



**Foreign Policy Issues according to Monroe's Motivated Sequence in Ronald Reagan's Radio Addresses to the Nation on Nuclear Weapons (April 17, 1982, and October 29, 1983)**

საგარეოპოლიტიკური საკითხები მონროს მოტივირებული თანმიმდევრობის მიხედვით რონალდ რეიგანის რადიომიმართვებში ერის მიმართ ბირთვული იარაღის შესახებ (1982 წლის 17 აპრილი და 1983 წლის 29 ოქტომბერი)

**Nika Kratsashvili**  
ნიკა კრატაშვილი

International Relations BA Programme  
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences  
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

E-mail: [nikakratsashvili1999@gmail.com](mailto:nikakratsashvili1999@gmail.com)

**Supervisor:** Mariami Khatiashvili, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, American Studies, PhD candidate  
**ხელმძღვანელი:** მარიამ ხატიაშვილი, ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი, ამერიკისმცოდნეობა, დოქტორანტი

## Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze foreign policy issues in Ronald Reagan's two Radio Addresses to the Nation on Nuclear Weapons (April 17, 1982, and October 29, 1983) according to Monroe's Motivated Sequence. As for Monroe's Motivated Sequence, it is the formula used for creating persuasive speech.

In order to analyze which steps of Monroe's Motivated Sequence correspond to Reagan's foreign policy messages in these radio addresses, the research is based on qualitative methods, particularly case study and primary source analysis.

In the beginning, the five steps of Monroe's Motivated Sequence are listed. Then Ronald Reagan's first radio address is reviewed. The author highlights the issues, such as the role of the U.S. as a peacemaker, nuclear balance, and reasons for its derangement. Then the points of Monroe's Motivated Sequence with Reagan's rhetoric are matched.

In the second part of the article, the author analyzes some of the most important foreign policy issues highlighted in the address, including the role of the NATO, negotiations in Geneva, defense, and deterrence according to Monroe's Motivated Sequence.

In the final stage, the author sums up the President Reagan's rhetoric in both addresses. Based on the research results the author concludes that the foreign policy messages in these radio addresses completely match with all the steps of Monroe's Motivated Sequence.

**Key words:** Ronald Reagan, Foreign policy, Monroe's Motivated Sequence, Nuclear weapons, the United States, the Soviet Union.

## აბსტრაქტი

სტატიის მიზანია რონალდ რეიგანის ორ რადიომიმართვაში განხილული საგარეოპოლიტიკური საკითხების ანალიზი მონროს მოტივირებული თანმიმდევრობის გამოყენებით. კონკრეტულად, ნაშრომში განხილულია რონალდ რეიგანის ორი რადიომიმართვა ერის მიმართ ბირთვული იარაღის შესახებ (1982 წლის 17 აპრილი და 1983 წლის 29 ოქტომბერი). თავის მხრივ, მონროს მოტივირებული თანმიმდევრობა არის ფორმულა დამაჯერებელი გამოსვლის ასაგებად.

იმ მიზნით, რომ დადგინდეს, მონროს მოტივირებული თანმიმდევრობის რომელი საფეხურები მიესადაგება პრეზიდენტ რეიგანის მიერ რადიომიმართვებში ხსენებულ საგარეოპოლიტიკურ გზავნილებს, სტატიაში გამოყენებულია თვისებრივი კვლევის მეთოდები, კერძოდ, შემთხვევის შესწავლა და წერილობითი წყაროს ანალიზი.

ნაშრომის შესავალში ჩამოთვლილია მონროს მოტივირებულ თანმიმდევრობაში შემავალი ხუთი მთავარი ნაბიჯი. შემდეგ კი განხილულია რონალდ რეიგანის პირველი რადიომიმართვა. ყურადღება გამახვილებულია ისეთ თემებზე, როგორცაა ამერიკის შეერთებული შტატების, როგორც მშვიდობისმყოფელი სახელმწიფოს როლი, ბირთვული ბალანსი და მისი დარღვევის მიზეზები. მონროს მოტივირებული თანმიმდევრობის პუნქტები კონკრეტულადაა მისადაგებული რეიგანის მიერ განხილულ საგარეოპოლიტიკურ საკითხებს და გაანალიზებულია მათი მნიშვნელობა.

