

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES  
ON FOREIGN POLICY OF SENATOR  
J. W. FULBRIGHT

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
Calvin Wharton Downs  
1963



This is to certify that the  
thesis entitled  
A Thematic Analysis of Speeches  
on Foreign Policy of Senator  
J. W. Fulbright  
presented by  
Calvin Wharton Downs

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Speech

David C. Ralph  
Major professor

Date Feb. 26, 1963



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AN ABSTRACT

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES  
ON FOREIGN POLICY OF SENATOR

J. W. FULBRIGHT

by

Calvin W. Downs

As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas wields considerable influence over the relations of the United States with other countries. His position often focuses the national spotlight upon him, and he has been the object of much conflicting criticism.

Twenty-four of his speeches on foreign policy between February, 1959, and April, 1962, were analyzed in order to ascertain objectively and quantitatively the Senator's basic ideas concerning foreign policy and to examine the structure in which these ideas combine to form his ideology. Whenever possible, the conclusions of this analysis were then related to his biographical development as an outstanding statesman.



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Quantitative content analysis was the principal research methodology. First, forty themes were abstracted from the total number of speeches and were tested for reliability by independent coders. Second, the frequency with which each theme appeared in the total group of speeches was computed. Third, a symbol coding analysis gave a sensitive indication of the Senator's attitudes toward concepts within the nine themes which appeared most frequently. With the paragraph being used as the recording unit, fifteen symbols were coded according to Fulbright's association of (1) morality-immorality, (2) strength-weakness, and/or (3) desirability-undesirability with them.

Fourth, a contingency analysis indicated which pairs of themes tended to occur together more frequently than by chance. Fifth, elementary linkage analysis outlined the significant cluster relationships among themes, and ten theme clusters appeared.

Sixth, the twenty-four speeches were divided into four groups according to the type of audience to which they were delivered--i.e., academic, business and professional, political, and international--and the speeches within each group were then analyzed to determine significant

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emphasis or de-emphasis of any particular theme for that audience type. For this analysis and the one following, significance was tested by comparing a theme's actual percentage of occurrence in a particular group with its expected percentage of occurrence in that group. The standard deviation from the expected percentage was calculated by 
$$c_p = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{N}}$$
, and a ninety-five per cent level of significance was regarded as being two sigmas in either direction from the expected percentage.

Seventh, a comparative frequency analysis determined whether or not any themes were significantly emphasized or de-emphasized in the speeches delivered during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations.

These seven analytic steps revealed that Senator Fulbright tends to be an internationalist in his approach to foreign policy, and that he conceives of American foreign policy as basically revolving around the American-Soviet competition. In his speeches, he concentrates heavily on areas of American national life, such as education, which he thinks need to be improved. A prime concern of his is the governmental structure of the United States, and he tends to favor greater centralization of government as a means for achieving a more pragmatic foreign policy.

Calvin W. Downs

Finally, the Senator adapts his thematic content to the type of audience that he faces. Before academic groups he concentrates significantly on themes about government structure, but he significantly omits this topic when speaking to both political and business and professional audiences. He stresses the importance of foreign politics to the business and professional audiences and stresses interdependence to the international audiences.

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ON FOREIGN POLICY OF SENATOR  
J. W. FULBRIGHT

By  
Calvin Wharton Downs

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Speech

1963

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is a product of cooperation among many people to whom the author is deeply indebted. Foremost among them is the author's close friend and major professor, Dr. David C. Ralph. The author wishes to express to both Dr. Ralph and the other members of his Guidance Committee--Dr. Kenneth G. Hance, Dr. Malcolm MacLean, and Dr. David Moore--his sincere gratitude and appreciation for their interest, guidance, and academic stimulation.

Others whom the author wishes to acknowledge and to thank for their assistance are: Mr. Jack Prather and Mr. James Clark of the Communications Research Center for helping the author program the data; the Communications Research Center for processing the data; and Mr. Parker Westbrook and Mr. Patrick Fleming, members of Senator Fulbright's office staff, for their cooperation in the gathering of data.

Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to the author's parents, Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Downs, for their continuous and unfailing assistance, encouragement, and inspiration.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

#### Introduction

As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright, junior senator from Arkansas, occupies one of the most powerful and influential positions in the present government of the United States. Furthermore, the role of the United States in world affairs dictates that his decisions affect the entire world; and his statements, therefore, may well influence the course of history. Such potential power concerning foreign relations is unique to the senatorial position held by Fulbright and is surpassed only by the power of the President and Secretary of State. Inherent within this position of power, however, are great responsibilities and close public scrutiny.

Like all other senators, Fulbright faces the difficulty of partitioning his responsibilities between the representation of interests for a local geographical entity and the framing of national and international policies--two roles which are frequently difficult to reconcile.

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"This is no small task in a state where the most successful politicians in recent years have been the loudest advocates of state's rights."<sup>1</sup>

His situation is made even more precarious because he occupies the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which is a position concerned primarily with policies of international significance. Local critics frequently use his position as a means for adding fuel to their fires of disagreement with Fulbright. A rather common criticism is that he has greater concern for the multiple foreign attachments of the United States than for the representation of his home state.

The concern over Fulbright, however, spreads much farther than the boundaries of Arkansas. Because of his committee position, he has also become a national issue, a man of national concern; and of great importance from the national point of view are the nation-wide comments that are directed toward him. Despite the fact that he is widely regarded as a man of great intellectual capacity with deep insights into foreign affairs, his approaches to foreign

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<sup>1</sup>J. B. Starr, "Fulbright Campaigns Against Possible Opposition," Shreveport Times, December 3, 1961, p 2-F.

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relations are often the objects of severe attack from nationally organized opinion groups. The sources and enormity of such criticism are suggested by a recent memo to the Senator from his administrative assistant Lee Williams:

As a result of your Senate speeches, press conferences, television appearances and other public appearances in the last two weeks, you have succeeded in arousing the ire of practically every organized segment of world opinion. This is reflected in the mail you have received during this period [from]. . . John Birchers, McCarthyites, Goldwaterites, Thurmondites, Dixiecrats, militarists, isolationists, Zionists, Germans, Catholics, Chinese Nationalists, Koreans, NAACP-ers, ADA-ers, Communists, private powerists, veterans, farmers cooperativites.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, supporters of Fulbright are equally numerous and are often just as vocal as the critics. No doubt variations in the support of, and attacks on, the Senator arise from differences in political philosophy. Nevertheless, a quick glance at the critical groups listed in the memo would suggest that Fulbright's statements have been particularly susceptible to contradictory interpretations. Ambiguous symbols such as "liberal," "conservative," and "constitutionality" are bandied about in political controversy, creating a certain amount of confusion. Perhaps

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<sup>2</sup> E. W. Kenworthy, "Fulbright Becomes a National Issue," New York Times Magazine, October 1, 1961, p. 21.

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the Fulbright case exemplifies R. Nelson's statement that "much political propaganda is completely meaningless when subjected to rational analysis."<sup>3</sup>

#### Purposes of This Study

In view of the disparity among the multifarious views attributed to Fulbright, it seemed worthwhile to subject his speeches to an objective analysis in order to isolate his ideas from those merely attributed to him by both critics and supporters. Consequently, the primary purpose of this study was to ascertain objectively and quantitatively the Senator's basic ideas concerning foreign policy as set forth in his speeches and to examine the structure in which these ideas are combined to form his ideology. While there are many ways of performing rational analyses, this study focused on: (1) an identification of the themes about which he speaks, (2) the comparative frequency with which they appear, (3) contingency and cluster patterns which exist among the themes, and (4) the attitudinal direction toward certain concepts representative of major themes.

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<sup>3</sup>R. Nelson, "Free Speech, Persuasion and the Democratic Processes," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLIV (Oct., 1958), p. 237.



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A second purpose of this study was to consider the Senator's development as an outstanding statesman, as one of America's foremost molders and critics of foreign policy, and as a speaker in much demand throughout the nation.

Fulbright is somewhat unique in that he is frequently considered to be internationally minded, whereas Arkansas is considered to be rather provincial; and yet Arkansans return him to the Senate time after time to represent them. Consequently, a third purpose of this study was to relate his biography with his political ideology. He is a unique product of his particular family, social status, education, and jobs; and all of these can be studied to facilitate an understanding of, and possible explanation for, the phenomena found in the ideological analysis.

