is its reversed form, "disorder." Disorder, or lack of order, threatens hierarchical structure in nature and in sociopolitical realm. Certainly in the late 1970's, Mrs. Thatcher raised her concerns about that which she perceived as an apparent disintegration of order in the sociopolitical hierarchy in Britain. In keeping with Burke's beliefs that "the search for a cause [for the disorder] is itself the search for a scapegoat,"[42] Mrs. Thatcher sought to blame the Labour Party as the cause of the sociopolitical ills which had beset the nation, and to praise the Tory Party as the alternate symbol of authority which was capable of restoring order to British life in general.

Another important concept that merits attention from a Burkeian perspective is the rhetor's use of the negative. As Burke defines man as a "symbol-using (symbol-making, symbol misusing) animal," he also includes in that definition a

description of man as "inventor of the negative (moralized by the negative)."[43] The use of the linguistic negative is unique to mankind, for "there are no negatives in nature, every natural condition being positively what it is."[44] The negative is peculiar to human symbol systems and when examined "from the dramatistic point of view, the negative is an 'idea' in the verbal sense, an act."[45] By studying the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher and, in particular, by focusing on her use of the negative, insights with regard to her "sense of right and wrong"[46] and her "mode of moralizing"[47] can be gained. Mrs. Thatcher's use of the negative reflects more than an attitude; indeed, it reflects a position taken, a stand held, an act of her character.

Kenneth Burke's approach to rhetorical criticism provides a useful and valid methodology for answering the question: "What distinctive features in Margaret Thatcher's character and in her rhetoric account for her influence on the British people in 1979?" The preceding review of Burke's theory of dramatism is supplemented with additional methodological information in the remaining chapters of this study.

Collection of Data

Primary Sources: The most valuable data for this study come from the speeches of Margaret Thatcher as Member of Parliament and as party leader. Mrs. Thatcher's own book, Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches, 1975-1977, contains twelve of her major addresses which, as Mrs. Thatcher

herself states, "deal with a range of concerns: foreign, domestic, and European; economics, politics, defence, and basic social philosophy."[48]

Another primary source is Mrs. Thatcher's policy address to the Conservative Party Conference in 1976. This important speech was made at a point in time when the Labour Party had been in control of government for the preceding twenty months. Then, during the weeks prior to the 1979 General Election, Mrs. Thatcher had innumerable occasions to make public statements and full-fledged speeches. Excerpts of her remarks as noted by the popular media, as well as six of her campaign speeches recorded by the Conservative Central Office, are available for scrutiny and examination. The latter speeches, in particular, are insightful and specific as Mrs. Thatcher challenges the electors to choose a "new" government.

Several lengthy documents representing the Conservative Party and published by the party provide primary source material that relates to the philosophy, functions, and goals of the Tories. The titles of these pamphlets are: The Right Approach, The Conservative Manifesto, and Politics Today: The General Election, 1979.[49]

In addition to the materials that have just been mentioned as providing important data for this study, personal correspondence from persons affiliated with Mrs. Thatcher and the Tories has proved to be enriching. The responses from several authoritative and credible persons have expanded the volume of primary sources. Mr. Derek Howe, who is Mrs. Thatcher's

political secretary, and Mr. Richard Ryder, who is Mrs. Thatcher's press secretary, are responsible for having forwarded from 10 Downing Street most of this critic's copies of Mrs. Thatcher's public addresses. Mr. Michael Dobbs of Saatchi and Saatchi Garland-Compton Ltd., the advertising agency which is under contract to the Conservative Party, has explained something of the integration and organization of the campaign planning and publicity. Dr. Patrick Cosgrave, a biographer and former speech-writer for Mrs. Thatcher, and presently a Tory M.P. himself, has offered insights into Mrs. Thatcher's most outstanding speeches which, he feels, were delivered just prior to her party leadership election as well as during her years as leader of the opposition. And Mr. Nicholas Comfort, a political reporter for The Daily Telegraph who is assigned to the Press Gallery in the House of Commons, has sent valuable party documents and has explained certain election strategies and the nature of the media coverage of the 1979 election.

Secondary Sources: British newspapers and magazines, such as The London Times, The Daily News, The Manchester Guardian, The Sunday Times, and the New Statesman, provide a great deal of coverage by prominent political reporters. Frequent quotations by Margaret Thatcher and reports from Parliament enliven the many articles found in these secondary sources. Newspapers and magazines published in the United States have also run features and articles covering the

British political scene of the last few years. Their common perspective has been one of the curious neighbor--intrigued; interested; and sometimes, troubled. Among these sources are: Time, Newsweek, New York Times Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, Nation, National Review, Esquire, U.S. News & World Report, New Yorker, New Republic, Fortune, Chief Executive, and The Washington Post. All of the popular publications, both British and American, contribute much of the colorful detail about Mrs. Thatcher herself, her shadow government, and the 1979 General Election.

Although Mrs. Thatcher has been a Member of Parliament since the late 1950's, and although she held a major ministerial position in the early 1970's, she only became the subject of biographies after her election as party leader. One of the first books to give specific attention to Mrs. Thatcher as a formidable politician is The Tory Leaders: Their Struggle for Power.[50] The author, Nigel Fisher, highlights the lives and politics of the twentieth-century Conservative Party leaders and makes comparisons between them.

In his book, Margaret Thatcher: A Personal and Political Biography, Russell Lewis gives a rather positive account of Mrs. Thatcher's political development from her schoolgirl days up until 1975.[51] Lewis concludes his book in an enthusiastic manner. He believes that one reason why Mrs. Thatcher became party leader "was due to her being the embodiment of many hopes."[52]

Another biographer, Ernle Money, author of Margaret Thatcher: First Lady of the House, stresses the strength of Mrs. Thatcher's character, her fervent commitment to her country and her unalterable belief in the future of her country.[53] While Money sensitively acknowledges the pressures which Mrs. Thatcher has had to endure in her role as a "female" politician, he emphasizes the great confidence which fellow Tory M.P.'s expressed in her via the medium of the secret balloting for party leadership.

A more recent biography, published in 1979, Madam Prime Minister: Margaret Thatcher and her rise to power, by Allan J. Mayer, contains up-to-date information about Mrs. Thatcher the candidate during the 1979 General Election.[54] Mayer, a political reporter for Newsweek, was assigned to the London office during the Tory offensive and was an avid observer of the unfolding of recent British political events.

Most of the biographical data included in this study are drawn from these sources. When a specific quotation attributed to Margaret Thatcher is related in the general presentation of the biographical information, credit is given to the particular source in which the quotation can be found.

A scholarly article about Mrs. Thatcher appeared in the Central States Speech Journal (Winter, 1979). The article, "The Image of the Right, Honourable Margaret Thatcher" by J. Jeffrey Auer, is of interest to this study because the author is expressly concerned with Mrs. Thatcher's projected image, her perceived personality, and her rise to the highest

political position in her country.[55] In addition, the publication of Auer's article lends credence to this study in that Margaret Thatcher, the public figure, is recognized as a subject worthy of scholarly investigation.

In order to gain an historical perspective of contemporary British politics and an understanding of present Conservative Party doctrine, several comprehensive texts on British history have been consulted. Among these are: The Government of the United Kingdom: Political Authority in a Changing Society, by Beloff and Peele[56]; Multi-Party Britain, by H. M. Drucker[57]; Conservative Party Politics, edited by Zig Layton-Henry[58]; The British General Election of 1979 by Butler and Kavanagh[59]; and Politics In England: An Interpretation for the 1980's, by Richard Rose.[60]

The bulk of the primary source data has come from those who are directly associated with Mrs. Thatcher. The secondary material--especially the newspapers, journals, magazines, biographies, and histories--are available at The Ohio State University Main Library.

Organization of the Study

This first chapter of the dissertation primarily introduces the topic and purpose of the study. It provides the initial sketch of historical background information, generates some relevant research questions, and reviews major concepts and theories dealing with rhetoric and the nature of

rhetorical criticism. In addition, it introduces the theories of dramatism and identification espoused by Kenneth Burke, and sets down the elements of Burke's pentad as these elements help to account for the political and social interaction which occurred in Britain in the 1970's. It also explains Burke's understanding of a speaker's "motives" as they exist within a speaker's words; and explains the "key terms" approach to criticism that will be utilized in later chapters.

Chapter II is concerned with the biographical development of the study's leading rhetor. Basically, this chapter seeks to answer the question: "Who is Margaret Thatcher?" The shape of this dramatistic question necessitates an historical inquiry into Mrs. Thatcher's past, for it is she who is the primary "agent" acting rhetorically and agitating for change in Britain in the late 1970's. The process of identifying this agent is broken into two main parts. First, Mrs. Thatcher's personal life--childhood, education, and marriage--are reviewed. Second, Mrs. Thatcher's political formation and influences, her involvement in campus politics, her first political campaigns for office, her early years as a Member of Parliament, her ministerial position as Secretary of Education, and her reputation as a female politician are all discussed.

Chapter III focuses on the period of 1974 to 1979 in Britain as it constituted the "scene" in which Mrs. Thatcher surfaced as party leader. The dominant question asked in this chapter is: "What in the inner-workings of the scene

within the Tory Party enabled Margaret Thatcher to emerge as leader and what were the conditions and issues that provoked and prompted her rhetorical acts?" The socio-political scene, the controversial issues, and Mrs. Thatcher's rhetorical stance are analyzed in an attempt to answer the question.

Chapter IV deals with the General Election of 1979 as the institutionalized "agency" through which Margaret Thatcher was able to act rhetorically to alter the socio-political scene in Britain for the purpose of restoring traditional values and a sense of order. Specifically, this chapter seeks to answer the questions:"What did Mrs. Thatcher do in order to 'gain advantage' over the Labourites during the General Election?" The answer necessitates a critical look at selected samples of Mrs. Thatcher's campaign rhetoric, as well as a look at party publicity and advertising strategies as part of the rhetorical analysis.

Chapter V returns attention to the "agent" and focuses on Mrs. Thatcher as politician, as woman, and as public rhetor. In addition, her rhetoric is specifically analyzed for evidence of key terms, for techniques of gaining consubstantiality, for moralizing appeals for a hierarchical order, for style and form, and for unique traits which characterize the rhetorical acts. To assist in achieving these goals, several questions are also raised: "What kind of a person is Margaret Thatcher? "What are some of her personal qualities? "What kind of a public speaker is Mrs. Thatcher? and, "What distinctive

features characterize her rhetoric?"

The final chapter attempts to synthesize the conclusions reached in the preceding chapters. At this point in the dissertation, significant answers to the research questions enable the critic to make conclusions, and possibly predictions about Margaret Thatcher, the Tories, and their impact on British political and social life. In addition, an assessment is made as to how this study successfully utilizes Kenneth Burke's critical perspectives, as well as how this study makes a contribution to knowledge and a contribution to rhetorical theory. Much of the value of this dissertation rests in its broad appeal not only to scholars who are interested in rhetoric, but also to those whose interests include such areas as political science, history, and social psychology.

Notes for Chapter I

[1]Max Beloff and Gillian Peele, The Government of the United Kingdom: Political Authority in a Changing Society, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), p.148.

[2]Ibid., p.149.

[3]Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," Philosophy and Rhetoric, 1 (1968): 1-14.

[4]William S. Howell and Ernest G. Bormann, Presentational Speaking for Business and the Professions, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p.92.

[5]The Rhetoric of Aristotle, ed., Lane Cooper, (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1932), p.7.

[6]Richard E. Crable, "What Can You Believe About 'Rhetoric'?" in Introduction to Rhetorical Communication, ed., John J. Makay, (Columbus: Collegiate Publishing Inc., 1978), p.8.

[7]Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1962), p.565.

[8]Chaim Perelman, "The New Rhetoric: A Theory of Practical Reasoning," in The Rhetoric of Western Thought, James L. Golden, Goodwin F. Berquist, and William E. Coleman, (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1976), p.304.

[9]Wayne Brockriede, "Rhetorical Criticism as Argument," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 60 (April, 1974), p.166.

[10]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.570.

[11]Edwin Black, Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965).

[12]Marie Hochmuth Nichols, "The Criticism of Rhetoric," in A History and Criticism of American Public Address, III, ed, Marie Hochmuth Nichols, (New York, 1955), p.4.

[13]Charles J. Stewart, "Historical Survey: Rhetorical Criticism in Twentieth Century America," in Explorations in Rhetorical Criticism, eds., Charles J. Stewart, Donovan J. Ochs, and Gerald P. Mohrmann, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), p.1.

[14]Brockriede, pp.172-173.

[15]Karlyn K. Campbell, "The Process of Rhetorical Criticism," in Critiques of Contemporary Rhetoric, (Belmont, Calif., 1972), pp.13-23.

[16]Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), p.56.

[17]Ibid., p.267.

[18]Kenneth Burke, "Dramatism," in The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed., David L. Sills, Vol. 7., p.445.

[19]Bernard L. Brock, "Rhetorical Criticism: A Burkeian Approach," in Methods of Rhetorical Criticism: A Twentieth Century Perspective, eds., Robert Scott and Bernard L. Brock, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), p.349.

[20]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.567.

[21]Kenneth Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1966), p.63.

[22]Ibid., p.5.

[23]Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.3.

[24]Brock, "Rhetorical Criticism: A Burkeian Approach," p.349.

[25]Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change, (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), p.25.

[26]Ibid., p.152.

[27]Leonard Hawes, Pragmantics of Analoguing: Theory and Model Construction in Communication, (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1975), p.48.

[28]Burke, Permanence and Change, p.xxi.

[29]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.50.

[30]Ibid., p.49.

[31]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.544.

[32]Ibid., p.545.

[33]Ibid., p.570.

[34]Ibid., p.579.

[35]Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.267.

[36]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.xvii

[37]Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p.26.

[38]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.xvii.

[39]Ibid., p.337.

[40]Brock, "Rhetorical Criticism: A Burkeian Approach," p.357.

[41]Kenneth Burke, Terms For Order, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), p.176.

[42]Ibid., p.184.

[43]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.16.

[44]Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion, p.19.

[45]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, pp.437-438.

[46]Ibid., p.422.

[47]Ibid., p.439.

[48]Margaret Thatcher, Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches, 1975-1977, (London: The Centre for Policy Studies, 1977), p.vii.

[49]The Right Approach,(London: Conservative Central Office, 1975); The Conservative Manifesto, (London: Conservative Central Office, April, 1979); Politics Today: The General Election, 1979, (London: Conservative Central Office, June, 1979).

[50]Nigel Fisher, The Tory Leaders: Their Stuggle for Power, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

[51]Russell Lewis, Margaret Thatcher: A Personal and Political Biography, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

[52]Ibid., p.159.

[53]Ernle Money, Margaret Thatcher: First Lady of the House, (London: Lesley Frewin Publ. Ltd., 1975).

[54]Allan J. Mayer, Madam Prime Minister: Margaret Thatcher and her rise to power, (New York: Newsweek Books, 1979).

[55]J. Jeffrey Auer, "The Image of the Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher," Central States Speech Journal, 30 (Winter, 1979): 289-310.

[56]Beloff and Peele, The Governnment of the United Kingdom: Political Authority in a Changing Society, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980).

[57]H. M. Drucker, ed., Multi-Party Britain, (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1979).

[58]Zig Layton-Henry, ed., Conservative Party Politics, (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1980).

[59]David Butler and Dennis Kavanagh, The British General Election of 1979, (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1980).

[60]Richard Rose, Politics in England: An Interpretation for the 1980's, (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1980).

CHAPTER II

MARGARET THATCHER: THE EMERGENT AGENT

Introduction

Much of our success for having survived as a species is due to the fact that, we, as human beings, have learned to cooperate with one another. This, of course, does not mean to imply that our accomplished cooperative efforts have been free of conflict. Quite the contrary, for innumerable conflicts characterize the course of human history and, at times, have been responsible for the achievement of cooperation. Conflict can be a sort of creative tension for the resolution of a given troubled situation. In terms of analysis, Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism and his analytical tool, the pentad, present a means for discovering, through dramatization, what movements occurred among human beings in a conflict situation and what attempts were made to bring those involved to a cooperative understanding. Burke says, however, that "if we are going to 'dramatize' such a tension, we shall want first of all a kind of character who in some way helps to intensify the tension."[1]

Certainly the character of Margaret Thatcher, with her unflinching forcefulness and her relentless strength, intensified the political conflict between the Conservative and

the Labour Parties' respective ideologies in the 1970's. Margaret Thatcher, therefore, is the answer to the pentad's question: "Who?" She is, then, the "agent" upon whom this entire study focuses. It is the purpose of this particular chapter, however, to discern how it happened that Margaret Thatcher emerged as a highly visible political leader; what in her, or about her, accounted for her rise to power; and how she developed as a rhetor, as an agent worthy of scholarly inquiry. In short, this chapter seeks to answer the question: "Who is Margaret Thatcher?" The shape of the answer is a dramatistic one that necessitates an historical inquiry into Mrs. Thatcher's biographical and political past in order to understand better her political present. The people and experiences in Margaret Thatcher's past no doubt have had a profound impact on her adult development. A study of Mrs. Thatcher's personal background, then, should reveal much about her character.

This intention to survey briefly Mrs. Thatcher's life, from 1925 to 1975, is in keeping with Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism. He warns that "a character cannot 'be himself' unless many others among the <u>dramatis personae</u> contribute to this end, so that the very essence of a character's nature is in a large measure defined, or determined by the other characters who variously assist or oppose him."[2] Because of all the influences to which any individual is subject, Burke says that "one is never a member of merely one 'corporation.' The individual is composed of many 'corporate identities.'"[3] So Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is not solely to be viewed as

high-ranking politician, but also as woman, as daughter, as wife, as mother, as student, as chemist, as lawyer; indeed, as an aggregate of roles, experiences, and influences that somehow have blended together in such a way as to give us Margaret Thatcher, agent-of-change.

In recalling the elements of the pentad and in according to Mrs. Thatcher the role of agent, it seems natural to highlight the ratio of agent-act as further justification for investigating Mrs. Thatcher's background and for noting the development of her attitudes. Burke gives greater explanation and support for this ratio in saying that "as regards the dramatistic tautology in general, an act is done by an agent in a scene. But such an act is usually preceded by a corresponding attitude, or 'incipient act'. . . . as the act derives from an attitude of the agent, the agent-act ratio can be narrowed to an attitude-act ratio."[4] It is necessary to assess, then, the formation of attitudes in Margaret Thatcher in order to recognize the vantage point, or the framework, from which she speaks as leading political rhetor. The question "Who is Margaret Thatcher?" compels a search into her past to learn more accurately who she has become. A better understanding of the agent will lead to a better understanding of the agent's rhetorical acts.

Family Background

On October 13, 1925, Alfred Roberts and Beatrice Stevenson Roberts celebrated the birth of their second child whom they

named Margaret Hilda Roberts. The child's first home was an apartment over the family's grocery store in the small town of Grantham in Lincolnshire. The Roberts' home lacked modern conveniences; it had no hot water and no indoor toilet facilities, but in spite of its simplicity, Mr. and Mrs. Roberts provided a loving and stimulating atmosphere in which to raise their two daughters, Muriel and Margaret.

The humble beginnings of Britain's present Prime Minister are a contradiction to the accepted image of the privileged backgrounds of leaders in the Conservative Party. Traditionally, upper-crust Britons and manor-born gentry have dominated Tory politics. But for Margaret Roberts Thatcher there were no high-class advantages heralding her birth. Despite this, she has never been ashamed of her modest origins and she frequently lauds her childhood experiences as the source of her own ambitions and achievements. She is enormously proud of her past and on occasion has reminded fellow party members that her background is not typically Tory. Indeed, while campaigning for the party's leadership in 1975, Mrs. Thatcher defensively argued against some critics as she said: "'Forget the accusations that I am a right-winger demanding privilege. . . . I had precious little privilege in my early years.'"[5]

Though Mrs. Thatcher has obviously risen far above the ranks of the social class into which she was born, it is of interest to note the apparent defensiveness with which she reacted to the criticism about "privilege." Burke, however, points out the human sense of class-consciousness when he

says that "we necessarily represent ourselves as members of classes, to varying degrees, whether we know it or not."[6] In Mrs. Thatcher's resistance to the label of "privilege," one can find the functioning of a terministic screen. The label of "privilege," which connotes "assumed advantages," struck a sensitive chord in Margaret Thatcher for she knew too well that her early life was devoid of any such privilege. The comforts which she now enjoys in her adult life were earned, not granted.

Self-motivation, hard work, and achievement characterized Margaret Thatcher's youth and helped to form the strength and determination present in her adult personality. But much of the credit for Mrs. Thatcher's formation must be given to her family.

A working-class ethic was handed down in the Roberts family from both of young Margaret's grandfathers. One had worked for the railroad and the other had been a shoemaker. Her own father, Alfred, was only able to attend school until he was twelve and then he began his career, first as a grocer's apprentice and later as the owner of two grocery stores. Margaret's mother, Beatrice, had been a dressmaker and seamstress before her marriage to Alfred Roberts. With such a heritage of honest work, it is no wonder that Mrs. Thatcher demonstrated remarkable diligence and projected an aura of promise even as a child.

Education

Elementary and Secondary Education: Young Margaret's first few years of formal education were spent at the Huntingtower Road Elementary School. Her intelligence and clear thinking were readily apparent, and by the time she was ten years old, Margaret had passed difficult qualifying examinations and had won a scholarship to the reputable Kesteven and Grantham Girls' School. Of her seven years at Kesteven and Grantham, Margaret placed first academically as top student for six of those years. A pattern for hard work, coupled with a striving for achievement, was already firmly entrenched in Margaret's personality and later became obvious in her political philosophy as well.

One oft-repeated anecdote about Margaret the schoolgirl concerns her "telling" response to a teacher who had spoken to her just after she had won a recitation contest. The teacher reportedly told Margaret that she was "lucky" to have won first prize. And Margaret responded,"'I wasn't lucky, I deserved it.'"[7] The same mentality that illustrated a belief that when one works hard and puts forth great effort, one eventually reaps compensatory rewards, was also evident after Mrs. Thatcher won the party leadership election. At that time, a reporter asked her to what did she attribute her success? And she succinctly responded, "'Merit!'"[8]

Margaret's sense of competition was not limited exclusively to the academic arena, and her love of learning did not limit her solely to her studies. She enjoyed athletics and frequently

participated in school games. She was vice-captain of the school's field-hockey team and she represented her school at athletic competitions.[9]

All of Margaret's teachers were fond of her and they inspired and encouraged her to excel. The Headmistress, Miss Gillis, did much that would later benefit Margaret's political career. Miss Gillis was hopeful that Margaret, a member of the debate team, would enter the local "Eistedfodd" competitions. The Eistedfodd, a festival that was initially dedicated to the preservation of Welsh art and poetry, had evolved to include public speaking competitions. But Margaret's pronunciation of English was noticeably laced with a Lincolnshire accent--an attractive accent, but nonetheless an identifiable one. Miss Gillis approached Alfred Roberts and queried him on the possibility of Margaret's taking elocution lessons.[10] Margaret, herself, was eager for this opportunity and succesfully argued to her father that, "'One has simply got to speak properly!'"[11]

The elocution lessons of childhood contributed to the "style" with which Mrs. Thatcher speaks today. According to Kenneth Burke, "'style' is an aspect of identification. . . . [An] individual may 'own' privilege vicariously by adopting the 'style' (or 'insignia') of some privileged class."[12] It seems that young Margaret recognized that elocution lessons might afford her the chance to transcend the limits of her immediate neighborhood and that more appropriate language patterns might aid her in accomplishing her ambitions.

Even now, though, Mrs. Thatcher's critics often complain

that her precise and clear speech is not natural; that it is false, and imitative of a social class to which she was not born. In a country where one's accent and use of language betray one's ancestry and origins, this is a justifiable criticism; but what must be emphasized here is that learning the language of an upper-class enabled a small-town girl to become one of the most powerful and respected political speakers in the British Parliament. At the same time, Mrs. Thatcher has become a symbol of upward social mobility in a society that is ladened with fairly rigid lower and middle classes. Her life can be used as a prime example to illustrate the opportunities in a free society that allow a person to seek and to strive for better social, economic, and educational status.

