




1970

A persuasive analysis of selected campaign arguments of Richard M. Nixon during the 1968 presidential campaign

Edward G. Cates
University of the Pacific

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop_etds

 Part of the [Political History Commons](#), [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Cates, Edward G.. (1970). *A persuasive analysis of selected campaign arguments of Richard M. Nixon during the 1968 presidential campaign*. University of the Pacific, Thesis.
https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/uop_etds/1705

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in University of the Pacific Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact mgibney@pacific.edu.

A PERSUASIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED CAMPAIGN ARGUMENTS
OF RICHARD M. NIXON DURING THE 1968
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Speech
University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Edward G. Cates

June 1970

This thesis, written and submitted by

Edward G. Cates,

is approved for recommendation to the
Graduate Council, University of the Pacific.

Department Chairman or Dean:

Paul H. Winters

Thesis Committee:

Ronald Bruce, Chairman

James J. McIlhenny
Paul H. Winters

Dated July 13, 1970

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
 Chapter	
1. THE PROBLEM	1
Statement of the Problem	2
Definitions	2
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	6
Literature Analyzing Nixon's Campaign	6
Review of Similar Studies	12
3. METHODOLOGY	16
Population	16
Sample	16
INSTRUMENTS	17
PROCEDURES	20
TREATMENT OF THE DATA	22
4. NIXON ON THE ISSUES	25
STATEMENTS ON VIETNAM	25
STATEMENTS ON RACE	38
STATEMENTS ON LAW AND ORDER	42
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS	54
5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	57
CONCLUSIONS	58

Chapter	Page
Further Studies	61
APPENDIXES	62
A. Sample of Work Sheet	63
B. Tabulation of Persuasive Appeals Including a Recapitulation	65
C. List of Nixon Speeches	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY	93

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Frequency of Occurrence of Persuasive Appeals Relative to Vietnam, Law and Order, and Race	55
2. Frequency of Occurrence of Persuasive Appeals Relative to Vietnam and Law and Order	56

Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM

On November 5, 1968, Richard M. Nixon, fulfilling a boyhood dream, was elected president of the United States. Although his official campaign did not start until March, 1968, he had been running for this office all of his adult life. His campaign was a miracle of modern science, involving all that computers, electronic communication, and motivational research have to offer.¹

Certain critical issues are usually the focal point of any election. The independent voter and the political party member who crosses party lines are assumed to hold the key in determining the outcome of an election. These voters cast their ballot for the individual who they feel best represents their position on the key issues.² Therefore, in the interest of a better informed electorate, an analysis of the content of those arguments employed by Nixon in relation to the crucial issues is in order.

Can the United States electorate be dazzled by words without meaning? Does a candidate ever take a clear-cut stand on the controversial issues? What type of

¹"People in the News," 1969 Year Book, Crowell-Collier Educational Corporation, 1969, p. 436.

²Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President, 1968. New York: Trident Press, 1969. p. 234.

persuasive appeals are relied upon by the candidates in their campaign rhetoric? Answering these questions will be a primary concern of this paper.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to analyze the arguments used by Richard Nixon relative to the key issues in the 1968 presidential campaign. The objective is to record and illustrate the persuasive appeals employed. This analysis makes an attempt to reveal what of substance was said by Mr. Nixon.

There is now a need to define certain terms which will be used in this paper.

Definitions

Argument analysis. An argument is the process of structuring information advanced in presenting a position. This includes that material which is set forth in arriving at a conclusion as well as the conclusion itself. Analysis separates the parts of an argument and places them within categories. Therefore, argument analysis is the method by which the informative data and the claim are examined and categorized according to the persuasive appeal most heavily relied upon.

Persuasive appeals. This term deals with the type of motivational appeal used in an argument. In other words, a line of reasoning or argumentation may be categorized by

the type of appeal it generates. According to Robert T. Oliver these appeals fall into the categories of evidence and authority, emotion, and rationalization.³

Appeals to evidence and authority.

From the standpoint of persuasion, evidence may be defined as all facts that, in the opinion of the audience, have relevance in affecting judgment on the topic under consideration.⁴

Evidence is statistics, authoritative viewpoints, testimony, and, in certain instances, personal experience.

Emotional appeals.

Emotion is the affective or "feeling" response we make to any situation. . . . Emotion may be defined objectively as a state of bodily tension accompanied by an intellectual concept of what the tension means.⁵

In an emotional state "we emotionalize less with the head and more with the heart."⁶ An emotional appeal, then, is an appeal to the senses that arouse anger, fear, hatred, awe, and like responses.⁷ This type of appeal is also broadly categorized as a psychological argument. It consists of subjective consideration of data, linked with hidden inferences and wishes.

³Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. pp. 201-295.

⁴Ibid., p. 208.

⁵Ibid., p. 251.

⁶Ibid., p. 252.

⁷Ibid., pp. 248-271.

Rationalized appeals.

Rationalization is a device of respectability by which we human beings protect and pamper our egos. It is a process of reasoning designed not to discover or to defend what may be true, but to discover and defend what we should like to represent as true. It is a process of justifying ourselves, our groups, and our beliefs.⁸ In this era of international propaganda . . . it is well to understand that many logical fallacies are presented to trap the unwary. They include irrelevant analogies, illustrations, facts, or arguments; name calling, ridicule and sarcasm; the citation of unreliable authorities; and obscurity parading as unsound thinking.⁹

Toulmin Model. The Toulmin model is a model for diagraming arguments. It shows the relationship of the argument parts to the claim or conclusion. The arguments are broken down into data, warrants, supports for warrants, and reservation of warrants, which are the supportive evidence that justify the claim. The data in the Toulmin diagram contains informative evidence and is linked to the claim by the term "therefore." The warrant section of the diagram is supportive of the data and may be logically connected to the data by the term "since." The word "because" connects support for the warrant (backing) to the warrant. The warrant may be qualified by the term "unless." The model forms its own validity process, not by insuring that a consequent is not affirmed, but by revealing what support is given for arriving at a conclusion.¹⁰

⁸Ibid., p. 276.

⁹Ibid., p. 284.

¹⁰Wayne Brockriede and Douglas Ehninger, Decision By Debate. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1963. pp. 98-167.

Semantic principles. Semantic principles outlined by S. I. Hayakawa and other semanticists are used as source information for this analysis.¹¹ What is meant by semantic principles is what meaning is projected by the choice of a particular word or words. Also of semantic concern is whether the words have explicit or implicit meaning and if the language is connotative or denotative.

¹¹S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1964. 350 pp.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews two types of literature. The first is that body of literature which deals directly with Nixon's campaign, while the second reviews how public address analysts have examined the speeches of selected politicians.

LITERATURE ANALYZING NIXON'S CAMPAIGN

Little has been written relative to the persuasive appeals employed by Mr. Nixon in the 1968 presidential campaign. For example, there has been no analysis of the 1968 Nixon campaign recorded in Political Science Quarterly, an academic political journal; or Speech Monographs, an academic speech journal which contains abstracts of public address students' theses.

A review of the work done on material closely associated to Nixon's persuasive appeals in regard to the overall campaign will be summarized here. This section also contains summaries which are representative of articles by political analysts who interpreted the 1968 election results.

Joe McGinniss, an informal member of the Nixon staff, authored a book dealing with the television advertising of the Nixon candidacy.¹ His work is of value to this study since it contains quotations and memorandums from the key figures in the Nixon campaign.

McGinniss describes his purpose for writing the book very aptly:

That there is a difference between the individual and his image is human nature. Or American nature, at least. That the difference is exaggerated and exploited electronically is the reason for this book.²

McGinniss' work points out how Harry Treleaven, the public relations and advertising expert who handled Nixon's campaign, attempted to sell Nixon as if he were a product.³ By hiring individuals who were experts in television communication and its processes, the soft sell of television commercials was used to gain acceptance of, and votes for, Richard Nixon. The idea was to create an image for Nixon by carefully controlling the use of television campaigning.⁴

So this was how they went into it. Trying, with one hand, to build the illusion that Richard Nixon, in addition to his attributes of mind and heart, considered, in the words of Patrick K. Buchanan, a speech writer, "communicating with the people . . . one of the great

¹Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President, 1968. New York: Trident Press. 1969. pp. 9-168.

²Ibid., p. 26.

³Ibid., p. 37.

⁴Ibid., p. 38.

joys of seeking the Presidency"; while with the other they shielded him, controlled him, and controlled the atmosphere around him. It was as if they were building not a President but an Astrodome, where the wind would never blow, the temperature never rise or fall, and the ball never bounce erratically on the artificial grass.⁵

In essence, this book describes how a carefully controlled and smoothly ran campaign utilized modern advertising techniques to persuade the public that Richard Nixon was the man for the job. It is a noteworthy exception to the overall style of the campaign that the panel television shows which had "ordinary" people asking questions to which Nixon responded were unrehearsed,⁶ and he had no idea what questions they would ask him. Roger Ailes, director of the television panel shows, felt Nixon was at his best with an offbeat panel;⁷ and, consequently, recruited members for the panel based on this feeling.⁸ Although this may appear to be a risk in an otherwise carefully controlled campaign, the risk was cut significantly in that Nixon's answers were a parroting, although rephrased each time, of carefully worded responses to the controversial issues; and Bud Wilkinson, the moderator, could moderate or soften the questions.⁹ For example,

⁵Ibid., p. 39.