#### Limitations

Four major limitations were placed on this study. First, it was concerned with only those speeches dealing primarily with foreign policy. From a practical standpoint, a content boundary had to be drawn if any generalizations were to be made from the study; and this particular subject matter area was chosen in accordance with Senator Fulbright's

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committee position and the author's interests. The author was permitted to examine the Senator's speech files, making his own selection.

Second, the time span covered was regulated by the beginning of Fulbright's term as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in February, 1959. This starting date was selected because greater significance is attached to statements of the committee chairman than would be attached to foreign policy statements of the same man before he occupied this position. In other words, the position itself is symbolic of authority. Moreover, before he became chairman, there was "little in his public statements of the past to show what course he would take."<sup>4</sup> April, 1962, was selected as the concluding date for the collection of speeches in order for the author to begin to analyze his data.

Third, only three speeches delivered on the floor of the Senate by Fulbright were included. Most Senate speeches tend to be rather specific in subject matter--i.e., pertain to specific legislation--and may not encompass general themes concerning foreign policy. These three exceptions

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<sup>4</sup>"As Fulbright Sees U.S. Policy Abroad," U.S. News and World Report, XLVI (February 13, 1959), p. 87.

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included a general overview of foreign policy and an outline of basic objectives of the United States in foreign affairs.

Fourth, the study was limited to those speeches for which manuscripts were available. Although Senator Fulbright does not prepare manuscripts for all of his speeches, manuscripts were obtained from his office for twenty-four speeches delivered between February, 1959, and April, 1962, which met all of the above requirements. (These twenty-four speeches are listed in Table 1.)

#### Materials and Resources

Three categories of resources were used in this study. The first category included manuscripts of twenty-four speeches supplied by the Senator's office for analysis. The second category included biographical information collected from periodical literature about the Senator and from interviews with members of the Fulbright staff. The third category included basic books and articles in communication which were used to develop the methodology. Foremost among these were Pool's Trends in Content Analysis, Berelson's Content Analysis in Communication Research, and

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Lasswell's Language of Politics and The Comparative Study of Symbols.

TABLE 1  
LIST OF SPEECHES ANALYZED

No.	Date	Title and/or Description
1.	Feb. 28, 1959	Speech at Democratic Victory Dinner, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.
2.	Apr. 16, 1959	"What Makes United States Foreign Policy," Overseas Press Club, New York City.
3.	Apr. 18, 1959	Speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Washington, D.C.
4.	May 7, 1959	"Our Responsibilities in World Affairs," Gabriel Silver Lecture on International Understanding, Columbia University.
5.	Sept. 9, 1959	Speech in Senate just before adjournment.
6.	Nov. 3, 1959	"America's Responsibilities in International Affairs," 73rd Annual Convention of the Iowa Bankers Assoc., Des Moines, Iowa.
7.	Nov. 16, 1959	Speech at United States Delegation Dinner Honoring Delegates to the Fifth Annual NATO Parliamentarians Conference.



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TABLE 1-Continued

No.	Date	Title and/or Description
8.	Jan. 31, 1960	"Report from Congress," Downers Grove Village Forum, Inc., Downers Grove, Illinois.
9.	Feb. 23, 1960	"The Role of Education on the Prosperity and Political Maturity of a New Nation," West Indies.
10.	Mar. 22, 1960	Speech at the 77th Annual Dinner of the Harvard Club, Washington, D.C.
11.	Sept. 1, 1960	"Some Aspects of American Foreign Policy," American Bar Assoc., Washington, D.C.
12.	Oct. 31, 1960	Speech at World Affairs Council, Los Angeles, California.
13.	Nov. 1, 1960	Speech at the World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, Calif.
14.	Mar. 10, 1961	"Some Aspects of Foreign Relations," Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
15.	Apr. 20, 1961	"In Need of a Consensus," Penrose Memorial Lecture, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Penn.
16.	Apr. 21, 1961	"The Role of the Senate in Foreign Affairs," Doherty Lecture, University of Virginia.
17.	May 5, 1961	"The Formulation of American Foreign Policy," Cornell Law School.

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TABLE 1-Continued

No.	Date	Title and/or Description
18.	May 20, 1961	"The First Four Months of the New Frontier," Jr. Chamber of Commerce, Little Rock, Ark.
19.	June 29, 1961	"Some Reflections Upon Recent Events and Continuing Problems," Senate.
20.	July 24, 1961	"U.S. Foreign Policy," Senate.
21.	July 28, 1961	"National Goals and National Consensus," Summer Cubberly Conference, Stanford U. (This speech was pre-recorded on sound film for actual delivery.)
22.	Sept. 30, 1961	"Toward the Greater Security of Free Peoples," 7th Commonwealth Parliamentary Assoc. Conference, London, England.
23.	Nov. 8, 1961	Speech before Arkansas Chamber of Commerce.
24.	Apr. 12, 1962	"Toward a Concert of Free Peoples," Merchandising Corp. Convention, Greenbrier, W.Va. (This speech was delivered over the phone.)

#### Plan of Organization

In alignment with the three primary purposes of this study, its development was divided into three major sections.

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The first furnished the biographical information about Senator Fulbright. The method of research for this section was the historical integration of biographical and historical facts into a continuous setting.

The second section supplied the definition, analysis, and interpretation of the speech themes. The research method consisted of twelve procedural steps in thematic analysis: (1) selection of materials, (2) isolation of categories, (3) definition of themes, (4) coding, (5) reliability testing, (6) frequency analysis, (7) symbol coding, (8) contingency analysis, (9) elementary linkage analysis, (10) analysis of theme treatment to four audience types, (11) comparison of theme treatment under the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, and (12) tabulation and interpretation of the results.

A third section stated the conclusions and related them to the biographical information.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF SENATOR J.

#### WILLIAM FULBRIGHT INTO AN

#### "INTERNATIONALLY-MINDED

#### INTELLECTUAL"<sup>1</sup>

Through the years, many people have assumed the state of Arkansas to be at or near the cultural nadir of the United States. During the 1920's, for example, newsman H. L. Mencken complained that there was not "one first rate man in the entire state."<sup>2</sup> Arkansas' reputation suffered even more by the ominous publicity it received during the Little Rock segregation crisis.

A bad reputation, once gained, is difficult to erase, but few Arkansans have contributed greater challenges to this reputation than has Arkansas' junior senator J. William Fulbright. Probably because his state's reputation, one of his pet peeves is, in fact, the popular idea

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<sup>1</sup>"A Day to Remember," Newsweek, LIII (February 9, 1959), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Edgar Kemler, "The Fulbright Fellow," Nation, CLXXVIII (February 20, 1954), p. 147.



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concerning his home state that an Arkansas politician "must be an unshaved ignoramous who chews tobacco, and, when home, sleeps in front of a cabin in the sun, surrounded by razor-back hawgs and hound dawgs, while his wife sniffs snuff and chops wood."<sup>3</sup> Fulbright's character and ideas directly contradict these popular conceptions, and it seems almost paradoxical that the only Rhodes scholar ever to sit in the Senate, and he an "internationally-minded intellectual," represents Arkansas.

#### Early Years

Senator James William Fulbright, the fourth of six children in his family, was born on April 9, 1905, in Sumner, Missouri. The following year the family moved to Fayetteville, Arkansas, where he still makes his home. Although his father, Jay Fulbright, continued to raise corn and hogs on his farm for awhile, he seems to have developed a shrewd business sense that led him to invest in a number of small local enterprises. The investments were profitable, and in a few years he had accumulated financial interests in a

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<sup>3</sup>Jerome Beatty, "Washington's Cleanup Man," American Magazine, CLI (June, 1951), p. 105.

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sawmill and lumberyard, a "softdrink" bottling plant, a local bank, a wagon factory which later was changed into a furniture store, and a Fayetteville newspaper, the North-west Arkansas Times.

The Senator's mother, Roberta Fulbright, was an industrious and independent woman who possessed tremendous enthusiasm for her family and its enterprises. The high priority that she placed on education is reflected in the life of her son. While the family lived on the farm, young Bill rode horseback to attend the Fayetteville public schools, graduating at the age of sixteen. This was not due to precocity, he says, but to the fact that "My father thought all youngsters should work in the summertime. I preferred taking summer courses and credits, to the tough jobs he had in mind."<sup>4</sup>

Mrs. Fulbright was determined that her son not be permitted to neglect his education. Consequently, after graduating from high school he enrolled immediately in the University of Arkansas.