Young Margaret's academic program at Kesteven and Grantham Girls' School was geared toward the sciences. In particular, she had shown a high aptitude in chemistry. But as a result of her heavy course load in the sciences, Margaret had not been able to take Latin. This normally would not be a problem, but in her last year she decided that she would sit for the entrance examination for Oxford University. One part of the exam, however, tested for a proficiency in Latin. After prevailing upon her father to hire a tutor, Margaret managed to cram five years worth of Latin into her one year of tutoring. Her relentless efforts paid off; she passed the exam and received the highest score. She was admitted to Somerville College and she was granted financial assistance which covered the cost of equipment and books. Unfortunately, Margaret missed out on receiving

a full scholarship. Another candidate with equally strong credentials who had applied for two consecutive years was the recipient of the Somerville scholarship.[13]

University Education: Disappointed, but not deterred, young Margaret went off to Oxford with the blessings of her family and her friends. Besides the blessings though, Alfred Roberts also gave his financial support. Mr. Roberts firmly believed in the value of education and he was determined that his daughter would take advantage of educational opportunities which he himself had never had. He accepted dutifully the burden of Oxford's tuition and residence fees, as he had accepted the costs for the elocution and the Latin lessons. The financial deprivation which the Robertses must have endured while Margaret was at Oxford was no measure for the multitude of benefits which they believed Margaret's university education would one day grant her. Margaret was immensely appreciative of her parents' generosity. In fact, she was always especially close to her father and now attributes much of her early political stirrings to his influence.

Alfred Roberts was a man with a keen and curious mind. Throughout his adult life he was very much involved in the social and political organizations in Grantham. He was a leading member of the Rotary Club and the Grocers' Association; and he served as an elected official on the town council for twenty-five years. In addition, his peers chose him to be the Mayor of Grantham--a position he held while Margaret was at Oxford.

Though he had once been a member of the Liberal Party, Mr. Roberts' political philosophy endorsed Conservatism and much of his philosophy was later manifested in his daughter's own political platforms.[14] No doubt, Margaret the college student enjoyed sparring with the Mayor of Grantham!

While Margaret was at Oxford, she spent nearly all of her days in the chemistry laboratories. Her major coursework in chemistry was rigorous and demanded that she be steadfast and studious. But her first love was not in the lab. Very quickly in her freshman year, Margaret discovered that politics was in her blood, and from then on, her free time and her social life revolved around the Oxford University Conservative Association. Though she remained conscientious in her commitment to her studies and eventually took a respectable "second" in her Bachelor's degree, Margaret Roberts devoted her internal energies toward her first love, politics!

Growth of Political and Social Consciousness

In 1946, Margaret was elected President of the Oxford University Conservative Association (O.U.C.A.). She was only the second woman to hold that position and she proved eminently capable as she worked alongside the male-dominated governing board. An important advantage which she gained as President of O.U.C.A. was the chance to meet personally with all of the leading Tories of the day whenever they came to make political speeches at Oxford. Even before she graduated, the thought of entering politics as a full-time profession had begun to tempt her.

Simultaneous with Margaret's growing Tory consciousness was a modification of religious beliefs as well as a deepening of the meaning of human rights. As a child and as a teen-ager, Margaret had been a Methodist and followed her father's staunch beliefs in Methodism. Sunday was strictly observed as the Sabbath and the Robertses spent the greater part of that day in Church. In addition to Sunday's observances, the family took part in social activities and clubs which were sponsored by their Church during the week as well. Alfred Roberts raised his daughters in a no-nonsense, dutiful Methodist tradition. Young Margaret even joined a Methodist student group at Oxford, but while away from the rigidity of her father's Methodism and while exposed to other theological perspectives and teachings, Margaret's Methodist fervor began to wane. Gradually, she began to lean toward the tenets of Anglicanism--the dominant religious faith in Britain. Despite her eventual membership in the Church of England (Anglican), Margaret's strong Methodist background had already instilled in her a fundamental belief that she, as a human being, has a responsibility to others as well as to herself. This selfless dedication of service to others has been a significant trait in her adult character and has been publicly evident throughout her adult life.[15]

Her awareness and knowledge of political oppression, religious persecution, and social injustice under which many people of the world suffered during World War II, developed into a profound sensitivity which her character continues to exhibit today. Yet, even before Britain became involved in

the second World War, the Roberts family had a thorough knowledge both of Hitler's Third Reich and of the atrocities which were being perpetrated on the Jewish people. Margaret's older sister, Muriel, had had a Jewish pen pal who lived in Austria. When Hitler's army invaded Austria, the girl's parents wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Roberts and asked if their daughter, Edith, could emigrate to England and live with the Roberts family. The Robertses immediately consented, and soon after, Edith arrived in Grantham. The young Jewish girl's accounts of life at the hands of the Nazis left an indelible impression on Margaret.[16]

Then, while at Oxford, Margaret was indirectly involved in the war effort. Like other students, she willingly served as a look-out for air raids and fire bombs and she also worked in the University's victory gardens. Besides these kinds of personal experiences, much of Margaret's political thinking was affected by what she read with regard to governments that held absolute power and control. She became convinced that socialist governments invariably rob people of their individual freedoms and result in Nazi-like regimes.[17]

Years later, as party leader, and in keeping with her firm belief in human freedom, she began her personal crusade against the deprivation of human rights--especially in the Soviet Union--by bluntly stating that:

> When the Soviet leaders jail a writer or a priest, or a worker, for the crime of speaking freely, it is not only for humanitarian reasons that we should be concerned. For these acts reveal a country that is afraid of truth and liberty; it does not allow its

> people to enjoy the freedom that we take for granted, and a nation that denies these freedoms to its own people will have few scruples in denying them to others.[18]

Her present policies toward the Soviet Union and other aggressive/repressive countries certainly reflect back to the political ideology and sense of responsibility that were developing in her mind during her years at Oxford. A short time before her graduation, friends recall that while discussing politics and world affairs, one friend suggested that Margaret should run for national office. As the story is remembered, Margaret paused for a moment and then said with characteristic self-assurance, "'Yes, I ought to be an M.P.'"[19]

Political Debut

After graduating from Oxford, however, Margaret's political aspirations had to be delayed because of financial considerations. The necessity for finding employment superseded other pressing interests. With her degree in chemistry, Margaret had no trouble finding a job doing research on surface tensions for the British Xylonite Plastics Company in Essex. She only stayed with that company for a short time before moving to London where she secured a job with J. Lyons and Company in its food research department. Margaret Roberts' motivation for this rather hasty move was that she wanted to live in the constituency of Dartford where she could run for Parliament on the Conservative ticket. In the elections of 1950 and 1951, she made her political debut for the House of Commons. Though she fared well for a newcomer, she did not win.[20]

Margaret Roberts had, however, presented herself as a viable and formidable candidate; she had made her mark and had established a reputation as someone who would merit close attention in the succeeding years. She had impressed the Tory hierarchy as a sincere and serious-minded politician, and despite her young age and relative inexperience she had been willing to pay her dues to the party by standing twice for election in the heavily-Labourite constituency of Dartford.

Marriage and a Family

After the 1951 election, Margaret Roberts startled everyone, even her close associates, by getting married. Though she had been very popular throughout college and though she was an exceedingly attractive young woman, she had not really been seriously and romantically involved with anyone. So it came as quite a surprise when, on December 13, 1951, Miss Margaret Roberts married Mr. Denis Thatcher, a man whom she had met during her election campaign and with whom she had fallen deeply in love.[21] In their marriage of nearly thirty years, Denis Thatcher has proved to be more than just a good, solid match for his wife. Indeed, Denis Thatcher has been and continues to be both a personal partner and a political mentor of the highest caliber for his ambitious wife.

Denis Thatcher's background and upbringing far more typically represent the Conservative Establishment than do his wife's. Mr. Thatcher was born to a well-off family; he attended private schools and earned a reputation as an excellent

rugby player, and later as an excellent referee of that game. He served as a Major in the British Army during World War II, and was a very successful businessman who initially began his professional career in the family's paint company and eventually finished it as a retired executive of Burmah Oil Trading Limited.[22]

The Roberts-Thatcher marriage has been a mature and stable one right from the start. And fortunately for Mrs. Thatcher, the financial security provided by her husband's business career enabled her to resign her position as a research chemist and to begin studies for the Bar. Knowing fully of his wife's desires to enter politics and knowing how helpful a lawyer's status can be to one's political career, Mr. Thatcher supported Mrs. Thatcher's decision to study law. Soon, however, Mrs. Thatcher became pregnant, but her pregnancy did not have a detrimental impact on her incredible determination to finish her studies. In 1953, she gave birth to twins, Carol and Mark; and four months later she passed the exams which qualified her as a barrister with a specialization in taxation.

The next few years found Mrs. Thatcher primarily involved in raising her young children. As they grew up, the children had many advantages; they attended reputable private schools and frequently enjoyed going with their parents to the continent for vacations. Mark is now an accountant and works in London. Carol is a journalist and presently works in Australia. Both children campaigned vigorously for their mother in the 1979 General Election. The family seems to be close, but undoubtedly

Mrs. Thatcher's political career has, at times, caused some strain.[23]

When her children were pre-school age in the 1950's, Mrs. Thatcher kept a close watch on British politics. She bided her time waiting for an available Parliament position to open up, and also for the Conservative Party's permission allowing her to run for a position. Finally, in 1959, a Parliament spot opened up in Finchley and Mrs. Thatcher received the assent sign from the party.

The Politician: 1959-1975

Member of Parliament from Finchley: The constituency of Finchley is made up of several diverse neighborhoods in the north of London. Part of Finchley is typically suburban and other parts of Finchley are somewhat commercial and industialized. In 1959, Mrs. Thatcher's chief opponent was Mr. Eric Deakins of the Labour Party. She defeated him soundly and received a clear majority of popular votes.[24]

Over the years, Mrs. Thatcher has faced other formidable opponents of both the Labour and the Liberal factions, but she has been able to maintain continually the support of her constituents. Much of her success is due to her familiarity with the voters. In the years since the Thatchers first made their home in Finchley, Mrs. Thatcher has gotten to know many of her constituents personally and has always been fully cognizant of their political and social needs. She has represented the people of Finchley fairly and the mutual loyalty which has

developed between herself and the electorate during the past two decades is certainly to her credit.

Soon after her 1959 victory, Mrs. Thatcher received an unusual opportunity to present a piece of legislation to the House of Commons. Most legislation is pre-planned and pre-packaged by the individual parties before it is ever voted upon. But the Government does allow a limited amount of time for Members of Parliament to present their own respective bills without necessarily having received the endorsements of their parties. The chance for a private member to propose a bill is rather small since the opportunity is based on a lottery system.[25] As a rookie backbencher, Mrs. Thatcher luckily scored well on the lottery. She took advantage of this nearly unprecedented rare chance to make a maiden speech before the House of Commons by "proposing a bill to admit the press to local government deliberations."[26] Her bill was viewed by M.P.'s of all parties as a beneficial piece of legislation; it passed easily and became an official Act of Parliament. Mrs. Thatcher's maiden speech was impressive and she received numerous accolades from opposition M.P.'s as well as from her fellow Tory M.P.'s. Clearly, Mrs. Thatcher's public career had an auspicious beginning.

During the 1960's, however, Mrs. Thatcher maintained a relatively low profile and stayed out of the limelight. She contented herself with learning about the intricacies of Parliament and with polishing her skills as a debater. The party, which initially enjoyed a majority in the early 'sixties, was led first by Harold MacMillan, then briefly by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and then later by Edward Heath.

In 1964, the Labour Party gained control of the government and for the next six years, the Tories watched with dismay as socialistic reforms began to spread pervasively and to permeate their way of life. During this time, Mrs. Thatcher remained in the shadows and was relatively powerless to alter the course which Labour had charted.

It was not until 1970 that the Conservative Party was again victorious in a General Election. Edward (Ted) Heath became Prime Minister, and the Tories found themselves leading a country whose economy was in a state of chaotic stagnation and whose international reputation had been greatly diminished. Severe confrontation broke out between the trade unions and the Tory government. The trade unions, which were heavily indoctrinated with socialistic philosophies, stubbornly resisted Tory attempts to weaken the power and the forcefulness of the unions. Finally, striking coal miners, whose demands were thought to be outrageous and inflammatory by the Tories, brought the country into such an economic and political crisis that two General Elections were called in 1974. In both of the 1974 General Elections, Ted Heath's Tories failed to achieve a majority; and in October of that year, Labour leader Harold Wilson became Prime Minister. The Labourites held control of the government until 1979 when Mrs. Thatcher and the Tories defeated them.

Margaret Thatcher's position in British politics became much more obvious during the 1970's. In particular, attention must be turned now to her appointment as a frontbench cabinet member.

Secretary of State for Education and Science: When the Tories again assumed control of the government in 1970, Ted Heath had originally planned to name his shadow Minister of Education, Edward Boyle, to that official cabinet post. But Boyle, a progressive Conservative whose liberal ideas had frequently caused him to be the object of criticism from other Tory Members of Parliament, totally removed himself from politics and accepted, instead, the position of Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University.[27] Heath then offered the cabinet position to Margaret Thatcher who had served well in junior positions on party committees, but who was not yet considered a full-fledged cabinet member. She readily accepted.

This move to the forward contingent eventually embroiled Mrs. Thatcher in sharp controversy. She had very little expertise for this particular ministerial position other than her own respected intellect and educational successes. She certainly was not as progressive in her attitudes toward state education as the original intended-designate, Edward Boyle. If anything, Mrs. Thatcher as Minister of Education was representative of those Tories who were to the right of the center of the party. She welcomed the task good-naturedly and with characteristic determination. Mrs. Thatcher's sense of humor was even in evidence immediately after she became Secretary of State for Education and Science. At that time, Sir John Vaughan-Morgan, a fellow cabinet minister, offered his congratulations and also kissed her. He said, "'Do you know, you're the first Secretary of State for Education and Science that I've ever

kissed?' (All her immediate predecessors had been male.) 'I hope,' she replied, 'I'm the first one you've ever wanted to.'"[28]

Before too long, though, the grace period was over and Mrs. Thatcher's education policies began to receive the brunt of public scorn. Reflecting the negative public sentiment, the New Statesman (a pro-Labour magazine) printed a rather harsh profile of Mrs. Thatcher which depicted her as "The Headmistress."[29]

In an attempt to cut the education budget by limiting public expenditures, Mrs. Thatcher had abolished the free milk program for children who were over seven years of age and, thus, had incurred the wrath of many angry parents. Unfortunately, this school milk issue expanded out of proportion to its real significance, and Mrs. Thatcher became the target for some cruel epithets. Among them was the cry, "Thatcher, Thatcher, Milk-Snatcher!"[30]

Mrs. Thatcher's other reforms, which were brought about while she was in the position of Education Secretary and which were over-shadowed by the milk row, included: establishing nursery schools which gave parents the option to send their children to school at an earlier age; increasing the budget to build more elementary schools; restoring meritocratic policies for secondary schools (in opposition to open-enrollment, egalitarian secondary schools); cutting university budgets; and instituting changes in teacher-training procedures.[31] At the 1973 Conservative Conference, Mrs. Thatcher justified her reforms and reminded her audience that the quality of education is not

directly correlated with the amount of money invested in education. According to Mrs. Thatcher, "'statistics do not reveal everything about education, and you do not in fact necessarily achieve greater quality by just pouring in more money. It costs just as much to train a bad teacher as it does to train a good teacher.'"[32]

Mrs. Thatcher's four years as Education Secretary were turbulent to say the least. In one sense they can be seen as a trial-by-fire or as rites-of-passage. But she survived, and during her cabinet tenure, Mrs. Thatcher was able to manifest her unwavering strength and commitment to her Tory convictions. Such steadfast beliefs in staunnhly Conservative doctrines earned her a great deal of respect, admiration, and even fear from her Tory colleagues. When Ted Heath, after losing control of the government to the Labourites in 1974, had to reckon with disgruntled forces in his own party in early 1975, it should not have come as an unexpected surprise that one such force was led by the redoubtable Margaret Thatcher.

Summary

Kenneth Burke says that "in forming ideas of our personal identity, we spontaneously identify ourselves with family, nation, political or cultural cause, church, and so on."[33] It has been, therefore, the intention of this chapter to reveal those basic features of Margaret Thatcher's identity as she has come to represent a product of her family, her background, her education, her politics, her faith, and her experiences.

Hopefully, the information proffered here with respect to her parental influences, her diligence as a student, and her progressive political formation, is indicative of the kinds of experiences that preceded her projection into the Tory leadership limelight and accounts for both the development and the steadfastness of her political attitudes. Burke's statement that "the act derives from an attitude of the agent,"[34] prepares us for further examination of her rhetorical acts; and now that we know something of the derivation of those attitudes, now that we have a clearer idea of who she is and how she arrived at the contest for Tory Party leadership in 1975, Margaret Thatcher's words will make much better sense.

The primary question of this chapter, "Who is Margaret Thatcher?" has been answered--but only in part. Her intelligence, her strength of character, her ambition, and her political vigor and determination are now obvious qualities. But the remaining chapters, which deal with Mrs. Thatcher's leadership position, the General Election campaign, and representative samples of her rhetoric, will contribute still more details about Mrs. Thatcher and her ideological orientation. According to Kenneth Burke, a person's "orientation is . . . a bundle of judgments as to how things were, how they are, and how they may be."[35] At this point, the study has described and has explained "how things were" for Mrs. Thatcher and how she has been influenced by her past. The remaining chapters will serve to expand our understanding of Mrs. Thatcher's orientation as they present her perception of how life is and her vision of how life might

be. And now, attention shifts to another element of the pentad--the "scene." For our purposes, the scene in Britain from 1974-1979 represents not only the situation in which Mrs. Thatcher engaged in numerous rhetorical acts, but also the background reasons which acted as a catalyst for much of Mrs. Thatcher's campaign rhetoric.

Notes for Chapter II

[1]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.82.

[2]Ibid., p.84.

[3]Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.264.

[4]Burke, Terms For Order, p.180.

[5]Lewis, p.115.

[6]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.29.

[7]Mayer, p.14.

[8]Ibid., p.15.

[9]Ibid., p.42.

[10]Money, p.38.

[11]Mayer, p.42.

[12]Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.266.

[13]Money, p.39.

[14]Mayer, p.30.

[15]Money, p.89.

[16]Mayer, p.43 and p.135.

[17]Ibid., p.54.

[18]Money, p.137.

[19]Mayer, p.55.

[20]Lewis, pp.18-19.

[21]Ibid., p.23.

[22]Money, pp.78-79.

[23]Mayer, p.220.

[24]Money, p.54.

[25]Rose, p.100.

[26]Christopher Hitchens, "Downstairs, upstairs," New York Times Magazine,(June 1, 1975), p.17.

[27]T.F. Lindsay and Michael Harrington, The Conservative Party: 1918-1970, (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1974), p.253.

[28]Money, p.91.

[29]"The Headmistress," in New Statesman,(October 18, 1971), pp.466-467.

[30]"Britain's La Pasionaria of Privilege," Time, (February 17, 1975), p.46.

[31]"We know about the hair-do's, but what about the politics?" in The Sunday Times, (February 16, 1975), p.6.

[32]Vernon Bogdanor, "Education," in The Conservative Opportunity, eds. Lord Blake and John Patten, (London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1976), p.119.

[33]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.301.

[34]Burke, Terms For Order, p.180.

[35]Burke, Permanence and Change, p.14.

CHAPTER III

THE TORIES IN OPPOSITION: THE POLITICAL SCENE (1974-1979)

Introduction

The significance of a rhetor's words is, to a great extent, dependent not only on the connotative meanings implicit in the words themselves, but also on the referential meanings derived from knowledge of the context of the occasion during which the words are uttered. According to Kenneth Burke, "words are aspects of a much wider communicative context, most of which is not verbal at all. Yet words also have a nature peculiarly their own. And when discussing them as modes of action, we must consider both this nature as words in themselves and the nature they get from the nonverbal scenes that support their act."[1] An understanding of contextuality, then, lends weight and credence to the intentions of the rhetor. For this reason, it is imperative that this study explicate much of the general context, or the broad occasion, which provided both the sociopolitical situation for the selected rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher and the impetus behind the design of her words.

In response to the dramatistic question "where" did the rhetor speak, the answer is, "in the midst of the British

political and social arena between the years of 1974 to 1979." That particular environment constitutes the pentadic element which Kenneth Burke calls the "scene." For Burke, "the scene is [the] motivational locus of the act."[2] In the case of Margaret Thatcher, her rhetorical acts were responses to numerous variables constraining the scene. Because of this motivational influence, a ratio that can now be featured is a scene-act ratio. In line with this recognition of a scene-act ratio, Burke says that "the social sphere is considered in terms of situations and acts."[3] And so, the focus must shift to the situational scene which framed the background for Margaret Thatcher's rhetorical acts. Since the scene "is the background, the emphasis can easily shift from the scene to the act, agent, agency, or purpose. But these shifts. . . will continue to reveal the determinism of the material situation characteristic with the domination of a mind by the scene."[4]

One intention of this chapter is to present Margaret Thatcher's view of the scene. It is important that her impression of the scene be understood, for as she rhetorically accounted for the conditions of the scene, she also gave the Tory alternative. Burke explains such a duality by saying:

> . . . . If the principle of the scene-act ratio always figures in some form, it follows that one could not possibly select descriptive terms in which policies of some sort are not more or less clearly inherent. In the selection of terms for describing a scene, one automatically prescribes the range of acts that will seem reasonable, implicit, or necessary in that situation.[5]

As Mrs. Thatcher admonished her critics and decried the

escalation of Socialism, at the same time, she directly or indirectly "prescribed" Tory solutions to the respective perceived conditions. For Burke, this kind of a scene-act ratio "may be applied in hortatory statements to the effect that a certain policy should be adopted in conformity with the situation."[6]

This chapter initially examines the turbulent situation in which the Tories found themselves in late 1974 and early 1975--especially in light of the uncertainties which surrounded Tory leadership. At this time, Mrs. Thatcher's role in politics became a leading role. She metamorphosed from a respectable, but minor figure, into one of the primary figures capable of taking action.

A second intention of this chapter is to look specifically at Margaret Thatcher's rhetorical responses to the scene which was under the control of a Labour government. As party leader, her rhetoric took on added significance since, for the first time, she could confidently present herself as an advocate of change whose self-esteem and whose courage had received the endorsement of her fellow Tory Members of Parliament.

A third intention of this chapter is to highlight some of the major issues that were affecting the British socio-political scene in the mid-1970's. Kenneth Burke says that such "partisan aspects . . . consider the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another."[7] These issues also account for many of the reasons behind Mrs. Thatcher's compulsion to usurp power from the Labourites.

In sum, the over-riding concern of this chapter is to reveal constraining factors that shaped the British scene of the 1970's by answering the question: "What in the inner-workings of the scene within the Tory Party enabled Margaret Thatcher to emerge as leader and what were the conditions and issues that provoked and prompted her rhetorical acts?" Before attempting to answer this broad and encompassing question, though, it is necessary to review briefly the Conservative Party's status in 1974 and some relevant facts relating to election procedures.

Background: In the fall of 1974, the Tories painfully faced another serious loss in the General Election. They had failed to achieve a majority of popular votes; thus they lost control of the government and Ted Heath lost the esteemed position of Prime Minister. According to the British parliamentary system, the position of Prime Minister is assumed by the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons. Constituents vote for Members of Parliament who are specifically aligned with a particular party's platform and manifesto. In actuality, the public is really voting for a given candidate's party and party leader in hopes that the party will attain a majority in the House of Commons. When a majority is achieved, the party leader automatically becomes Prime Minister.

General Elections in Britain are not held on a regular basis. Instead, they are held whenever a clear majority of Members of Parliament vote "no confidence" in the ruling party's government at any time within a five-year period.

Once a government has been dissolved, an election date is set; normally that date is about one month after the dissolution. Since the campaign period is obviously limited in time, it is usually characterized by some fast and furious political stumping.

Between 1964 and 1974, the Labour Party had won four out of five General Elections. Labour's platforms, ideologies, and doctrines reflected the socialist writings of economist John Maynard Keynes as well as influences from Britain's powerful trade unions. Under the leadership of Harold Wilson and James Callaghan, the Labourites would again enjoy dominance in government until 1979.

Party Leadership Election Campaign

After having lost the two General Elections in 1974, the Tories found themselves forced to do some re-grouping among their upper-echelon and some re-thinking of their political and economic philosophies. Inability to win an election and inability to enact a change in government caused the Conservatives to face the task of changing their party's image and of determining an ideological base on which to stand. Discontent and dissatisfaction with Ted Heath's leadership became increasingly more obvious among the Tory M.P.'s. A party leadership election was inevitable.