მოხსენების მეორე ნაწილში განხილულია მეორე რადიომიმართვა და რეიგანის გზავნილებს მისადაგებულია მონროს ფორმულის საფუძვრები. მიმოიხილულია რეიგანის მიერ აღნიშნულ ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი საგარეოპოლიტიკური საკითხები, მაგალითად, ნატოს როლი, ჟენევის მოლაპარაკებები, თავდაცვისა და ბირთვული შეკავების საკითხები.

საბოლოოდ, კვლევით დგინდება, რომ პრეზიდენტ რეიგანის რიტორიკა, რომელიც საგარეოპოლიტიკური გზავნილების გავრცელებას ისახავდა მიზნად, მონროს მოტივირებული თანმიმდევრობის ხუთივე საფეხურს სრულად შეესაბამება.

**საკვანძო სიტყვები:** საგარეო პოლიტიკა, მონროს მოტივირებული თანმიმდევრობა, ბირთვული იარაღი, ამერიკის შეერთებული შტატები, საბჭოთა კავშირი.

## Introduction

The 40th U.S. President Ronald Reagan bewitched the American society through his famous speeches which are supposed to have helped determine U.S. politics during his presidency. According to Emeritus Professor Brian Leggett, one of the secrets of Ronald Reagan's success was his ability to convince Americans (Leggett, 2012). Reagan "provided an assertive foreign policy that confronted the Soviet Union, communism, and revolution" (Schulzinger R. D., 2002, p. 1). His rhetoric has received much attention from experts and researchers and has been attracting widespread interest due to its successful impact on policy-making. There have been studied some of Reagan's addresses in Georgian academic field but none of them were examined before using Monroe's Motivated Sequence.

Therefore, the previous research which is conducted to research and review Reagan's radio addresses to the nation on nuclear weapons specifically addressed on April 17, 1982, and October 29, 1983, according to Monroe's Motivated Sequence, can be counted as a pioneer study in this respect.

## Literature Review

One of the criteria for selecting these radio addresses is that there are Reagan's only two radio addresses on nuclear weapons. Nuclear war and nuclear weapons were one of the most prevailing and topical foreign policy issues during the Cold War. Furthermore, thematically, these two radio addresses describe the Soviet Union - U.S. relations and their plots are connected with each other. Most importantly, these radio addresses remarkably indicate the major foreign policy challenges between these superpowers and the solutions suggested by President Reagan himself. In addition, as the research shows, while the first address contains little rougher messages, the second one includes softer notifications and this makes the research more substantial. Comparing these radio addresses let us find some common characteristics to determine which steps of Monroe's Motivated Sequence accord with foreign policy messages. Both of the radio addresses are primary sources and that can be considered as an advantage of the research.

It is important to note that the research does not intend that Reagan constructed his radio addresses according to Monroe's Motivated Sequence (MMS). Particularly, this research aims to analyze which steps of Monroe's Motivated Sequence (MMS) accord with President Reagan's rhetoric to underline foreign policy issues while addressing the nation.

This study will help us to find out the steps of MMS that addressed the proper rhetoric of President Reagan. In general, the results of this study might be interesting to speakers, i.e. politicians, diplo-

mats, journalists, sociologists, social workers, psychologists, etc., as they emphasize to choose the relevant methods to effectively speak to the audience.

### **Research Methodology**

The research is based on qualitative methods, particularly document analysis and case study. Moreover, primary sources are analyzed through Monroe's Motivated Sequence.

Document analysis has been an important instrument to do the research on the above-mentioned topic. Whereas, the use of the case study is necessary to discuss the historical context of the beginning of the 1980s.

MMS is created by Alan H. Monroe, a Purdue University professor, on the basis of psychology. MMS is a structure for making persuasive speeches (Mind Tool Content Team (Manktelow)). It consists of five steps:

1. The first step in MMS is Attention Step. This step suggests speech maker get attention from the audience he/she addresses and orient it toward the topic.
2. The second step is Need Step, which considers stating what the problem is and why the audience should care.
3. The third step is Satisfaction Step, which calls upon the speaker to present and explain the solution to this problem.
4. The fourth step is Visualization Step. According to it, the orator should assure the audience, how the world will look like with or without this solution.
5. The fifth and last step is Action Step, which determines what the audience and the speaker can do to solve the problem (Mesacc).