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<sup>4</sup>Beverly Smith, Jr., "Egghead from the Ozarks," Saturday Evening Post, CCXII (May 2, 1959), p. 116.



Advanced Education

Bill Fulbright's college career was reminiscent of that of an "All-American boy." He majored in political science, and his excellent grades ranked him among the honor students. He was also active in many extracurricular activities. In the social realm, he was initiated into Sigma Chi Fraternity. When he assisted in the development of the University's first student government, the student body elected him president. Thus, he obtained his first taste of politics.

Athletics, however, seemed to be his forte. In football he played halfback on the varsity team for three years. Because of his speed and versatile ability he became a star broken-field runner, punter, and passer. Furthermore, in tennis he played so adeptly that his teammates elected him their captain.

Such a college record is indicative not only of his native ability but also of his congeniality and the esteem in which his peers held him. Although his father's death interrupted his college career briefly during his junior year, he returned to the University to receive his B. A.

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degree in February, 1925, two months before he became twenty years old.

During his senior year at college, an event occurred which changed the destiny of young Bill Fulbright's life. At the suggestion of a friend, he took the competitive examination for a Rhodes Scholarship and won. Consequently, rather than going into his father's business, he continued his study of history and political science at Pembroke College, Oxford University, taking what was known as the "Final Honour School of Modern History."

Going from the Ozark Mountains to Oxford University was quite an "eye-opener" for this young man who had never seen Washington or New York. Of this experience, he says, "I loved it from the beginning."<sup>5</sup> He spent three years at Oxford, studying history six months out of each year. The other six months he described as follows: "You settle down and study somewhere in Europe--say, at a pension in Tours. You settle down and read. You do that more or less according to your disposition."<sup>6</sup> In addition to his avid reading

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<sup>5</sup>"Senator Fulbright," New Yorker, XXXIV (May 10, 1958), p. 31.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



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of multifarious materials, he was also exposed to students from every continent; and, for the first time, he "began to understand something of the world's vast variety of political and religious beliefs."<sup>7</sup>

Being young and physically vigorous, he could not resist a return to the athletic fields. Not only did he join the soccer, rugby, and tennis teams, but he became so proficient in lacrosse that he was selected to join the Oxford-Cambridge team which toured the United States in 1926. This participation in athletics led to other extracurricular activities. He says,

You know, if you play on an English university team, they immediately ask you to join a literary society. I was asked to join the Johnson Society. Samuel Johnson. It soon became apparent that I would have to justify the invitation, so I began to study literature, which I'd never done very much.<sup>8</sup>

He also joined a debating society.

In 1928 he received a B. A. degree from Oxford with a B-plus grade average. Deciding to spend another year in Europe, he moved to Vienna, where he attached himself as a voluntary helper to M. W. Foder, an experienced correspondent

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<sup>7</sup> Beverly Smith, Jr., loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> "Senator Fulbright," loc. cit.

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for the Philadelphia Public Eagle. Together, they toured most of Eastern Europe and the Near East; and through Foder young Fulbright was introduced to the "seamy nether side of international maneuver" by meeting top politicians and "shadier underlings. . .who worked for Stalin, for Mussolini, or for. . .Hitler."<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, although he was not a newspaperman, he was permitted to attend the gatherings of American correspondents at the Cafe Louvre in Vienna.

These experiences gave him a rather confused first-hand knowledge of the political ferment in Europe. Reflecting upon the situation, Senator Fulbright confesses, "I didn't know a darn thing about the United States. . . and very little about Europe. I had just had fun."<sup>10</sup> Opportunity's door had been opened, however, and Fulbright returned in 1931 to receive an M. A. from Oxford. Later, in 1953, the University awarded him an honorary doctor's degree in one of the few occasions when an American has received the honor.

Having spent three years studying and traveling in Europe, Fulbright returned to the United States in 1929.

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<sup>9</sup> Beverly Smith, Jr., op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> Jerome Beatty, op. cit., p. 106.

His appetite for education, however, was still not satiated, and he enrolled in George Washington University to study law. At the age of twenty-nine he received the LL.B. degree with distinction in 1934. In his customary scholastic excellence, he had finished second in a class of 135.<sup>11</sup>

Although the LL.B. was the last academic degree that he earned, he has been awarded eight honorary degrees as a result of his outstanding political career.

#### An Academic Career

After his admittance to the District of Columbia Bar, Fulbright worked one year as special attorney in the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice. Then he accepted a position as an instructor in law at his alma mater, George Washington University.

In 1936 Professor Fulbright returned to Arkansas to help his mother who needed assistance in managing the family businesses. The academic life still beckoned, however; and in addition to raising beef cattle, practicing law, and helping with the family businesses, he became a lecturer in

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<sup>11</sup>Beverly Smith, Jr., op. cit., p. 116.

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law at the University of Arkansas. After he had taught three years, his status was suddenly changed in 1939 when Dr. John Futrall, president of the University, was killed in an automobile accident. The Board of Trustees appointed Fulbright as Futrall's successor. At thirty-four, he was the youngest president of a university in the entire United States.<sup>12</sup> His administration was satisfactory, and Fulbright became one of the most popular people in town. His career seemed set.

Gregarious and unassuming, the new president was an immediate success. Playing ping pong in the freshman social hall and going fishing with the faculty, he managed to imbue the campus with something of his own democratic faith.<sup>13</sup>

His academic career was interrupted in 1941, however, when a second unexpected event occurred, changing the direction of his life again. When Homer Adkins defeated Carl Bailey in the 1940 gubernatorial contest, Fulbright's mother disgustedly charged in a newspaper editorial that "the voters of Arkansas apparently preferred a handshaking, backslapping politician to a statesman."<sup>14</sup> An annoyed

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<sup>12</sup>Gerald Kloss, "The Senate's Mr. Scholarship," Milwaukee Journal (Feb. 6, 1959).

<sup>13</sup>Edgar Kemler, loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup>Beverly Smith, Jr., loc. cit.

Governor Adkins began to make demands of the University's president. When Fulbright refused to comply with the demands, the governor fired him for political reasons on Commencement Day of 1941.

Election to the House  
of Representatives

Fulbright's being fired marked the end of what had been a promising academic career, and the former university president returned once more to the management of his family enterprises. This activity, however, was short-lived. Later that same year Representative Clyde Ellis, a former student of Fulbright, decided to retire from Congress and persuaded his former instructor to campaign for his seat in the House of Representatives in 1942. Fulbright yielded. Quick to learn the art of politics, he set up an organization with friends and former students. "I hadn't been in half of the ten counties in my district. I knew nothing of practical politics--but here was a chance of a lifetime and I went in to win."<sup>15</sup> He stumped the district to get acquainted in any way he could--speaking on street corners

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<sup>15</sup>Jerome Beatty, loc. cit.



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and elsewhere, visiting stores and homes, and shaking hundreds of hands. This initiation into politics soon supplied him with the following philosophy about voters.

They want candidates to stay around and talk--not talk about politics, just talk. Quick visits lose votes, and the greatest art in campaigning is not to make a persuasive political speech, but to say, "Hello. How's the family.?"<sup>16</sup>

This philosophy worked well in practice, and in 1942 Fulbright represented the Third District of Arkansas in the Seventy-eighth Congress.

Fulbright compares his taking a seat in Congress to his initiation into Sigma Chi Fraternity at the University. He stated, ". . .the other members were helpful, but they never let me forget I was a freshman."<sup>17</sup> The new Congressman, however, performed more like a seasoned upperclassman than like a freshman.

Although new congressmen rarely receive much attention, Fulbright cracked the barrier to fame quickly. After being assigned to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, he attracted the attention of both the House and the Senate by introducing a fifty-five word resolution in which Congress

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

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hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring participation by the United States therein.<sup>18</sup>

The Fulbright Resolution passed both Houses of Congress overwhelmingly in 1943, becoming an historic milestone both for the nation and for the Congressman. For the United States it marked the end of a foreign policy traditionally dominated by isolationist philosophy and the official beginning of the organizing of the United Nations. For Fulbright the resolution--renamed the Fullerbrighter Resolution by his opponents<sup>19</sup>--established his credibility as a man of foresight and deep interest in international matters. It is probably safe to assume that his observations of the ferment in Europe which led to World War II convinced him that international organizations were necessary to preserve peace.