According to changes made in 1965 in the party's election procedures, a candidate needs to win a majority of votes plus an additional fifteen-percent of votes from those eligible M.P.

voters. If the voting goes to a second ballot, new candidates may offer themselves as potential choices, and a winner is determined by an overall majority. If, however, the voting is extended to a third ballot, then just the top three candidates may stand for election. These candidates are then ranked according to preference (first, second, third) by the Tory M.P.'s and the winner is determined on the basis of the most favorable distribution of preferences. In order to avoid the stagnation that sometimes occurs when a leader holds onto an office for too long, annual leadership elections are now held. Provisions for an annual leadership election have been in effect since 1975.[8]

Mrs. Thatcher as Party Candidate: Margaret Thatcher had held a prominent Secretaryship in the Tory cabinet from 1970 to 1974, but she was not initially considered as a front-runner or even as a viable candidate in the race for party leadership. At first, she personally supported her close friend and political mentor, Sir Keith Joseph, for the coveted position, but Sir Keith withdrew his name from candidacy. Most M.P.'s were hesitant to oppose Heath openly on the first ballot for fear of taking a stand too soon and of making political enemies.

Mrs. Thatcher, however, felt that someone ought to stand against Heath if only to give him some competition and to give Tory M.P.'s a choice. Hugh Fraser, a Tory who had little political influence, tossed his hat into the ring, but he was

not really considered a strong contender. Under the advice of a distinguished high-ranking Tory, Airey Neave, Mrs. Thatcher then announced that she would stand for election against Heath. Neave offered to be her campaign manager, and in the winter of 1975 he quietly and efficiently began lobbying for votes in her favor.

Many established frontbenchers were aghast at the thought of Margaret Thatcher's candidacy. They rebelled against the notion that a woman might become party leader and felt that she did not have the broad and experienced background necessary for the position. Many of the backbenchers, however, were delighted with Mrs. Thatcher's candidacy. They felt that her years as a backbencher and her years spent on junior committees gave her the awareness needed to respond sensitively and sensibly to the opinions of backbenchers. Though her courage and willingness to oppose Heath on the first ballot earned her some respect and some support, Mrs. Thatcher did not initially have confidence that she would be the victor. In fact, some months earlier in the Liverpool Daily Post she had said, "'It will be years before a woman either leads the party or becomes Prime Minister. I don't see it happening in my time.'"[9] Circumstances had changed though since Mrs. Thatcher had made that statement; and the woman who would have been pleased to have been appointed first woman Chancellor of the Exchequer now found herself taking an enormous risk to her own political career by opposing her party's dominant male figure.

Sensing the various needs among party members, Mrs. Thatcher

challenged her colleagues to action; she called for a relentless campaign against Socialism and she made an appeal for a more united front against the Labourites:

> Our challenge is to create the kind of economic background which enables private initiative and private enterprise to flourish for benefit of the consumer, the employee, the pensioner, and society as a whole. The person who is prepared to work hardest should get the greatest rewards and keep them after tax. I believe that we should back the workers and not the shirkers; that it is not only permissable but praiseworthy to want to benefit your own family by your own efforts. . . . Liberty must never be confused with license. You would not have political liberty for long if all power and property went to the State. . . . Those who prosper themselves have a duty and a responsibility to care for others.[10]

These words, spoken by Mrs. Thatcher at the Young Conservatives Annual Conference that was held just prior to her election as party leader, articulated and synthesized the feelings and concerns of many British Tories. The February, 1975, party election constituted a resolution of a rhetorical situation that was characterized by the presence of exigencies, audiences, and constraints.[11] The exigencies were represented not only by the perceived crises of which Mrs. Thatcher spoke and which had been wrought by Socialism, but also by the apparent lack of confidence in both Tory leadership and Tory political ideology. The advance of Socialism, along with accompanying political and economic issues, constituted an additional crisis demanding urgent attention and an urgent response. Mrs. Thatcher, who emerged forthrightly as a rhetor, responded to these and to other exigencies by announcing her candidacy for party leader and by expressing her unwavering convictions in favor of individual initiative and free enterprise.

Mrs. Thatcher's immediate audience, was, of course, made up of all the Conservative Members of Parliament who would be casting votes in the leadership election. Together they came to 276. Besides the voting audience, Mrs. Thatcher's listeners included not only Tories, but all Britons as well. They eagerly watched with interest as various factions of Tory M.P.'s negotiated and lobbied on behalf of their favorite candidates.

Constraints, which inevitably affected the decision-making processes in the minds of Mrs. Thatcher's voting audience members and in the minds of the broader audiences as well, were predominantly of two sorts. One area of constraining factors concerned her political philosophy and the policies which she intended to institute. The other area which activated constraining factors in the minds of many Britons concerned her gender.

With respect to her politics, Mrs. Thatcher made it clear that she was an enthusiast of the free enterprise system and that she was a critic of Tory tolerance of Socialism. Indeed, she advocated a total break with the status quo that had emerged out of Labour's socialistic reforms and that had been endured in recent years by the Conservatives.

On the evening of February 12, 1975, the night before her election as party leader, Mrs. Thatcher spoke to a public audience in her own constituency of Finchley. In her address, she confirmed her political convictions and made clear the direction and goals toward which she intended to devote her

energies:

> Our party needs the support of all who value the traditional ideals of Toryism: compassion and concern for the individual and his freedom; opposition to excessive state power; the right of the enterprising, the hardworking and the thrifty to succeed and to reap the rewards of success and pass some of them on to their children; encouragement of that infinite diversity of choice that is an essential of freedom--the defence of widely distributed private property against the socialist state; the right of a man to work without oppression by either employer or union boss.
>
> There is a widespread feeling in the country that the Conservative Party has not defended these ideals explicitly and toughly enough, so that Britain is set on a course towards inevitable Socialist mediocrity. That course must not only be halted, it must be reversed.[12]

This excerpt juxtaposes Mrs. Thatcher's view of the socialist scene with her view of the intended Tory scene. Her belief that Socialism is mediocre and that the trend toward Socialism "must be reversed" represents a kind of opinion that Kenneth Burke calls "an inducement to action."[13] For Burke, "the competitive and public ingredient in persuasion makes it particularly urgent that the rhetoric work at the level of opinion."[14] It appears, then, that Mrs. Thatcher's readily apparent opinions represented unambiguously her position and offered some degree of clarity to those Tories who were still reeling from the loss of two General Elections in 1974. The chaos and confusion in the Tory camp, coupled with reluctance on the part of more prominent male Tories to oppose Heath, no doubt contributed to Mrs. Thatcher's emergence as a strong contender for the leadership position. While others were hesitant, she was forthright; while others were vague, she was opinionated; and while others were compromising, she was principled.

Criticisms and Compliments Related to Gender: Those who wanted a total change of course in Britain heartily applauded and endorsed Mrs. Thatcher's brand of politics, while those who wanted a continuance of Labour's status quo feared and criticized such reactionary proposals. But whether the electoral body of Conservative M.P.'s or the British public as a whole agreed or disagreed philosophically with Mrs. Thatcher, many of their opinions and ultimate decisions were constrained either positively or negatively by her gender. Although Britain had been ruled off and on for centuries by female monarchs, no woman of common birth had ever risen to national and political prominence without benefit of royalty. The great Queens of England had been accepted by the public because the British held and continue to hold a strong sense of established tradition, ordained heritage, and faithfulness to royal bloodlines. But to accept a woman of undistinguished background was another matter entirely; and because of the built-in potential of the party leadership position, Mrs. Thatcher's gender could not be ignored. A question which many Tory politicians had to ask themselves was: "Are the British people ready for the possibility of a female Prime Minister?" In the 700 years of parliamentary history, only males had held this prestigious and coveted position.

Mrs. Thatcher's critics did their best to discredit her. Their major target, however, was not so much an attack on her politics as it was an attack on her gender. Mrs. Thatcher

was castigated as "Blessed Margaret, "Queen of the Tory Jungle, "the female Philistine, "Attila the Hen, "La Pasionaria of Privilege, "La Belle Dame Sans Merci, "Mrs. Scrooge, "Lady MacBeth," and as other such insulting epithets. On the topic of epithets, Kenneth Burke says that "an epithet assigns substance doubly, for in stating the character of the object it at the same time contains an implicit program of action with regard to the object."[15] These invective epithets implied that in her actions, Mrs. Thatcher would manifest the negative qualities which were attributed to her incongruously through these unlike comparisons.

In addition, numerous political cartoons derisively satirized her. One cartoon, for example, featured Mrs. Thatcher sitting on a horse in front of a group of soldiers. A banner held in her hand read: "St. Joan Margaret de Finchley: Saviour of the Middle Classes: Scourge of the Lower Orders & the Left!" The caption for one of the soldiers read: "I don't know what effect she'll have on the enemy, but, by God, she frightens me!"[16]

Left-wing Tories also publicly criticized Mrs. Thatcher. In particular, one group of leftist members of the Young Conservatives Club wore T-shirts with the words: "We want the Grocer, not the Grocer's Daughter" printed across the front of them. The "Grocer" presumably referred to Ted Heath, while the "Grocer's Daughter" referred to Mrs. Thatcher and represented a derogatory comment on her personal family background.[17]

Even after she became party leader, some journalists and political enemies continued to make rather pointed comments about her sex, and implied that gender and competence go hand in hand. Auberon Waugh, a correspondent for Esquire (and later an unsuccessful Liberal candidate for Parliament in 1979), said: "She is, of course, the first woman to lead anything over here since the bloody reign of Queen Elizabeth I, and was chosen more as a gesture of despair than anything else."[18] One of Mrs. Thatcher's political enemies, Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, was interviewed on British television and was asked to account for her victory--especially in reference to her image projected by the television medium. Muggeridge cruelly responded: "Well, she has a certain imbecile charm."[19] Mollie Panter-Downes, a correspondent for the New Yorker, said: "The favorite joke was that she was twice the man that any of the other contenders was."[20] It does seem as if a great many people were thrown off balance by the femaleness of Margaret Thatcher. In fact, the New Republic reported: "If only she were not a woman, the newly elected leader of Great Britain's Conservative Party would be hailed by her colleagues as the model Tory."[21]

It is unfortunate and unfair that so many references to Mrs. Thatcher's gender have been made. Blame must be placed on all political factions and not solely on her critics. In addition, social and cultural biases still predominate in the minds of a majority of people. For example, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who is an admirer

of Mrs. Thatcher's, remarked in 1975 that he found her to be "quite a girl!"[22] At that time, Mrs. Thatcher was 49 years old--hardly a "girl." How inappropriate it would have been if Mrs. Thatcher had reported that she found Kissinger to be "quite a boy!" In another case, a leading Labour cabinet member sincerely offered his congratulations to Mrs. Thatcher just after she had won the leadership election. But the impact of his congratulations was somewhat diminished when he added as a follow-up comment: "'If you go on looking as attractive as you do tonight, it will be very beneficial.'"[23] Though intended as a compliment, this latter remark was irrelevant to the situation. Margaret Thatcher had made her way to the top by relying, not on her beauty, but on her party's politics, on her constituents' support, on the votes of Tory M.P.'s, and on her own intelligence.

Party Leadership Election Results

In the face of all the skepticism, direct insults, and backwards compliments that were directed at Mrs. Thatcher before and after the leadership election, she remained undaunted. She had emerged as a dark horse in the race for party leadership, but in spite of this, she easily won the position after only two rounds of balloting. Confidence in herself and support from high-ranking Tories enabled Mrs. Thatcher to rebuff her critics when she said: "'Part of me is a woman, and part of me is a politician. The M.P.'s voted for the whole of me.'"[24]

The Balloting: The first round of balloting took place on February 4, 1975. Mrs. Thatcher received 130 votes; Ted

Heath received 119 votes; Hugh Fraser received 16 votes; and eleven M.P.'s did not cast votes. Though she had received more votes than her opponents, Mrs. Thatcher did not win a majority plus fifteen-percent. Thus, a second ballot was necessary. Interestingly enough, Mrs. Thatcher faced an entirely new set of opponents in the second round. Both Heath and Fraser had removed themselves from the contests. Heath withdrew because he had failed to win a majority of support on the first ballot. This lack of support indicated to Heath that he had lost the confidence of his party. Fraser, on the other hand, withdrew because he had received such an embarassingly low number of votes.

The second round of balloting took place a week later on February 11, 1975. This time, Mrs. Thatcher's field of opponents included William Whitelaw, James Prior, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and John Peyton. The results showed that Mrs. Thatcher led the group of candidates. She received 146 votes; Whitlelaw received 79 votes; Prior and Howe each received 19 votes; Peyton received 11 votes; and two M.P.'s did not cast votes. Mrs. Thatcher won the majority, plus the fifteen-percent of eligible votes, and unquestionably passed the desired figure of 139 votes.[25]

Some observers commented that Mrs. Thatcher's victory was not so much a personal victory as it was a victory by default. Those who felt this way attributed the votes cast in her favor to be anti-Heath votes and not necessarily pro-Thatcher votes. This claim remains unsubstantiated. What is clear, however,

is that Edward Heath, the former party leader, was cast aside as "the Conservative's bold move in choosing a woman leader [reflected] . . . a willingness to search for new directions."[26] Mrs. Thatcher had become a symbolic leader and had received the assent of fellow Tories to lead the crusade for change. "In fact, by choosing Mrs. Thatcher the Conservatives [gave] . . . a clear signal that the me-too response to Socialism [was] . . . not for them."[27]

Mrs. Thatcher was told the good news of her victory by her campaign manager, Airey Neave. She reportedly exclaimed: "'Thank God it is decisive. We have got a lot to do. Now we must get down to work at once.'"[28]

In Opposition

Mrs. Thatcher as Party Leader: It is unusual for a party leader in Britain to be elected to that position while the party is in opposition. The leader is definitely handicapped by a lack of political strength that is normally manifested when a party is in control of the government. This was the case for Margaret Thatcher. She was faced with considerable tasks, both of a personal and a political nature. Mrs. Thatcher had been an outsider who had managed to reach the pinnacle of the party without full benefit of the usual Tory network and without depending on Tory cronyism. Initially, she had to prove herself to those who doubted her capabilities. Second, she had inherited a divided party and knew that she needed to re-establish unity within the party if the Tories

were to be seen as a potent political force. She had to bring her fellow Tories to a consensus about Conservative ideology and philosophy in order to determine political policies which would be representative of all Tories and of the Tory way of life. And third, Mrs. Thatcher needed to begin preparations for the next General Election by offering to the populace an alternative to Socialism as well as an alternative government. As the opposition leader of the opposition party, Mrs. Thatcher had to present herself as a potential Prime Minister with a viable plan for governance. She had to prove to the people that she and her Tories were ready at any time for the chance to form a government.

Immediately after her leadership election in February, 1975, Mrs. Thatcher began to demonstrate her strength as head of the party by exercising her unlimited and privileged power to appoint members of a shadow cabinet. Key positions were filled by colleagues who held identical or similar political views as Mrs. Thatcher. She surrounded herself with approximately fifty shadow cabinet officials who exhibited a sense of like-mindedness with their new leader and who generally represented the "market-wing" of the party. In particular, Mrs. Thatcher's close friend and mentor, Sir Keith Joseph, received the position of Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Policy; and another close associate, Angus Maude, was given the assignment of Director of the Conservative Research Department. Since the party had no direct access to government information, Mrs. Thatcher had to rely on these men and

on the Conservative Central Office, party headquarters in London, to undertake research and to gather vital information necessary for effective policy-making. Nor did she forget about the backbenchers as political allies. Having won their support during her election, she now rewarded many loyal backbenchers with important committee positions. Her decisive moves in re-structuring the Tory hierarchy were indicative of future changes that prompted Edward du Cann, a Tory M.P., to say during a television broadcast: "'We have got a new and rather exciting leader. Mrs. Thatcher will make the Tory Party distinctive. Her election signals a new start, recreating, refreshing, and reinvigorating.'"[29]

Du Cann's favorable remark highlighted the fact that the Tories, in choosing Margaret Thatcher as their leading official, were no longer willing to be the accomplices of Socialism that they had tended to be in the latter 'sixties and early 'seventies. His remark indirectly acknowledged that though the status quo, or "Establishment," was no longer Tory, the Tory Party was indeed competent and capable of reasserting itself as the party of the nation. The person responsible for such reassertion was, of course, Margaret Thatcher. As leader, Margaret Thatcher enjoyed enormous power within the party, but she was also held single-handedly responsible not only for party success, but more importantly for party failures. Though policies and platforms eventually were the result of cooperative efforts among shadow cabinet officials, the directions which these policies took were initiated and

influenced by Mrs. Thatcher who was then ultimately held responsible.

Policy-making for the Tories while in opposition between 1975-1979 was a bit tricky. On the one hand, Mrs. Thatcher wanted to exercise caution in declaring rigid policies which might result in alienating voters, but on the other hand, she wanted to exploit the weaknesses of the Labour government by proposing feasible alternate policies. Mrs. Thatcher chose instead to delineate and to stress party principles rather than to bind the Tories to doctrines and commitments which might, in effect, inhibit a future Tory government.

The Rhetor Abroad: As leader of Britain's opposition party, Mrs. Thatcher had numerous occasions to travel to major European countries and even to the United States. She valued these opportunities as strategic chances to present Conservative Party principles and to advertise proposed Tory foreign policy as well. Western governments realized that, technically, the position of Prime Minister was within her reach. As a result, Mrs. Thatcher was received most cordially and was often granted courtesies that were usually reserved for a head-of-state. She eagerly sought Tory allies in foreign governments, and several of these governments applauded the party's principles and were anxious to see the Tories come to power in Britain.

For example, in an address to the Christian Democratic Union in Hanover, West Germany in May of 1976, Mrs. Thatcher made an indirect attack on Communist expansionism by expounding

on the value of personal freedom. She said:

> . . . . Our task is to champion freedom in a world in which freedom is increasingly threatened. The torch of freedom does not die with each generation. It is forever passed from hand to hand. . . . Let us hand on to our children an inheritance for which they in turn will work with gladness and pride. Let us bequeath a free Europe.[30]

No doubt Mrs. Thatcher's use of the artistic metaphor, "torch of freedom," had a serious and personal impact on her West German audience since the West Germans are ever under the threat of their communist neighbors and are fearful of possible absorption into the Soviet satellite system. Also, the West German people could understand the implications of family structure indicated by Mrs. Thatcher's use of the word "children," for in the aftermath of World War II, these people experienced the cruel divisiveness that occurred within families when Communist-imposed boundaries and barriers separated loved ones. Her statement calling for a "free Europe" attested to her firm belief in non-interventionism on an international level and to her commitment to fellow North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries.

The next year, in March of 1977, Mrs. Thatcher traveled to Switzerland and spoke to the Zurich Economic Society on the subject of "being self-reliant, of playing a role within the family, of owning one's own property, of paying one's way, . . .[of essentially becoming] a moral society."[31] In trying to seek more allies, she stressed the importance of the interdependence of the European community in order to assure the existence of free societies in Europe; and, she drew on the

credibility of the most renowned Tory when she reminded her audience that "in September, 1946, Winston Churchill called for an act of faith in recreating the European family."[32] Since Churchill enjoyed world-wide acclaim as a statesman and diplomat, Mrs. Thatcher enhanced the appeal of her speech through an implicit understanding of Churchill's authority and reputation.

Just a few months later, in September of 1977, Mrs. Thatcher made a quick trip to the United States where she told President Jimmy Carter that "high taxes had stifled incentive" in Britain.[33] Her willingness to be critical of her own country while in the presence of a powerful world leader demonstrated her public courage to reveal her true feelings and to speak forthrightly about that which, she believed, was wrong with life in Britain. Later, after visiting a Texas oil rig, she addressed the members of the rig's union and spoke to them about the need for a free enterprise economic system and the need for a restoration of the "'morality of the Judeo-Christian ethic.'"[34] For Mrs. Thatcher, capitalism is in keeping with the foundations of western religions and western ethics, and in trying to appeal to the oil riggers who made up her audience, she sought credence and legitimacy from her reference to an important societal value.

These are only a few of the international occasions which Mrs. Thatcher utilized on behalf of the Tory cause. The need for change was always conveyed with a strong sense of urgency.

It was an exigency to which Mrs. Thatcher, as rhetor, continually tried to respond. Change, as envisioned by the Tories, was the channel or mode for making freedom and self-reliance into enterprising realities for Britain.

The Rhetor in Britain: On the home-front, Tories and Labourites alike were actively and publicly challenged by a seemingly inexhaustible Mrs. Thatcher. She spoke at local townhall meetings, at political clubs, at party conferences, at social agencies, and at innumerable other caucus situations; and always, her themes revolved around the viability and utility of tradional Conservative doctrines in government. While in opposition between 1974 and 1979, Mrs. Thatcher and the Tories "played the usual adversary game in the two-party system, seeking to profit from government mistakes and misfortunes, exaggerating policy differences and hoping that the unpopularity of government would bring election victory."[35] They tried to emphasize that the Conservatives are an independent party capable of governing on their own without having to make political alliances and compromises with any of the smaller parties in the United Kingdom. They tried to point out that the decision about a government and a way of life essentially came down to a choice between Labour and Conservative, and that a fundamental difference exists between the two.

In her October, 1975, address to the Conservative Party Conference at Blackpool, Mrs. Thatcher stated that the

distinction which markedly separates the two parties is in the realm of freedom of choice. She said that "Socialist governments set out perpetually to restrict the area of choice, and Conservative governments to increase it." Mrs. Thatcher supported her statement by delineating some of the recent losses incurred under Labour, in an individual's freedom to choose in matters of health and education. She then asserted that the Conservatives wanted to "extend choice, extend the will to choose and the chance to choose."[36]

Of major significance to Mrs. Thatcher's tenure as opposition leader was the vision of life which she held and successfully projected to fellow Tory M.P.'s and eventually to a majority of the electorate as well. In Blackpool, in 1975, she publicly offered an alternate social reality--a Tory reality--to the members of her immediate audience and, indeed, to all Britons. Hers was a rhetorical vision, one which she believed was capable of becoming real:

> Let me give you my vision. A man's right to work as he will, to spend what he earns, to own property, to have the State as servant not as master--these are the British inheritance. They are the essence of a free country and on that freedom all our other freedoms depend.[37]

Achievement of the freedoms of which Mrs. Thatcher spoke and for which the Tories stood would clearly be no easy task. The Conservatives were all too cognizant of the difficulties that faced the nation if thirty years of welfarism and collectivism were to be undone. In a notable lecture delivered at Caxton Hall in London in July of 1977,

Mrs. Thatcher drew attention to the necessity for vast and encompassing changes that should be made. In this address, her remarks basically constituted a call to action that did not minimize or soften the issues under contention:

> I stress our vision and put it in the centre of the stage. . . . We now stand before the new challenges: how to revive the economy; how to enlarge our liberties; how to restore the balance between trade unions and the community; how to further our European partnership while protecting legitimate British interests; how to simplify the welfare maze which often baffles those who most deserve help; how to regain an underlying sense of nationhood and purpose.[38]

All of these concerns which were raised by Mrs. Thatcher while in opposition eventually became so controversial that they prompted the General Election in 1979. Before examining Mrs. Thatcher's official campaign techniques and strategies, it is imperative first to review the prominent political issues which were causing great distress to the British people and which were the subject of much heated political rhetoric.

Controversial Issues

The issues that constrained the British scene in the mid-seventies can be viewed in two ways: (1) these issues are part of the scene; and (2) these issues are motivating factors that became part of the purposive reasons for much of Margaret Thatcher's political rhetoric. Kenneth Burke emphasizes the relevance of issues, and refers to them as "grounds" in both a scenic and a motivational sense. Burke says:

> . . . The word "ground," much used in both formal philosophy and everyday speech when discussing motives, is likewise scenic, though readily encroaching upon the area more directly covered by "agent" and "purpose." We can discern the scenic reference if the question, "On what grounds did he do this? is translated: "What kind of a scene did he say it was, that called for such an act?"[39]

The prominent issues, then, are bound up in our understanding of the conflicts within the scene and, at the same time, are representative causes that gave rise to rhetorical considerations.