⁶Ibid., p. 106-111.

⁷Ibid., p. 99.

⁸Ibid., p. 100.

⁹Ibid., pp. 97-111.

when his position on the Pueblo, an intelligence ship captured by North Korea, was queried, regardless of the way the question was phrased, Nixon would have a stock reply.¹⁰

James H. McBath and Walter R. Fisher co-authored an article dealing with persuasion in presidential campaigns.¹¹ The article is valuable in relation to the subject at hand, since the authors take much the same point of view as outlined in this paper when they indicate that the candidate's stand on certain issues, and the image projected by this stand, determines an election.¹²

Information relative to the candidate's stand on issues is interpreted as evidence of the kind of man the candidate is in respect to his potential electors, not as proof of his qualifications to hold presidential office per se. Just as the potential buyer of a television-advertised product is induced to purchase on the basis of the necessity to have or to maintain a certain self-image, so the potential elector is encouraged to vote for himself--that is, the candidate closest to his own self-image. Viewed from this perspective, every presidential election is, as Samuel Lubell observes, "really . . . a self-portrait of America, a self-portrait with each ballot serving as another brush stroke and through which all the emotions of the American people find expression."¹³

¹⁰Ibid., p. 106.

¹¹James H. McBath and Walter R. Fisher, "Persuasion in Presidential Campaign Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Volume LV, Number 1, February, 1969. pp. 17-25.

¹²Ibid., p. 18.

¹³Ibid.

The article purports that Nixon was elected for his position on law and order, Vietnam, and race. That is, the Nixon position on these issues was the position that most nearly personified that of those who voted for him. The article then briefly summarizes Nixon's position on these issues.¹⁴

In a U. S. News and World Report article, labeled a professional analysis of the voting across the country, the authors (identified only as U. S. News and World Report staff members) address themselves to "The Way the Voting Went--and Why." They write,

The combined vote for Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace as opposition candidates--amounting to almost 57 per cent of all ballots cast in the 1968 presidential election--was viewed as a protest against programs and policies of the incumbent Democratic Administration.¹⁵

They explain the nature of the protest vote by indicating that for the first time in a period of high prosperity the electorate turned out an administration because of dissatisfaction with other conditions, such as the conduct of the Vietnam war and racial disorders. According to these authors, political analysts say ". . . the 1968 election recorded a clear mandate for a change of direction in the Federal Government."¹⁶ Nixon's strength, in terms

¹⁴Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁵"The Way the Voting Went--and Why," U. S. News and World Report, November 18, 1968, p. 41.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 42.

of votes, came from suburbs, small towns, and farm areas, and his weakness was reflected by a failure to attract Negro voters.¹⁷ The article also purports that:

Some Republicans blamed Mr. Nixon for running a mechanical campaign, failing to win support of dissident Democrats, and repeating on television in the closing hours the same slogans that had been heard throughout the campaign.¹⁸

In a similar vein Newsweek analysts reported that "Nixon built his base on a bloc of electoral votes from the Border and Western states and directed his 'law and order' appeal at the silent voters of middle America."¹⁹ Nixon's strategy was seen as an appeal to the widespread belief that it was time for a change. This article points out that Nixon stuck to his plan, never deviating or improvising, to saturate the audience with his positions on the issues.

In an article by Louis Harris titled "Polls: An Insight," voter moods are reflected.²⁰ After Humphrey's nomination, Nixon showed an eight point lead in the polls. This lead was eventually reduced to a standoff on election night. The phenomenon accounting for this, based on the recordings of the pollsters, was the gain of voter confidence

¹⁷Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁹"Finally, Nixon's the One," Newsweek, November 11, 1968. p. 32.

²⁰Louis Harris, "Polls: An Insight," Newsweek, November 11, 1968. pp. 34-35.

that Humphrey was qualified to handle the war in Vietnam, law and order, and civil disorders. As Humphrey's standing in the polls relative to the central issues rose, so did his position in the general polls as undecided voters and former Wallace supporters rallied to the vice-president's aid.²¹ This supports this paper's position that the voters' confidence in a candidate's stand on the key issues determines for whom they vote.

Hubert Humphrey acknowledged that the "packaged" politics of the Nixon campaign were the decisive factors in the campaign. The foregoing review leaves little wonder that Humphrey would say:

I'm fighting packaged politics. It's an abomination for a man to place himself completely in the hands of the technicians, the ghost writers, the experts, the pollsters and come out only as an attractive package.²²

REVIEW OF SIMILAR STUDIES

This section reviews the literature of public address analysts who have studied political persuasion in several recent campaigns. The following literature is representative of typical approaches used in this area of speech analysis.

²¹Ibid., p. 35.

²²Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President, 1968. New York: Trident Press. 1969. Book jacket.

One example of how a political candidate has been examined is evidenced in an article by Robert N. Hall.²³ This article summarizes the major techniques of Johnson's 1941 Senate campaign. Emotionalism is evidenced by appeals to patriotism which were manifested by the use of songs like "Dixie" and "God Bless America." Johnson's main strategy was to associate himself with the New Deal Administration of Franklin Roosevelt by publicly supporting presidential policies.²⁴ In essence, the article isolates the major appeals which determined the election and advances a discussion of those appeals.

James G. Powell authored a thesis titled "An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Persuasion of Kennedy and Nixon in the 1960 Campaign."²⁵ For persuasive appeals this study uses the Aristotelian categorizations of logical and ethical, but uses emotion as the third category rather than pathetic. The conclusions of the study revealed that Nixon's speeches tended to be repetitious and did not clearly state his position on the issues.

²³Robert N. Hall, "Lyndon B. Johnson's Speaking In the 1941 Senate Campaign." The Southern Speech Journal, Volume XXX, Number 1, Fall, 1964. Jacksonville, Florida: Convention Press. Published by the Southern Speech Association. pp. 15-23.

²⁴Ibid..

²⁵James Grant Powell, "An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Persuasion of Kennedy and Nixon in the 1960 Campaign." Speech Monographs, Volume XXXI, Number 3, August, 1964. pp. 255-256.

Kennedy, on the other hand, relied heavily on criticism but managed to outline policies more fully than Nixon. "Kennedy's heavy use of logical proofs contrasted with Nixon's general lack of evidence."²⁶

Another form of content analysis was applied to "The Campaign Speaking of George Romney" by D. Duane Angel.²⁷ The purpose was to discover the Michigan Governor's theories of public speaking as evidenced in his speeches. Romney relied on ten "value clusters"--optimism, activity, achievement, frugality, rationality, individual worth, freedom, equality, sociability and a traditional sense of right and wrong. It was determined that Romney's theory was that the "speaker's role was one to inform, so that truth may prevail over error."²⁸

The campaign speeches of Goldwater and Johnson in the 1964 presidential campaign were analyzed by William D. Brooks to determine if a single campaign speech could change audience attitude toward the speaker.²⁹ An analysis of the data revealed:

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷D. Duane Angel, "The Campaign Speaking of George Romney: 1962 and 1964." Speech Monographs, Volume XXXIII, Number 3, August, 1966. p. 237.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹William D. Brooks, "A Study of the Relationship of Selected Factors to Changes in Voting Attitude of Audiences Listening to Political Speeches of President Johnson and Senator Goldwater." Speech Monographs, Volume XXXIII, Number 3, August, 1966. pp. 240-1.

. . . that the speech delivered by Goldwater changed his image in a favorable way as regards the audience's evaluation of his judgment and friendliness, but that Johnson's image did not change; that the problems of which Goldwater spoke were judged to be serious and important problems while the solutions he offered were valued less highly, but the solutions Johnson offered were rated high while the problems of which he spoke were rated low . . .³⁰

Perhaps the most typical analysis of political persuasion is evidenced in a study of Upton Sinclair's 1934 California Gubernatorial campaign by Alfred J. Albrecht.³¹ He uses the Aristotelian model for examining logical, pathetic, and ethical appeals. The study points out the use of these appeals, but does not quantify the frequency of their occurrence or generalize the significance of the findings. It simply asserts that the three modes of proof were utilized and lists certain specific examples.

The study of political persuasion has been approached differently by public address analysts as seen in this section of this study. Those studies reviewed are representative of the recent work done in the analysis of campaign speeches.

³⁰Ibid. p. 241.

³¹Alfred James Albrecht, "A Rhetorical Study of Upton Sinclair's 1934 Campaign for Governor of California," Speech Monographs, Volume XXXIV, Number 3, August, 1967. p. 240.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Population

The arguments on the campaign issues contained in the speeches of Richard Nixon are the population for this study. (See Appendix C).

The campaign oratory of a candidate prior to his nomination is addressed to his own party, since they determine who receives the nomination. Once a candidate receives his party's nomination, he begins to appeal to the entire electorate. One of the basic premises of this study is that the independent voters and political party members who cross party lines determine an election. It is those arguments which are addressed to the general electorate which are the most appropriate for analysis. It is also of major consequence to include those addresses made by the candidate to the nominating convention platform committee, since he is supposedly setting forth the platform positions upon which he hopes to run.