Although the final organization of the United Nations did not meet his expectations in that he thought no nation should have veto power, Fulbright was encouraged by this step toward international law.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Edgar Kemler, loc. cit.



Election to the Senate

In terms of Fulbright's contribution to the House and to his own personal ambitions, his first term as a Congressman had been highly successful. In 1944, however, he recognized an opportunity for advancement. One of Arkansas' senatorial positions was vacated, and Fulbright decided to campaign for it. Among his four opponents in the Democratic primary was the governor who had fired him from the presidency of the University of Arkansas. Revenge must have been sweet for Fulbright as he beat Governor Adkins by 32,000 votes.<sup>20</sup>

In 1945, soon after his election to the Senate, the academic world beckoned once more with an offer of the presidency of Columbia University; but the new Senator refused the position in order to pursue his political career. Since that time his political fortunes have been rather secure. In 1950 he was re-elected without opposition; in 1956 no Democrat opposed him in the primary, and he defeated the Republican candidate solidly; in the election of 1962,

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<sup>20</sup>Beverly Smith, Jr., op. cit., p. 118.

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he defeated his opponent in the Democratic primary by a two-to-one margin and once again soundly defeated the Republican candidate.

Emphasis on Education

One of the primary concerns of "the Professor," as Fulbright is sometimes called on Capitol Hill, has been the improvement of education.<sup>21</sup> Probably because of his background as scholar, professor, and university president, he seems more impressed than others with the realization that knowledge leads to understanding, which, in turn, is the prime factor in the successful conduct of foreign affairs. Believing that the products of their respective educational systems will ultimately decide the challenges between Russia and the United States, he seems greatly disturbed over what he considers to be major weaknesses in the American approach to education. He would change it as follows.

Mathematics, languages, natural science would be the core of a new . . . type of American education, in which somehow or other the student would be inspired to

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<sup>21</sup>E. W. Kenworthy, "The Fulbright Idea of Foreign Policy," New York Times Magazine (May 10, 1959), p. 10.



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learn, and the nation would rebuild the sources of its knowledge and cultural values.<sup>22</sup>

Consequently, he has frequently "carried the lance. . . against what he calls the swinish blight so common in our time, the blight of anti-intellectualism."<sup>23</sup>

The Senator has not only issued verbal clarion calls, but he has also activated his ideas through law. His major contribution has been the introduction of Public Law Number 584 in 1946. This act provided for foreign exchange scholarships and has probably made Fulbright's name more widely known in more countries than the name of any other American legislator in decades.

The idea for the scholarships may have stemmed from his own experience as a Rhodes scholar and the wish that others might have similar opportunities to study abroad. To him, lack of contact with other societies permitted rather provincial thinking, and he thought that studying abroad would increase international understanding. This is suggested in the preface he wrote for the book Toward a Permanent Peace, printed by the American Nobel Center.

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<sup>22</sup>"Revival of Learning," Commonweal, LXVII (Feb 7., 1958), p. 475.

<sup>23</sup>Gerald Kloss, loc. cit.

Americans will find it difficult to work harmoniously with other nations of the world. Our experiences, and our most cherished prejudices, are opposed to the assumption of responsibility in conjunction with other nations. Our political ideals, and our sense of moral values, are sure to be offended by our associates, whose standards in many instances are so different from ours. But we must have patience and understanding to work together in peace, as we have in war.<sup>24</sup>

The Fulbright scholarships had economic benefits as well as educational benefits since they were to be financed from the proceeds of the sale of American surplus war materials. Stored in foreign countries, these materials were useless; and although the countries wanted to buy them, they lacked dollar exchange. Fulbright reasoned, therefore, that if each country were allowed to buy the materials in its own currency, the money could finance scholarships for selected Americans who wished to study in that country, or it could pay travel expenses for the other country's own students who wished to study in the United States.

The Fulbright Act was passed by Congress; and before 1960 more than 37,000 students had received its benefits. In 1956 Secretary of State John Foster Dulles praised it as

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<sup>24</sup>J. William Fulbright, "Role of the Peace Pact," Toward a Permanent Peace (Am. Nobel Center, June 6, 1945), p. 9.

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"the most fabulously profitable investment ever authorized by Congress."<sup>25</sup> Fulbright himself says,

The exchange program is the thing that reconciles me to all the difficulties of political life. It's the one activity that gives me some hope that the human race won't commit suicide--though I still won't count on it.<sup>26</sup>

In order to promote greater understanding and to decrease the likelihood of the human race committing suicide, he would like to see the communist block included in the program.

As a part of his crusade for education, the Senator has attempted to increase the use of the nation's educational facilities by government. As chairman of committees and subcommittees, he has invested about \$500,000 in twenty-one "studies" of pertinent subjects by private organizations and educational institutions.<sup>27</sup>

Currently, he is "carrying a lance" for federal aid to education. Believing that the nation's educational systems need a boost toward greater improvement, and a rapid

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<sup>25</sup> Arthur Krock, "The Rise of a Young Man with Ideas," New York Times (Feb. 3, 1959).

<sup>26</sup> "Senator Fulbright," loc. cit.

<sup>27</sup> Holmes Alexander, "Senator Fulbright: Importer of Ideas," Los Angeles Times (February 8, 1960), p. III-5.

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one at that, he insists that the federal government is the only institution with enough resources to encourage the measures that are needed.

Record of Independence and  
Political Combat

One of Senator Fulbright's outstanding characteristics is his unrelenting stand for principles or actions in which he believes; and despite his tendency toward intellectual contemplation, his record of political combat is probably equalled by few of his colleagues. On numerous occasions his high degree of independence has led him to the brink of political suicide. "Fulbright is not a contentious man, and he does not seek controversy. But he is. . . 'intellectually unterrified,' and he does not fear or shun it."<sup>28</sup>

Two early demonstrations of independence occurred during and immediately after the Dewey-Truman election of 1948. First, he refused to join Southern Democrats in an Anti-Truman campaign, stating, "They're too emotional for

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<sup>28</sup>E. W. Kenworth, "Fulbright Becomes a National Issue," New York Times Magazine (October 1, 1961), p. 89.

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me."<sup>29</sup> Second, after the election, he astounded the nation --especially President Truman--with a tongue-in-cheek recommendation that the President resign. The reason for this suggestion was that Fulbright believed that government works most effectively and progressively when the same political party controls both the legislative and executive branches of government. Since a Republican Congress had been elected, he quipped that Truman, a Democrat, ought to appoint Senator Vandenberg, a Republican from Michigan, as Secretary of State and then resign, leaving Vandenberg to become president. This suggestion embittered President Truman toward Fulbright, and the breach was never completely eliminated.

During his first term, the Senator was placed on committees for (1) banking and currency and (2) foreign relations--ultimately becoming chairman of each. As a member of the former, he led successful endeavors to repeal discriminatory taxes on colored margarine and was instrumental in securing passage of the Small Business Investment Act, an act designed to assist small businesses in obtaining equity capital.

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<sup>29</sup>Jerome Beatty, loc. cit.

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During the Truman administration, Fulbright was made chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee. Traditionally, the position had been a rather routine job of looking over reports from the Reconstruction Finance Cooperation (RFC), and Fulbright said, "Nobody else wanted it. . . . So they gave it to me."<sup>30</sup> The complacency of former chairmen was not characteristic of Fulbright, however; and he once again stirred the wrath of President Truman in 1950 when he announced that the committee would investigate charges of favoritism and corruption within the RFC. Evidence was gathered that revealed rather widespread use of political influence and favoritism in the lending of money, but a Truman aide was promised that the evidence would not be publicized if the situation was corrected. Truman, however, dismissed the accusations as "assinine" and referred to Fulbright as an "overeducated Oxford s.o.b."<sup>31</sup>

After the findings were made public, Fulbright asked the Senate: "Is it too much to ask of them, the favored few of our country, that they behave with simple honesty, with that honesty which looks not to the letter of the law, but

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> Edgar Kemler, op. cit., p. 2.

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to its spirit?"<sup>32</sup> A few critics sneered at what they considered to be political amateurism. The aged Senator McKellar, for example, asked, "Who does Fulbright think he is--Moses or Martin Luther?"<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, an outraged public opinion praised his efforts toward the stimulation of honesty in government.

In the early 1950's principle and independence led the Senator down another lonely path. His hostility toward Senator McCarthy and his investigating committee had never been kept secret; and on the day that the Senate was considering renewal of the appropriation for McCarthy's subcommittee, Fulbright chose to speak against it.