Economy: A traditional tenet of Conservatism that Mrs. Thatcher has always espoused is "Let the market rule," and it is this belief that clearly distinguishes Tory economic philosophy from Labour economic philosophy. Historically, the Conservatives have drawn their ideas from the theory of economics purported by Adam Smith in his book, The Wealth of Nations (published in 1776).[40] Smith's book

> . . . analyzed the way in which the market system could combine the freedom of individuals to pursue their own objectives with the extensive cooperation and collaboration needed in the economic field to produce our food, our clothing, our housing. Adam Smith's key insight was that both parties to an exchange can benefit and that, so long as cooperation is strictly voluntary, no exchange will take place unless both parties do benefit.[41]

The members of Britain's Tory Party in the mid-seventies who still felt that Smith's economic theories were viable made up the faction known as the "market-wing." Led by Margaret Thatcher, Sir Keith Joseph and others, they called themselves "Monetarists." The other dominant faction in the party was made up of those who felt that Smith's economics

had to be modified and adapted to changes in both the domestic and international markets. This group of Tories was known as the "Progressivists." They felt that the influences of 20th-century economist John Maynard Keynes had been so substantial in the last few decades in Britain, that any reactionary attempts to revert to Adam Smith's economic policies would be too extreme. Keynesian economics called for government responsibility for maximum levels of employment and productivity as well as for extensive social welfare programs. This brand of economic policy was the mainstay of the Labour Party's beliefs. Though Tory Progressivists did not endorse wholeheartedly Labour and Keynesian Socialism, they nonetheless took a pragmatic attitude and felt that times had changed, that circumstances were so different that the economic clock could not be turned back. By the late 'seventies, the state of the economy in Britain became the over-riding political issue. The Labour Party had shifted to the far left of the political spectrum; and under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Party began to shift to the far right of the spectrum:

> The development of this heightened partisan tension was constitutionally significant because it revealed the extent to which many of the orthodox practices of British political life require an atmosphere of muted controversy for their successful operation. The stability which had for so long seemed a characteristic of the United Kingdom's political arrangements was in truth based on the fragile understanding between the two major parties that neither of them when in power would alter the country's most important political institutions or use the power of the state in ways which could not command the support of the population.[42]

There were no middle-of-the-road positions available; there were no compromises to be made on many issues. There was, instead, an ever-widening chasm between the Labour Party and the Conservative Party; a chasm which had begun to threaten the stability of British social and political life. Where tacit agreements and understanding had existed previously between Labourites and Tories, now only disagreements and hostility could be found.

The European Economic Community: Partisan tension was also obvious in the parties' attitudes toward British involvement with the European Economic Community (EEC). The Labourites were opposed to British membership in the EEC while the Conservatives solidly endorsed their country's membership.

Conservative support for closer alliance with the European nations goes back to post-World War II Great Britain. At that time, Winston Churchill strongly urged his countrymen to become more politically and economically integrated with the European community. In fact, a popular slogan that characterized Britain's relations with Europe from the post-war period up until 1961 was: "With Europe but not of Europe."[43]

In 1961, attitudes regarding association with Europe were altered due to the leadership of Conservative Prime Minister Harold MacMillan. MacMillan generated great amounts of support from within his party for the British to seek active membership in the European Economic Community. He viewed his arguments as pragmatic--based on such necessary interests as

defense and economics. For MacMillan, it seemed obvious, because Britain was a member of NATO for purposes of defense, that his country could further secure its national safety by joining the EEC. In addition, MacMillan felt that membership in the EEC would prove to be economically advantageous for Britain.

Those who were opposed to EEC membership were known as "anti-marketeers." Most of the anti-marketeers were Labourites who, in the early 'sixties, were in opposition and who did not have much power in halting MacMillan's lobbying efforts. But amazingly enough, the anti-marketeers had unsolicited help which prevented Britain from joining the EEC. France's General Charles de Gaulle vetoed Britain's membership petition, thus immobilizing pro-marketeers for some years to come.

The issue of the EEC alternately received favor and disfavor from the electorate. Just when the possibility of membership would seem to have strong popular support, the pendulum would shift and support would diminish. The Conservatives, in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, under the leadership of Ted Heath continued to work for membership, but had to be careful and cautious not to offend or to alienate public opinion. Finally, in October of 1971, the Conservative government was able to win parliamentary support and passed a bill which advocated membership. Their petition was approved and on January 1, 1973, Britain officially became a member of the European Economic Community.

Some Labourites protested the Tory terms for membership. They aroused partisan feelings by claiming that they would have sought membership under different terms. But those Labourites on the far left who were anti-marketeers protested vigorously against membership on any terms because they believed that membership in the EEC would interfere with British sovereignty. (EEC membership does, in fact, clash with Britain's constitutional belief that nothing can overrule parliamentary legislation. "As a condition of membership British courts must now give effect to legislation emanating from the Community's and where there is conflict between European legislation and parliamentary legislation European law has priority."[44]) The proponents of membership, however, continued to argue from the vantage point of defense and economics, and asserted that in reality British sovereignty was not actually in jeopardy.

After Labour came to power in 1974, the issue was still far from being settled. In 1975, Labour called for a public referendum--an unprecedented action in the history of the country--to determine whether the public did or did not want to be united with Europe. The result was overwhelmingly in favor of EEC alliance.

As party leader in opposition, Mrs. Thatcher took delight in the outcome of the referendum. She viewed "the Community as essentially an institution for cooperation between nation-states. Mrs. Thatcher told the Times, 'I believe that we should continue to have a partnership of nation-states each

retaining the right to protect its vital interests but developing more effectively than at present the habit of working together.'"[45] In her major addresses to European audiences, she constantly re-affirmed the Conservative position of partnership with Europe as intended foreign policy, and she frequently rebutted her Labourite critics, who still continue to fear "that Britain will lose power to order its own affairs, and in particular, that EEC regulations and principles of free movement of capital and labor will make it much harder for Britain to move further in a Socialist direction."[46] By the time of the General Election in 1979, the topic of continued EEC membership was hotly contested between then-Prime Minister James Callaghan and opposition leader Margaret Thatcher.

Immigration: It is an unfortunate and all too prevalent fact that when countries are suffering from high umemployment rates their people begin to search for reasons--whether rational or irrational--to explain the cause of their joblessness. Kenneth Burke says that "the search for a cause is itself the search for a scapegoat."[47] In the case of the United Kingdom, one scapegoat which many Britons blamed for the rising tide of unemployment was, and still is, the growing mass of immigrant groups. Tragically, competition for jobs in the past decade triggered so much racism and accompanying violence that immigration control became another dominant issue in British politics. Again, review of post-war Britain must be made in order to understand better the impact of immigration

in the 1970's.

There is little doubt that the end of World War II also signaled the demise of the British Empire. No longer could Britons consider their country to be a major power in the world. British imperialism had disintegrated; the structure of Empire with its subordinate dominions had given way to the structure of Commonwealth with its collegial members. From this change in the status of former Empire states emerged a most controversial issue: that of immigration. Before too long, brown and black immigrants began to arrive by the hundreds of thousands at the portals of the "Mother Country," and these immigrants claimed legitimate entry on the grounds of "civis Britannicus sum."[48]

The labor shortage of the immediate post-war period absorbed these citizens and provided them with employment and sources of income. But the labor shortage disappeared in the 'sixties and the 'seventies, and soon the continually arriving immigrants were viewed as competition in a limited job market. Besides this financial aspect, the presence of minority immigrants also affected numerous other dimensions of British life. Exotic restaurants featuring menus with rice and curry dishes became popular. Buddhist temples, moslem mosques, and other places of worship for folk religions were built. Native costumes, such as the sari, were standard attire for some of the immigrants and became commonplace sights on crowded city streets. Grammar schools suddenly had to cope with an influx of students, many of whom could not speak English. And

sadly, racial prejudice characterized by an increase in racial incidents surfaced and caused many Britons to question the magnanimity of former imperialist leaders who had granted blanket British citizenship to foreign subjects.

Both the Labour Party and the Conservative Party wanted to bring about improved race relations and many discussions took place about according entitlement to the dark-skinned immigrants and their British-born children. But unfortunately, not much action was taken to assure these unwanted citizens of their rights. The Conservative Party, in particular, saw a partial solution to the issue of immigration in the enforcement of stricter immigration controls. Labour, too, felt that something had to be done, but Labour did not at all like the severity of the Tories' strict measures.

Mrs. Thatcher stood firm on the Tory position of increased immigration controls. She supported those white Britons who felt that their British culture and heritage were being altered by the influences of the immigrants. She sympathized with those who felt like aliens in their own land and she feared that racial violence would worsen if immigration was not limited. In a televised interview in 1978, Mrs. Thatcher brought the issue of immigration out into the open. She said: "'The moment a minority threatens to become a big one, people get frightened. The British character has done so much for democracy, for law, that if there is any fear it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in.'"[49] She was immediately criticized by

Labourites who said that she was a "racist" and an "opportunist"; Mrs. Thatcher, however, denied those labels and refuted the accusations. She said: "'The media raised [the question], not me. I have given my views, and I have been bullied and intimidated.'"[50] Despite the harsh criticism which she received for her remarks on the subject, Mrs. Thatcher did hit on a highly emotional and volatile issue that gained her much popularity among white voters.

Additional Issues: Economic philosophy, continued membership in the European Economic Community, and immigration constituted some of the major issues in British politics in the 1970's. In addition, there were numerous other issues that also deserve mention for the serious impact and effect that they had on British life.

Controversy over the strength of the trade unions in the United Kingdom can be seen as a sub-issue in the realm of economic philosophy. The trade unions have aligned themselves traditionally with the Labour Party, and Labour confidently felt that it could control the unions; but of late, the unions disregarded Labour's directives. In the past decade, there have been some occasions when the trade unions have refused to recognize the legitimacy of some parliamentary legislation which they have deemed to be contrary to their members' interests. This type of sabotage of the government caused serious consternation to both the Labour and the Conservative Parties. Mrs. Thatcher, for one, ideally would have preferred

that free-market principles and the spirit of collective-bargaining control industry, but the realization that the unions could directly challenge or thwart government caused Mrs. Thatcher to take a more conciliatory approach. She proposed trade union reforms and her "party was prepared to accept the closed shop where it was established practice, but it wanted new safeguards for individuals as well as postal ballots for union elections and a code of practice that could if necessary be based on legislation."[51]

Another issue of concern to the British people was a felt need for more law and order. Mrs. Thatcher responded to reports of violence with this theme calling for the restoration of law and order. Britain had long been the target of ever increasing terrorism from the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA) and in recent years, domestic crime rates had also risen dramatically. Thus, the question of capital punishment emerged, and Margaret Thatcher was quick to make a public statement on the issue while she was being interviewed on television. She said: "'This is not a question of votes. It is a question of my deep beliefs. I think the vast majority of people in this country would like to see the death penalty restored.'"[52]

There was also a general malaise which permeated British life in the latter 1970's. People were becoming psychologically debilitated and depressed by the difficulties and hardships which faced them. Unemployment and inflation were skyrocketing; crime and terrorism were on the rise; the value of the British

pound weakened considerably and lost much of its purchasing power; costs of needed goods, like fuel, were spiraling upward; and the Labour government could no longer defend its record and was forced to take an offensive position in order to stave off Tory criticism.

The Tories continued their movement to present themselves to the British public as a party that was ready and capable of forming a government whenever the will of the people so decided. They bided their time well and carefully watched for signs of decomposition in James Callaghan's incumbent government.

Summary

The sociopolitical scene in Britain in the 1970's was not an especially attractive or pleasant one. Issues, which prompted rhetorical acts on the part of Margaret Thatcher and which ranged from economics, to education, to employment, and to health care--just to name a few--were sources of upheaval and unhappiness. The Labour Party which had come to power in 1974 and which would remain in power until 1979, did little to halt the downward trend affecting all aspects of life in the United Kingdom.

The Tory Party, which was fragmented by the Labour victory in 1974, found itself turning for leadership to a relatively unknown woman who had seized the moment and who had startled fellow Tories with her sharp opinions. The

unanticipated interloper, Margaret Thatcher, rallied her party and began her crusade of opposition in which she highlighted the differences between the perceived Labour reality and the projected Tory vision. She advocated that Britons reject what had become the Labourite status quo in favor of Tory claims for a better life. Kenneth Burke says that this type of rejection "takes its color from an attitude toward some reigning symbol of authority, stressing a shift in the allegiance to symbols of authority."[53] Mrs. Thatcher proposed that political authority in Britain be restored to the Tories. She emphasized Tory readiness to take over the governance of her country and Tory desires to return Britain to a state of prosperity as enjoyed in previous decades. But the task of convincing fellow legislators and the British people to shift their allegiances was not an easy one. It took four years for the woman who had emerged from within the Tory ranks and who was deeply dissatisfied with the state-of-affairs in Britain, to achieve finally the chance to alter the scene.

Chapter IV is primarily concerned with Mrs. Thatcher's authorized chance to alter the scene as realized in the 1979 General Election. Though Chapter IV also continues to demonstrate Mrs. Thatcher's personal zeal and quest for change, the dramatistic focus shifts to an understanding of the 1979 General Election as an institutionalized "agency" through which change in the sociopolitical scene was ultimately enacted.

Notes for Chapter III

[1]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.428.

[2]Burke, Terms For Order, p.180.

[3]Ibid., p.119.

[4]Brock, "Rhetorical Criticism: A Burkeian Approach," p.354.

[5]Burke, "Dramatism," p.450.

[6]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.13.

[7]Ibid., p.546.

[8]Beloff and Peele, p.181.

[9]Mayer, p.117.

[10]Lewis, pp.128-129.

[11]For an explication of the component parts of a rhetorical situation, see Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," in Philosophy and Rhetoric, 1 (1968): 1-14.

[12]Money, pp.29-30.

[13]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.578.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.57.

[16]Lewis, pp.110-111.

[17]Anthony LeJeune, "The Tories Big Gamble," National Review, (March 28, 1975), p.338.

[18]Auberon Waugh, "The great hencroachment," Esquire, (June, 1975), p.72.

[19]William F. Buckley, "Mrs. Thatcher," National Review, (March, 28, 1975), p.303.

[20]Mollie Panter-Downes, "Letter From London," New Yorker, (February 24, 1975), p.131.

[21]Peter McGrath, "Along Comes Thatcher," New Republic, (March 1, 1975), p.5.

[22]"The Company She Keeps," Time, (March 3, 1975), p.46.

[23]Lewis, p.134.

[24]Ibid., p.123.

[25]Butler and Kavanagh, p.63.

[26]Richard Bourne, "Recession, EEC and Mrs. Thatcher," Nation, (March 8, 1975), p.276.

[27]Lewis, p.156.

[28]Money, p.32.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Margaret Thatcher, "Let Us Bequeath A Free Europe," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, pp.65-66.

[31]Margaret Thatcher, "The New Renaissance," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.97.

[32]Ibid., p.99.

[33]Tony Fuller, "Travels with 'Mrs. T,'" Newsweek, (September 9, 1977), p.51.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Andrew Gamble, "The Conservative Party," in Multi-Party Britain, ed., H.M. Drucker, p.52.

[36]Margaret Thatcher, "Let Me Give You My Vision," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, pp.29-39.

[37]Ibid., p.33.

[38]Margaret Thatcher, "Dimensions and Conservatism," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, pp.112-113.

[39]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.12.

[40]Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, (1776), ed., Edwin Cannon, 5th edition, (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1930).

[41]Milton Friedman and Rose Friedman, Free To Choose, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1980), p.xv.

[42]Beloff and Peele, p.14.

[43]Nigel Ashford, "The European Economic Community," in Conservative Party Politics, ed., Zig Layton-Henry, p.95.

[44]Beloff and Peele, p.17.

[45]Ashford, p.110.

[46]Bourne, p.275.

[47]Burke, Terms For Order, p.184.

[48]Zig Layton-Henry, "Immigration," in Conservative Party Politics, pp.50-71.

[49]"Facing a Multiracial Future," Time, (August, 27, 1979), p.51.

[50]Steven Strasser and Allan J. Mayer, "Britain: Race Pays Off," Newsweek, (March 13, 1978)

[51]Butler and Kavanagh, p.81.

[52]Ibid., p.186.

[53]Burke, Terms For Order, p.71.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1979: THE INSTITUTIONALIZED AGENCY

Introduction

The British General Election of 1979 can be viewed as the formal "agency," or means through which Margaret Thatcher and her Tories could legitimately bring about a change in government. Mrs. Thatcher's rhetorical acts prior to the General Election, though outside of an established and recognized agency, did much to contribute to the eventual authorization by Parliament which called for the General Election as an institutionalized agency through which popular consensus could be determined in an orderly fashion. To answer then the dramatistic question, "Through what means, or instrument, did the primary agent act?" the response must be given, "Through the legitimate structure provided by a national election." The pentadic ratio now shifts to agency/act and focuses on how the General Election presented to Mrs. Thatcher the proper vehicle for the instigation of political change.

The General Election is a respectable agency that exists within the overall framework, or order, of British life. Kenneth Burke, in talking about "order," uses the term "hierarchy" and says that "'hierarchy' is the old, eulogistic

word for 'bureaucracy.'"[1] Certainly, a recognized election serves as one of the bureaucratic channels that seeks to maintain the supposedly smooth functionings of a government. Of relevance to this study, are additional insights from Burke which deal with this belief in a social hierarchical order. For example, Burke feels that:

> . . . . By 'hierarchy' we refer to the motive of the socio-political order, made possible and necessary by social differentiations and stratifications due to the divisions of labor and to corresponding distinctions in the possession of property. . . . Here is the motive of the social order, or social pyramid, involving a concern with the 'higher.'[2]

Burke's explanation about "hierarchy" enables us to determine better Margaret Thatcher's motives in her persistent calls for a change in the <u>status quo</u>. From her vantage point, the Labourites were responsible for what she perceived to be a gradual decay of traditional "order" in Britain. In her mind, a Tory government would be capable of restoring "order" and of promoting progressive increments in the hierarchical structure. She advocated the rejection of all things for which Labour stood.

The theory of dramatism accounts for such adversative and antagonistic relationships. Burke reminds us that "if action is to be our key term, then drama; for drama is the culminative form of action. But if drama, then conflict. And if conflict, then victimage."[3] In the election campaign of 1979, there was this kind of drama and conflict; and Margaret Thatcher continually placed blame for the deterioration of order on the Labour government.

Burke says that "during a national election, the situation places great stress upon a division between the citizens. But often such divisiveness (or discontinuity) can be healed when the warring factions join in common cause against an alien enemy. . . . its particular kind of scapegoat."[4] Margaret Thatcher saw Callaghan's government as the enemy of traditional British order and she made her appeals to all Britons, regardless of political affiliation, to reject "the reigning symbols of authority."[5] She tried to unify factions and groups of people to stand philosophically against the perceived alien--Socialism.

In sum, the General Election of 1979, offered the means through which Margaret Thatcher could act rhetorically and strategically to alter the sociopolitical scene in Britain for the purpose of resolving issues and restoring order. This dramatic process "treats language and thought primarily as modes of action."[6] So Margaret Thatcher's ideas and expressions take on greater significance as they functioned rhetorically during the British General Election.

Burke tells us that "among the marks of rhetoric is to gain advantage, of one sort or another."[7] With this in mind, the question which this chapter seeks to answer is: "What did Margaret Thatcher and the Tories do in order to 'gain advantage' over James Callaghan and the Labourites during the General Election?" It is the intention of this chapter to highlight selected pieces of Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric, to explain unique details relating to the campaign, and to discuss publicity and

advertising strategies in an attempt to determine reasons which would account for Mrs. Thatcher's electoral success.

The Campaign

"No Confidence": The strategic opposition period for the Tories which was spent in waiting, in watchfulness, and in lobbying eventually paid off for Tory Members of Parliament. Fed up with James Callaghan's governmental interference in economic, social, and industrial realms and encouraged by the similar sentiments of disgruntled M.P.'s from the minority parties of the Liberals, the Scottish Nationalists, and the Ulster Unionists, the Tories were looking for a propitious moment which could bring about a turning point in the political action. That moment came on March 22, 1979, after a culmination of controversial parliamentary negotiations that prompted "Mrs. Thatcher's decision to put down her simple motion, declaring 'that this house has no confidence in Her Majesty's government.'"[8] In effect, she demanded a change of scene. Once her stand was taken, the risk of direct confrontation ensued and only a house vote would prove the prevailing consensus. Less than a week later, on March 28, 1979, the House of Commons "carried the Conservative motion by 311 votes to 310, and Mr. Callaghan [was] forced into an election by the will of the Commons."[9]

The institutionalized "trigger," which would signal an election and for which the Tories had long been impatiently waiting, had materialized. By one vote they had forced an

encounter; they had forced Parliament and the country to acknowledge and to recognize their perception that something was critically wrong in government. The five-week span of time between the "no confidence" vote and the May 3, 1979, General Election date constituted a stage of development that was of the utmost importance to the Tories. Now that the Tories had forced an election, the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher and the rhetoric of the Tories' publicized doctrines had to be of such an inspirational quality as to stimulate the people to climb aboard their political bandwagon. A margin of one vote for dissolution of the government had hardly guaranteed the Tories a victory in the upcoming May election. The choice either for a change to a free enterprise system that intended to dismantle the welfare state or for the retention of a socialist system that promoted government control now rested with the people.

The Manifestoes: As public declarations of the respective intentions of the political parties, the manifestoes represented important source material for those who sought to understand the future courses of action deigned by each party. For our purposes, however, Kenneth Burke reminds us that the manifestoes are invaluable documents because "every document bequeathed us by history must be treated as a strategy for encompassing a situation. . . . [and] as the answer or rejoinder to assertions current in the situation in which it arose."[10]

Having just suffered the first "no confidence" in the

government vote for the first time since 1924, the Labour Party began the General Election campaign in embarassment and disarray. In addition, the party was beset with internal differences brought about by quarrelling factions that ranged from leftist Marxists to rightist Social Democrats. Because of this divisiveness, the campaign platform assumed by Labour was one of compromise to the competing factions within its party. As a result, the policies in The Labour Manifesto were really not that strong or that different from past Labour policies.

On the other hand, the Tories were now able for the first time in almost five years to present formally to the people their precise plans which were intended to bring about a major change in the status quo. The Conservative Manifesto "promised income tax cuts at all levels, a curb on secondary picketing, secret ballots in union elections, cuts in government spending except for defense and the police, a stop to further nationalzation, and an end to government interference in wage negotiations in private industry."[11] Mrs. Thatcher viewed the election as the most critical since the war. She felt that whatever choice the populace made would determine British life style for the remainder of the twentieth century. This election was not simply a race between colorful personalities, but was a race between competing political and social structures. With this in mind, she explained the intention of The Conservative Manifesto: "'It contains no magic formula or rash promises. It is not a recipe for an easy or a perfect life.

But it sets out a broad framework for the recovery of our country, based not on dogma, but on reason, on common sense, above all on the liberty of the people under the law.'"[12] Mrs. Thatcher continually tried to emphasize that the choice of a Conservative government over a Labour government was the only logical choice, that it was the only choice that made any sense if the country were to have a better future. Thus, according to Burke's perspectives, the Tory Manifesto as an historical document strategically encompassed the British scene and served as a rhetorical response or as an "answer . . . to assertions current in the situation in which it arose."[13]

Publicity, Public Image, and Personality: Oddly enough, the election rules allowed for only 50 minutes of television time for party broadcasts. As a result, Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Callaghan who respectively campaigned for their parties' candidates' success and ultimately for their own, were forced to rely on party pamphlets and publications, advertisements, media news coverage, and interviews to help persuade the potential supporters. But the most vital Tory strategy was to send the party's leader out stumping in order to gain maximum exposure. Typically, "the general strategy for all party leaders is to spend much of the time in London, appear in marginal constituencies in much the same way as a presidential candidate concentrates on key States and to gain media exposure connected with regional problems."[14]

Of major importance to the Conservatives was the public image which was projected by Mrs. Thatcher during the five-week campaign. Though the British political system is designed for the election of a particular party's government, at times it seems as if it is designed for the election of a particular personality instead. Kenneth Burke says that "'personality' is a 'dramatist' concept,"[15] and so it comes as no surprise that the General Election of 1979 sometimes tended to resemble a personality contest. Because of this, the party was extremely concerned about the impressions which Mrs. Thatcher made on the general public. This concern for Mrs. Thatcher's image, as well as concern for the image of the party, necessitated the hiring of a professional advertising agency to handle the party's advertising and broadcasting. The Conservative Central Office had had the foresight to acquire the services of Saatchi and Saatchi Garland Compton Limited well in advance of the campaign. In fact, this very reputable advertising firm was engaged by the party in April of 1978. Mr. Tim Bell, chairman of Saatchi and Saatchi, was primarily responsible for devising media campaign strategies, and he worked closely with Mr. Gordon Reece, publicity adviser to Mrs. Thatcher.

Gordon Reece's main objective was to present Mrs. Thatcher to the people in such a way that they would perceive her as an ordinary, common-sense person. For example, sometimes "clothes symbolize a social order that . . . does not represent man's true nature."[16] So Reece encouraged Mrs.