Sample

An analysis of Richard Nixon's statements on the key issues are selected as a sample from the above population for several reasons. In that his was the most recent successful campaign for that office, it offers the obvious

advantage of being current. Since it is current, it reveals, in part, that the appeals used by him are those that are presently applicable. In addition, the recency insures that source documents are readily available.

This sample does not include repetitious arguments. Even though the same argument is used many times in different speeches, only those which are most representative of Nixon's position on the issues are examined.

INSTRUMENTS

In order to effectively analyze the arguments advanced by Mr. Nixon, it is now necessary to establish an orderly and objective methodology to validate the findings of this study. Argument analysis, previously defined, is the methodology utilized in this paper to insure that validation.

The arguments are broken down according to the Toulmin model for diagraming arguments, and the content of the argument is analyzed for semantic word traps. The arguments are then classified according to the type of appeal used. An explanation of the classification is advanced following the diagramed argument which justifies that classification.

The Toulmin model¹ breaks arguments down into evidence, warrants, support for warrants, reservation of

¹Gerald R. Miller and Thomas R. Nilson, Perspectives on Argumentation. Palo Alto: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1966. pp. 131-154.

warrants, and a claim which may or may not be qualified.

Brockriede and Ehninger accept the Toulmin model as a complete authority for argument analysis for debaters.

Although the categorization or labeling of the persuasive appeals used by advocates of the Toulmin model may be fine for debate,² they fall short as tools of speech analysis since the idea is not to win a debate but to determine the significance of an argument. The Toulmin model is felt to be superior, however, in its design for diagramming arguments; since it allows a dissection of the argument that clearly indicates the line of reasoning used by the speaker.

After diagramming the argument according to the Toulmin model, the argument is tested for semantic traps. What is meant by semantic traps is simply what meaning is projected by the words themselves. In denotative speech the words are purely descriptive; however, by applying connotative adjectives, the entire meaning of the speech may change. This semantic evaluation is concerned with whether the argument is implicit or explicit.

After the foregoing preliminary preparation, the argument is then categorized as an emotional, evidence and authoritative, or rationalized appeal based on the guidelines set forth by Robert T. Oliver,³ and previously defined in Chapter 1 of this study.

²Wayne Brockriede and Douglas Ehninger, Decision By Debate. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1963. pp. 98-106.

³Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1957. pp. 201-295.

Oliver's classification of persuasive appeals was selected for several reasons. These appeals are similar to those theories described by prominent writers of persuasive theory such as Brembeck and Howell⁴ and Gary Cronkhite,⁵ which lends credit to their acceptance by noted authorities. Furthermore, the categorization by Oliver is in layman's terms so that the findings of this study may be readily understood by interested individuals of all disciplines. Finally, the appeals are specific enough to allow significant generalizations to be made in the conclusion of this study.

This study does not attempt to reveal whether an argument is from analogy, sign, or enthymene, since that type of argumentation deals with the logic of an argument's structure. A line is drawn between logical structure and logical content for the purposes of this study. The Toulmin model reveals the structure of an argument but does not label it. The labeling of an argument's structure is not important to revealing the persuasive appeal employed by the content of the argument. To say an argument is reasoning by enthymene does not reveal whether the argument appeals for an emotional or rational response; it simply indicates the logical structure of the argument. Appeals

⁴Winston Lamont Brembeck and William Smiley Howell, Persuasion, A Means of Social Control. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 488 pp.

⁵Gary Cronkhite, Persuasion, Speech and Behavioral Change. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1969. 233 pp.

to evidence and authority, however, are appeals to the logic of content. When statistics are used as evidence, they are quantitative measures which are verifiable and are, therefore, justified as logic of content not logic of structure. In summary, since the Toulmin model takes care of logical structure, and labeling that structure is not relevant to the categorization of persuasive appeals, this study will rely on evidence and authority for determining logical content.

PROCEDURES

It is now necessary to show how Nixon's statements on the issues are selected and obtained, and how the key issues are determined.

The key issues are race, law and order, and Vietnam. This is revealed by a survey of the literature of political experts. David Halberstam, Pulitzer prize winner, editor of Harpers, and political writer, sees the important issues in the 1968 campaign to be Vietnam, race, and law and order.⁶ In two separate articles in U. S. News and World Report, qualified political experts list law and order, war, and integration as the key issues.⁷ An article in the

⁶David Halberstam, "Richard M. Nixon," 1969 Year Book, Crowell-Collier Educational Corporation, 1969. p.2.

⁷"Voters' Mood in Two 'Weathervane' Counties," and "What the Candidates Stand For," U. S. News and World Report, October 28, 1968, pp. 38-39 and pp. 48-50.

February, 1969, Quarterly Journal of Speech reveals that James H. McBath and Walter R. Fisher, who co-authored this article, concur with previously cited authorities and list the key issues as law and order, Vietnam, and race.⁸ It is also noteworthy that these issues are the ones to which Mr. Nixon addressed himself in his speeches to the platform committee at the Republican convention.⁹

Having determined the major issues involved in the campaign, a justification of the source material is now in order. The statements made by Mr. Nixon and analyzed in this study shall be taken from the addresses delivered by Mr. Nixon between his acceptance of the Republican nomination on August 8, 1968, and his election on November 5, 1968. In addition, the arguments contained in his speeches to the platform committee will be analyzed. The selection of this material is felt to cover essentially everything Mr. Nixon had to say on these issues. The statements by Mr. Nixon used in his commercials were taken almost directly from his acceptance speech at the Republican convention.¹⁰ One strategy of the Nixon campaign was to saturate the

⁸James H. McBath and Walter R. Fisher, "Persuasion in Presidential Campaign Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Volume LV, Number 1, February, 1969. pp. 17-25.

⁹Richard M. Nixon, Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee. 1968. pp. 103, 131, 192, and 234.

¹⁰Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President, 1968. New York: Trident Press. 1969. pp. 87-88.

audience with his stand on the issues, which were merely the same positions paraphrased and reiterated for public consumption.¹¹

After diagraming the arguments advanced by Mr. Nixon, according to the methodology set forth in the preceding section on instruments, and categorizing these arguments based on their persuasive appeal, the significance of the results are shown. The results are shown quantitatively on work sheets that show the frequency of occurrence of certain factors which are indicative of particular persuasive appeals. Following each diagramed argument, a written commentary explaining the appeals relied upon in the argument is advanced. Thus, the preliminary work of categorizing the arguments is necessary so that certain generalizations may be made regarding the significance, in terms of concrete information, of Richard Nixon's persuasive appeals.

TREATMENT OF THE DATA

All arguments relative to the key issues are tabulated on work sheets (See Appendix A) to reflect the type of argumentation employed.

The key issues, Vietnam, for example, are listed at the top of the work sheet. Below the issue is a space for the argument number. The argument number refers to numbers

¹¹Ibid., p. 117.

assigned in numerical sequence to the arguments outlined in Chapter 4 of this study. Below the argument number appears the major titles of "Type of Appeal" and "Frequency of Occurrence." Under the major heading "Type of Appeal" appears a typed list of the appeals (rationalization, emotion, and evidence and authority), with the particular proofs which identify these appeals being listed below the appeal. For example, under the persuasive appeal "emotion" is a category titled "appeal to emotional drive for security." Finally the "frequency of occurrence" heading has a number indicating how often the particular fallacy or type of evidence occurred in the argument in question. One of these sheets shall be completed for each argument that is diagramed.

All arguments are tabulated on the individual work sheets, and these sheets then show which appeals were utilized in relation to that particular issue. Subsequently, all the issues are compiled in a like manner.

In summary, work sheets are used to quantitatively reveal the type of appeals employed by Richard Nixon in his arguments on the key issues in the 1968 presidential campaign.

The data taken from the work sheets are subjected to statistical analysis. Using a Chi Square statistical formula, the actual frequency of occurrence of the appeals are reflected against the expected frequency of occurrence of those appeals.

The significance of the findings of this study shown in the conclusion is taken from the information contained on the work sheets and the statistical chart.

Chapter 4

NIXON ON THE ISSUES

This chapter of the study shall analyze the arguments contained in Richard Nixon's campaign oratory according to the methodology set forth in Chapter 3. All arguments relative to any one issue will be analyzed before proceeding to another issue. Appendix B lists numerically the persuasive appeals employed in the arguments. For example, in argument number one the issue Vietnam is shown and then the appeal to the emotional drive for security is numerically recorded (See Appendix B). Following the argument analysis, the compiled work sheets are summarized and treated to statistical analysis.

STATEMENTS ON VIETNAM

This section contains those arguments advanced by Mr. Nixon relative to the war in Vietnam.

Vietnam

The following arguments are taken from Nixon's address to the Republican platform committee on August 1, 1968, titled "Vietnam."¹

¹Richard M. Nixon, Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee, 1968. pp. 234-237.

Argument 1

(D)ata: The present administration's emissaries in Paris must be able to speak with the full force and authority of the United States.

therefore

(C)laim: What I intend to do, and what I believe the party should do, is to separate those questions that can responsibly be discussed from those that cannot.

since:

(W)arrant: Nothing should be offered in the political arena that will undercut their hand.