When public men indulge themselves in abuse, when they deny others a fair trial, when they resort to innuendo and insinuation, to libel, scandal, and suspicion, then our democratic society is outraged and democracy is baffled.<sup>34</sup>

Marquis Childs described it as "a reasoned and at times a deeply moving argument," but it won no support.<sup>35</sup> That

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<sup>32</sup> Jerome Beatty, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Edgar Kemler, op. cit., p. 148.

<sup>34</sup> "Accent of Greatness," Nation, CLXXVIII (February 20, 1954), p. 142.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

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same day Fulbright found himself completely alone as he cast the only vote against the \$214,000 appropriation. As a result, anti-Fulbright sentiment became strong in some areas. Among the many that he received was the following vicious letter:

You, Sir, are not worthy of being a human being. I would spit on you if I could, but you would not be worthy of my saliva.<sup>36</sup>

Senator McCarthy referred to his critic as "Senator Half-bright."<sup>37</sup> Now, a decade later, Fulbright is praised for his stand; but, at the time, he was most unpopular. This incident indicates rather dramatically the lengths to which he will go to defend what he believes to be right.

#### Conflict with Eisenhower

After 1952, Senator Fulbright occasionally found himself at odds with a new president. To him, Eisenhower seemed to be feeding the nation "a sugar-coated diet of half-truths"<sup>38</sup> about the Russians and to be creating a

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<sup>36</sup>"Sickness," Time, LXIV (December 13, 1954), p. 14.

<sup>37</sup>Beverly Smith, Jr., op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>38</sup>"Revival of Learning," loc. cit.

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Furthermore, he and Eisenhower disagreed over the amount of power the president should have. Believing the administration should make long range plans in foreign policy, Fulbright, along with Senators Kennedy and Humphrey, fought for rather permissive legislation to strengthen the administration's power. In one instance, the Development Loan Fund was to be given a five year authorization. Eisenhower, on the other hand, refused the five year plan as an unnecessary extension of power. Fulbright interpreted this attitude as a flight from responsibility and continually criticized the President for it.

Chairman of the Senate Foreign  
Relations Committee

On February 9, 1959, Senator Fulbright was appointed chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was the second Arkansan to hold that position, the other being Senator Sevier in 1848. He succeeded Senator Theodore Green of Rhode Island, who at ninety-one was the oldest senator

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<sup>39</sup>David Broder, "Fulbright Spurs Senate to Wee Hours Debate," Washington Star (March 5, 1960), p. A-1.

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in the history of the United States. The new chairman, on the other hand, was only fifty-three and was the youngest senator to hold this position in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, "it was widely commented that he brought to the post the most thorough background of any senator in recent memory."<sup>40</sup>

His appointment was greeted with varied emotions. On the one hand, his reputed intelligence and his well-known interest in foreign affairs earned for him eager acceptance. As was pointed out earlier, however, many citizens did not accept Fulbright's ideas; therefore, they were reluctant that he be placed in one of the most influential posts in Congress. Furthermore, he had been a severe critic of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and many thought it unwise to have a chairman who was antagonistic to the Secretary of State. It was evident that Fulbright had a low regard for Dulles personally. "He believes that Dulles is incapable of admitting error and is intellectually dishonest,"<sup>41</sup> and that Dulles' foreign policy was

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<sup>40</sup>Beverly Smith, Jr., op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>41</sup>"A Day to Remember," loc. cit.

inadequate, outmoded, and misdirected.

. . . . .  
 It is hard for me to accept the idea that it isn't possible to make some gradual adjustment with the Russians that would be to our mutual benefit.<sup>42</sup>

After he assumed the chairmanship, the criticisms between Dulles and Fulbright became less and less open. As a mere senator, Fulbright could speak freely without irreparable damage; but restraint was necessary for him as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee because his words might be interpreted as representing a large portion of the Senate or the nation. Nevertheless, he set out immediately to decrease the rigidity in the administration's foreign policy.

#### Personal Characteristics

As a brilliant, introspective, original-thinking man, Senator Fulbright does not fit many of the political stereotypes.

First, he seems to lack a fierce drive for power and personal ambition. In his role of chairman, he exhibits a deliberate, urbane manner which is conducive to work. When

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<sup>42</sup>"As Fulbright Sees U. S. Policy Abroad," U. S. News and World Report, XLVI (February 13, 1959), p. 87.

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the committee is in session, "he is an orderly and efficient presiding officer and a penetrating inquisitor."<sup>43</sup>

Although he likes for the President and Secretary of State to keep him informed on foreign relations, he does not seem overly eager for power. In fact, he seems to take a rather detached view of his career which he recognizes has been produced by a series of accidents rather than by conscious design. In 1960 speculators pointed to him as a possible choice for Kennedy's secretary of state, but Fulbright calmly assured people that the Senate is the end of his ambitions.

Consonant with his restrained ambition is his disdain for mere personal publicity. He will cultivate it when it helps him put a point across--such as promoting federal aid to education--but merely keeping his name in the news has no appeal. He says, "If all I wanted to do was to get my name in the papers, I could stand on my head at the hearings."<sup>44</sup> This attitude toward publicity prompted

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<sup>43</sup>E. K. Lindley, "Senator Fulbright," American Oxonian (April, 1960), reprinted in Congressional Record, CVI (1960), p. A5551.

<sup>44</sup>C. B. Seib and A. L. Olten, "Fulbright: Arkansas Paradox," Harpers (June, 1956), p. 62.

one of his constituents to remark that Fulbright "tried to be a work horse and not a show horse."<sup>45</sup>

In like manner, Senator Fulbright cannot be classed as an organization man. As a member of the Democratic Party, he believes in its basic principles and usually votes toward its objectives. Nevertheless, he cannot be considered a "regular" because he will place his own views above the party stand, and his independence of party regularity is lamented by Democratic Party officials. Fulbright explained his attitude as follows:

I don't like machines, I don't like party organization, and I don't like patronage. I want to be free to vote as I please on every issue--and the conflicts that result tear me apart.<sup>46</sup>

Although his Senate colleagues respect him, Fulbright has not been initiated into the "clublike camaraderie of the Senate"--nor does it appear that he has wanted to be a member of the inner club.<sup>47</sup> He has remained rather independent and aloof. "He is more studious, more

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<sup>45</sup> "Senator Fulbright Gives Report," Camden News (September 30, 1959), p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Jerome Beatty, op. cit., p. 109.

<sup>47</sup> Beverly Smith, Jr., loc. cit.

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reflective, less gregarious than most of his colleagues. He spends much time in reading which others devote to politicking. . . ." <sup>48</sup> Senator Paul Douglas explained this characteristic as follows:

He's a child of the Eighteenth Century, a throwback to that age of enlightenment, trust in reason, temperate argument, and slightly aristocratic tendencies. That, I think, explains why he seems a little aloof, a little different from the rest. <sup>49</sup>

Fulbright is usually classified as a liberal in foreign relations, but the Senator tends to be somewhat conservative on the home front. In civil rights questions, for example, he labels himself as a "constitutional traditionalist" and has taken a moderate stand. <sup>50</sup> Arkansas newspapers still receive and print letters criticizing him for not lending stronger support to the Southern cause in the integration controversy. Northern Democrats, on the other hand, cannot understand his justification for his position that the Supreme Court erred in its attempt to change an entire social pattern with one decision. He

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> C. B. Seib, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>50</sup> Gerald Kloss, loc. cit.

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approached the problem as a "legacy of an ancient and melancholy history" rather than as a matter of conscience, asking not that the Southern mind be understood but only that its existence be recognized.<sup>51</sup> In rebuttal to his party leaders, he cautioned, "There's no prejudice so strong as the prejudice against the South."<sup>52</sup>

Perhaps this mixture of domestic conservatism and international liberalism is one reason why Fulbright is thought to be a Southern paradox. He does not always fit these labels, however. For example, even though he is reputed to be conservative in domestic affairs, he supports federal aid to education, a movement usually identified with liberal elements of United States society. The comment has been made that "Few members of the United States Congress walk both sides of the street as successfully" as he.<sup>53</sup>

Senator Fulbright is also an extraordinary man in terms of the amount of work he accomplishes, but he appears

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<sup>51</sup>E. W. Kenworthy, "The Fulbright Idea. . .," op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>52</sup>"Hits Party Platform," Kansas City Times (August 3, 1960).