Thatcher to avoid wearing hats, for which she had quite a propensity, because cartoonists had often satirized her as a comic figure wearing an outlandish hat. Instead, Reece wanted to soften and subdue Mrs. Thatcher in her public presentations so that the press would have little chance to ridicule her. To a large extent, the outcome of the election hinged on how well Mrs. Thatcher held up to and endured the strains of a national campaign. The leading strategy propounded by Gordon Reece was to take advantage of Mrs. Thatcher's public visibility. It was she, therefore, who spoke at nearly all of the party's morning press conferences. In addition, Reece pre-arranged seemingly casual "walk-abouts" during which Mrs. Thatcher would have a chance to meet and to chat with working people. In this way, he felt that some of Mrs. Thatcher's true nature--her gentleness, her compassion, and her genuine concern--would be communicated, via her personal touch, to the voting public. Reece always invited the press to take photographs of these staged events in order to take advantage of Mrs. Thatcher's photogenic qualities and to provide a sort of political propaganda that had a high interest and entertainment factor.

Mrs. Thatcher proved to be very adept at meeting the public in everyday situations during the campaign blitz. She obliged Reece and the photographers without hesitation. With an entourage of tacticians, journalists, and photographers, Mrs. Thatcher made a whistlestop bus tour to all the major

points on the island. She was as comfortable meeting the voters in a supermarket, a garment factory, a candy factory, a tea factory, a butcher shop, or a farm community, as she was anywhere in her own neighborhood of Finchley. Throughout the campaign, the daily newspapers regularly contained photographs of Mrs. Thatcher. She was always impeccably groomed and usually the pictures showed her to be engaged in an assortment of activities that included tasting tea, setting newsprint type, and comparing food-store prices. She even held a squirming baby calf for thirteen minutes to make sure that all the photographers had had ample time to take their pictures. Mrs. Thatcher was keenly aware of the role played by the media and of the impact which favorable press and television coverage could lend the Tory cause. She "paid meticulous attention to the requirements of newsmen and was often heard to ask: 'Are you running sound?' or 'Would you like to do another take?'"[17]

In marked contrast to the Tory campaign, Labourite James Callaghan waged "a rather low-keyed, traditional campaign, . . . Callaghan and his aides traveled without fanfare on an executive jet . . . [and left] the press to catch up as best it could on whatever planes and trains were available."[18] The result, of course, was less national press coverage for Mr. Callaghan and more for Mrs. Thatcher. Mrs. Thatcher's accessibility to photographers and to journalists worked in her favor, while her opponent's reticence worked against him. Callaghan frequently shrugged off the press and once remarked:

"'The voters don't want to see you cuddling a calf. They want to be sure you're not selling them a pig in a poke.'"[19] Despite the criticism from Labour, Mrs. Thatcher continued with the Tory plan to meet the voters on their own respective territories and to try to establish a rapport, a sense of kinship with them.

Mrs. Thatcher's high visibility in public situations somewhat enhanced her credibility among voters; and because she came to be seen as the epitome of a hard-working woman, she especially appealed to working-class women. Mrs. Thatcher specifically addressed this contingency of voters when "she acknowledged that she carried 'a very great sense of responsibility for all women trying to get to the top.' . . . but she also tried to gain the support of non-working women when she added that motherhood was 'one of the most important jobs in the world.'"[20] The female vote was significant for Mrs. Thatcher because she had been criticized by some women for not being more sympathetic toward the plight of women and toward the Women's Movement in general. She said in response: "'I did not get here by being some strident female. I do not like strident females. I like people who have ability, who do not run the feminist ticket too hard. People get on by virtue of their ability, not their sex.'"[21] Yet her experiences as a wife, mother, and homemaker gave her realistic insights into the commonplace of the household that helped her to build greater identification with the female voters and to become consubstantial with them.

Though Mrs. Thatcher had clearly been in public view since the party leadership election in 1975 and though many people had become somewhat accustomed to the possibility of a female Prime Minister, her sex was still an issue for some people. Indeed, her gender was often referred to as the "Thatcher factor." She tried to maintain a good humor in facing those who took exception to her femaleness. In one case, a woman complained that her husband wanted to abstain from voting rather than risk putting a woman into the Prime Ministership. Mrs. Thatcher responded without malice as she used an historical illustration to defend the strength of female leadership. She said: "'One of our great successful periods of this country was under Elizabeth I; and if your husband had been in that time, my goodness, well if he thought the same, then, we might never have beaten the Spanish Armada.'"[22]

On this basis of gender and aggressive personality, however, Mrs. Thatcher was often seen as second-best. Mr. Callaghan's maleness gave him a decided edge. He had a congenial personality and had earned such warm and appealing nick-names as "Uncle Jim" and "Sunny Jim." On the contrary, Mrs. Thatcher, who had to struggle just to gain acceptance, still threatened many voters with her strong and forthright female personality and she had to bear the sting of being unfairly called "the cosmetic creation." Yet even while taking into account those voters who resisted the idea of

a female Prime Minister, there was obviously a majority of voters who disregarded her gender and who endorsed her for her rhetorical appeals.

Campaign Rhetoric: According to Kenneth Burke, "we must think of rhetoric not in terms of some one particular address, but as a general body of identifications that owe their convincingness much more to trivial repetition and dull daily reinforcement than to exceptional rhetorical skills."[23] Mrs. Thatcher's campaign rhetoric is no exception. Though she gave numerous separate speeches, her themes in all of them were consistently related and she found herself, out of necessity, repeating and reiterating the Tory platform.

On the evening of April 2, 1979, Mrs. Thatcher gave her first official campaign address--an address which her future campaign addresses imitated in style and content. Though her main point concerned the Tory commitment to cut taxes, Mrs. Thatcher stressed a common identification and a need for unity among the British people. She complimented her countrymen and conveyed her belief in them as she said: "'We have the people. We have the skill. We have the resources. We've not been allowed to make the best of them, that's the trouble.'" She continued with remarks that elaborated on the Tory position and she turned to history for the authority and the legitimacy needed to support the

party's goals. She reminded people of glory days long past: "'That's the way we used to do things when it was you, the citizen, who came first, not the State. . . . We are the party of roots, of tradition." Mrs. Thatcher's concluding comments appealed for affirmation in order to realize the Tory dream for change: "'It has taken years to undermine our country. It will take time to rebuild. But the job can be done. That is the conviction that sustains me. That is my abiding faith. . . . I think we all know in our hearts that it's time for a change.'"[24]

Burke says that "if, in the opinion of a given audience, a certain kind of conduct is admirable, then a speaker might persuade the audience by using ideas and images that identify his cause with that kind of conduct."[25] In her opening address, Mrs. Thatcher, as speaker, tried to do just that.

In other campaign addresses, Mrs. Thatcher used figurative language in order to create images which would then serve to illustrate and to enhance some of her main ideas. In Cardiff, when she exhorted her audience to vote Conservative and to sanction political change, she tried to sympathize with the cautious reserve felt by voters and drew indirectly on an example from ancient history to communicate her understanding of the audience's feelings as she said:

> We understand the deep-rooted loyalties and affections that make you hesitate to cross the Rubicon. We know it's not easy to forsake the habit of a life-time.[26]

Mrs. Thatcher's historical reference to the Rubicon, a river in the north of Italy, highlighted the "do-or-die" risk

facing the voters. Just as Caesar had to cross the Rubicon in order to defeat his enemy, Pompey, so too, in Mrs. Thatcher's mind, the British public had to vote Conservative in order to defeat the perceived enemy, Socialism.

Another time, Mrs. Thatcher metaphorically compared the Conservative philosophy to a "soccer ball" in the "game" of life. She encouraged her audience to go after that ball and she described the Tory philosophy as,

> . . . putting the ball in front of people: they won't all kick it, but some of them will, and they will score goals.[27]

Basically, this and other figurative selections which are evident in Mrs. Thatcher's campaign rhetoric, were designed to instill an aggressive, competitive, survival-of-the-fittest image of the Conservatives in the minds of the public audience. In terms of rhetoric, in this case collective addresses, Burke says that "any representation of passions, emotions, actions, . . . is likely to be treated as falling under the heading of 'images,' which in turn explicitly or implicitly involve 'imagination.'"[28] Imagination, under these political circumstances, was a function not only of the rhetor, but also of the members of the audience.

Mrs. Thatcher also used words in such a way as to sharply delineate the contrast between the Tory way and the Labour way. Some examples of her antithetical pairs of words are:

> (leader/straggler)
> It is high time that we became a leader not a straggler.[29]

(big business/small business)
. . . today's big businesses are yesterday's small businesses.[30]

(human folly/human wisdom)
But what human folly can destroy, human wisdom can restore.[31]

(ladder/queue)
Churchill said the difference between Conservatism and Socialism was the difference between the ladder and the queue.[32]

(life/death)
In a matter of life and death, words are not enough.[33]

These pair-words, especially as they are pitted against each other, act as terministic screens that affect the ways that people ultimately respond to them. Mrs. Thatcher, at all times, associated Conservatism with the positive word in each of the pairs. In light of the antithetical relationship which exists between certain words, Burke says that rhetoric can be viewed as an "instrument in the war of words."[34]

In other instances, Mrs. Thatcher used words in a way that Burke would describe as "'sweetly' (eloquence, ingratiation for its own sake)."[35] Burke says that "style is ingratiation. It is an attempt to gain favor by . . . 'saying the right thing.'"[36] The burden on Mrs. Thatcher was not to alienate her audience members. Instead, by "saying the right thing," by using emotive and appealing phrases, she tried to "gain favor" and persuade her listeners to align themselves with the Conservatives. In Cardiff, she made those kinds of appealing remarks:

If you care deeply for your country. . . come with us. We offer you a political home. . . .

> Under the twin banners, choice and freedom, a new and exciting future beckons the British people. Let us join hands and go forward to meet it together.[37]

Mrs. Thatcher's use of the phrase, "the British people," served to remind audience members of their shared identity. In a variety of ways, all of her campaign addresses made mention of the audiences' group identity, their common history, and the qualities typically associated with the British character. According to Burke, "the individual's identity is formed by reference to his membership in a group,"[38] and that in the context of a speech "familial substance, in its purity . . . stresses common ancestry."[39] Frequently, her campaign rhetoric contained strategies to build familial identification much like the strategy of this excerpt:

> The things we have in common as a nation far outnumber those that divide us. . . . The key to the future, a surer and safer future for ourselves and our children, waits to be turned. Let us turn that key and go to meet it together, a United Kingdom and a united people.[40]

Words like "we, "our, "nation, "children, and "united" act as verbal bonds connecting all members of the British family.

In line with this idea regarding shared identity, is the idea of shared patriotic loyalty to one's country. Kenneth Burke says that any such "calls for patriotism . . . are essentially motives located in the agent."[41] In an address made to Trade Unionists, Mrs. Thatcher appealed to the patriotic motives in the members of her audience and made clear her own patriotic motives:

> We appeal also to old-fashioned love of country. We are shamed by the poor figure Britain cuts in the world. We long to restore the respect and esteem which we earned for ourselves. . . . A Britain which encourages its people to develop their natural genius--for their own sakes, for the sake of our country.[42]

On this same occasion, as well as on others, Mrs. Thatcher stressed the need for cooperation, for working together, in order to revive the nation. Such working together would be seen by Burke as a "mode of cooperation." He believes that "modes of cooperation . . . give form to modes of communication. The modes of communication thus refer back to the modes of cooperation."[43] In her rhetoric, Margaret Thatcher invites cooperation; she invites a united effort for the good of the country:

> All that you have done so far is merely preparation. There is a greater work ahead for us to do together.[44]

> It is in our power to throw the shackles off, not simply by changing our laws but by changing our ways, by a few years of sustained effort and quiet, practical commonsense.[45]

In addition to the pair-words, the motive appeals, and other terministic screens in Mrs. Thatcher's campaign rhetoric, some of her arguments also utilized what Burke would call "qualitative progression form." Burke says that "a work has form in so far as one part of it leads a [person] . . . to anticipate another part, to be gratified by the sequence," and that in a qualitative progression, "the presence of one quality prepares us for the introduction of another."[46] In her speech at Cardiff, Mrs. Thatcher used words that indicated a crescendo of criticism when she said:

> Listen to the voice deep inside a great and ancient nation. First, there was a murmur, then a cry, now there is a great shout of anger and determination that we <u>will</u> be free, that we <u>will</u> be strong again.[47]

The qualitative progression, which started with "murmur" and grew to a "cry" and finally expanded to a "great shout," was supplemented with the chronological and transitional cue-words "first, "then, and "now." Use of these kinds of words often aids and prepares listeners to follow the progression of the rhetor's thoughts.

In all of her campaign rhetoric, Mrs. Thatcher sought to identify the Tory cause with the proud and respectworthy work ethic that had characterized British life in decades past. Her frequent use of pronouns such as "we, "our, "us, "ourselves," was a direct effort to establish identification and to convince the members of her audience that she and they shared interests, attitudes, and forward visions. In short, Mrs. Thatcher was trying to illustrate the unity between herself and the British people. This does not mean, however, that Mrs. Thatcher's audience members totally identified with what she said. For as Burke notes, "identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity."[48]

In general, Mrs. Thatcher's campaign speeches in April and early May of 1979 typically included a combination of: explanations of the Tory <u>Manifesto</u>; presentations of the Tory battle-cry for freedom; warnings of the dangers of

the British form of Socialism, and of Communist aggression; appeals for law and order and for a war against crime; proposed limitations on the immigration quotas; inspiring quotations from Kipling, Churchill, and other well-known historical and literary figures; compliments for the past achievements of the British people; the necessity for choice in a moral society; and an image of herself as a reformer and as an agent-of-change. It is clear that Mrs. Thatcher was offering the voters an alternative to their then-present social, economic, and political life. On behalf of her party's principles and beliefs, she campaigned tirelessly and stood up to the stresses and strains of the weeks preceding the election.

During the final days of the campaign, opinion polls showed that the Labour Party had a slight advantage in popularity over the Conservative Party. This was due not so much to the politics, but rather to the perception of the personalities of the respective leaders. In an attempt to reverse the Labour edge as determined by the opinion polls, Mrs. Thatcher delivered a powerful address as one of her last public messages before election day. Her remarks ranged from nostalgic appeals to scathing insults. She began by arousing her audience, by recalling days of past greatness, and by sadly making a gloomy prediction about Britain's possible future. Then, she followed her opening statements with painful remembrances of Britain's more recent past hardships which

had been brought on by Labour's inability to resolve the trade unions' strikes that had paralyzed the country that very winter:

> Unless we change our ways and our direction, . . . our greatness as a nation will soon be a footnote in the history books, a distant memory of an offshore island, lost in the mists of time like Camelot, remembered kindly for its noble past. . . .
>
> Never forget . . . how workers had to beg for the right to work, and often did not get it' patients for for the right to be admitted to hospitals. Blood donors could not give their blood, children were locked out of their schools, and mourners could not bury their dead.[49]

By painting this rather grim and gory picture of life in Britain, a life perceived by the Conservatives as a harsh reality while under Labour leadership, Mrs. Thatcher was indirectly invoking a supportive dimension implicit in the notion of hierarchy. Burke calls this influential dimension,"mortification." He says that "in an emphatic way, mortification is the exercising of oneself in 'virtue'; it is a systematic way of saying no to Disorder, or obediently saying yes to Order."[50] After reminding her audience about the difficulties and hardships that faced Britain, Mrs. Thatcher sought to convince her audience to say "no to Disorder" by offering them the Conservative solution that would enable them to say "yes to Order." Her final statement was, once more, the cry for freedom and the belief in a better vision for the future:

> Our idea is this--that there exists for Britain and for its people a better and freer future than anything offered by Socialism, that Britain's old strengths and enduring skills and enterprise can secure that future, that Government must recognise this possibility, work with it, encourage it, and serve it.[51]

As mentioned previously, the Conservative Party's campaign strategies constantly placed Mrs. Thatcher in public view. The Labour Party, on the other hand, relied to a large extent on the rhetoric of incumbency. Callaghan did not speak in public as frequently and he overlooked accommodating the journalists and the press; his speeches offered nothing new and mostly threatened "'that a Conservative Government would lead to higher prices, fewer jobs and less public expenditures'" and he accused the Conservatives of promoting a "'free-for-all'" government.[52] "As some commentators saw it, Labour, in a reversal of traditional roles had become the party of established orthodoxy, while the Conservatives advocated radical reform."[53]

Advertising Strategies: The reforms sought by the Tories were not just proclaimed by Mrs. Thatcher though she was, of course, the party's leading representative. Publications, news releases, advertisements, slogans, and The Conservative Manifesto each served respectively as an individual medium which attempted to influence the voters. For Burke, these additional media would constitute "various media of symbolism"

that reflect a particular reality. He says that "all members of our species conceive of reality somewhat roundabout, through various media of symbolism. Any such medium will be, . . . either a way of 'dividing' us from the 'immediate'. . . or it can be viewed as a paradoxical way of 'uniting' us with things on a higher level of awareness.'"[54] With regard to the Tories, these symbolic media tried to intensify for the public the distinctions between the daily realities of life under the Labourites and the hopeful visions of life projected by the Tories. At this point, a brief review of media strategies is both relevant and important.

Extensive advertising designed by the creative and aggressive firm of Saatchi and Saatchi must be credited with raising voter consciousness and political controversy. One method utilized by Saatchi and Saatchi was a far-ranging poster campaign. The posters contained slogans which taunted Labour about certain issues and which insulted Labour for its past performances. Some of those slogans read as follows: "Educashun isn't working; "Britain isn't getting any better; "Labour still isn't working; "1984--What, 5 more years?; and, "Cheer up. They can't last forever."[55]

Television broadcasts and interviews also played key roles in spreading the Tory message to the largest possible audience. At one point, the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) had tried to organize a debate between the parties' leaders, and though Mrs. Thatcher was enthusiastic about the idea, her advisers--

Gordon Reece and Tim Bell--turned it down. They did not fear for Mrs. Thatcher's skill as a debater; rather, they were worried that the debate would only serve to highlight personalities and not platforms. Instead, they arranged for party broadcasts and interviews which were relatively controlled and in which Mrs. Thatcher could shine of her own accord without suffering the possible negative effects of a direct comparison.

The political parties were each allocated a certain amount of air-time for television and radio broadcasts. The largest parties--Labour and Conservative--were given five television broadcasts with each broadcast being ten minutes long. They were also given four radio broadcasts of ten minutes each. Saatchi and Saatchi was responsible for producing the broadcasts for the Conservatives.

The first four television segments which the advertising firm produced were very sophisticated and resembled slick commercials. The sequences included scenes of British people suffering from various hardships. The scenes intermittently cut away to a recognizable Tory leader (not Mrs. Thatcher) who would deliver the Tory message in contrast with the depicted scenes. The fifth broadcast which was shown just three days before the election presented only Mrs. Thatcher speaking straightforwardly into the camera. She quietly and

seriously talked about the issues and the problems facing the voters; and she referred subtly to her gender, perhaps in an attempt to defuse any sex bias, when she said that Britain has "'never had a woman Prime Minister before, but what matters are your convictions'" and she aligned her sentiments with the public's as she concluded, "'May this land of ours which we love so much, find dignity and greatness and peace again.'"[56]

Critics of the Conservatives frequently complained that the advertising and publicity strategies employed by Mr. Reece and Mr. Bell amounted to an artificial "packaging" of Mrs. Thatcher. Certainly she was open and willing to adapt to suggestions that were made with regard to her diction and to her style of delivery. But every politician must be careful to present an appealing image to the public even if it means, as in the case of Mrs. Thatcher, having to vary slightly the shade of one's hair color. And simply because of her gender and her appearance, Mrs. Thatcher found herself under much closer scrutiny than her male opponents. "She dresses, as she puts it, 'to look well turned out' and not more, rarely appearing in other than Tory blue."[57] But to refer to this immaculate and articulate woman as the product of media-packaging is hardly fair. She is unique and has her own distinctive flair; and at most, she only submitted to the smoothing and polishing of some rough spots, modifications

that any politician would be obliged to make. With regard to Mrs. Thatcher's general appearance, including her hairstyle and manner of dress, we need to remember that Kenneth Burke believes that "nonverbal things, in their capacity as 'meanings,' also take on the nature of words, and thus require the extension of dialectic into the realm of the physical."[58] Therefore, how Mrs. Thatcher looked to her audiences was exceedingly important and, no doubt, correlated with the impact of her words.

Outcome of the Election

Conservative Victory: On May 3, 1979, the ultimate confrontation between the British political parties--especially Labour and Conservative--took place in the ballot booth. In the largest swing of votes since World War II, the people had decided that a change was needed and they gave to the Tories the chance to construct for them a new reality as had been offered in the Conservative vision espoused by Mrs. Thatcher. The victory, though not a landslide, was clear and decisive. "The Tories [had] won a solid majority of 43 seats in the 635-member House of Commons, and Mrs. Thatcher thereby became not only the first woman to head a British government but the first to lead a major western nation."[59]

The election results marked the end of the agitating-opposition stage of development in which the Tories had found themselves for the previous four and a half years. They had attained political dominance, but strenuous efforts to achieve

their desired goals could not yet be abandoned. In a broader and more far-reaching sense, winning the election only signaled the beginnings of worse struggles for the Tories; and whatever course they chose to follow would be directed by Mrs. Thatcher sitting at the helm of government.

In the immediate aftermath of the election, the smooth and prescribed transfer of power began. Mr. Callaghan went to Buckingham Palace and formally resigned from his position as Prime Minister. Shortly afterwards, as protocol demanded, Mrs. Thatcher met with Queen Elizabeth II "in the traditional 'kissing hands upon appointment'--a ceremony in which the leader of the winning party is summoned to Buckingham Palace, there to be designated Prime Minister of Britain by the monarch and asked to form a government."[60] This ceremony and the Prime Minister's swift move into the official residence at Number Ten, Downing Street, were powerful symbols communicating that change had already begun to take place. Cabinet positions were quickly filled by prominent Tory leaders. And by the middle of May, the transition was complete. Parliament convened to hear "The Queen's Speech,"[61] an address which was written by Mrs. Thatcher and which outlined the new Prime Minister's plans for fulfilling the Tory campaign promises.

Summary

It has been the purpose of this chapter to seek to answer the question: "What did Margaret Thatcher and the Tories do in order to 'gain advantage' over James Callaghan and the Labourites

during the General Election?" It should be obvious by now that several factors and variables contributed to the Tory electoral success; and these can be briefly summarized.

First of all, the Conservative advertising blitz, which primarily consisted of the posters, the media broadcasts, the political rallies, and the paid advertisements, intensified the political contest and polarized the competing choices which were open to the electorate. Second, the endless public appearances made by Mrs. Thatcher on behalf of her party also contributed to the Conservative persuasive appeals which, at times, seemed to bombard and to pummel the voters. Third, as the Conservative Party leader, Mrs. Thatcher came to personify new hopes, new dreams, and new visions based on the staunch and moral traditions of British heritage. Her philosophical approach seemed to be, at the same time, both reactionary and innovative; reactionary in the sense that she drew on past history and past traditions for authoritative support, and innovative in the sense that she wanted to alter radically the status quo while maintaining and strengthening accepted values in British society. Mrs. Thatcher's underlying message, which was evident in her leading addresses, was a promise for something better--but that something better was rooted in the perceived goodness of the past. And fourth, the Tory campaign rhetoric was value-oriented. It reached into the hearts of a majority of loyal subjects to the British Crown in repeatedly echoing long-forgotten concepts of honor, individuality, nobility, responsibility, and liberty.

Chapter V, which returns to the agent/act ratio, further investigates Mrs. Thatcher's role as rhetor and continues the Burkeian analysis of her rhetoric. It is hopeful that this next chapter, too, generates valid reasons that help to account for the turn of events in British politics in 1979.

Notes for Chapter IV

[1]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.642.

[2]Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion, p.41.

[3]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, pp.54-55.

[4]Ibid., p.51.

[5]Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.264.

[6]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.xxiv.

[7]Ibid., p.584.

[8]Ian Aitken, "Thatcher aims to force spring election," The Manchester Guardian, (March 23, 1979), p.1.

[9]David Harris, "Callaghan Is Defeated," The Daily Telegraph, (March 29, 1979), p.1.

[10]Burke, Terms For Order, p.124.

[11]"A Choice Not An Echo," Time, (April 23, 1979), p.42.

[12]Politics Today, Conservative Central Office, (London: June 4, 1979), pp.176-177.

[13]Burke, Terms For Order, p.124.