This argument is considered not because of what it says about a Nixon position on the Vietnam war but because, here at the outset, the amount of information regarding the Nixon stance is significantly reduced because of this argument.

The warrant is an appeal to the emotional drive for security. It is inferred by the connotative verb "undercut" that to speak on the full range of the Vietnam war would be to endanger security because of its potential affect on harming the Paris negotiations.

The data substantiates the emotional appeal to security by relating that the administration must be the sole voice of the United States. An appeal to security is an appeal not to rock the boat but to keep the status quo; therefore, by not saying anything that might affect the Paris negotiations, Nixon's argument is to keep the status quo and not rock the boat--in essence an appeal to the emotional drive for security. Nixon then concludes from

these two emotional appeals for security that only certain questions can be responsibly discussed.

He then asserts that "there is much that can and should be discussed. The war must be ended." He follows these assertions with: "Until it is ended--and in order to hasten a negotiated end--it must be waged more effectively." These statements are not arguments but transitions leading to his first objective of the speech: "I have long been critical of the Administration's conduct of the war." Using this deductive speech pattern, he has partially revealed what he meant in Argument 1 regarding what "can responsibly be discussed." The Administration's conduct of the war is a part of what he feels can be responsibly discussed. He argues:

Argument 2

(D)ata: We find that we have been locked into a massive, grinding war of attrition.

therefore

(C)laim: Our massive military superiority has been wasted, our options frittered away.

since:

(W)arrant: The swift, overwhelming blow that would have been decisive two or three years ago is no longer possible today.

because:

(B)acking: We have applied power so gradually as to be ineffective.

On the subject of rationalization, Oliver writes, "Belittling an opponent's argument is often easier than

refuting it."² In Argument 2 the backing, warrant, and data are all examples of belittling an opponent's conduct; specifically, the remarks are critical of Johnson's lack of swift, decisive action and the use instead of gradual escalation which "locks" us into a massive, grinding war of attrition. The connotative words "locking" and "grinding" suggest a slow methodical entrapment rather than a "swift" and "decisive" victory. This use of ridicule is continued in the claim which further asserts the administration has "frittered" and "wasted" our options and military strength.

Rationalization by use of ridicule is the persuasive appeal being utilized in this argument.

Argument 3

This argument is a one sentence assertion. It is a claim not supported by data.

(C)laim: The Administration has done far too little, too late, to train and equip the South Vietnamese, both for fighting their own war now and for the task of defending their own country after the war is settled.

This argument is easily classified as an argument of ridicule. The intention of the argument is to place blame on the Administration for failing to strengthen the South Vietnamese so that they are self-sufficient militarily.

²Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. p. 289.

Argument 4

(D)ata: The Administration has either not recognized that this is a new and more complex kind of war, or has not seen its significance.

therefore

(C)laim: The result is that the old style, conventional military aspects have been over-emphasized, and its other dimensions-- psychological, political, economic, even diplomatic--have gotten (qualifier): too little attention.

In the data it can be seen that criticism is again the type of rationalized appeal being relied upon. The criticism is implicitly saying that the Administration does not understand the war. In the claim the criticism of "conventional" or outdated military tactics is coupled with criticism for not using "psychological, political, economic," or "diplomatic" warfare. This claim is qualified by the words "too little" which renders the entire criticism to be that of a value judgment, since it depends on one's opinion how much is too little or too much.

Argument 5

(D)ata: By not taking the American people into its confidence, the Administration has lost their confidence. Its diplomacy has failed to enlist other nations to use their influence toward achieving a peaceful settlement.

therefore

(C)laim: The Administration has failed in candor at home and in leadership abroad.

Once again the appeal is rationalization based on belittling the opponent. Specifically, the criticism is

directed at an Administration that allegedly does not have open communication and does not solicit other nations to use their diplomatic influence to end the war. The reasoning is circular since the data is repeated in the claim; that is, the claim is a rephrasing of the data.

Argument 6

Mr. Nixon acknowledges that Arguments 2 through 5 are "failures of the past." For a future course on the Vietnam war, he states, "we start with the Paris talks." Argument 6 is a re-hashing of the position taken in Argument 1 with a slight difference.

(D)ata: Our negotiations in Paris represent not only the present administration, but the United States.

therefore

(C)laim: In the spirit of country above party, (qualifier): as long as they have a chance of success--and as long as the Administration remains committed to an honorable settlement-- they should be free from partisan interference, and they should have our full support.

since:

(W)arrant: The pursuit of peace is too important for politics as usual.

because:

(B)acking: Anything he (Republican Party's candidate) might say, any differences he might express, would be taken by Hanoi as indicating the possible new direction of the next Administration.

This is an emotional appeal to the drive for security and helpfulness. Nixon is saying that the Republican party can "help" the negotiations by remaining silent on the

direction his Administration will pursue. Linked with this appeal is that of security, since not only will the talks be "helped" but our security will not be hurt by anything the party might say.

The warrant is essentially the same emotional appeal to the drive for security; Nixon is saying since peace is being pursued, do not rock the boat with "politics as usual." Not rocking the boat is an appeal to the drive for security.

The claim reached by Nixon in this argument is that the Republican party should support the Paris talks and not interfere. The claim in this argument is a restatement of the previous arguments in a summarized and qualified form; therefore, the same appeals are appropriate. The qualifications of the argument deal with the success and honorable commitment of the talks and are, therefore, measured by degree. Since the success or failure is a matter of degree or a value judgment, Nixon is leaving the door open to change strategy if necessary.

The argument is a rationalized appeal in that it is sufficiently obscure to sound convincing. Nixon has spread a film of words which simply say he is not going to say anything relative to a new strategy in Vietnam unless he changes his mind. Phrases like "In the spirit of country above party" sound impressive but say little. When an argument is qualified to the point that a value judgment can render the entire argument inappropriate, without

specification of a particular event or time limit, then the argument is obscure. This argument is sufficiently obscure to sound convincing.

Argument 7

(D)ata: There is no Republican or Democratic way to end a war, but there is a difference between an Administration that inherits the errors of the past, and an Administration that can make a fresh beginning free from the legacy of those errors.

therefore

(C)laim: There is a difference between an Administration burdened by accumulated distrust, and a new Administration that can tell the truth to the American people and be believed.

The data in Argument 7 uses ridicule by referring to the present Administration's policies as: "errors of the past." An appeal to the drive for freedom is reflected in the phrase: "free from the legacy of those errors." The freedom from domination of past errors is the basis of this appeal. An emotional appeal to the drive for a new experience is shown in the words "fresh beginning." By offering a fresh beginning Nixon has appealed to an emotional drive for variety and novelty.

The claim is essentially a restatement of the data. The Administration is belittled by saying it is burdened by accumulated distrust. This is using the rationalized appeal of ridicule. Once again, in the claim, Nixon appeals to the emotional drive for novelty by offering a "new administration" which will be a new experience.

Argument 8

(D)ata: However cruel its military aspects, this new kind of war is not primarily a military struggle in the conventional sense.

therefore

(C)laim: The fact is that our men have not been out-fought; the Administration has been out-thought.

since:

(W)arrant: It is primarily a political struggle with the enemy conducting military operations to achieve political and psychological objectives.

because:

(B)acking: The real measure of progress is not the body count of enemy killed, but the number of South Vietnamese won to the building and defense of their own country.

The theme of this argument is that Nixon better understands the war. The persuasive appeal in the data, warrant, and backing is an emotional appeal for a new experience; that is, since Nixon better understands the war he will provide new solutions. From these emotional appeals Nixon reasons inductively in the claim that the Administration has been "out-thought." This claim is an attack on the Administration who allegedly does not understand the war. This criticism is again a rationalized appeal relying on the use of ridicule.

Argument 9

(D)ata: This phasing out will save American lives and cut American costs.

therefore

(C)laim: . . . we need (qualifier): far greater and (qualifier): more urgent attention to training the South Vietnamese themselves, and equipping them with the best of modern weapons.

since:

(W)arrant: As they (the South Vietnamese) are phased in, American troops can--and should--be phased out.

because:

(B)acking: Further, it is essential if South Vietnam is to develop both the military strength and the strength of spirit to survive now and in the future.

The entire argument is based on an emotional appeal for a new experience. The argument is structured around the theme that South Vietnam should be trained and equipped to fight the war allowing America to withdraw. The new experience is a matter of degree since the claim is qualified by the term "far greater." "Far greater" is a vague term and could conceivably mean something different to each member of the Nixon audience. Even though the appeal is for a new experience--a strategy to get America out of Vietnam--, nowhere is it denied that the Administration is not employing the same strategy.

The argument is also a rationalized appeal in that it is qualified to the point of becoming sufficiently obscure to convince. Saving American lives and cutting the cost of the war are noble goals; having the South Vietnamese fight the war is also laudable; however, with no evidence to show that this is not a goal of the Administration, and with qualifiers which indicate that the change is simply a matter of degree, the argument becomes obscure. It is reduced to the value judgment of the person initiating the action whether one method is more

urgent than another, and this becomes even more obvious when it is realized that no new or different methodology of speeding the Vietnamization of the war is offered.