<sup>53</sup>"On the South Side," Time, LXV (April 18, 1955), p. 25.

unhurried with his

warm Ozark drawl, the casual walk, the mind furnished from history and law, and the prose style still governed by the old-fashioned notion that sentences should be grouped in paragraphs. In fact, Fulbright could not appear to be less busy.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to attending to his Senate responsibilities, he incorporates many extracurricular activities into his schedule. At home in Fayetteville, for example, he is a member of the Rotary Club and the Disciples of Christ Church. He is a member of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution and has been a frequent delegate to meetings such as the Canadian-American and NATO Parliamentary conferences. Furthermore, he still maintains his interest in athletics, and golf and frequent workouts in the Senate gymnasium keep him physically fit.

#### Current Images

Just as his appointment was greeted with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the evaluations of his performance as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have been varied. On the favorable side, Holmes Alexander said in the Los Angeles Times:

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<sup>54</sup>E. W. Kenworthy, op. cit., p. 10.

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Of the Foreign Relations chairmen since World War II (Vandenberg, Wiley, Connally, George, Green) Fulbright is not the most colorful, nor the most popular, nor the most revered, nor as yet the most famous. But he is making a record which seems to say, "I'd rather be right. . ." and that is distinction enough.

Today Senator J. William Fulbright holds the same amoral, unflinching, unsentimental stethoscope to the heart of international affairs. He tries to find out what the situation truthfully is. After that--whatever works is right.<sup>55</sup>

Lyndon Johnson paid him great tribute with the remark: "Of all the committee chairmen, Bill Fulbright is the best. He delivers on time."<sup>56</sup> A member of his committee staff also praised him highly, commenting:

Fulbright reads. We haven't had a chairman for years who reads. I've watched him. . .and I think he is the greatest man of principle I ever dealt with. He's got nerve. Several times I have suggested that he not go out on a limb for something but he insists, "Well, if it's right, let's go."<sup>57</sup>

Senator Mike Mansfield, Senate Majority Leader, is among the most avid admirers of his Arkansas colleague. On numerous occasions Mansfield has praised Fulbright on the Senate floor and asked that a complimentary newspaper or magazine article about him be placed in the Congressional

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<sup>55</sup> Holmes Alexander, "A Senator Who Does Right as He Sees It," Los Angeles Times (August 27, 1960).

<sup>56</sup> Elizabeth Carpenter, "Fulbright: Man of Principle . . .," Arkansas Gazette (September 27, 1959).

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

Record. Two of his statements about Fulbright follow, the latter being a reference to a speech which Fulbright made in the Senate on June 29, 1961.

[Fulbright] is a scholar and educator of the highest caliber. He is one of the best informed Americans on the international problems which confront the nation.<sup>58</sup>

His knowledge of foreign relations is unexcelled in this body and in this government. He thinks deeply. He thinks wisely. He thinks with the highest sense of patriotism, and when he expresses himself on foreign policy. . .he contributes greatly to our understanding of the international situation and to policies which will safeguard the interests of the nation.<sup>59</sup>

Comments about the Senator, however, are not always so favorable. Unfavorable mail reflects a host of critics:

John Birchers, McCarthyites, Goldwaterites, Thurmondites, Dixiecrats, militarists, isolationists, Zionists, Germans, Catholics, Chinese Nationalists, Koreans, NAACP-ers, ADA-ers, communists, private powerists, veterans, farmers cooperativites.<sup>60</sup>

Specifically, newsman Bob Considine says Fulbright is "over-rated,"<sup>61</sup> and Walter Reuther once called him "a personal

<sup>58</sup> Congressional Record, CV (1959), p. 2057.

<sup>59</sup> Congressional Record, CVII (1961), p. 11234.

<sup>60</sup> E. W. Kenworthy, "Fulbright Becomes a National Issue," op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>61</sup> Bob Considine, "Considine Says Fulbright is Over-Rated," Tulsa World (September 18, 1960).

political, national and international insult."<sup>62</sup> Criticizing Fulbright's advocacy of collective security, H. J. Taylor wrote:

That fixation is typified by Senator J. W. Fulbright, of Arkansas, and he is as wrong as a summer oyster. But ideas can get into men's minds and all circumstances and history does [sic] not seem to be able to blow them out.<sup>63</sup>

He has been accused of "speaking out of both sides of his mouth," and many Americans have found his liberality a bit wearying. "Seen from the viewpoint of a Constitutional Conservative, the most dangerous man in America may well be Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas," said George Todt in the Los Angeles Herald and Express.<sup>64</sup> The Baltimore Sun even suggested that he resign at one time because his criticism of Eisenhower might make him a handicap in the exercise of foreign affairs.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with, admires, or resents, Senator Fulbright, his experience and his authority

<sup>62</sup>Victor Riesel, "Reuther-Fulbright Feud Shapes Up," Kansas City Star (December 1, 1960).

<sup>63</sup>H. J. Taylor, "The Fulbright Fixation," Washington Daily News, reprinted in the Congressional Record, CVII (1961), p. A6465.

<sup>64</sup>George Todt, "Give Me Liberty. . .," Los Angeles Herald and Express (August 2, 1961).



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make his judgments well worth consideration. On a number of occasions when he has challenged the popular mood--opposing Senator McCarthy, opposing an invasion of Cuba, and opposing the rightist anti-communist forums of the Pentagon--an elusive public opinion has reversed itself, rewarding him with agreement and praise. Such is the theme of an article about Fulbright in Nation:

The fact is that if Fulbright had been listened to for the past eight years, the U. S. would not be the frustrated and insecure country it is. The basic trouble with Fulbright is that he is right in advance of the event, not after it. . . .Fulbright warned Eisenhower against the interference in Laos which has put our whole position in Southeast Asia in jeopardy. He warned Kennedy about Cuba. . . .On the great issues of war and peace, he consistently exhibits the qualities of the founders of the United States and applies them to instant situations. He deserves no mercy, and from the orators of the Right, he will certainly not get any.<sup>65</sup>

Whether or not his counsel will prove correct in future situations, history will record. In the meantime, his past performance is likely to insure that a vast segment of the American people will continue to listen when he speaks.

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<sup>65</sup>"Penalties of Virtue," Nation, CXCIII (October 14, 1961), p. 238.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### WHEN THIS MAN SPEAKS

"When this man speaks, the nation--the White House --the world listens."<sup>1</sup> Several factors contribute to the magnetism Fulbright manifests as a speaker.

First, people listen because he is exceptionally skillful in adapting to his audience in order to involve them in a lively communication situation. When Senator Fulbright first entered the political arena in 1942, he made an observation which still colors his behavior. As it was pointed out earlier, he said that voters

want candidates to stay around and talk--not talk politics, just talk. Quick visits lose votes, and the greatest art in campaigning is not to make a persuasive political speech, but to say, "Hello. How's the family?"<sup>2</sup>

In accordance with this philosophy, his method of campaigning is extemporaneous and rather informal.

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<sup>1</sup>C. A. Brown, "Fulbright: World Affairs are Ours," Memphis Press-Scimitar (December 17, 1960).

<sup>2</sup>Jerome Beatty, "Washington's Cleanup Man," American Magazine, CLI (June, 1951), p. 108.

For example, when speculators forecast strong competition for Fulbright in the Democratic primary of 1962, he stumped the state of Arkansas in the last few months of 1961. He chose, however, not to make formal speeches from extensive manuscripts. Instead, aides prepared for him a detailed data sheet for each community that he was to visit, enabling him to make reference to that community's principal interests in his greeting. Then he would address his audience for ten or fifteen minutes, hardly a political harangue. The remaining time allotted to him was spent in answering questions from the audience, a procedure resembling that of a press conference. This seemed to be the Senator's method of establishing a healthy rapport while making certain that he enlarged upon those subjects about which members of the audience were interested. This same procedure is used frequently when the Senator is asked to address groups visiting the Capitol or Senate Building.