### **The First Radio Address**

In this section Reagan's Radio Address to the Nation on Nuclear Weapons on April 17, 1982, is reviewed according to MMS.

The first step, which implies grabbing the society's attention, is represented when the president begins his radio address with simple but quite important greeting words: "My fellow Americans" (Reagan, 1982). It is well known that the salutation is an expression of respect towards listeners and to my mind, greeting as a preparatory phase plays a huge part for establishing contact with the public. After that, Reagan is using a historical background to underline the role of the U.S. in the peacemaking process. Interestingly, he is keen to mention that Americans "have been instrumental in ending war and restoring peace" (Ibid.).

Then he admits that some people are confused and do not know, who the true peacemaker is - the U.S. or the Soviet Union. It is interesting to note why Reagan talks about peace? because there was a Cold War and its tensions concerned everyone including officials, ordinary people, the rich and arm, briefly, the whole world. The president is asking rhetorical questions: "Which country has nearly 100,000 troops trying to occupy the once nonaligned nation of Afghanistan? Which country has tried to crush a spontaneous workers' movement in Poland? And what country has engaged in the most massive arms buildup in history?" (Ibid.). Via ramification, he is pointing to the Soviet Union's evil deeds and demonstrates that its actions are far from what real peacemaking considers. He continues: "What country helped its World War II enemies back on their feet? What country is employing trade aid and technology to help the developing peoples of the world and actively seeking to bring peace to

the Middle East, the South Atlantic, and to southern Africa?" (Ibid.) At this point using these questions Reagan expresses the pride of the whole American nation and emphasizes that in comparison with the Soviet Union, the United States has been and is still the true pacificator. To draw a parallel, according to Robert Schulzinger: "The men and women in charge U.S. foreign policy have usually based their statecraft on the idea that the United States is in a unique position to provide balance and stability to world politics" (Schulzinger R. D., 2002, p. 317). So the correspondence to Attention Step is obviously seen in the initial part of the radio address.

After the prologue, Reagan emphasizes problems and meets the demand of Need Step: "Today, I know there are a great many people who are pointing to the unimaginable horror of nuclear war. I welcome that concern" (Reagan, 1982). There, he must be trying to identify himself as a part of the community. He also marks out: "Those who've governed America throughout the nuclear age and we who govern it today have had to recognize that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought" (Ibid.). In this aspect, Reagan introduces the threat of nuclear confrontation which as mentioned was quite a serious foreign policy issue. It is also really interesting that Reagan holds peaceful position, but as his well-known principle, "Peace through strength" claims, he reckons the peace is preserved only by using force.

He says: "Like my predecessors, it is now my responsibility to do my utmost to prevent such a war. No one feels more than I the need for peace" (Ibid.). It is clear that he is publicly showing that he has acknowledged his duties and responsibilities as a president and is ready to prioritize the interests and the security of the nation. Reagan points out that avoiding nuclear war is essential and if such war still happens, it will be a war without winners. He also highlights that there has not been so massive conflict since World War II, and this is because of the balance of power between The U.S. and the Soviet Union: "As long as this balance has been maintained, both sides have been given an overwhelming incentive for peace" (Ibid.).

From now he is setting another problem which also accords with the statement of Need: "In the 1970's, the United States altered that balance by, in effect, unilaterally restraining our own military defenses while the Soviet Union engaged in an unprecedented buildup of both its conventional and nuclear forces. As a result, the military balance which permitted us to maintain the peace is now threatened" (Ibid.).

Reagan claims that unless some efforts are made, then it will be too late and indicates what negative things will happen if his plan is not adopted. It means he responds to Monroe's Visualization Step: "If steps are not taken to modernize our defense, the United States will progressively lose the ability to deter the Soviet Union from employing force or threats of force against us and against our allies" (Ibid.). He embarks upon his strong, firm course and says: "The Soviet Union will not come to any conference table bearing gifts. Soviet negotiators will not make unilateral concessions. To achieve parity, we must make it plain that we have the will to achieve parity by our own effort" (Ibid.).