Argument 10

(D)ata: Certainly one of the lessons from the agony of Vietnam is that we need a new diplomacy to prevent future Vietnams.

therefore

(C)laim: Around the world, we should mobilize our diplomatic forces for peace-- through our embassies, through the UN, and elsewhere.

since:

(W)arrant: Vietnam does not exist in isolation.

because:

(B)acking: We need such effort not only to speed an end to the war in Vietnam, but also to lay the groundwork for the organization of a lasting and larger peace.

Argument 10 is an emotional appeal to the drive for new experience. Nixon is offering a new diplomacy which will allegedly bring "peace." The argument does not say what type of diplomacy, or how the diplomatic forces are to be mobilized. Therefore, the argument is a rationalization since it is sufficiently obscure to convince. This rationalization process is again easy to follow; the ideals expressed are praiseworthy; and the claim appears justified on the surface; yet, the argument offers no statement regarding how the claim is to be accomplished.

Following this argument, Nixon summarizes the main points of the speech in the concluding paragraph.

I See a Day³

All quotations and arguments in this section are taken from Nixon's speech "I See a Day."

On August 8, 1968, Nixon accepted the nomination of the Republican party for President of the United States. In this acceptance speech Nixon rephrased most of the first ten arguments. He begins the section of the speech that deals with Vietnam by criticizing the Administration's conduct of the war. He then makes the following campaign promise: "And I pledge to you tonight that the first priority foreign policy objective of our next Administration will be to bring an honorable end to the war in Vietnam." It is noteworthy that there is a great deal of difference in a "first priority" promise and a promise to end the war.

The following argument is the only new argument in this speech.

Argument 11

(D)ata: In Korea and now in Vietnam, the United States furnished most of the money, most of the arms, most of the therefore men to help the people of those countries defend themselves against aggression.

(C)laim: What I call for is not a new isolationism. It is a new internationalism in which America enlists its allies and its friends around the world in those struggles in which their interest is as great as ours.

³Richard M. Nixon, Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee. 1968. pp. 277-291.

since:

(W)arrant: . . . there are two hundred million Americans and there are two billion people that live in the free world.

because:

(B)acking: . . . the time has come for other nations in the free world to bear their fair share of the burden of defending peace and freedom around this world.

This argument can be reduced to an implicit statement that Asia should fight Asian wars. Nixon begins in the data by using statistics which are classified as evidence. He indicates that the United States has supplied most of the resources to fight the Vietnam war, and although no source is given for this statistic, it is virtually a truism and really needs no documentation. The second statistic deals with a comparison of America's relatively small percentage of the free world population. Although this second statistic may appear somewhat inappropriate or insufficient to reach the claim since, in addition to mere numbers, there are other considerations regarding the leading role of the United States vs. the leading role of the combined free world such as economic and social conditions; it is implicitly saying that we are only a part of the free world and there are others equally capable of bearing this burden. This implicitness becomes explicit in the claim by a call for a new experience--a new internationalism. By using two statistics, Nixon has argued for a new experience--an experience whereby America enlists its allies.

Even with the use of statistics which warrant the claim, the argument is far from being a direct statement of policy. It outlines a very general attitude that the Nixon Administration will supposedly adopt. Questions arise dealing with the matter of degree that America will become entangled in foreign wars. The argument does not say that America will not become involved in wars or international conflicts, or even that it will not shoulder the entire responsibility in the event their allies do not. It is merely an argument that diplomatically the United States can do more to get their allies to carry "their fair share," and that a Nixon Administration will do this.

This ends the arguments set forth in Nixon's speeches regarding the Vietnam war. Some of the same arguments are used in other speeches, but no new arguments were forthcoming.

STATEMENTS ON RACE

This section contains Nixon's campaign oratory on black Americans. Some arguments which contain implicit statements on race and are contained in speeches on law and order are examined in the law and order section of this chapter.

Problems of the Cities

On August 1, 1968, Nixon submitted certain arguments regarding problems in our cities to the Republican

national convention.⁴ The following arguments are taken from that speech.

Argument 12

(D)ata: In the ghetto, providing jobs is an essential first step-- (qualifier): but this by itself is not enough. therefore

(C)laim: We have to lift the ceiling from black aspirations--and essential to this is the encouraging of (qualifier): more black ownership; (qualifier): more black control over the destinies of black people.

since:

(W)arrant: Jobs have to be made available within a framework that establishes the pride, the dignity and independence of the black American as well as the white.

Professor Oliver, previously qualified, defines recognition: "To be treated with deference and respect is pleasant; to be at least accepted socially is essential to balanced living."⁵ Implicit in the warrant is the appeal that if the Negro gets a job, he will gain pride and dignity, or social acceptance. The word "independence" as used in the warrant appeals to the drive for freedom. To be independent implies a freedom from restraints, and external domination.⁶ Consequently, by using the terms

⁴Ibid., pp. 192-195.

⁵Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. p. 255.

⁶Ibid., p. 254.

"pride," "dignity," and "independence," the warrant is an appeal to the emotional drives of freedom and recognition.

The major appeal in the data is to the emotional drive for a new experience. By inference the argument suggests that jobs are not available in the ghetto, since to provide jobs would be unnecessary if jobs existed; therefore, making jobs available is a new experience. This statement is qualified by saying it "is not enough." The claim of the argument outlines the rest of the new approach.

In the claim Nixon offers his solution to the black American for obtaining recognition, jobs, and freedom by appealing to the emotional drive for a new experience. That new experience is "more black ownership, and more black control over the destinies of black people." The qualifier "more" makes the solution a matter of degree, since a value judgment determines what is meant by "more." For example, one new black business is more ownership and one new black representative may be more control of black destiny.

Argument 13

(D)ata: If black and white are to be brought together in peace, the light of hope has to be brought to the ghetto.

therefore

(C)laim: What we have to do is to get private enterprise into the ghetto, and get the people of the ghetto into private enterprise-- not only as workers, but as managers and owners. Thus, for example, in the area of

jobs, I have proposed such measures as tax credits for businesses to hire and train the unemployed; a national computer job bank, . . . and special tax incentives to businesses that locate branch offices or new plants in poverty areas.

since:

(W)arrant: If we are to bring this light of hope to the ghetto, we have to show by example that the American opportunity is neither a black nor a white opportunity-- and to make this opportunity real, we have to begin in the ghetto itself, where the people are and where the need is.

because:

(B)acking: To assist in this, we need new incentives to get capital flowing into the ghetto. We need both technical and financial assistance for the starting of new black businesses and the expansion of existing ones.

The data of this argument appeals to the emotional drive for freedom. An atmosphere where there is no hope is not a free atmosphere, since to be free guarantees the "pursuit of happiness."⁷ In the ghetto, according to the above argument, there is no hope; therefore, the Negro ghetto dweller is not free to pursue happiness.

The entire argument is an emotional appeal to the drive for a new experience. The argument is based on the theory that if the black ghetto poverty cycle can be broken by allowing the Negro to share the American wealth by providing jobs and allowing him to become an entrepreneur,

⁷Ibid.

he will have hope and the race problem will be solved. Nixon supplies an explicit solution to the race problem, based on this theory, in the claim by proposing tax credits, tax incentives, and a national computer job bank. This solution is a call for a new experience.

These same arguments are repeated in Nixon's speech accepting the Republican nomination, and that ends direct arguments regarding race in his campaign speeches.

STATEMENTS ON LAW AND ORDER

This section analyzes those arguments advanced by Mr. Nixon on law and order.

The Crusade Against Crime

The following arguments are taken from Nixon's speech to the Republican National Convention's Committee on resolutions.

Argument 14

(D)ata: We must return to a single standard of justice for all Americans, and justice must be made blind again to race and color and creed and position along an economic or social line.

therefore

(C)laim: Poverty, despair, anger, past wrongs can no longer be allowed to excuse or justify violence or crime or lawlessness. We must cease as well the granting of special immunities and moral sanctions to those who deliberately violate the public laws--even when those violations are done in the name of

⁸ Richard M. Nixon, Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee. 1968. pp. 131-134.

peace or civil rights
or anti-poverty or
academic freedom.

since:

(W)arrant: Long ago in this country we buried the notion that the rich are above the law. Let us now lay to rest the equally deleterious doctrine that those who speak for popular or favored "causes" are entitled to favored considerations before the bar of justice.

because:

(B)acking: We must establish again that men are responsible for what they do. For too long we have been indulging the criminal poor--at the expense of the innocent poor.

This argument may be the basis for the charge that "law and order" is a code word for racism; and, therefore, may have been equally appropriate in the section on race. The argument implies that the Johnson Administration has had more than one standard of justice, indulged the criminal poor, and not prosecuted violations done in the name of civil rights. This implication is evidenced by Nixon's statements that these things must cease, since for something to cease it must exist. From a semantics point of view, these implications, and words like "deliberately violate" and "special immunities," project the imagery that black people receive special treatment in terms of law enforcement. The argument further implies that a Nixon Administration will change this position.