[14]Nicholas Comfort, political writer for The Daily Telegraph, personal letter addressed to Janet Fallon, (September 16, 1980).

[15]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.470.

[16]Ibid., p.646.

[17]Michael Pilsworth, "Balanced Broadcasting" in The British General Election of 1979, Butler and Kavanagh, p.206.

[18]"Iron Lady vs. Sunny Jim," Time, (May 7, 1979), p.28.

[19]Butler and Kavanagh, p.172.

[20]Michael White, "Thatcher deals with the libbers," The Manchester Guardian, (April 27, 1979), p.32.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Philip Jordan, "Turning the TV hot seat into a Tory throne," The Manchester Guardian, (April 21, 1979), p.24.

[23]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.550.

[24]James Wightman, "Tax Cut Pledge By Thatcher," The Daily Telegraph, (April 3, 1979), p.1.

[25]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.579.

[26]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Cardiff: (April 16, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.9.

[27]"Thatcher in appeal to firms," The Manchester Guardian, (April 24, 1979), p.4.

[28]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.605.

[29]Margaret Thatcher, "Now Is The Time To Choose: (April 16, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.2.

[30]"Thatcher in appeal to firms," The Manchester Guardian, (April 24, 1979), p.4.

[31]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Cardiff: (April 16, 1979)," p.8.

[32]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Bolton: (May 1, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.9.

[33]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Birmingham: (April 19, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.10.

[34]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.588.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Burke, Permanence and Change, p.50.

[37]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Cardiff: (April 16, 1979)," pp.10 and 12.

[38]Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.264.

[39]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.29.

[40]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Finchley: (April 11, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.8.

[41]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.17.

[42]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech at Conservative Trade Unionists Rally: (April 29, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.4.

[43]Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.269.

[44]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech at Conservative Trade Unionists Rally: (April 29, 1979), p.1.

[45]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Finchley: (April 11, 1979)," p.6.

[46]Burke, Counter-Statement, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968), p.124.

[47]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Cardiff: (April 16, 1979)," p.3.

[48]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.546.

[49]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Bolton: (May 1, 1979)," pp.2 and 4.

[50]Burke, Terms For Order, p.182.

[51]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Bolton: (May 1, 1979)," p.17.

[52]James Wightman, "'Free Us' Call By Thatcher," The Daily Telegraph, (May 2, 1979), p.1.

[53]"A Tory Wind of Change," Time, (May 14, 1979), p.31.

[54]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.52.

[55]Butler and Kavanagh, p.139.

[56]Pilsworth, p.224.

[57]Mayer, p.11.

[58]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.710.

[59]"A Tory Wind of Change," Time, (May 14, 1979), p.30.

[60]Ibid., p.31.

[61]"The Full Text of the Queen's Speech," The Daily Telegraph, (May 16, 1979), p.10.

CHAPTER V

MARGARET THATCHER AND HER RHETORIC: THE AGENT AND HER ACTS

Introduction

Much of the information in the preceding chapters was presented in an historical-chronological sequence. This particular strategy was designed to be useful in lending a sense of order to the study, as well as in demonstrating the progression of historical events in which Margaret Thatcher played an important part. The chronological pattern also seemed to complement the use of Burke's pentad. The elements of the pentad emerged clearly out of the overall historical perspective.

The information in this chapter, however, will not be presented in chronological order. Instead, the primary intention is to focus on Margaret Thatcher and her rhetoric in a broader manner, without specific regard for dates and occasions, in order to gain better and more general insights into this woman and her words. The objectives of this chapter, then, are: (1) to humanize Mrs. Thatcher and to view the politician as woman; (2) to depict Mrs. Thatcher as public rhetor; and (3) to critique Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric according to Kenneth Burke's analytical theories. In attempting to achieve these goals, this chapter also asks some

questions: "What kind of a person is Margaret Thatcher? "What are some of her personal qualities? "What kind of a public speaker is Mrs. Thatcher? and, "What distinctive features characterize her rhetoric?" In light of these questions, the pentadic ratio emphasized here is one of agent/act. The Burkeian methodology and techniques, which are relevant to an analysis of Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric, are presented in the latter part of the chapter as the intended questions about her rhetoric are answered. First, however, attention is turned to the politician as woman.

The Politician as Woman

In an attempt to glean more insights into Margaret Thatcher as the top-ranking politician in the United Kingdom, it is appropriate--if not imperative--to focus on this politician as a woman. The intent is not so much to foster gender distinction or gender discrimination, but rather to humanize Mrs. Thatcher in such a way that insights into her personality and into her character are gained.

Physical Appearance: Initially, the most obvious characteristics which one notices about Margaret Thatcher deal with her attractive appearance. And unfortunately, she is often pre-judged on the basis of her appearance. Some people find it difficult to perceive of an attractive woman as also being a shrewd politician. What should be an asset for Mrs. Thatcher has often been, instead, a burden. She has had

continually to prove herself as a capable and diligent professional and not just as a pretty face to be marketed before the public. One eminent British writer, Dame Rebecca West, gave a description of Mrs. Thatcher in 1979 that states openly the fact that Mrs. Thatcher is handicapped by her good looks. According to Dame West:

> Mrs. Thatcher has a handicap like an iron ball and chain round her ankle. She is a beautiful woman and beautiful in a way that arouses cynicism. She looks like the heroine of a soap opera. She has the brow that means candor, the sensitive and mobile mouth that means that when she is being candid she is talking the intelligently elicited truth; she has the set of the head and the stance that means courage. She is also dazzling. . . . And she only looks dazzling when it is the proper time and place to dazzle. Therefore, I pronounce her . . . most heavily handicapped. . . . She always looks right.[1]

No doubt, Mrs. Thatcher's gift of good looks infuriated her political opponents in the late 1970's. They tried to diminish her pleasing features by describing her as being "suburban, "tweedy, "frosty, "porcelain, and "middle-class." During the General Election campaign in the spring of 1979, cartoonists also ridiculed her and their only target, at times, was her looks. When the Tories refused the offer of a televised debate between major parties' leaders, The Daily Telegraph ran a cartoon which depicted Mrs. Thatcher walking alone at night and being approached by a stranger, presumably Mr. Callaghan, who says: "Hiya Beautiful! Howd'ya like to get into showbusiness?"[2]

It is unfortunate that Mrs. Thatcher has had to bear unjust comments directed toward her appearance. She has

had, however, the good sense to ignore the criticisms, and in refusing to respond she has thus weakened the attacks. But there is one personal part of her life that has been extremely vulnerable to the cruel remarks of her enemies. Like most women, she is protective of her husband and her children. Her two children are twins and were born in 1953. The fact that Mrs. Thatcher bore twins and obviously only had to endure one term of pregnancy was utilized as a barb to hurt her. "'Conveniently twins, all over at once,' sneered the Socialist New Statesman in a wounding profile of her . . . one that is said to have brought her to tears.'"[3]

Character: In spite of the many negative remarks which Mrs. Thatcher has had to tolerate, her own image of herself during her years as opposition leader remained confident and strong. In describing herself, Mrs. Thatcher once said: "'I've got fantastic stamina and great physical strength, and I've a woman's ability to stick to a job and get on with it when everyone else walks off and leaves it. I've got a lot to offer.'"[4] This kind of spunkiness and this kind of determination and drive are appealing. By looking at Mrs. Thatcher's own lifestyle, which successfully combined raising a family and building a political career, one cannot help but realize that she was then, and still is, highly organized, highly disciplined, and highly motivated. At numerous points in the General Election campaign, Mrs. Thatcher sought to illustrate the similarities between her life and the lives of other

working-women. For example, during a BBC televised interview she said:

> I know what it's like running a house and running a career. I know what it's like having to live on a budget. I know what it's like having to cope. And as I go around I find hundreds of thousands of women who know that I know.[5]

By noting the similarities of her "ways" with the "ways" of other women, Margaret Thatcher was able to establish identification with her female audience. Kenneth Burke says that "persuasion involves communication by the signs of consubstantiality, the appeal of identification"[6]; and as can be seen in the excerpt, Mrs. Thatcher drew on words like "house, "career, and "budget" to act as the signs of the consubstantiality that, she believed, existed between herself and the working-women in the audience.

As opposition leader, Margaret Thatcher exhibited a strength of character and conviction that few male politicians would have the courage to reveal. She vehemently pronounced herself to be against the dangerous spread of Communism and she denounced the Russians for their amassment of weapons and for their proliferation of armed forces. In speeches which she made in 1975 and 1976, she drew media attention to her uncompromising stand toward the Russians and to her accompanying fears for Britain when she stated that:

> The Russians are bent on world dominance, and they are rapidly acquiring the means to become the most powerful imperial nation the world has seen. . . . They put guns before butter, while we put just about everything before guns. They know that they are a superpower in only one sense--the military sense. They are a failure in human economic terms. If we cannot draw the lesson. . . then we are destined--in their words--to end up on "the scrap heap of history."[7]

As one can easily guess, the Russians were outraged by Margaret Thatcher's condemnation of their militarism and of their politics. Because of her willfulness and because of her unflinching attitude, the Russians promptly and derisively began to refer to Mrs. Thatcher as the "Iron Lady" which is the name of a 17th-century torture device! The label of "Iron Lady" did not deter or frighten Mrs. Thatcher; she continued to make scathing attacks on the Russians. Several years after having earned that tag from the Russians, Mrs. Thatcher proudly and defiantly exclaimed: "'They call me the Iron Lady. They are quite right--I am!'"[8]

As firm and as iron-like as she is in some respects, there are some softer sides to Mrs. Thatcher that are worthy of mention and that will help to create a comprehensive picture of her. One side of her nature is characterized by her sense of compassion. She is deeply sensitive and can empathize with the sufferings of others. For example, during her tenure as Education Minister, two students on a school-sponsored, mountain-climbing trip in the Swiss Alps fell from a precipice and lost their lives. In response to this tragic accident, Mrs. Thatcher debated in Parliament in favor of extensive and advanced training for school children before allowing them to engage in dangerous outdoor pursuits. She also met on two occasions with the parents of one of the deceased children and tried sincerely to offer her comfort and solace to them.[9] It would be safe to assume that these parents appreciated her personal touch and her personal concern for them as they grieved.

Another example of Mrs. Thatcher's awareness of the feelings of others can be found in her own attitude as she completed the task of choosing a shadow cabinet in 1975. Undoubtedly, people not chosen to fill prestigious party positions were hurt by her neglect to appoint them. But Mrs. Thatcher was not unaware of their feelings and she regretted having unintentionally slighted them. She realized that a leader is often faced with making some difficult choices, and she acknowledged that she found it hard to choose among competent candidates when she said: "'I had a horrid day on Tuesday having to tell people [my decisions] when I could see disappointment written in their faces.'"[10] Clearly, she suffered as much as those whom she had disappointed. During this same time period, Mrs. Thatcher attempted to unite the party and to reconcile the various factions within it. She saw no gain in the Tories remaining fragmented; and in offering major posts to some of her opponents she was, in effect, offering the olive branch of peace and reconciliation. Her desire to be on good terms with all of the Tory M.P.'s is in keeping with her general desire for harmony and fellowship with others. (Former party leader, Ted Heath, was the only Tory to refuse her invitation to accept a leadership post. He stubbornly chose to return to the backbenches.)

Faith: Mrs. Thatcher's motivation to bring people together both within the Conservative Party and at-large, stems in part

from her belief in Christianity. She is a highly ethical individual whose behavior has been shaped and guided by her own grasp of Christian tenets. As opposition leader, she explained to William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the National Review, that she felt that politics had inherited two vital ideas from Christianity--ideas that must be commonly accepted and commonly held. According to Mrs. Thatcher:

> The first [idea] is defined as the notion that we are all members of one another, and from it the importance of interdependence is learned; the second and equally important Christian contribution to political thinking is that the individual is an end in himself, a responsible moral being endowed with the ability to choose between good and evil.[11]

This spirit of human cooperation, bounded by interdependence and infused with the individual's ethical responsiblities, presents an image of life in society as Mrs. Thatcher would like it to be and believes it capable of becoming. Her own faithfulness to Christian teachings and values has been consistently evident throughout her political career. But her depth of commitment to her own vision of a better future for Britain has alarmed both those who hold different points of view about Britain's future and those who perhaps would prefer to follow a more conciliatory tack. The result has been that Mrs. Thatcher and her beliefs have sparked a great deal of controversy. She has not, however, shied away from the tag "controversial leader"; in fact, she accepts that description and has said proudly: "'I am controversial. That means I stand for something.'"[12]

Feminist Attitude: There is also much controversy surrounding Mrs. Thatcher with regard to her attitudes toward the Women's Liberation Movement, and the counter-attitudes of militant feminists toward Mrs. Thatcher. Mrs. Thatcher does not see herself as part of the Movement, nor does she hold much sympathy for the Movement. Her lack of sympathy is apparent in the rhetorical question which she has asked on numerous occasions: "'What has it done for me?'"[13] Similar sentiments were also expressed by Mrs. Thatcher during a visit to Chicago while she was party leader. A Chicago woman asked her if Women's Liberation had helped her to move ahead politically. Mrs. Thatcher responded: "'Some of us were making it long before Women's Lib was ever thought of,' adding that all the political leaders she had met have 'just accepted me as a politician and got on with business.'"[14]

These kinds of arrogant comments unfortunately indicate that Mrs. Thatcher has not yet recognized that one reason why she has been so successful in her own career is that other women before her laid much of the groundwork for her own successful entry into politics. Though the use of the phrase "Women's Liberation Movement" only became in vogue in the early 'sixties, history teaches us that certainly within the last one hundred years there were many intelligent and capable women who mobilized and who

achieved significant social change. Whether Mrs. Thatcher is aware of it or not, she has indeed benefited from the efforts and the achievements of those who advanced the status of women to a level that would permit and tolerate the election of a woman to a political office. In addition, she has benefited from the changes in social and cultural thought that were brought about by the effective presence of the women who preceded her in Parliament. One woman in particular, Lady Astor, the American-born wife of Viscount Waldorf Astor, was the first woman to be elected as a Member of Parliament and she held a Conservative seat from 1919 to 1945. During her tenure as a Member of Parliament, Lady Astor was known for her efforts to enact social reforms that were designed to avail better opportunities to women.

Margaret Thatcher has made a grave error by not publicly acknowledging her own indebtedness, along with all women's indebtedness, to the women of the past who acted individually or collectively as troubleshooters who crossed the borders of traditional male bastions and enclaves. The increased options and advantages which women enjoy in the present are based on the gradual evolution and progression of social change that find their points of initiation in the past. By not giving credit to the previous lobbying and legislative efforts of other women and by seemingly expressing disdain for the Women's Movement,

Margaret Thatcher has created some ill-will between herself and contemporary feminists. The ardent feminists resent Mrs. Thatcher in part for her conservative politics, but mostly for her disavowal of any direct association with them. Though she has been something of a role-model for many British women, the feminists see her as anything but a role-model and have criticzied her by saying: "'We want women's rights, not a right-wing woman.'"[15]

Unfortunately, Mrs. Thatcher is hurting her own image due to her repudiation of the Movement. By setting herself apart from the feminists, she runs the risk of sounding too self-confident and too conceited. It would be to her advantage to seek conciliation with leading women's rights advocates. She should try to remedy the divisiveness that separates herself from the feminists basically because their supposed differences appear to be solely on the surface. Though she does not give outward support to the Movement, she is, in fact, a women's libber because she has been an advocate for the advancement of women in employment for as long as she has been involved in politics. In purpose, then, she and the ardent feminists need to see more clearly the mutual interests toward which each is working. There is substantial evidence in Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric to indicate that she is something of a feminist herself.

Early in her public career, in 1959, she addressed an audience of managers on the topic of "Women in Business" and argued that talented women were capable of making it to the top if they persevered. That same year, at the Conservative Party Conference, she made a speech that borrowed from the ancient Greek playwright, Sophocles, as she said: "'Once a woman is made equal to a man, she becomes his superior.'"[16] Two years later, in 1961, while speaking at a grammar school, Mrs. Thatcher continued to argue in favor of educated working-women. She said: "'It is wrong to contend that because a girl will get married she does not need the best possible training. Girls should not only take qualifications--they should try to do some part-time work after marriage.'"[17] Besides advocating educational opportunities for women and an openness toward the challenges of combining the responsibilities of family with a career, Mrs. Thatcher also encouraged those women already well-employed to seek further promotions. As Education Minister in the early 1970's, she told women teachers to go after top administrative posts in their respective schools. She said to them: "'You cannot go so far up the ladder, and then not go the limit, just because you are a woman.'"[18] In addition, as party leader, she often stated that it was unfortunate that so few women were Members of Parliament. She has proved to the British public that it is not impossible for a woman to reach the pinnacle of British politics. And because she has made it to the apex of government, the issue of sex discrimination

and prejudice as it relates to her sex becomes somewhat irrelevant. As Mrs. Thatcher herself has said: "'It doesn't matter whether you are a man or a woman. What matters is your grasp of the problems and the need for action.'"[19]

Temperament: Another dimension of Mrs. Thatcher's character that must be mentioned had to do with her temperament. It is to her credit that she generally has good control over any strongly negative emotions and though she is capable of an occasional show of temper, such flair-ups are not common for her. Instead, she is rather cool-headed and can make her points by frequently using understatements or similar sharp and succinct retorts. Typically, she avoids directly insulting someone and is kind enough to be considerate of others' feelings, but she does become more than slightly exasperated by certain comments that others make. Once, after an all-night session of Parliament, a female reporter asked her how she felt and she answered crisply: "'Just as I look.' 'And how's that?' asked the reporter. 'Well, you can see me, dear,' replied Mrs. Thatcher, 'I can't.'"[20] On another occasion, a fellow Tory M.P., Jonathan Aitken, impertinently reponded to Mrs. Thatcher's election as party leader by cruelly suggesting that, "'She has not so much an open mind as an empty mind, and probably confuses Sinai with Sinus trouble.'" Upon hearing of this, Mrs. Thatcher cooly remarked: '"Young Aitken's wings need clipping.'"[21]

Stature: As any leading politician would, Mrs. Thatcher hopes for courtesy and respect from others. One cannot always expect deference from one's political enemies, as evidenced by Aitken's inappropriate remark about Mrs. Thatcher, but one can hope for such support from one's associates. Those on Mrs. Thatcher's staff and in her cabinet (shadow and official) do not presume on the basis of friendship and familiarity to address Mrs. Thatcher by her first name. As party leader, she was "Mrs. Thatcher." As Prime Minister, she is "Prime Minister Thatcher" or "Madam Prime Minister." Though she has worked with many of her staff and cabinet members for years, and though she and they are on a first-name basis in private, she expects to be addressed in a formal manner as she exercises her position in an official capacity.

During her years as opposition leader and during the General Election campaign, the news media dubbed her "Maggie," a nickname which she had never personally used. She then did the unexpected and began to refer to herself in public as "Maggie." Soon enough, Tory banners read: "Vote for Maggie!" However endearing that affectionate nickname was, Mrs. Thatcher no longer refers to herself as "Maggie." Of late, she has been referring to herself in some form of the third-person singular, either by using the pronoun "she" or by using a definitive noun. For example, at a recent Conservative Party Conference, she said to the audience: "To those waiting with bated breath for that favorite media catch-phrase, the 'U-turn,' I have only one thing to say. You turn if you want to; the Lady's

not for turning."[22]

At this point in the study, it is hopeful that some light, at least, has been shed on the leading "Lady" of the British "scene." And in spite of different views held by both Mrs. Thatcher's critics and her supporters, and in spite of the ways in which they respectively perceive her, we must try to accept and assess this woman just as she is. She herself proclaimed this in reponse to a question regarding whether she preferred "Mrs." or "Ms." as a prefix to her name. In her direct and forthright manner, she answered: "'I am not sure that I fully understand the significance of your question. I am just Margaret Thatcher. You must take me as I am!'"[23]

Mrs. Thatcher as Public Rhetor

Speeches: It would be an exaggeration to say that Margaret Thatcher is an eloquent speaker. Nevertheless, she is a very good public speaker and, at times, some of her addresses and deliveries border on being eloquent--especially when she becomes quite impassioned about a particular topic. Certainly the elocution lessons of her childhood and her years at Oxford helped to refine her Lincolnshire accent and to make her speech more sophisticated. But her critics now argue that her speech is not natural and that she is putting on the manners of the upper-class. In reality, Mrs. Thatcher is a serious speaker who may only appear to be somewhat stilted because she is so formal and so direct.

With the vast increase in public exposure for Mrs. Thatcher since 1975, she has worked on becoming a more appealing speaker. She has tried to project more of her natural warmth and spontaneity, and she has tried to lower the pitch of her voice in order to make it more conducive to microphone transmission. As party leader and as Prime Minister, she prefers to make public appearances in order to convey a more personal image of herself to the people, rather than to rely on television and radio sessions which, she feels, are too contrived and which seem to project an unnatural and cold impression of her. Generally, she remains a very cool speaker and in the heated discussions in Parliament, she usually refuses to raise her voice to match the shouts of the male Members of Parliament. Instead, she relies on the content of her messages and on her manner to gain the attention of the Parliament audience.

When Mrs. Thatcher's political career first began she used to write all her own speeches herself. Frequently, the only time she had available for speech-writing was the middle of the night while her husband and her young children were sleeping. Since becoming party leader and Prime Minister, she does not have much free time available and has had to rely on speech-writers to provide initial drafts. She then carefully proofreads and demands constant re-writing and revisions until the final product bears the unmistakable mark of Margaret Thatcher. Major addresses, (such as "The Queen's Speech"), she still writes herself after seeking the advice and counsel of other high-ranking Tory officials.[24]

Interviews: Mrs. Thatcher has a clear voice that carries well. She is also articulate and careful about her enunciation. The language which she uses is accurate and easily understood, and she is not at all fond of what she calls "'long, rambling, waffling answers.'"[25] She is a decisive and deliberate speaker and she excelled in parliamentary debates during the 1960's. In fact, during interviews with journalists, her manner continues to take on a debater's style. Typically, a defensive reaction occurs when Mrs. Thatcher feels that undue pressure is being placed upon her to answer a question which she judges to be too controversial at the moment.

For example, during her February, 1981, trip to the United States to confer with President Ronald Reagan about international issues, this writer noticed that Mrs. Thatcher frequently chastened and mildly upbraided her interviewers for their persistence in asking questions about Britain's relations with El Salvador and the Soviet Union. In one illustrative case, Robert MacNeil of the "MacNeil/Lehrer Reports" repeatedly grilled Mrs. Thatcher on those particular subjects. But Mrs. Thatcher was equally as persistent in her unrevealing answers, and was slightly scolding in her tone as she countered MacNeil's deliberative questions by responding with the following comments:

> I think you're trying to grope for something, which I might respectfully say so, some meaning that isn't there. . . .
>
> Oh! Grope away! I assure you, I'm very good, you know, at giving you the answer I want to give. . . .
>
> You may go on pursuing [questions]. We'll have lots of questions and my answers won't change. . . .
>
> I think you're asking me the same question in a different

> way, and my answer will be the same one--which I've already given. . . .
>
> It just isn't wise to dash into a reply. It's all right for you to dash into comments, but any single thing which we [heads-of-state] say will be analyzed very carefully and it might change the situation; and therefore, you must get the reply right.[26]

In a similar tone and in reponse to the same kinds of questions from Richard Valeriani of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), Mrs. Thatcher said with some consternation:

> You're trying to push me further than I'm prepared to go![27]

And to Valeriani's colleague at NBC, Tom Brokaw, Mrs. Thatcher bristled somewhat as she responded to Brokaw's questions about economic theory by saying:

> You, who talk about economic models--it seems to me that you're more concerned with "graph-paper" economics than I am![28]

Mrs. Thatcher, as an interviewee, can obviously be brusque. She interrupts curtly and does not hesitate to correct an interviewer in order to re-educate him or her to the actual facts of the matter at hand. Though she can be abrupt, that kind of an abrasive and determined style certainly does not predominate her mode of expression. It is the subject being discussed that tends to shape her manner of response. For instance, when speaking of human rights and of the many sufferings which much of the world's population endures, Mrs. Thatcher's voice softens perceptibly and one can recognize the sense of anguish and compassion in her words and in her expressions. She is a caring person and her warmth is often projected on a one-to-one level or while in a small-group encounter. She even

has tried to maintain her past practice of answering her mail herself and in her own handwriting because she believes in offering human contact, in giving the personal touch. Her critics, however, argue that she does not project much warmth--especially while on television. Mrs. Thatcher's only defense to that charge has been the statement: "'Because I stay cool on television, [people] seem to confuse calmness with coldness.'"[29]

In the interview setting in contrast to the formal public address setting, Mrs. Thatcher as respondent comes across more personally. Her vocal tones are more natural, her rate of speaking is faster, and her pace is extremely fluent. Mrs. Thatcher also projects a high degree of knowledgeability because she usually answers questions without any hesititation or awkward pauses that might belie her grasp of the topic. In formal speech settings, Mrs. Thatcher's vocal tones are lower, her rate of speaking is noticeably slower, and her pace seems to be more deliberate. In all situations, Mrs. Thatcher is grammatically precise and uses proper diction.