Reagan's argumentation seems quite logical because during this period there was a Bipolar System with the U.S. on one side and the Soviet Union on another. They used to balance each other, but "two rival powers cannot remain in equilibrium indefinitely" (Seepersad, 2011). When the military balance bends on one's side, then the one with superiority usually tries to pursue only his interests in international politics. Reagan is giving the reason why the problem so inflamed is: "The current level of nuclear forces is too high on both sides. It must be the objective of any negotiations on arms control to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons" (Reagan, 1982).

Correspondence to Satisfaction Step is seen when Reagan is offering the solution for the problem entailed in the Need Step: “We’re preparing a new arms reduction effort with regard to strategic nuclear forces and are already in negotiations in Geneva on intermediate-range missiles threatening Europe...We will aim on those at substantial reductions on both sides leading to equal and verifiable limits. We’ll make every effort to reach an agreement that will reduce the possibility of nuclear war” (Ibid.). According to Senator Ted Stevens, decreasing nuclear arsenals “was one of the most significant parts of the Reagan agenda, the overall concern with arms control” (Johnson, 2005). Regarding this radio address, Reagan shows his determination to avoid nuclear catastrophe and bring peace to the world.

Ronald Reagan appoints another element of the Visualization Step and admits how the world will look like with his solution: “If we can do this, perhaps one day we can achieve a relationship with the Soviet Union which does not depend upon nuclear deterrents to secure Soviet restraint” (Reagan, 1982). Here we can assume that despite difficulties between these superpowers, Reagan still maintains positiveness and tries to raise hope that these countries can cooperate and have peaceful conjunction.

As for the Action Step, he is only inquiring sustain from the Soviet Union and American nation: “I invite the Soviet Union to take such a step with us. And I ask you, the American people, to support our efforts at negotiating an end to this threat of doomsday which hangs over the world. Thank you, and God bless you” (Ibid.).

So, the main foreign policy issues, such as peacemaking, the threat of nuclear war, nuclear balance, negotiation with the rival Soviet Union and arms reduction, are clearly emphasized in Reagan’s first radio address. These issues meet the demands of MMS, particularly Attention Step, Need Step, Satisfaction Step, Visualization Step, and Action Step.

### **The Second Radio Address**

As the first radio address is discussed in the first section, now we can move on to the second radio address to the nation on nuclear weapons.

Similar to the first radio address, Reagan starts this second one with the same greeting form: “My fellow Americans” (Reagan, 1983). In order to get attention from the public, he says: “I’d like to talk about a very important decision that was made Thursday by the Defense Ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This decision has great importance for us and for the NATO Alliance as a whole, because it addresses the future size and composition of our shorter range nuclear forces in Europe” (Ibid.). These statements perfectly correlate with Attention Step. Similar to the previous radio address, he is talking about Geneva-based parleys. “As you know, we’re negotiating with the Soviets in Geneva on the longer-range missiles. The current imbalance on those systems is over 350 to 0 in their favor. But with regard to the shorter-range missiles, the tactical missiles, I think you’ll be very pleased with today’s news. But first, a little background” (Ibid.). Mentioning that there is an imbalance, Reagan responds to Need Step. The problem of imbalance was highlighted in the first radio address as well. In addition, mentioning that he is going to say something pleasant is another element of raising the listener’s interest and attention.

Reagan continues: “The nuclear forces in Europe are fundamental to our overall strategy of deterrence and to protecting our allies and ourselves” (Ibid.). Actually, the Deterrence policy was an important mechanism since the presidency of Harry S. Truman. In so-called “Truman Doctrine” the

president stated that the US would not let the Soviet communism broaden its horizons across Europe and the free world (Britannica, 2018).

Reagan says: “The weapons strengthen NATO and protect the peace because they show that the alliance is committed to sharing the risks and the benefits of mutual defense” (Reagan, 1983). In comparison with the first radio address where the role of the U.S. as peacemaker was advanced, in this context Reagan points out that the NATO is a pacificator.

Reagan notices: “The alliance’s goal, as General Rogers, NATO’s Supreme Allied Commander for Europe, has so often said, is to maintain no more military forces than are absolutely necessary for deterrence and defense” (Ibid.). Considering these words, we can conclude that the Truman Doctrine has a great impact on the alliance.