Second, people listen because Senator Fulbright has a reputation for being a scholar of the highest caliber and a good speaker. His speech at the close of the Senate in 1959 was "widely considered to be the best Senate floor

speech" of that year.<sup>3</sup> A standing ovation preceeded and followed a speech that he delivered at Memphis in 1960;<sup>4</sup> and "so successful was he at stirring things up at 2:30 a.m." during a Senate filibuster in early March, 1960, that "150 spectators were treated to the sight of four Senators on their feet clamoring for the floor--not a usual filibuster performance."<sup>5</sup>

One reason that Fulbright is so effective as a speaker is that he works hard at their preparation until the speeches are "well-organized, thoughtful, thought-provoking, and highly literate."<sup>6</sup> He does have ghost-writers, such as his assistant Jack Yingling, with whom he confers; but Fulbright himself spends much time in the preparation of speeches. Although he may consult with several members of his staff, "he has been known. . .to write

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<sup>3</sup>Alexander Holmes, "Senator Fulbright: Importer of Ideas," Los Angeles Times (February 8, 1960), p. III-5.

<sup>4</sup>C. A. Brown, Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>David Broder, "Fulbright Spurs Senate to Wee Hours Debate," Washington Star (March 5, 1960), p. A-1.

<sup>6</sup>E. K. Lindley, "Senator Fulbright," American Oxonian (April, 1960), reported in Congressional Record, CVI (1960), p. A5551.

a speech himself and go on the floor and deliver it without even telling his staff or having copies sent to the press gallery."<sup>7</sup>

The Senator still has his warm Ozark drawl which C. B. Seib describes as having the "dead beat of a metronome;"<sup>8</sup> but his voice is far overshadowed by the noble thought expressed in highly literate fashion by a strikingly handsome man with blue eyes and an athletic physique.

Third, people listen because of Fulbright's position. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he is recognized as potentially one of the most influential men on the contemporary American scene. His importance is enhanced by current national awareness and emphasis of international relations.

Fourth and perhaps most important, people listen because of their interest in the ideas which Senator Fulbright expresses. These ideas deserve attention because of his position, his scholarship, and his understanding already demonstrated by his voting record.

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<sup>7</sup>E. W. Kenworthy, "The Fulbright Idea of Foreign Policy," New York Times Magazine (May 10, 1959), pp. 10-11.

<sup>8</sup>C. B. Seib, and A. L. Olten, "Fulbright: Arkansas Paradox," Harpers (June, 1956), pp. 61.

Since Senator Fulbright has written no books and few articles for periodicals, the ideas that form his political ideology are revealed primarily on the Senate floor, committee hearings, and in his speeches throughout the nation. In order to ascertain these ideas objectively and quantitatively, a select sample of his speeches was subjected to the methodology of content analysis.

### Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research technique which measures features of a text for inference. Irving L. Janis refers to it broadly as:

any technique (a) for the classification of the sign vehicles (b) which relies solely upon the judgments (which, theoretically, may range from perceptual discrimination to sheer guesses) of an analyst. . . as to which vehicles fall into what categories (c) on the basis of explicitly formulated rules, (d) provided that the analyst's judgments are regarded as the reports of a scientific observer.<sup>9</sup>

According to Berelson, content analysis can be assumed to be valid when four criteria are fulfilled. It must be (1)

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<sup>9</sup>H. D. Lasswell, N. Leites, and Associates. Language of Politics (Cornwall, New York: Cornwall Press, Inc., 1949), p. 55.



objective,<sup>10</sup> (2) systematic, (3) quantitative, and (4) applied only to syntactic and semantic dimensions of language.<sup>11</sup> Thus, descriptive quantitative data on content variables are derived by a statistical technique.

The first step in this study was the selection of an appropriate unit for study. Such units may be any "space-time distribution of any symbol or symbol cluster" such as words, concepts, or themes.<sup>12</sup> The theme was selected as the unit for study so that this analysis is concerned with the relationships among thematic concepts. It is variously known in the literature as:

"assertions" and "statements" by Leites and Pool, 1942; "Proposition" by Lerner, 1942; "idea" by Kris and Spencer, 1943; "issue" and "argument" by Waples and Berelson, 1941; and "thema" by Child, Potter, and Levine, 1946.<sup>13</sup>

Berelson further describes it as "a summary or abstracted sentence, under which a wide range of specific formulations can be subsumed."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>In this context, the word "objective" implies that fairly specific rules are defined and followed.

<sup>11</sup>B. Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952), p. 15.

<sup>12</sup>H. D. Lasswell, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>13</sup>B. Berelson, op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 138.

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Thematic analysis as a research technique is useful in that "it takes the form in which issues and attitudes are usually discussed."<sup>15</sup> Janis, for example, describes it as the most productive type of content analysis inasmuch as

the "thematic content" corresponds most nearly to the overall signification of a communication. . . .The assertions. . .are the primary content indicators of the intentions and motives of the communicator. Similarly, the effects which a communication produces on an audience are primarily due to the assertions content.<sup>16</sup>

Like Osgood's study of W. J. Cameron's speeches on the Ford Hour, this study of Fulbright's speeches is concerned with the structure of an ideology. Consequently, this thematic analysis is designed to reveal a compilation of basic ideas that compose Fulbright's philosophy for guiding United States relations with other countries.

The second, and perhaps the most important, phase of thematic analysis consists of the isolation and rigorous definition of the themes. Berelson emphasizes the importance of this step, saying, "content analysis stands or falls by its categories."<sup>17</sup> Meeting this requirement and establishing

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>16</sup>H. D. Lasswell, op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>17</sup>B. Berelson, op. cit., p. 47.

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meaningful categories involves two procedures: (1) the rigorous definition of the themes by this investigator and (2) the employment of independent coders to check the reliability of the theme definitions.

First, each speech was read several times, enabling the author to extract those categories which seemed to emerge. The goal was to refine the categories so that they would clearly and accurately represent the content of the speeches. This step resulted in the compilation of sixty-eight themes noted in the composite sample of twenty-four speeches by the Senator. The use of such ad hoc categories may be questioned since the analyst forms and validates his categories out of the same raw materials; but Pool defends this as an acceptable research procedure.

To some of us it seemed quite legitimate, in the absence of prior theory, to make up the theory as one went along, grouping together symbolic elements which seemed in some sense to go together. If one is struck by a predominance of a certain kind of symbolic behavior in a text, it seems an abnegation of one's critical intelligence to refuse to note that behavior as a category because one has not started out realizing its significance. . . One can only agree that this is not so good a scientific procedure as getting one's hypothesis first from one set of data or experiences, and then validating them on another. But it is by no means an

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unknown or totally invalid procedure. There are indeed situations where one has no choice.<sup>18</sup>

For this study, such ad hoc categories seemed to be justified.

Second, an attempt was made to test the reliability of the categories by employing independent coders. This concept of reliability involves consistency among analysts through time and is measured by the percentage of agreement on specific entries by various coders.

Five independent coders, working at different places and at different times, were given the definitions of the themes; and each coder worked with a different set of eight speeches, listing the themes which, in their judgment, occurred in each.<sup>19</sup> These coders were: (1) Mrs. Gladys Strahl, a teacher of speed reading with an M. A. degree in Speech, (2) Mr. Brad Lashbrook, director of forensics at the University of Florida, (3) Mr. Carroll Hylton, an

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<sup>18</sup>I. de Sola Pool, Trends in Content Analysis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), p. 215.

<sup>19</sup>Each coder received a set of eight speeches for study. The combinations were changed each time, however, so that no two coders studied the same combination of speeches. Not only did this system ensure that each of the twenty-four speeches was read by an independent coder, but it also facilitated overlap of reading so that most speeches were read by more than one coder.

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instructor in Speech at San Jose State College, (4) Dr. John Dietrich, assistant professor of Chemistry at Rochester Institute of Technology, and (5) Mr. Dan Costley, assistant instructor in the Department of Communication, Michigan State University.

The percentage of agreement between the author and each of these coders approximated fifty to sixty per cent, too low to be useful. Conferences with the coders revealed two primary reasons for the low percentage of agreement. First, sixty-eight themes were unwieldy in that it was difficult to remember all of them. Second, a few of the themes were so closely related that distinction between them was difficult. Steps were taken to remedy each of these deficiencies. The remedy for the first was the removal from the list of any theme not listed by both the author and the compiled results of the coders as being present in at least twenty per cent of the speeches. The second deficiency was remedied by combining themes that were related. The final result was a new list of forty themes to represent the basic ideas of Senator Fulbright.

Four new coders were employed to work with the list of forty themes under the same conditions as the previous

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coders. They were: (1) Miss Alice O'Daniel, instructor in Music at Abilene Christian College, (2) Dr. Jim Throneberry, assistant professor in Biology at Abilene Christian College, (3) Mr. John Price, former instructor in Speech at the University of Rhode Island, and (4) Mr. Fred Copple, an engineer in Michigan's Highway Traffic Research Department.<sup>20</sup>

Each of the first three coders worked with an entirely different set of eight speeches, and the fourth studied four speeches, selected randomly to overlap the other coders.