Rhetorical Analysis

Identification and Persuasion: Burke's critical perspective, which stresses the concept of "identification," finds its foundation in Aristotle's traditional concept of "persuasion." Burke feels that these two approaches to rhetorical criticism are interrelated and he says that "our treatment, in terms of identification, is decidedly not meant as a substitute for the sound traditional approach. Rather it is but an accessory to

the standard lore."[30] Aristotle, who defines rhetoric as "the faculty [power] of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion,"[31] provides a framework that can be utilized to reveal Mrs. Thatcher's persuasive techniques. The framework offers the means by which Mrs. Thatcher attempted to build identification. According to Aristotle, the first means of persuasion can be found "in the character [ethos] of the speaker; the second consist in producing a certain [the right] attitude in the hearer; the third appertain to the argument proper, in so far as it actually or seemingly demonstrates."[32] Mrs. Thatcher's character, her emotional appeals, and the quality of her arguments (ethos, pathos, logos) all contribute respectively to her impact as a rhetor and merit more detailed study.

Ethos: Aristotle says the "the character [ethos] of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief."[33] In the case of Margaret Thatcher, it is apparent that she seems to build and to add to her own credibility through the use of certain phrases and ideas within the context of her speeches. For example, the fact that she rose to political prominence, from her modest background, is impressive, admirable, and respect-worthy; and she often alludes to this fact in an attempt to establish credibility. On one occasion, she said:

> Take education: our education system used to serve us well A child from an ordinary family, as I was, could use it as a ladder, as an advancement, . . .[34]

Her use of the phrase, "from an ordinary family, as I was,"

contains what Burke would call "omitted meanings." He says that "a meaning can be omitted from an expression because those who used it were unaware of the meaning, or because they were aware of it but wanted to conceal it, or because it was so obvious to them that it did not need mention."[35] In this particular instance, it seems that Mrs. Thatcher was aware, but was reluctant to brag about her own marked accomplishments and, instead, wanted to indicate mildly to her audience that as an exceptional product of what had been a sound educational system she had advanced and was no longer "ordinary." By mentioning the "ordinary family" background that she has in common with most of the British population, Mrs. Thatcher was able to enhance her ethical appeal. Yet even though she is no longer of an "ordinary family" and is now on a different socio-economic level from the majority of the British electorate, Burke would say that she established "a sense of consubstantiality between beings of unequal status."[36] Mrs. Thatcher's reference to the "ordinary family" was also an attempt to establish group identity and to draw some authority from the clean-living, simple, yet proud characteristics of her "ordinary" heritage. In this kind of endeavor to bridge the present socio-economic division between herself and the mass of "ordinary" people, Mrs. Thatcher transcended her separateness from them. For Burke, "identification in itself is a kind of transcendence. . . . since the individual is to some extent distinct from his group, an identifying of him with the group is by the same token a transcending of his distinctness."[37]

On another occasion, Mrs. Thatcher strengthened her ethos by means of an indirect reference to her scholarly credentials. Since people generally recognize that discipline, determination, and intelligence are prerequisites for earning academic degrees, Mrs. Thatcher subtly reminded her audience that she, herself, is a highly qualified individual when she said:

> I am first and foremost a politician, although I have a certain knowledge of science and the law.[38]

Undoubtedly, Mrs. Thatcher is the first British Prime Minister to hold degrees in both science and law. Since she is a chemist as well as a barrister, Mrs. Thatcher's intelligence and educational successes cannot be disregarded.

In one of her most inspirational speeches of the General Election campaign, Mrs. Thatcher again sought to enhance her credibility by making bold statements intended to establish the presence of certain desirable qualities in her character. During a vehement attack against Socialism and the Labour government, Mrs. Thatcher described her self-image as she said:

> I am a reformer, and I am offering change. No melodramatic overnight solutions, but a fresh and invigorating approach to our affairs. . . .
>
> I am a "conviction" politician. The Old Testament prophets didn't merely say "Brothers, I want consensus." They said: "This is my faith and vision. This is what I passionately believe. If you believe it too, then come with me."[39]

This speech, which was delivered in Mr. Callaghan's home territory of Cardiff, received wide-acclaim. By likening herself to the biblical prophets, Mrs. Thatcher implied that she would carry out her conviction for change religiously, with a fervor akin to the religious fervor of the prophets. She

associated her personal qualities with those of the prophets. Burke alludes to this strategy in his theory of identification when he says: "For purposes of praise or blame, the rhetorician will assume that qualities closely resembling any of these qualities are identical with them."[40] In presenting herself as a "conviction" politician, Mrs. Thatcher assumed that her qualities were identical with the prophet's qualities.

At this point, it should be apparent that as party leader in opposition, Mrs. Thatcher tried to make the best of her ethical appeals. Her family background, her educational and professional credentials, and her sincere religious and political convictions were all positive contributing factors to her perceived credibility. However, there were times when Mrs. Thatcher's assertions of her own merits bordered on bragging, and, as in regard to the Women's Liberation Movement, caused alienation that could have been avoided.

Logos: Mrs. Thatcher's most memorable speeches are structured, organized, and communicative. Typically, her speeches begin with a brief explanation of the main points which she plans to present, and then she carefully elaborates on those points and maintains the speeches' organizational structures by using transitional clues like "first, "second, and "third." Because of the organization of her speeches, the process of following her logic on the part of audience members is fairly easy. According to Aristotle, "persuasion is effected by the arguments, when we demonstrate the truth, real or apparent."[41]

In Mrs. Thatcher's case, many of her speeches contain arguments that she readily tries to substantiate with facts and statistics that, she believes, are "real or apparent." For example, while at the Institute of Socio-Economic Studies in New York, Mrs. Thatcher spoke on the issues of distribution of income and taxation in the United Kingdom.[42] Throughout the address, Mrs. Thatcher used numerical data and percentages to support her arguments.

In other instances she argues from analogy, with the intention of indicating either similar or dissimilar qualities between whatever items are being compared, in order to give credence to the position which she advocates. A typical example of this kind of reasoning, or logical proof, is found in this excerpt in which she backs up her claim about free economics by juxtaposing the undeniable state of affairs in the Soviet Union and the United States:

> . . . the way a society arranges its economic affairs is one of the guides to its character. It is the clearest indicator of the direction it is taking. A free economic system not only guarantees the freedom of each individual citizen, it is the surest way to increase the prosperity of the nation as a whole.
>
> The contrast between the United States and the Soviet Union is proof of the argument. After more than half a century of the most vigorous Marxism, the Russians are still unable to feed their own people. The Americans, on the other hand, produce not just food in plenty for their own citizens, but a surplus for export to the rest of the world, even to Russia.[43]

As mentioned previously, Mrs. Thatcher drew on the influences of biblical prophets to support her lines of argument and her credibility. Citations to respected figures is also called argument from authority. But she does not limit herself to the

credibility and authority of figures found solely in Judeo-Christian documents. She also draws on the influences of prominent historical and literary figures. At the first Conservative Party Conference which she ever addressed as party leader, in Blackpool (October, 1975), she immediately associated herself with party traditions and with the direction of leadership ordained by Winston Churchill:

> The first Conservative Party Conference I ever attended was in 1946, . . . That Conference was held in this very hall. The platform then seemed a long way away and I had no thought of joining the lofty and distinguished people sitting up there, but our Party is the Party of equality of opportunity, as you can see.
>
> I know you will understand the humility I feel at following in the footsteps of great men like our Leader in that year, Winston Churchill, a man called by destiny to raise the name of Britain to supreme heights in the history of the free world.[44]

As a disciple of Churchill's, Mrs. Thatcher basically has taken the same political stand advocated by Churchill. Thus, it can be said that her ideology imitates Churchill's political thought. Kenneth Burke acknowledges that "imitation is an essentially dramatistic concept. It makes for consubstantiality by a community of ways ("identification"), . . . Emulation would be the word for imitation in the moral vocabulary. . . . Another variant would be admiration."[45] Mrs. Thatcher continues to identify herself with Churchill as she both admires him and emulates him.

Other political figures whom Mrs. Thatcher cites and with whom she herself associates a sense of like-mindedness are Harry Truman, for his clear grasp of personal responsibility as evidenced in his slogan "the buck stops here,"[46] and Alexander

Solzenitsyn, for his warnings about Soviet aggression and the insidious "Third World War."[47] Like Truman, Margaret Thatcher is not one to shirk responsibility; and like Solzenitsyn, she recognizes the threat of encroaching Soviet expansionism.

Among the literary figures often quoted in Mrs. Thatcher's formal speeches are Rudyard Kipling[48] and Alfred, Lord Tennyson.[49] As native British poets, their ideas and quotations utilized by Margaret Thatcher help to manifest the spirit of nationalism that unites all Britons and help to support Mrs. Thatcher's arguments about Britain's destiny. In keeping with Mrs. Thatcher's citations of nationalist poets, Kenneth Burke says that "speech is communicative in the sense that it provides a common basis of feeling."[50] By drawing on the authority and sentiments of widely-acclaimed nationalist poets, Mrs. Thatcher's speeches project a presence of British spirit between herself and the British public.

Another form of reasoning that Mrs. Thatcher uses is the argument from example. In several of her speeches she tries to instill a sense of pride in the people of the United Kingdom by reciting a litany of world-renowned scientific achievements produced by British people. By citing some of the outstanding British accomplishments, she is giving to her country's men and women much needed examples to serve as sources of inspiration and hope and to encourage them to believe in themselves again. While speaking in Birmingham during the General Election, she said:

> Never forget, we are the people who invented among other things, the computer, the refrigerator, the electric motor, the stethoscope, rayon, the steam turbine, stainless steel, the tank, television, penicillin, radar, the jet engine, hovercraft, float glass, carbon fibres--and the best half of Concorde. With a record like that who can doubt that Britain can have a great future? [51]

Mrs. Thatcher's use of the phrase "we are the people" appeals to a sense of shared history and common ancestry. She does not distinguish between Tories and Labourites. Rather, "we are the people" implies that they are all of one family--the British family. According to Kenneth Burke, "the concept of family is 'spiritualized,' so that it includes . . . social groups comprising persons of the same nationality and beliefs."[52] Mrs. Thatcher's phrase "we are the people" becomes, then, another example of the bonds uniting the people of Britain.

Margaret Thatcher as a public rhetor does, indeed, draw support for her arguments from various sources that include substantial statistical data, reasonable analogies, citations of respected historical and literary figures, and indicative examples of British heritage and potential. She utilizes these supports in ways that tend to give credence to her reasoning and to her logic.

Pathos: Pathos, the quality of evoking sensitive feelings in others, prompted Aristotle to comment that "persuasion is effected through the audience when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion."[53] Certainly Margaret Thatcher aroused the emotions of her audience when she gave such concrete examples of the deprivations suffered by the British people as:

"Never forget how . . . children were locked out of their schools and mourners could not bury their dead."[54] The people, no doubt, felt the same outrage as Mrs. Thatcher. But her attempts to evoke sensitive feelings in her audience members were not always so obvious. Instead, many of her emotive appeals were far more subtle and far more abstract. Rather than focusing on the concrete emotive appeals, let us focus on Mrs. Thatcher's abstract emotive appeals for they seem to illustrate better and to be in keeping with Kenneth Burke's concepts of words as terministic screens and words as motives.

Terministic Screens: Burke tells us that "men seek for vocabularies that will be faithful reflections of reality. To this end they must develop vocabularies that are selections of reality."[55] In choosing our words as "selections of reality" as we human beings perceive reality, we are also choosing words that act as filters that direct both our attention and the attention of those who listen to us. Because of this, the verbal symbols or "the names we give to things, events, and people determine our behavior toward them"[56] A particular word or a particular symbol becomes, then, a motive for action. According to Burke, "the dramatistic analysis of motives has its point of departure in the subject of verbal action (in thought, speech, and document)."[57] Thus, in regard to the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher, it is important that we determine the key terms which abound in her public addresses for it is those terms that serve as motives, as stimuli for both emotion

and action. Burke says that such "verbal expressions . . . are to be treated as ways of entitling, or as summing up, nonverbal situations"[58] and that key terms can be seen as "shortcuts . . . . of abbreviated entitlement."[59]

Many of the verbal expressions which are used repeatedly by Mrs. Thatcher act as terministic screens that direct one's attention to a positive level of abstraction. For example, a typical statement made by Mrs. Thatcher would contain the same or similar positive key terms as this brief representative excerpt:

> My kind of Tory Party would make no secret of its belief in individual freedom and individual prosperity, in the maintenance of law and order, in the wide distribution of private property, in rewards for energy, skill, and thrift, in diversity of choice, in the preservation of local rights in local communities.[60]

The emotive expressions of "individual freedom, "prosperity, "law and order, "private property, "energy, "skill, "thrift, "choice, and "local rights" are symbols that appeal "either as the orienting of a situation, or as the adjustment to a situation, or as both."[61] Other terministic screens that Mrs. Thatcher frequently uses include: "free enterprise, "incentive, "change, "profit, "morals, "ethics, and "responsibility." In any one of these kinds of terms Burke says that "we can posit a world, in the sense that we can treat the world in terms of it, seeing all as emanations, near or far, of its light."[62] According to Burke's theory of dramatism, these terms of Margaret Thatcher's represent "god-terms."[63] They also can be seen as unifying devices designed to bring the British people together. Free enterprise coupled with individual freedom in Britain represents the

"centralizing hub of ideas"[65] toward which Margaret Thatcher and the Tories intend to lead the British public. But just as Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric is rich in "god-terms," it is equally full of "devil-terms" which are "the symbol of a common enemy."[66] In Bolton during the General Election campaign, Mrs. Thatcher spoke of the "common enemy":

> For me the Socialism of recent years in Britain, with its terrible emphasis on state power, with its class prejudice, with its facile Marxist labels which have no connection with our real world--for me all that is "the mouldered branch." The time has come to chop away the deadwood.[67]

Clearly, Mrs. Thatcher equates Socialism with "deadwood" and blames Socialism for having caused the state of affairs in Britain to turn moldy. According to Kenneth Burke, a politician's use of a scapegoat enables a politician "to establish identification in terms of an enemy shared in common" and allows the politician to present himself as a "spokesman [who] can prod his audience to consider local ills primarily in terms of alien figures viewed as the outstanding causes of those ills."[68] In Margaret Thatcher's mind, Socialism and its more extreme relative, Communism, are alien to the old order of British life and are the reasons behind her use of the hortatory negative in statements like: "We must not be bullied or brainwashed out of our beliefs."[69] Burke says that "reason is the ability to use the negative <u>qua</u> negative, the moralistic equivalent being 'the ability to distinguish between right and wrong.'"[70] Mrs. Thatcher's use of the negative is a "mode of moralizing" through which she "lays down the law."[71] According to Burke, the principle behind the use of the negative is "implicit in the idea

in 'order'. . . ."[72] In Margaret Thatcher's rhetoric, the scapegoat, Socialism, is both equated with disorder and is blamed for having induced disorder. This kind of scapegoat principle did not originate in Burke's methods of rhetorical analysis. In fact, Burke credits Aristotle with the initial recognition of its importance:

> Aristotle, in the third book of his Rhetoric (chapter 10), particularly stresses the stylistic importance of antithesis as a means of persuasion (as when a policy is recommended in terms of what it is against). In this spirit Dramatism would look upon the scapegoat . . . as but a special case of antithesis, combined with another major resource of symbol systems, namely, substitution.[73]

Conservatism, as a political "policy," is offered by Mrs. Thatcher as a substitute for Socialism and as a morally authorized means to restore hierarchical order in Britain. She qualifies the Tory position by implying that the Tories' mission is rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition and that it is guided and sanctioned by a divine force. Again, she utilizes both figurative and literal "god-terms" as motives and as justification for her actions:

> We are more than just a British party. The Tories began as a church party, concerned with the Church and State in that order, before our concern extended to the economy, and many other fields which politics now touches. Religion gives us not only values--a scheme of things in which economic, social, penal policy have their place--but also our historical roots. For through the Old Testament our spiritual roots go back to the early days of civilization and man's search for God. The New Testament takes us through Greek philosophy, Roman law, the Church fathers and the great flowering of a specifically Christian civilization in the middle ages from which our own characteristic way of life emerged. Our religion teaches us that every human being is unique and must play his part in working out his own salvation. So whereas socialists begin with society, and how people are fitted in, we start with man, whose social and economic relationships are just part of his wider existence.

> Because we see man as a spiritual being, we utterly reject the Marxist view which gives pride of place to economics. However much Marxists and their fellow-travellers, new and old, may try to wriggle and explain, this was Marx's stated views and the linch-pin of his whole system.
> The religious tradition values economic activity--how we earn our living, create wealth--but warns against obsession with it; warns against putting it above all else. Money is not an end in itself, but a means to an end.[74]

The preceding passage illustrates the moral motive that compels Mrs. Thatcher to act (to speak out) and that she then uses in order to get the voting public to act (to vote) in keeping with the moral and economic philosophies which she advocates. Burke says that "morals are fists. . . . [and that] the moral elements in our vocabulary are symbolic warfare."[75] He also says that "on the most 'righteous' aspect of our vocabulary, the moral or censorial, there lurks the stimulus to make action combative or competitive."[76] The General Election campaign of 1979 is an example of competitive action; and Margaret Thatcher's motives are apparent in the terministic screens which abound in her combative rhetoric. One of her predominate themes/screens is that a free enterprise economic system is morally superior to a welfare-state economic system. In espousing this belief, Mrs. Thatcher joins a material motive and a metaphysical motive by justifying the former by means of the latter. For Burke, this kind of thinking is significant because he believes that "the monetary motive can be a 'technical substitute for God,'"[77] and that "money symbolism does the work of religious symbolism."[78] This is not an unusual strategy for a rhetorician. Frequently a speaker "must variously resort to images and ideas that are formative"[79] and in the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher we find

that she often employs what Kenneth Burke calls "incidental forms--such as metaphor"[80] in order to give greater substance to her main points. "Burke regards substance as a 'necessary form of the mind.'"[81]

Figures of Speech: One of the more evident incidental forms which characterize Mrs. Thatcher's rhetoric is the metaphor. As a figure of speech, the metaphor is a useful means to make comparisons, to ascribe qualities, and to clarify explanations. A metaphor that can be found in numerous speeches of Margaret Thatcher's indirectly compares socialist Britain to a diseased human body and, at the same time, personifies Britain by ascribing human qualities to the country. In this way, Britain is presented as a seriously ill person. This strategy on Mrs. Thatcher's part is in keeping with Burke's notion that "once a national identity is built up, it can be treated as an individual; hence like an individual its condition can be presented in sacrificial terms."[82] In striving to create a healthy society, Mrs. Thatcher intimates that Labour Britain is an unhealthy society. On this subject she has said on different occasions:

> In this last five years we have become a sick society.[83]
>
> . . . the healthy society is one founded on the family. Family life is the bed-rock on which the healthy society must be built.[84]
>
> If we can diagnose the British disease correctly then, at least we shall have a basis for prescription; if we merely prescribe more of the medicine which has already made the disease worse, then we must expect a recurrence of the same symptoms in an even more acute form.[85]

> Yet I face the future with optimism. Our ills are creating their own antibodies. . . . and the body politic strives to restore itself.[86]

Another point to be made is that in talking about British politics in biological terms (i.e. the sick body), Mrs. Thatcher combines a natural order of vocabulary with a sociopolitical order. Burke reminds us that "a vision of the natural order can become infused with the genius of the verbal and socio-political orders."[87]

Besides the many metaphors which Mrs. Thatcher utilizes are the more direct comparisons of the simile. At Cardiff in 1979, for example, Mrs. Thatcher said: "Labour today is like a pub where the mild is running out. Soon all that's left will be bitter--and all that is bitter will be Left."[88] (She also made a clever play-on-words.) And in her own constituency of Finchley, she said: "The answer to unemployment in not to go on creating more artificial jobs. Like artificial flowers, they have no root, they produce no seed."[89]

Another literary device which Mrs. Thatcher uses is alliteration. For instance, in her statement, "The slither and slide to the socialist state . . . is going to be stopped,"[90] one can easily pick up the cadence in the sequence of "S" sounds, as well as the implied depiction of Socialiam as a serpent.

A similar literary device, which Burke refers to as "repetitive form,' is also used by Mrs. Thatcher to create a more emphatic effect. According to Burke, "repetitive form is the consistent maintaining of a principle under new guises."[91] The Tory free enterprise economic principle is evident in this

excerpt which illustrates Mrs. Thatcher's use of repetition:

> Is it extreme to cut taxes on earnings and savings?
> Is it extreme to encourage those who wish to buy their own home?
> Is it extreme to want reasonable mortgage rates, after the prohibitive levels of Labour years?
> Is it extreme to sell council houses to those who live in them, if they wish to buy? . . .
> Is it extreme to encourage the creation of wealth, so that we can raise the standard of living and look after those in need?[92]

The repetitive device serves to reiterate a particular main idea. At the same time, the anticipatory nature of the repetition adds to the intended action.

In addition to the repetitive device, all of the terministic screens, the figures of speech, the means of persuasion, and any other techniques utilized by Mrs. Thatcher are themselves symbolic acts designed to induce particular action on the part of the audience members. Yet, even in hearing Mrs. Thatcher's words, the members of her audience are already acting. Burke explains this sort of mutual acting when he says: "I am acting symbolically, in the Dramatistic sense when I speak these sentences to you, and you are acting symbolically insofar as you 'follow' them, and thus size up their 'drift' or 'meaning.'"[93] In sizing up Mrs. Thatcher's key words, rhetorical strategies, and intended meanings, one can also recognize her motives. As Burke says, "symbolism is a motive because symbolism is a motivational dimension in its own right."[94] Mrs. Thatcher's motives that are evident in key terms ("god-terms" and "devil-terms") such as "free enterprise" and "Socialism" can be viewed descriptively "as shorthand words for situations"[95] which

she perceives exist in both the United Kingdom and the world. To the extent that Mrs. Thatcher's perceptions coincide with those of her audience members and represent a shared history and common experience, then we can say that the appeal of her speeches resides in her easily-identifiable motives. Taken collectively, Margaret Thatcher's rhetoric can be considered a "work." According to Burke, "a work deals with life for a great many people when it symbolizes such patterns of experience as characterize a great many people and ramifies the Symbol by such mode of experience as appeal to a great many people."[96] Mrs. Thatcher obviously succeeded in persuading a majority of British audience members to her way of thinking by means of identifying her experiences with theirs, her interests with theirs, and her ways with theirs.

Summary

The bulk of this chapter examined the character and image of Margaret Thatcher as a female politician and as a public rhetor; and also examined aspects of her rhetoric that seemed to be pertinent to the transmission and acceptance of the Tory political platform. Analytic tools, provided by both Kenneth Burke and Aristotle, aided the explication of Mrs. Thatcher's rhetorical strategies and helped to account for and to justify her "stylistic identifications." As Burke says: "As for the relation between 'identification' and 'persuasion,' we might well keep it in mind that a speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications."[97]

In response to the questions raised in the introduction of this chapter, numerous conclusions can be drawn. It has become increasingly more apparent that Margaret Thatcher is a woman of strong conviction, both in her private life and in her public life,--a woman who stands up for those principles in which she believes. Her forcefulness as a rhetor, coupled with tones of encouragement or admonishment, sometimes distresses her critics while causing her supporters to be heartened by her courage. Because of her efforts, the image of the Tory Party has again become an aggressive and determined one. The rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher is symptomatic of her Tory beliefs; it grew out of an historical and social context; and it clearly presents her motives for action in the key terms which have come to characterize that same rhetoric.

Notes for Chapter V

[1]Dame Rebecca West, "Margaret Thatcher: The Politician as Woman," Vogue, (September, 1979), p.502.

[2]"HiYa Beautiful! . . . " The Daily Telegraph, (April 4, 1979).

[3]Christopher Hitchens, "Downstairs, upstairs," New York Times Magazine, (June 1, 1975), p.17.