Then Reagan admits that according to NATO Defense Ministers’ decision there will have been withdrawn 2,400 nuclear weapons in total. As a result, “the United States will have reduced its nuclear weapons in Europe by over one-third from 1979 levels, and NATO will have the lowest number of nuclear weapons in 20 years. What this means is that the alliance will have removed at least five nuclear weapons for every new missile warhead we will deploy if the negotiations in Geneva don’t lead to an agreement” (Ibid.). This way Reagan accords with Satisfaction and Visualization Steps because he is sending quite important foreign policy message: he follows his “Peace through strength” principle and draws the consequences which non-cooperation will bring or in other words, he shows what negative things will happen in this case.

Reagan sets another problem and responds to Need Step. “This step, taken by the alliance as a whole, stands in stark contrast to the actions of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders have so far refused to negotiate in good faith at the Geneva talks” (Ibid.). Here Reagan seems to be preparing the ground in the audience to report Soviet Union’s wrongdoings. “Since our 1979 decision to reduce nuclear forces, the Soviet Union has added over 600 SS-20 warheads to their arsenal. Coupled with this, they offer threats and the acceleration of previous plans, which they now call countermeasures, if NATO carries through with its deployment plan intended to restore the balance” (Ibid.). By giving considerable facts, Reagan tries to indicate how unfair the Soviet Union acts. He adds: “The comparison of Soviet actions with NATO’s reductions and restraint clearly illustrates once again that the so-called arms race has only one participant—the Soviet Union” (Ibid.). There Reagan rests the whole responsibility to the rival.

“On Thursday NATO took a dramatic and far-reaching decision, a decision that puts us a giant step along the path toward increased stability in Europe and around the world” (Ibid.). The epithets “dramatic” and “far-reaching”, also repeating the word “decision” must be aimed to grab the listeners’ attention. Reagan keeps on: “As we reduce our nuclear warheads in Europe and, of equal importance, take the necessary actions to maintain the effectiveness of the resulting force, we will continue in the future what we’ve accomplished so well in the past—to deter Soviet aggression. We seek peace and we seek security, and the NATO decision serves both” (Ibid.). Once again, Reagan repeats the alliance’s pure intentions and goals which will be achieved only by the balance of power.

Reagan gives information about negotiations in Geneva, where “progress toward an equitable, verifiable agreement on the reduction of intermediate-range nuclear missiles has been slow to come” (Ibid.). He admits: “Most recently, I proposed three initiatives which go a long way toward meeting important concerns expressed by the Soviet Union” (Ibid.). There giving solutions to the issue, he

meets the demand of Monroe's Satisfaction Step. "By our actions on the talks we have ensured that all of the elements of a mutually advantageous agreement are on the table. The Soviet Union has now advanced some additional proposals of its own. We'll study these proposals, and we'll address them in the talks in Geneva" (Ibid.). This passage demonstrates how hard pursuing foreign policy is and especially during Nuclear Age. Reagan points out that Soviet sentences will be examined and this way shows that spontaneous decisions cannot be made. His message fits with another element of Need Step: "Unfortunately, the Soviet proposals permit them to retain SS-20 missiles while not allowing NATO to deploy its own. The proposals are also coupled with an explicit threat to break off the Geneva talks" (Ibid.). His foreign policy message accords with Satisfaction and Visualization Steps, too: "I hope that the Soviet Union is truly interested in achieving an agreement. The test will be whether the Soviets, having advanced their latest proposals, decide finally to negotiate seriously in Geneva" (Ibid.).