The implicit criticism of the Johnson Administration is a rationalized appeal by use of ridicule; that is, the Johnson Administration is being criticized for leniency in equal enforcement of the law. The balance of the argument

is an emotional appeal to the drive for a new experience. This new experience is contained in all parts of the argument and is summarized in the claim by the statement that "We must cease the granting of special immunities."

Argument 15

(D)ata: It is the poor, black and white alike, that bear the brunt of crime and violence.

therefore

(C)laim: We need a militant national crusade to protect society from criminals, (qualifier): but that does not preclude a continuing national crusade to eliminate the social conditions from which so many of today's criminals have emerged and tomorrow's criminals are certain to emerge. Nor is our call for "law" meant to be any code word for the repression of the black American.

since:

(W)arrant: In the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, it was noted that crimes of violence occur in the slums of some cities 35 times as frequently as they occur in the areas of affluence.

because:

(B)acking: We need a new recognition in this country-- that a mugging in the ghetto is as serious a crime as a mugging on main street. There can be no color line between black murder and white murder.

The assertion in the data that poor black and poor white bear the brunt of crime and violence is supported by statistical evidence in the warrant and backed up by the fact that the Commission on Civil Disorders is expert

testimony. The use of statistics and expert testimony are appeals to authority and evidence. The Commission on Civil Disorders reports at length on the subject of low income Negroes being the victims of crimes of violence.⁹ The statistic is validated by other studies contained in the report; and although 35 to 1 is the highest figure given in the report, there is no misuse of the intent of the commission's findings in this particular area since the commission recommends improving the effectiveness of law enforcement in the disadvantaged areas. These recommendations are contained in letters to the President.¹⁰

The backing in the argument is a call for a new experience as evidenced by the term "new recognition." The claim outlines the new experience which is "a national crusade to protect society." The claim also appeals to other emotional drives. The drive for freedom is recognized since to protect society from criminals is to free them from fear. The drive for power is appealed to by the assertion the criminals can be controlled.

The intent of the commission's report and recommendations are substantiated by the qualifiers in the claim. The commission was not recommending strict law

⁹Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, New York: New York Times Company, 1968. pp. 266-269.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 570-573.

enforcement as the only answer; therefore, the call to eliminate the social conditions which breed crime and the assertion that law enforcement is not to be a repression of the black American are in keeping with the commission's intentions. The qualifers are used to clarify the claim, not obscure it, and are necessary for a valid appeal to the cited evidence and authority.

Argument 16

(D)ata: At every level of law enforcement and criminal justice, there are needed men with an awareness of the severity of the crime crisis, men with a new attitude toward crime and criminals.

therefore

(C)laim: At the judicial level it is time that the rights of the victimized millions in this country receive at least the same measure of concern and attention and action as have the rights of the criminally few.

since:

(W)arrant: Nowhere is this more necessary than in the judiciary, from the lowest court to the Supreme Court.

This argument consists of two appeals to the emotional drive for a new experience. The warrant serves as a transition to narrow the broader appeal in the data of a "new attitude toward crime" to the specific "judicial level" change called for in the claim. Connotative words such as "crisis," which suggests an urgency, and "victimized," which evokes a sympathetic feeling for those who are mistreated, are used to substantiate this appeal for a new experience.

Argument 17

(D)ata: From a new attitude about crime, from a new awareness of the severity of the crisis, from a new national priority for crime control, from new leadership of the American people, all else can follow.

therefore

(C)laim: (We can have) prison reform at the Federal and State level, judicial reform, (qualifier): better paid, (qualifier): better trained, (qualifier): more police for our undermanned peace forces across this country, increased funds for crime research at the national level.

This argument is a final statement based on the preceding three arguments on law and order. The solution Nixon offers in this argument is that a new attitude, a new awareness, and new leadership is the basis for broad reform. This is an appeal for a new experience. The reforms and changes from this new experience are sufficiently vague to the point of obscurity since the type of prison and judicial reform is not revealed, and the qualifiers "better" and "more" are dependent on a value judgment of what is better and how much is more. The argument offers three new experiences plus an obscure call for reform.

Oliver writes concerning obscurity in rationalized appeals that "Glittering rhetoric has often proved an effective substitute for sound argument."¹¹ In the rationalized appeal in this argument, Nixon has substituted high sounding ideals (glittering rhetoric) for sound argument.

¹¹Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. p. 288.

While the goals in the claim may be praiseworthy, the lack of clarification renders them to be nothing more than glittering rhetoric which is a rationalization, since it is sufficiently obscure to convince.

This completes an analysis of Nixon's arguments relative to law and order in this speech.

I See a Day

The next address that contains arguments on law and order is the speech accepting the Republican nomination.¹²

Argument 18

(D)ata: Let those who have responsibility to enforce our laws . . . be dedicated to the great principal of civil rights. But let them also recognize that the first civil right of every American is to be free from domestic violence, and that right must be guaranteed in this country.

therefore

(C)laim: I pledge to you that our new Attorney General will:
 (1) be directed by the President of the United States to launch a war against organized crime in this country.
 (2) be an active belligerent against the loan sharks and the numbers racketeers that rob the urban poor in our cities.
 (3) open a new front against the filth peddlers and the narcotics peddlers who are corrupting the lives of the children of this country.

¹²Richard M. Nixon, Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee. 1968. pp. 277-291.

since:

(W)arrant: And if we are to restore order and respect for law in this country, there is one place we are going to begin. We are going to have a new Attorney General of the United States.

This argument contends that there is a need to guarantee freedom from violence, and the way to accomplish this is to have a new Attorney General dedicated to the goals outlined in the claim. An implicit argument contained in the data is that there is no freedom from fear in America and that this is a result of an Attorney General who is not dedicated to the goals in the claim. The data, then, is an appeal to the emotional drive for freedom.

In the warrant the call for a new Attorney General is an appeal to the emotional drive for a new experience. It is the intent of the argument to show that a new Attorney General will accomplish certain goals which are outlined in the claim.

In the claim the administration is being ridiculed for not launching a war against organized crime, being belligerent to loan sharks, not dealing with filth and narcotic peddlers. This ridicule is implicit since in order for a new Attorney General to make the changes called for, the conditions being changed must exist. This ridicule is a rationalization by Nixon, since he is belittling an opponent by inference.

In addition, the argument calls for three new experiences which are points one, two, and three in the

claim. These new experiences are allegedly dependent upon getting a new Attorney General. How the Attorney General is to accomplish these goals is not covered in the argument. In other words the claim advocates general action without revealing a specific plan to accomplish that action.

Questions arise regarding who is a filth peddler, what is filth, and what is a new front. These terms render the argument to also be a rationalization by applying labels. The term filth connotes a bad image.

Argument 19

(D)ata: Because, my friends let this message come through clear from what I say tonight. Time is running out for the merchants of crime and corruption in American society.

(C)laim: The wave of crime is not going to be the wave of the future in the United States of America.
therefore

since:

(W)arrant: We shall re-establish freedom from fear in America so that America can take the lead in re-establishing freedom from fear in the world.

The Johnson Administration is ridiculed by inference in the data by the suggestion that it has been lenient toward the merchants of crime and corruption. This is also evidenced in the warrant by the term, "re-establish freedom from fear"; since, in order to re-establish something, it cannot be currently taking place. Following this rationalization by use of ridicule and sarcasm, Nixon appeals to the emotional drive for freedom.

The warrant also appeals to the drive for freedom by expressing that freedom from fear shall be re-established. The implication is that America is dominated by fear and that this will end. The claim asserts that the crime wave of the present will be changed. This change is an appeal to the emotional drive for a new experience.

This ends the new arguments on law and order introduced in this speech.

Order and Justice Under Law

The following arguments are taken from a Nixon campaign speech delivered September 29, 1968.¹³

Argument 20

(D)ata: This destruction (entire neighborhoods destroyed, buildings gutted, thousands hospitalized or homeless, businesses wiped out) is the work of Americans, transformed into a mob.

therefore

(C)laim: The truth is we will reduce crime and violence--when we make it (qualifier): less profitable, and a lot (qualifier): more risky, to break our laws.

since:

(W)arrant: You might think that this was happening under some alien tyranny, where the people had no representation, where there was no ballot, and where insurrection was the alternative to abject submission. No--again--this is happening in America.

because:

(B)acking: We are sick of what has been allowed to go on in this nation for too long.

¹³Richard M. Nixon, Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee. 1968. pp. 153-161.

The data indicates that we are not free from mob violence. This is an appeal to the emotional drive for freedom, since to be dominated by fear of mob violence is not to have freedom. The citing of examples substantiates the appeal.

In the warrant and backing the major appeal is a rationalization which relies upon ridicule of the violence that is allowed to happen in America. Verbally, a dismal picture of America is reflected by the use of terms such as "alien tyranny" which connote unpleasant images. It is inferred in the backing by use of sarcasm that little is done to prevent violence since it is "allowed to go on."

The claim suggests that it is now profitable and reasonably safe to be criminal and violent. This again relies upon ridicule which is a rationalized appeal. At the same time, the claim asserts that a new experience can be had (reducing crime and violence) by strict law enforcement. This strict enforcement is revealed in the terms "less profitable" and "more risky." The terms, "more" and "less," are qualifiers which serve to render the amount of change to be a matter of degree and are in need of clarification that reveals how much is "more" and "less." However, the intent of the argument comes through despite the qualifiers--stricter law enforcement reduces crime and violence.