[4]Raymond Carroll and John Barnes, "La Belle Dame Sans Merci," Newsweek, (February 17, 1975), p.30.

[5]Philip Jordan, "Turning the TV hot seat into a Tory throne," The Manchester Guardian, (April 21, 1979), p.24.

[6]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and a Rhetoric of Motives, p.586.

[7]Margaret Thatcher, "Britain Awake," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, pp.41 and 43.

[8]"Under the Gloves, Solid Carborundum," Time, (January 7, 1980), p.34.

[9]Money, p.72.

[10]"The Company She Keeps," Time, (March 3, 1975), p.46.

[11]William F. Buckley, Jr., "Margaret Is My Darling," National Review, (May 25, 1979), p.698.

[12]"Under the Gloves, Solid Carborundum," Time, (January 7, 1980), p.34.

[13]Christopher Hitchens, "Reactionary Cheek," Nation, (May 26, 1979), p.594.

[14]Mayer, p.130.

[15]Michael White, "Thatcher pushed and jostled at rally," The Manchester Guardian, (May 3, 1979), p.28.

[16]Lewis, p.51.

[17]Money, p.40.

[18]Lewis, p.104.

[19]Mayer, p.13.

[20]Anthony LeJeune, "The Tories Big Gamble," National Review, (March 28, 1975), p.339.

[21]Hitchens, "Downstairs, upstairs," p.30.

[22]Margaret Thatcher, "Address to the Conservative Party Conference-1980," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square).

[23]Mayer, p.130.

[24]Ibid., p.21.

[25]Money, p.32.

[26]Margaret Thatcher, Interview by Robert MacNeil for the "MacNeil/Lehrer Report,"(February 27, 1981).

[27]Margaret Thatcher, Interview by Richard Valeriani for NBC, (February 27, 1981).

[28]Margaret Thatcher, Interview by Tom Brokaw for NBC, (February 27, 1981).

[29]Mayer, p.11.

[30]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.522.

[31]The Rhetoric of Aristotle, ed., Lane Cooper, p.7.

[32]Ibid., p.8.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Margaret Thatcher, "Let me Give you my Vision," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.35.

[35]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.635

[36]Ibid., p.570.

[37]Ibid., p.850.

[38]Margaret Thatcher, "Progress Through Interdependence," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.15.

[39]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Cardiff: (April 16, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), pp. 8 and 11.

[40]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.579.

[41]The Rhetoric of Aristotle, ed., Lane Cooper, p.9.

[42]Margaret Thatcher, "Let Our Children Grow Tall," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, pp.1-13.

[43]Margaret Thatcher, "Let us Bequeath a Free Europe," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.62.

[44]Margaret Thatcher, "Let me Give you my Vision," p.29.

[45]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives,

[46]Margaret Thatcher, "Short Term Expediency: Long Term Ruin," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.72.

[47]Margaret Thatcher, "Britain Awake,"p.42.

[48]Margaret Thatcher, "The New Renaissance," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.100.

[49]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Bolton: (May 1, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square) p.14.

[50]Burke, Permanence and Change, p.175.

[51]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Birmingham: (April 19, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.4.

[52]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.29

[53]The Rhetoric of Aristotle, ed., Lane Cooper, p.9.

[54]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Bolton: (May 1, 1979), p.4.

[55]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.59.

[56]Burke, Permanence and Change, p.xiv.

[57]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.33.

[58]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.370.

[59]Ibid., p.372.

[60]Margaret Thatcher, "My kind of Tory Party," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square).

[61]Kenneth Burke, Counter-Statement, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968), p.156.

[62]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.105.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid., p.43.

[65]Kenneth Burke, "The Rhetoric of Hitler's Battle," in The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p.251.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech in Bolton: (May 1, 1979), p.14.

[68]Burke, "Dramatism," p.451.

[69]Margaret Thatcher, "Let me Give you my Vision," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.32.

[70]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.431.

[71]Ibid., p.439.

[72]Burke, "Dramatism," p.450.

[73]Ibid., p.451.

[74]Margaret Thatcher, "Dimensions and Conservatism," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, pp. 105-106.

[75]Burke, Permanence and Change, p.192.

[76]Ibid., p.193.

[77]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.111.

[78]Ibid., p.112.

[79]Ibid., p.563.

[80]Burke, Counter-Statement, p.127.

[81]Marie Hochmuth Nichols, "Kenneth Burke and the 'New Rhetoric,'" in The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p.239.

[82]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.689.

[83]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech at Conservative Trade Unionists Rally: (April 29, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.4.

[84]Margaret Thatcher, "The Healthy Society," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.81.

[85]Margaret Thatcher, "The Wealth of this Nation," in Let Our Children Grow Tall: Selected Speeches 1975-1977, p.87.

[86]Margaret Thatcher, "The New Renaissance," p.98.

[87]Burke, Terms For Order, p.178.

[88]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech at Cardiff: (April 16, 1979), p.9.

[89]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech at Finchley: (April 11, 1979)," (London: Conservative Central Office, 32 Smith Square), p.4.

[90]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech at Cardiff: (April 16, 1979), p.1.

[91]Burke, Counter-Statement, p.124.

[92]Margaret Thatcher, "Campaign Speech at Bolton: (May 1, 1979), p.3.

[93]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.63.

[94]Burke, Permanence and Change, p.xxi.

[95]Ibid., p.31.

[96]Burke, Counter-Statement, p.191.

[97]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.570.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study originated for the purpose of seeking to critically analyze the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher and to make a credible assessment of the appeals, strategies, and techniques which she utilized primarily between 1975 and 1979 as symbolic acts which were intended to induce political and social change in the United Kingdom. In keeping with Kenneth Burke's belief that in conducting rhetorical criticism "a critic's perspective implicitly selects a set of questions that the critic considers to be key questions,"[1] this rhetorical study also posed leading questions designed to uncover further knowledge about Margaret Thatcher as a rhetor and about her political ascendancy in this recent period of British history. Specifically, the study asked: "What distinctive features in the character of Margaret Thatcher and in the nature of her rhetoric account for the political influences that both she and her rhetoric had on the British people in 1979?" This question proved to be a pervasive one and in attempting to answer it, other related questions arose. The supplementary questions included: (1) "Who is

Margaret Thatcher?" (2) "What in the inner-workings of the scene within the Tory Party enabled Margaret Thatcher to emerge as leader and what were the conditions and issues that provoked and prompted her rhetorical acts?" (3) "What did Mrs. Thatcher do in order to 'gain advantage' over the Labourites during the General Election?" (4) "What kind of a person and what kind of a speaker is Margaret Thatcher?" (5) "What distinctive features characterize her rhetoric?" But before attention is turned to the results and claims of this critical inquiry, a brief review of each of the preceding chapters is apropros.

Chapter I ("Introduction") staged the historical background of post-World War II Britain and superficially explicated the dominant political trends of the last thirty years in order to re-create the sociopolitical framework out of which Margaret Thatcher emerged as Conservative Party leader in 1975, eventually to become Prime Minister in 1979. This chapter also raised the major question of this dissertation regarding the distinctive features of both Mrs. Thatcher's character and her rhetoric as they influenced the British public in 1979. Scholarly literature, which emphasizes Kenneth Burke's critical perspective for analysis and investigation into a rhetor's words, was presented and provided both descriptive and methodological data relevant to answering the major question. Also, pertinent information regarding the collection of important material from both primary and secondary sources was given.

Chapter II ("Margaret Thatcher: The Emergent Agent") dealt with the biographical development of Margaret Thatcher and focused on two aspects of Margaret Thatcher's life: first, on her personal background, education, and family; and second, on her growth and maturation as a politician. The answers to this chapter's question: "Who is Margaret Thatcher?" revealed much about Mrs. Thatcher's depth of character and contributed to an understanding of the politician that she is today. In addition, in terms of the criteria and qualities of Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad, Margaret Thatcher was presented as a dominant "agent" who acted within the British "scene." The chapter's stress on the unique features of Mrs. Thatcher's personal and public character related the material in the chapter directly to the study's leading question.

Chapter III ("The Tories In Opposition: The Political Scene 1974-1979) exposed important details about the context ("scene") in which Margaret Thatcher, as agent, acted rhetorically and evolved into a political figure capable of enacting change. The chapter presented samples of her rhetorical responses to the scene in general, and a review of the socio-economic and political issues which were both the subject of her public addresses as well as the collective "purpose" or catalyst behind her actions. In its presentation of the conditions and issues that provoked rhetorical responses from Margaret Thatcher, the chapter provided answers to its primary concern regarding the constraining factors existing within the scene.

Chapter IV ("The General Election of 1979: The Institutionalized Agency") examined the events, strategies, and techniques utilized by Mrs. Thatcher and the Tories during the five-week General Election campaign. The campaign, itself, was viewed in light of Burke's understanding of "agency," as that means or instrument through which Margaret Thatcher could act rhetorically. The General Election provided a legitimate, institutionalized channel that allowed Mrs. Thatcher official sanction and the opportunity to present her persuasive appeals; and it allowed the British people the formal opportunity to react and to respond to Mrs. Thatcher's words in the privacy of the ballot booth. This chapter responded to the Burkeian statement that "among the marks of rhetoric is to gain advantage, of one sort or another,"[2] and answered the question: "What did Margaret Thatcher and the Tories do in order to 'gain advantage; over James Callaghan and the Labourites during the General Election?"

Chapter V ("Margaret Thatcher and Her Rhetoric: The Agent and Her Acts") raised several questions about the kind of a woman and the kind of a rhetor that Margaret Thatcher is and responded to those questions by humanizing Mrs. Thatcher in a personal way and by politicizing her in a rhetorical way. After gaining an understanding of Mrs. Thatcher as female character and Mrs. Thatcher as political character, the

chapter then tried to account for the distinctive features of her rhetoric. By using Burke's theory of identification (which is rooted in Aristotle's means of persuasion), and Burke's theory of words as motives and as terministic screens, the latter portion of this chapter revealed key terms and the stylistic identifications that have come to characterize Margaret Thatcher's rhetoric.

With all of the data, evidence, and theories presented in the preceding chapters serving as a background, the major purpose of this chapter is to synthesize the conclusions and to make some judgments and claims about the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher and about rhetorical theory.

Primary Claims

After having examined the political issues and problems that faced the people of the United Kingdom in the decade of the 1970's, and after having recognized the role which Margaret Thatcher played then, the claim can be made that: (1) The "scene" in Britain, during the 1970's, was full of strife and conflict and that Margaret Thatcher, as a primary "agent" acted rhetorically in such a way as to "intensify the tension."[3] It is not surprising that Margaret Thatcher, as a forthright, aggressive, unflinching, determined, and diligent person, brought the sociopolitical tension in Britain to a head. A weaker, less controversial individual who

might have preferred compromise to confrontation would not have been able to "intensify the tension" in the same kind of ways as Mrs. Thatcher was able to stir up conflict.

Mrs. Thatcher's strength of character, which finds its sources in her family-upbringing, in her education, in her faith, and in her values, is a by-product of the potent quality of her childhood and early adult contacts. Therefore, a claim can also be made that: (2) Margaret Thatcher's personal identity has been profoundly influenced by her "family, nation, political or cultural cause, church, and so on,"[4] and that her identity is publicly revealed in her rhetoric which acknowledges or reflects those multiple and pervasive influences.

Continuing in this line of thought, an additional claim can be made that: (3) The rhetorical acts, in which Mrs. Thatcher engaged as party leader in opposition, were the result of "incipient acts"[5]--attitudes that she formed earlier in her life. Not only were Mrs. Thatcher's attitudes formed by the favorable impressions made by certain well-loved persons and certain positive experiences, but they were also formed by many difficult lessons that life held in store for her. Her life has not been void of negative and painful experiences of rejection. As the young Margaret Roberts, she was refused a full scholarship to Oxford in spite of her outstanding high school record and in spite of her receipt of the

highest grade on the Oxford entrance exam; and though she resolutely stood for election twice in Labour's territory of Dartford and suffered consecutive losses, she, nevertheless, remained undaunted and undeterred in her quest for a seat in Parliament. As Margaret Thatcher, she was vilified and denigrated by the public for having implemented tough measures during her tenure as Education Secretary; she was given cruel epithets that attacked her character and her gender during her years as opposition leader; and even now, as Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher continues to be castigated and must bear the full brunt of the criticism that is directed toward her government. But her proven ability to stick with a task even when the tide of opinion is against her supports the argument or claim that: (4) Margaret Thatcher is a woman of conviction, tenacity, and admirable perseverance--a woman not easily compromised.

As a public rhetor, Mrs. Thatcher only has moments of eloquence, and these are usually when she becomes impassioned by the contents of her messages. In general, however, she is considered to be a very good speaker, even though some people are put off by her accent and by her sometimes challenging manner. Her speech training and preparation has been extensive and ranges from the Eistedfodd competitions of her youth, to her involvement in the Oxford University Conservative Association, to her years as a skilled debater in Parliament, to her speeches made as opposition leader, and now to her official addresses made as Prime Minister. Mrs. Thatcher

"gained advantage," as Burke would say, because in her speeches she articulated and synthesized the feelings and concerns of many Britons and of a majority of Tory M.P.'s; she rallied her party and highlighted the differences between the then-perceived Labour reality and the then-projected Tory vision; and she seemed indefatigable as she campaigned heavily and utilized the media to the Tories' best advantage. With this in mind, the claim can be made that: (5) Margaret Thatcher is a persuasive rhetor whose rhetoric shows communicative "signs of consubstantiality"[6] as she effectively builds identification between herself and the British people. The key words which pervade her rhetoric are essentially her "reflections of reality"[7] and as such they act as terministic screens which filter and shape her own behavior and the behavior of her audience members. Therefore, another claim to be made is that: (6) Margaret Thatcher's motives are evident in the key terms (symbolic acts) that characterize her rhetoric and are indicative of her perception of reality. All of her arguments, be they based on statistics, reasonable inferences, comparisons, examples, analogies, or moral dimensions, promise a better socio-economic life in Britain guided by a Tory government. Because this proposal is a dominant and consistent theme throughout her rhetoric, the claim can be made that: (7) Margaret Thatcher's arguments offer an alternate social reality to those Britons who no longer wish to live in a socialist society.

The election of Margaret Thatcher to the position of party leader and her subsequent elevation to the position of position of Prime Minister signaled the end of the long-established tradition of elected male leadership in Britain. In view of this, it is unfortunate that Mrs. Thatcher and the ardent feminists are not united and do not celebrate together, or acclaim more positively, Mrs. Thatcher's unprecedented rise to power. But despite Mrs. Thatcher's attitudes toward the politics of the Women's Movement and despite the attitudes of fervent feminists toward Mrs. Thatcher, the fact remains that women can still take pride in the accomplishments and the achievements wrought by her hard work. The political coup spearheaded by Mrs. Thatcher, a woman, supports the claim that: (8) Margaret Thatcher has transcended the traditional limitations of marriage and motherhood, and by virtue of having reached the pinnacle of governmental power in Britain, she has defused sexist barbs and criticisms and has demonstrated that concerns for gender in matters of leadership are irrelevant.

Taken collectively, these claims, along with all of the information in the preceding chapters that led to conclusive statements, help to account for the distinctive features in the character of Margaret Thatcher and in the nature of her rhetoric and help to provide reasons for Mrs. Thatcher's successful enactment of political change.

Secondary Claims

Besides the primary claims that have been reached in this study, there are also some less obvious ones which can be drawn from all of the preceding data and which can be related to theories of rhetoric, rhetorical criticism, and communication.

One significance worthy of note is that this study again reveals and affirms the unique inter-relatedness which exists between the fields of history, political science, and communication. Though the emphasis here has primarily been placed on the relatively recent rhetoric of one woman, an examination into both the political structure and the social history of the United Kingdom in the past three decades has been vital to an assessment and understanding of Margaret Thatcher's ascent to the apex of British government. With this belief in mind, the claim can be made that: (1) Knowledge of the cultural, historical, and political influences, which have an impact on a rhetor's life, is highly valuable for the process of conducting rhetorical criticism and for what these influential factors can reveal about the nature of both the character and the rhetoric being studied.

Along with this first claim, which deals with external influences on the rhetor's character and rhetoric, a related claim can be made that: (2) A complementary relationship does,

indeed, exist between rhetorical history and rhetorical criticism, and bonds the two concepts together. A recent article by Stephen Lucas supports the unity between rhetorical history and rhetorical criticism and makes it clear that "history and criticism are most profitably seen as reciprocal modes of understanding."[8] This critical study on the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher utilizes an historical framework, and, in keeping with Lucas' perspective, appears to demonstrate that "historical understanding is not simply a prolegomenon to critical understanding, but an organic element of the whole process of rhetorical analysis."[9] It is hopeful, then, that this study, by critically analyzing both the extrinsic historical factors and the intrinsic rhetorical factors of Margaret Thatcher's public addresses, helps to generate and to elucidate further knowledge of Margaret Thatcher's rhetorical transactions.

With regard to the critical perspective of Kenneth Burke, it has been said that his "dramatistic theory centering on language as symbolic action has had a profound influence on contemporary rhetoric and criticism."[10] Certainly, Burke's theories have had a similar impact on the essence and development of this study. But since Burke himself acknowledges a debt to Aristotle for having influenced his dramatic concepts of identification and consubstantiality and because he relates identification with persuasion, the argument must be made that: (3) Kenneth Burke's acclaimed critical perspective is not "new"

in a revolutionary sense; rather, it is "new" in an evolutionary sense and can, in part, be considered a contemporary progression or extension of Aristotelian thought. A related argument based on this understanding of evolutionary progression is that: (4) The generation of "new" knowledge is dependent on that which came before.

This study used Burke's pentad as a framework or structure within which human relations and one person's rhetorical responses to her society were observed and interpreted. The utility of the pentad supports the claim that: (5) Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism provides a critical scheme, the pentad, that continues to be a viable and credible tool for scholarly analysis. Burke's supplementary concepts of words as "terministic screens," words as "motives," and words as "signs of consubstantiality," lead to an additional claim that: (6) The language that a person uses, his/her rhetoric, plays a major role in shaping individual behavior and has the potential, ultimately, to shape society.

Future Research

Much of the credit for the Conservative victory in May, 1979, belongs to Margaret Thatcher. As the primary rhetor whose public addresses exhorted the British people to vote Conservative, she must be accorded a certain measure of distinction for having persuasively aided the Tory cause. As

in the case of other historical and/or contemporary figures--be they of noble or ignoble repute--Margaret Thatcher and her rhetoric demonstrate that a vital factor in persuasion is the rhetor's ethos. Margaret Thatcher's strategic symbolic acts teach the rhetorical critic how important it is for the rhetor to establish a strong degree of identification and consubstantiality between one's self and one's audience, to convey a sincere desire to improve the general quality of life for all, to project a sense of ethical morality and trustworthiness, and to demonstrate one's knowledge and ability to reason. In addition, this study helps to raise the awareness and consciousness in the minds of critics with regard to present and future significance of female politicians' rhetoric. Mrs. Thatcher is among the first of her gender to achieve political dominance, and much of her rhetoric includes distinctly female stylistic identifications which make for unique critical investigation. It is hopeful that the gradual ascent of women to high positions of governmental power will stimulate critical analyses of the rhetoric of notable female leaders.

In reviewing the coming to power of the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1979, this study also indicates that the Tories, led effectively by Margaret Thatcher, created a perceived image of life as they believed life in the United Kingdom should be. The Tories offered an alternate social reality--a vision that, though ultimately sanctioned by the electorate

in 1979, has proved exceedingly difficult to reify even now in 1981. Therefore, one recommendation for future research calls for an investigation into the causes and reasons which account for the onerous and perplexed dilemmas confronting the process of reification of the Tory vision.

Since the objectives of this study only provide for analyzing the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher primarily in her capacity as opposition leader, another recommendation for future research calls for a critical study of Mrs. Thatcher's ministerial rhetoric. There is no "final" word on the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher as long as she continues to function in a public capacity and as long as her words carry power, weight, and direction for Britain. To study the rhetoric of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would be to take a logical "next" step. In light of recent developments and crises in Britain, the rhetorical responses of Britain's leading lady merit continued study.

Update

May 4, 1979, the day on which Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher moved into her official residence at Ten Downing Street, proved to be a day of great excitement and cautious hope for the people of the United Kingdom. Much of their excitement grew out of the fact that the Britons had their first female Prime Minister; and much of the hope, cautious

though it was, grew out of that Prime Minister's ambitious and determined design to unify the country and to set its economy on a positive course. Upon her arrival at Ten Downing Street, Prime Minister Thatcher, in an unofficial public address, echoed the sentiments felt by the British public as she said:

> I would like to remember some words of St. Francis of Assisi, which I think are particularly apt at the moment: "Where there is discord, may we bring harmony; where there is doubt, may we bring faith; where there is despair, may we bring hope." Now that the election is over, may we get together and strive to serve and strengthen the country.[11]

At present, more than two years after becoming Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher is still struggling to reify the aims and objectives of St. Francis' inspirational prayer. In the months that have passed since Mrs. Thatcher and the Tories came to power, income taxes have been cut, poor tenants have been given greater options to purchase property, the government has backed away from interfering in unions and industries, the NATO defense budget has been increased, and the role of the state in business has been diminished. Mrs. Thatcher and the monetarists who support her believe that "if the process [of change] continues, it will lead to increasing incentive for individuals and a progressive shift in the balance of the economy toward the private sector. . . . [And] the state will not only own less, it will intervene less as well."[12] But in spite of the good intentions and the dramatic shifts in economic policy, the socio-economic situation in the United

Kingdom today is even bleaker than when Mrs. Thatcher and the Tories were in opposition. Inflation is rampant, unemployment is at its highest peak in fifty years, and the country is in a deep recession. Mrs. Thatcher is now contending not only with strong criticism from those outside of her party, but also from those within. She argues that "it is too early to judge the success--or failure--or her free-market strategy" and in her own words, she warns that "'things will have to get worse before they get better.'"[13]

Mrs. Thatcher continues to take a hard and fast stand against easing up on any policy that might encourage a reversion to Socialism, and she believes that eventually such stringent policies, measures, and attitudes will prove to be the socio-economic salvation of Britain. Even in the face of increasing unpopularity and disfavor, however, it appears that Mrs. Thatcher's government may well hold up until the required General Election in 1984. The recent fragmentation that occurred within the Labour Party has diminished the effectiveness of its threats. In addition, there do not seem to be any substantial challenges to Mrs. Thatcher's leadership from within the Tory Party either. An editorial columnist for The London Times, David Woods, notes well the shortcomings to date in Mrs. Thatcher's policies, but he also stresses the important rise in stature that she has gained because of her staunch, go-it-alone determination. In his column, Wood wrote in February of this year:

> One thing seems sure. Simply because she has been left to do most of her own fighting for her policies, so far as the non-Westminster public is concerned, Mrs. Thatcher has added a cubit to her stature. Nobody nowadays can watch her . . . without realizing that she is the complete boss.[14]

This "complete boss" has seemingly unsurmountable obstacles through which to forge in the next few months. Besides trying to contain the escalation of inflation and unemployment, she also must try to deal with and settle the Irish problems and the racial problems which her administration has inherited. The present crisis in Northern Ireland is rooted in 800 years of conflict; and the recent racial violence in Britain is rooted in three decades of post-war immigration and resultant prejedice. It can be safely assumed, however, that in facing all of the numerous domestic ills which currently trouble the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will not be compromised and will continue to flash her characteristic "steel knuckles"[15] of relentless resolve.

Notes for Chapter VI

[1]Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p.56.

[2]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.584.

[3]Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p.82.

[4]Ibid., p.301.

[5]Burke, Terms For Order, p.180.

[6]Burke, A Grammar of Motives and A Rhetoric of Motives, p.586.

[7]Ibid., p.59.

[8]Stephen E. Lucas, "The Schism in Rhetorical Scholarship," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 67 (February, 1981), p.19.

[9]Ibid., p.20.

[10]James L. Golden, Goodwin F. Berquist, and William E. Coleman, The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p. 248.

[11]"A Tory Wind of Change," Time, (May 14, 1979), p.31.

[12]Geoffrey Smith, "Britain: A Managing Woman," The Atlantic Monthly, (March, 1980), p.12.

[13]"Thatcher Cure For British Ills: Is It Failing?" U.S. News & World Report, (August 25, 1980), p.34,

[14]David Wood, "Leaving it all to Mrs. Thatcher," The London Times, (February 9, 1981), p.17.

[15]"Embattled but Unbowed," Time. (February 16, 1981), p.28.

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