As for the correspondence to Action Step, Reagan admits: "For our part, we continue to seek an equitable and verifiable agreement as quickly as possible. We will stay at the negotiating table for as long as necessary to achieve such an agreement" (Ibid.). He finishes radio address with words: "Thank you for listening, and God bless you" (Ibid.). There Reagan modestly shows gratefulness to listeners and it is also noteworthy that similar to the previous address, his last words are the blessing. In this radio address, Reagan used rhetoric which totally suits the steps of MMS. Reagan focused on the foreign policy issues such as the role of NATO, negotiations in Geneva, the will of peace, issues of defense and deterrence, unreadiness of the Soviet Union for cooperation, the importance of reducing nuclear arsenal.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, for the research question, given at the beginning of the paper: Which steps of MMS accord with President Reagan's these two radio addresses to underline foreign policy issues while addressing to the nation on Nuclear Weapons, the answer appeared to be quite interesting. Reviewing President Reagan's two radio addresses on nuclear weapons, it became clear that the foreign policy messages expressed by Reagan responded to all the steps from MMS. In this research, I have emphasized the key messages according to MMS which could have a great impact on the successes of Reagan's addresses in the field of foreign policy.

Analyzing these two radio addresses, the research results show that, first of all, Reagan was getting attention from the public using simple but precious salutation: "My fellow Americans," and giving general background. This stage perfectly matches Monroe's Attention Step. Secondly, he was stating the foreign policy problem and proved its importance. For example: "the military balance ... is now threatened" or "Unfortunately, the Soviet proposals permit them to retain SS-20 missiles while not allowing NATO to deploy its own." This way Reagan responded to Need Step. After the presumably bitter feeling in the audience caused by mentioning the issue, he used to balance it by giving a solution. Most importantly, his solution was not a game of words, but a logical, sequential set of methods. For instance, "we'll make every effort to reach an agreement that will reduce the possibility of nuclear war" or "by our actions on the talks we have ensured that all of the elements of a mutually advantageous agreement are on the table." These foreign policy messages signally suit the elements of Satisfaction Step. Then, Reagan was showing the negative or positive consequences which would be delivered by inactivity or by action, i.e. "if steps are not taken to modernize our defense, the United States will progressively lose the ability to deter the Soviet Union" or "the test will be whether the



Soviets, having advanced their latest proposals, decide finally to negotiate seriously in Geneva.” These statements correlate with Monroe’s Visualization Step. Finally, he was suggesting quite realistic ways how to implement his resolutions, which are characteristic to Action Step, e.g. “I invite the Soviet Union to take such a step with us. And I ask you, the American people, to support our efforts at negotiating” or “for our part, we continue to seek an equitable and verifiable agreement as quickly as possible.”

To my mind, using all these relevant foreign policy messages President Reagan’s radio addresses came out as unequaled, irreplaceable and marvelous standards of speeches, inexplicably, pieces of art.

## Bibliography

- Britannica, T. E. (2018, March 5). *Truman Doctrine*. Retrieved November 10, 2018, from Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Truman-Doctrine>
- Johnson, L. B. (2005). Ronald Reagan Late a President of the United States. In *Memorial Tributes Delivered in Congress*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- Leggett, B. (2012, May 29). *Rhetoric and Leadership Blog Network*. Retrieved November 6, 2018, from Blog Iese: <https://blog.iese.edu/leggett/2012/06/29/profile-of-a-great-persuader-ronald-reagan/>
- Mind Tool Content Team (Manktelow). (n.d.). Retrieved November 7, 2018, from Mindtools: <https://www.mindtools.com/pages/article/MonroeMotivatedSequence.htm>
- Mesacc. (n.d.). *Monroe's Motivated Sequence*. Retrieved November 8, 2018, from <http://www.mesacc.edu/~bruwn09481/Syllabi/documents/Monroe'sMotivatedSequence.pdf>
- Reagan, R.. (1982, 04 17). *Radio Address to the Nation on Nuclear Weapons (April 17, 1982) online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley*. Retrieved 11 9, 2018, from The American Presidency Project: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/radio-address-the-nation-nuclear-weapons-0>
- Reagan, R.. (1983, 10 29). *Radio Address to the Nation on Nuclear Weapons (October 29, 1983) Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley*. Retrieved November 9, 2018, from The American Presidency Project: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/radio-address-the-nation-nuclear-weapons>
- Schulzinger, R. D. (2002). *U.S. Diplomacy Since 1900, 5th Edition*. New York: New York Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- Seepersad, Dana-Marie. (2011, February 17). *The politics of bipolarity and IPE in contemporary times*. Retrieved November 9, 2018, from <http://www.e-ir.info/2011/02/17/the-politics-of-bipolarity-and-ipe-in-contemporary-times/>