Argument 21

(D)ata: By philosophy and by ingrained habit the present Administration has neglected to provide the potential of independent sources of energy and creativity in America--civic groups, churches, educational institutions, the mass media, business and industry. Their resources and their skills can make a major contribution to the recovery of order in this country.

therefore

(C)laim: Through nationwide town meetings which I will propose, and through the National Coordinating Center which I will establish, we will begin at long last to bring all of the energies of our people to bear.

since:

(W)arrant: Think what progress could be made if the resources of these groups could be brought to bear in a massive educational effort, directed especially at the young and the innocent.

because:

(B)acking: All across the country people are waiting--waiting not for dictation but for guidance. What our independent groups basically need is information--information about what is needed, about what can be done, about what has worked in some other community.

The data begins with a rationalized appeal by ridiculing the present Administration for neglecting the potential of independent American creativity. The appeal shifts in the second sentence to an emotional appeal to the drive for helpfulness. The drive for helpfulness is manifested by "working for the welfare of others."¹⁴ To "contribute to the recovery of order" is working for the welfare of the country. This drive for helping others is

¹⁴Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. p. 254.

also the major appeal in the warrant; since, allegedly, progress can be made by their helpful efforts. The backing reinforces this appeal by asserting that people are waiting to be helpful, and will be if they are given a chance.

The claim offers a solution by saying that the energies of the people will be brought to bear. The methods of bringing these energies to bear are town meetings and a National Coordinating Center which are appeals to the emotional drive for a new experience.

The same arguments are rephrased in the conclusion of the speech. This concludes Nixon's arguments on law and order.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

By the use of Chi Square, the null hypothesis, that there is no difference in the type of appeal relative to the issue being discussed, is tested in this section.¹⁵ Since there are only two arguments on race consisting of eight appeals, the null hypothesis is tested with and without the race arguments.

¹⁵Janet T. Spence, Benton J. Underwood, Carl P. Duncan, John W. Cotton, Elementary Statistics, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1954. pp. 195-207.

Table 1

Frequency of Occurrence of Persuasive Appeals
Relative to Vietnam, Law and Order,
and Race

	Rationalization	Evidence and Authority	Emotion	Total
Vietnam	16 (11.8)	2 (1.7)	14 (18.5)	32
Race	0 (3)	0 (.4)	8 (4.6)	8
Law and Order	12 (13.2)	2 (1.9)	22 (20.9)	36
Total	28	4	44	76

The above chart contains all three issues and reveals the appeals observed and expected relative to a particular issue. For example, 16 appeals to rationalization are observed in the arguments on Vietnam, while 11.8 appeals are expected. The computed Chi Square based on this chart is 4.15. In order to reject the null hypothesis at the .5 per cent level of significance, with four degrees of freedom, the computed value would have to be 9.49 or greater.¹⁶ Thus, the null hypothesis is accepted; that is, the type of appeals used do not vary significantly based on the issue being discussed.

The same hypothesis is assumed in the following chart with the omission of race as an issue:

¹⁶Ibid., p. 240.

Table 2

Frequency of Occurrence of Persuasive Appeals
Relative to Vietnam and Law and Order

	Rationalization	Evidence and Authority	Emotion	Total
Vietnam	16 (13.2)	2 (1.9)	14 (16.9)	32
Law and Order	12 (14.8)	2 (2.1)	22 (19.1)	36
Total	28	4	36	68

Chi Square is 1.94 based on the information contained in the above chart. To reject the null hypothesis, Chi Square, at the 5 per cent level of significance, would have to be 5.99 or greater. Consequently, the omission of race as an issue does not affect the acceptance of the null hypothesis.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

President Nixon presents twenty-one arguments, many of them more than once, relative to the controversial issues in his 1968 campaign speeches. The campaign speeches examined include all speeches from July 31, 1968, his addresses to the Republican Platform Committee, to November 5, 1968, his election to the Presidency. It is the purpose of this paper to objectively categorize the persuasive appeals of the arguments on race, Vietnam, and law and order, contained in his campaign speeches. There has been no attempt to praise or vilify Richard Nixon, since personalities are outside the scope of this study.

The arguments are analyzed by first diagramming them according to the Toulmin model which reveals the line of argumentation employed in the sense that it shows the relationship of the informative data to the solution offered in the form of a claim. Semantic evaluation of certain terms is relied upon to reveal the value of those terms in reference to their clarifying or obscuring the significance of certain assertions advanced by Nixon. The arguments are then categorized, and an explanation of that categorization advanced, based on the appeals most heavily relied upon.

This paper starts with the assumption that the voters who determine an election are free agents who listen to the candidate's arguments on the controversial issues and cast their vote for the person they feel best personifies their point of view. This assumption is well grounded in political theory as reflected in an article by McBath and Fisher.¹ It is further assumed that the argumentation presented by a candidate is an attempt to garner votes for himself. Nixon's arguments are analyzed to reveal what type of persuasive argumentation appeals to these voters. Certain generalizations regarding the findings of this study are presented in the following section on conclusions.

Conclusions

Statements addressed to the significance and meaning of the results of arguments analyzed in Chapter 4 are set forth in this section.

Appeals to emotional drives constituted 58 per cent of the persuasive appeals used by Nixon; 37 per cent of all appeals were directed to the emotional drive for a new experience. A new experience is a call for a change from the status quo. While a change may be desirable, scientific reasoning suggests that hypothesis should be formed and tested and relevant evidence and authoritative opinion be used, or at least not ignored; since the hypothesis must be

¹James H. McBath and Walter R. Fisher, "Persuasion in Presidential Campaign Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Volume LV, Number 1, February, 1969. pp. 17-25.

compatible with existing knowledge.² Therefore, a call for change is justified logically when this scientific criteria is met. It follows, then, that when evidence and authority are used as informative data in reaching a claim, that from a logical point of view, there is grounds for accepting the conclusion; and, conversely, when no such support is given, the argument or hypothesis must be accepted on faith alone. This same form of reasoning holds true for the other emotional appeals as well.

It is possible that in arriving at certain answers (claims) to problems set forth in his rhetoric, Nixon took relevant evidence and authoritative opinion into consideration. However, this becomes unimportant from a persuasive standpoint, since the audience was not exposed to evidence and authority except in 5 per cent of the arguments. This study reveals that 95 per cent of the arguments relied on persuasive appeals other than evidence and authority. Thus, the voters' decisions were, by in large, based on arguments which were not proved or disproved. This is not to suggest that the solutions offered by Nixon are not apt; however, it does reveal that there is little evidence (5 per cent) given to support their workability.

Thirty-seven per cent of the persuasive appeals were rationalizations. The use of ridicule and sarcasm

²James D. Carney, and Richard K. Scheer, Fundamentals of Logic, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965. pp. 337-350.

constituted 30 per cent of all appeals and 82 per cent of the rationalized appeals. Rationalized appeals deal with an attempt to focus attention upon facts or concepts more or less irrelevant (but seeming to be immediately relevant) to the facts or contentions under discussion. By focusing attention on those facets being criticized, and seemingly relevant, the use of relevant material, evidence or authoritative opinion, is virtually non-existent. This same reasoning is applicable to other rationalized appeals; ridicule is used as an example, since it occurs more frequently than the other rationalizations.

It is evidenced that Nixon's argumentation relative to the controversial issues gives little logical reason for accepting his solutions. Statistics and authoritative opinion are available in the texts of many governmental sponsored studies of the issues under discussion in this paper. The lack of their use reflects on the strategy of the Nixon campaign. The acceptance of the appeals by the voters reflects on their vulnerability to this successful strategy, which is evidenced by the fact that Richard Nixon won the election.

The statistical analysis in Chapter 4 of this study makes a statement on the strategy of the Nixon campaign. By the use of Chi Square it is proven statistically that the issues are argued in the same manner; that is, the same types of appeals are relied upon regardless of the

issue under discussion. This suggests that strategy (persuasive appeals employed) is the most important consideration in formulating these arguments. The chances of the use of the same appeals when dealing with different issues being accidental is, statistically, very low.

This study shows, then, that the American voter is persuaded by emotional and rationalized appeals. Consequently, this voter must rely on faith, not logic, that the solutions Richard Nixon presents are the answers to the problems he outlines.

Further Studies

The information contained in this study opens a door to a new type of persuasive argument analysis. It provides a method to categorize persuasive appeals. There is a need to examine the arguments of other political candidates to determine if the findings relative to the Nixon campaign are unique or if this is a pattern in American political oratory.

APPENDIX A

Sample Work Sheet

ISSUE _____

ARGUMENT NUMBER _____

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

- Argument based on sympathy
- Argument by applying labels
- Argument from antiquity
- Argument from ignorance
- Argument from novelty
- Argument from popularity
- Argumentum ad hominem
- Being sufficiently obscure to convince
- Presentation of popularity as expertness
- Confusion of correlation with proof
- Explanation intended to confuse or mislead
- Use of irrelevant analogies, illustrations, facts, etc.
- Use of ridicule and sarcasm

EVIDENCE AND AUTHORITY

- Appropriate and acceptable statistics
- Expert testimony
- Facts as personal experience
- Negative evidence

EMOTION

- Appeal to drive for freedom
- Appeal to drive for helpfulness
- Appeal to drive for new experience
- Appeal to drive for power
- Appeal to drive for recognition
- Appeal to drive for response
- Appeal to drive for security
- Appeal to drive for submission
- Appeal to drive for workmanship

APPENDIX B

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 1

Type of Appeal

Frequency of
Occurrence

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for security 2

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 2

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 4

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 3

Type of Appeal

Frequency of
Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 1

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 4

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 3

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 5

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 2

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 6

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Being sufficiently obscure to convince ; 1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for helpfulness 2

Appeal to drive for security 3

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 7

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
----------------	-------------------------

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm	2
---------------------------------------	---

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom	1
Appeal to drive for new experience	2

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 8

Type of Appeal

Frequency of
Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for new experience 1

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 9

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Being sufficiently obscure to convince 1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for new experience 1

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 10

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
----------------	-------------------------

RATIONALIZATION

Being sufficiently obscure to convince 1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for new experience 1

Vietnam

ARGUMENT NUMBER 11

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

EVIDENCE AND AUTHORITY

Appropriate and acceptable statistics 2

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for new experience 1

Vietnam

RECAPITULATION OF ARGUMENTS ON VIETNAM

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
RATIONALIZATION	
Being sufficiently obscure to convince	3
Use of ridicule and sarcasm	13
EVIDENCE AND AUTHORITY	
Appropriate and acceptable statistics	2
EMOTION	
Appeal to drive for freedom	1
Appeal to drive for helpfulness	2
Appeal to drive for new experience	6
Appeal to drive for security	5

Race

ARGUMENT NUMBER 12

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom	1
Appeal to drive for new experience	2
Appeal to drive for recognition	1

Race

ARGUMENT NUMBER 13

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom 1
Appeal to drive for new experience 3

Race

RECAPITULATION OF ARGUMENTS ON RACE

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
----------------	-------------------------

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom	2
Appeal to drive for new experience	5
Appeal to drive for recognition	1

Law and Order

ARGUMENT NUMBER 14

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for new experience 4

Law and Order

ARGUMENT NUMBER 15

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

EVIDENCE AND AUTHORITY

Appropriate and acceptable statistics 1
Expert testimony 1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom 1
Appeal to drive for new experience 1
Appeal to drive for power. 1

Law and Order

ARGUMENT NUMBER 16

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for new experience2

Law and Order
ARGUMENT NUMBER 17

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
----------------	-------------------------

RATIONALIZATION

Being sufficiently obscure to convince 1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for new experience 3

Law and Order

ARGUMENT NUMBER 18

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
----------------	-------------------------

RATIONALIZATION

Argument by applying labels 1
Use of ridicule and sarcasm 3

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom 1
Appeal to drive for new experience 4

Law and Order
ARGUMENT NUMBER 19

Type of Appeal

Frequency of
Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 2

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom 1

Appeal to drive for new experience 1

Law and Order

ARGUMENT NUMBER 20

Type of Appeal

Frequency of Occurrence

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm 3

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom 1

Appeal to drive for new experience 1

Law and Order
ARGUMENT NUMBER 21

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
----------------	-------------------------

RATIONALIZATION

Use of ridicule and sarcasm	1
---------------------------------------	---

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for helpfulness	2
Appeal to drive for new experience	2

Law and Order

RECAPITULATION OF ARGUMENTS ON LAW AND ORDER

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
----------------	-------------------------

RATIONALIZATION

Argument by applying labels	1
Being sufficiently obscure to convince	1
Use of ridicule and sarcasm	10

EVIDENCE AND AUTHORITY

Appropriate and acceptable statistics	1
Expert testimony	1

EMOTION

Appeal to drive for freedom	3
Appeal to drive for helpfulness	2
Appeal to drive for new experience	17

RECAPITULATION OF ALL ARGUMENTS

Type of Appeal	Frequency of Occurrence
RATIONALIZATION	
Argument by applying labels	1
Being sufficiently obscure to convince	4
Use of ridicule and sarcasm	23
EVIDENCE AND AUTHORITY	
Appropriate and acceptable statistics	3
Expert testimony	1
EMOTION	
Appeal to drive for freedom	6
Appeal to drive for helpfulness	4
Appeal to drive for new experience	28
Appeal to drive for recognition	1
Appeal to drive for security	5

APPENDIX C

LIST OF SPEECHES

Title	Media or Location	Date
The Nature of the Presidency	NBC and CBS Radio	September 19, 1968
The American Spirit	Williamsburg, Virginia	October 2, 1968
The Voluntary Way	ABC Radio Network	October 6, 1968
A Better Day for the American Indian	Omaha, Nebraska	September 27, 1968
To Make a Dollar Worth a Dollar	CBS Radio Network	October 23, 1968
Modern American Agriculture: An Opportunity for Service in the 1970's	Des Moines, Iowa	September 14, 1968
An Open Door for American Labor	CBS Radio Network	October 21, 1968
The Crusade Against Crime	Submitted to Republican National Convention Committee on Resolutions	July 31, 1968
Order and Justice Under Law	Mutual Broadcast-System	September 29, 1968
The Elderly: For the Enduring Generation	CBS Radio Network	October 22, 1968
Education for Excellence, Freedom and Diversity	CBS Radio Network	October 20, 1968
Problems of the Cities	Submitted to Republican National Convention Committee on Resolutions	August 1, 1968

Title	Media or Location	Date
The Research Gap: Crisis in American Science and Tech- nology	New York, New York	October 5, 1968
The All-Volunteer Armed Force	CBS Radio Network	October 17, 1968
America's Natural Resources	CBS Radio Network	October 18, 1968
Restoring the U. S. to the Role of a First-Rate Mari- time Power	Seattle, Washing- ton	September 25, 1968
To Keep the Peace Vietnam	CBS Radio Network Submitted to Repub- lican National Convention Ccm- mittee on Resolu- tions	October 19, 1968 August 1, 1968
The Security Gap	CBS Radio Network	October 24, 1968
The Cradle of Civilization Must Not be Its Grave	B'nai B'rith Convention, Washington, D.C.	September 8, 1968
The Time to Save Nato	CBS Radio Network	October 13, 1968
The Alliance for Progress	New York, New York	October 14, 1968
I See a Day . . .	Republican National Convention, Miami Beach, Florida	August 8, 1968

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albrecht, Alfred James. "A Rhetorical Study of Upton Sinclair's 1934 Campaign for Governor of California," Speech Monographs, Volume XXXIV, Number 3, August, 1967.
- Angel, D. Duane, "The Campaign Speaking of George Romney: 1962 and 1964," Speech Monographs, Volume XXXIII, Number 3, August, 1966.
- Brembeck, Winston Lamont and Howell, William Smiley. Persuasion, A Means of Social Control. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.
- Brockriede, Wayne and Ehninger, Douglas. Decision By Debate. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1963.
- Brooks, William D. "A Study of the Relationship of Selected Factors to Changes in Voting Attitude of Audiences Listening to Political Speeches of President Johnson and Senator Goldwater." Speech Monographs, Volume XXXIII, Number 3, August, 1966.
- Carney, James D. and Scheer, Richard K. Fundamentals of Logic, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965.
- Cronkhite, Gary. Persuasion, Speech and Behavioral Change. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1969.
- "Finally, Nixon's the One," Newsweek. November 11, 1968.
- Halberstam, David, "Richard M. Nixon," 1969 Year Book. Crowell-Collier Educational Corporation, 1969.
- Hall, Robert N. "Lyndon B. Johnson's Speaking In the 1941 Senate Campaign." The Southern Speech Journal, Volume XXX, Number 1, Fall, 1964. Jacksonville, Florida: Convention Press. Published by the Southern Speech Association.
- Harris, Louis. "Polls: An Insight," Newsweek, November 11, 1968.

Hayakawa, S. I. Language in Thought and Action. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1964.

McBath, James H. and Fisher, Walter R. "Persuasion in Presidential Campaign Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Volume LV, Number 1, February, 1969.

McGinniss, Joe. The Selling of the President, 1968. New York: Trident Press, 1969.

Miller, Gerald R. and Nilson, Thomas R. Perspectives on Argumentation, Palo Alto: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1966.

Nixon, Richard M. Nixon Speaks Out. New York: Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee, 1968.

Oliver, Robert T. The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1957.

"People in the News," 1969 Year Book, Crowell-Collier Educational Corporation, 1969.

Powell, James Grant. "An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Persuasion of Kennedy and Nixon in the 1960 Campaign," Speech Monographs, Volume XXXI, Number 3, August, 1964.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, New York: New York Times Company, 1968.

Spence, Janet T., Underwood, Benton J., Duncan, Carl P., Cotton, John W. Elementary Statistics, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954.

"The Way the Voting Went--and Why," U. S. News and World Report, November 18, 1968.

"Voters' Mood in Two 'Weathervane' Counties," and "What the Candidates Stand For," U. S. News and World Report, October 28, 1968.