(The percentages of agreement between each coder and the author are included in Table 2.)

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<sup>20</sup>The question may be asked why the author did not choose only people with backgrounds in the Speech discipline as his independent coders. Persons of varied backgrounds were deliberately selected, and the following is his reasoning. These speeches were delivered for the citizenry at large, containing people of every profession and training. Consequently, the author felt that if the themes were defined well enough, people from any discipline should be able to recognize them.

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TABLE 2

## AUTHOR/CODER PERCENTAGES OF AGREEMENT

Coder	Percentage
1. O'Daniel	95.0%
2. Throneberry	77.0
3. Price	79.5
4. Copple	84.5
Average	84.0%

Since all of these percentages are greater than seventy per cent, the forty categories can be considered satisfactorily reliable, according to Lasswell's criteria.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the author had occasion to discuss with coders Throneberry and Price the discrepancies between his own list and each of their respective lists. When either the author or the independent coder listed a theme for a speech that the other had not listed, they both reexamined the particular speech to be certain that the theme had not been merely overlooked. Neither the author nor the coders made any attempt to persuade the other of the presence or absence of a theme; but after the discussions, the percentages of

<sup>21</sup>H. D. Lasswell, D. Lerner, and I. de Sola Pool, The Comparative Study of Symbols (Hoover Institute: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 62.

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agreement for these two coders had risen to ninety-three and ninety-five per cent respectively.

After such high percentages of agreement had been obtained as to the designation of the separate themes, the study could continue.

#### Statement of Themes

The following are the forty themes which emerged from the twenty-four speeches on foreign policy by Senator Fulbright. As a matter of stylistic preference and in order to facilitate quick identification, the thematic categories are listed here only in subject-title form with the statement of each theme being included in its definition.

##### 1. American Moral Ineptness

The gravest crisis confronting the United State is within its people. "If any people in human history had the means to win out over a willful adversary, yet failed to use its natural strength, we are that people." Preoccupied with molding an environment, "Americans have failed to develop a philosophical and cultural base" to sustain it. Lacking a sense of purpose, therefore, "we are not able to

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put our enormous productive capacities to the needs of the nation." This lack of purpose combined with considerable apathy toward the rest of the world has created a political and moral deficit. Nevertheless, if Americans can once again become outraged about themselves, the apathy and moral deficit can be supplanted with an exhibition of moral courage to meet challenging tasks, and their character as a people can be revitalized.

## 2. American Revolution

The American Revolution gave "an example to the world of a successful nationalistic revolution against colonial control," but the conditions and issues are not applicable today. While it is desirable "that the spirit and intelligence that inspired America's revolution will animate American foreign policy," the revolutionary example itself does "not offer any guidelines for today's complex policies, complicated by technological and scientific questions."

## 3. Berlin

Berlin is a trouble spot over which could begin World War III. Although little progress has been made,

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discussions concerning this city must continue. Time favors Russia, not the United States, however, and the latter may need to revise its negotiations.

#### 4. Colonialism

Colonialism has become unfashionable despite the progress which it facilitated. "It is quite true, of course, that many abuses, and intolerable exploitation, occurred under colonial rule. However, it should also be remembered that many of the most advanced nations. . .were originally developed as colonies."

In this respect, western colonialism was quite different from Soviet colonialism. The former supplied culture and social institutions to underdeveloped areas. In the latter, "there were existing societies superior in nearly every respect, except power, to the Communist master."

#### 5. Communist Imperialism

In contrast to the reluctant approach to power of the United States, the communist countries aspire to unlimited imperialism, boldly grasping at every opportunity to expand their empire. "Their tactics most often are a brew of terror, subversion, and saturation propaganda, mixed

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## 6. Conservatism

The "new wave of conservatism" is distressing because the label "conservative" is applied to those who "have difficulty in bringing their reason to act and on all occasions use their memory first." Such ultra-traditionalists offer deceptively simple solutions and "are inclined to go numb with horror in the face of any query that breaches the sanctity of constitutional scripture." Some seem to want to "repeal the twentieth century," and their irresponsible charges sow fears that weaken this society.

On the other hand, the "true conservative is one who wishes to conserve the historic traditional values of our society" while recognizing that the world does not stand still. Spokesmen for such "rational conservatism" are needed to help educate the people toward a consensus on foreign affairs.

## 7. Cuba

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and would create more problems than would be solved." Not only might the rest of Latin America be alienated but it might also prejudice the American cause in the entire hemisphere. The real issue is to locate the reasons why the United States lost its preeminent position in Cuba and to prevent the development of similar situations in other countries.

#### 8. Democracy: A Difficult Form of Government

Democracy is a demanding experience that requires work and education lest it result in national paralysis and mediocrity. The diffusion of ideas to all people determines whether or not it flourishes, and it becomes "more evident every day that illiterate, destitute peoples do not have the background, the civic consciousness, the resources, to apply successfully such a system to the conditions which confront them." When it works well, it offers an invitation to excellence; but when it does not, the result can be "equality at the lowest common denominator."

Democracy is particularly difficult in the area of international relations because "foreign politics demand scarcely any of those qualities which are peculiar to a

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#### 9. Diplomatic Service

The United States lacks mass interest in, and a professional development of, diplomacy. Ambassadorships continue to be given as rewards for party contributions, and foreign service personnel are sent abroad with inadequate language and cultural training. Consequently, we have neither a "trained foreign service, nor the respect for government service necessary to attract able and gifted men." This is unfortunate because diplomatic style reflects national style. "It is one thing to enunciate policies and another to make them credible. It is style, our performance as a nation and a great power, that determines the credibility of our policies. . . .Style is as important as power."

#### 10. Education

The most urgent need of this country is improved education because "civilization is a race between education and catastrophe." The strength of a nation depends more than anything else on the strength of its educational system, and

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"many of the afflictions from which our country is suffering today are attributable to our neglect. . .of education."

Recognition that education "will be the most important single factor to influence the foreign. . .relations of this country" demands that it be given a higher priority. A large scale initiative is needed to cultivate wisdom, imagination, maturity of judgments, and freedom from "shibboleth and blind tradition."

#### 11. Eisenhower

The Eisenhower administration lacked energetic leadership, and world confidence in the United States was diminished during it. At every opportunity he fled from the worries of the White House. Thus, living a "dangerously sheltered life as Chief Executive," he concocted tranquilizers that numbed the critical faculties of the nation.

#### 12. European Federations

Europe must "federate or perish," and the newly formed Common Market is developing practical measures of cooperation in specific functional areas. Their 300,000,000 people "will not only be the largest trading unit in the world, but its economic and financial power will be

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virtually equal to that of the United States." Although current divergent political opinions among European nations frequently create difficulties, "so powerful an economic community is bound in time to become a political as well as economic force in the world."

### 13. Foreign Aid

Not only does foreign aid contribute to the development of the receiving country but it also provides markets for American products while contributing ultimately to American security. Although it has the support of both parties and all government branches, it poses a psychological problem for Americans because other nations have come to expect aid as a matter of course. Furthermore, administration of the programs has been difficult because of a scarcity of trained personnel and an antipathy in Congress to long-term planning. Nevertheless, the United States must reconcile itself to the giving of aid for many years to come.

### 14. Frustration in International Relations

Americans have developed a growing frustration growing out of their international relations. At least a part

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of this frustration originates with the "discovery that we are not able to fix things up quickly, that in spite of our prodigious efforts, a peaceful, free, secure, and prosperous world has not resulted."

#### 15. Great Britain

The British nation is quite uniquely "attuned to the compelling realities of the twentieth century." Historically, her genius has achieved progress without violence or wrenching upheaval. On the operational level, her foreign policy has distinct advantages over that of the United States which suffers from an "institutionally predestined amateurism." Consequently, only Britain "has the long experience, the ancient institutions, and the overall political maturity for leading Europe into a new era."

#### 16. Importance of Foreign Relations

Foreign relations are the most important aspects of public affairs today. Out of them spring construction and destruction, peace and war. Already eighty per cent of the tax dollar is spent on them. "It is clear. . .that the decisions of the greatest importance will occur in this area."

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✓ 17. Inadequate Governmental Machinery  
for Foreign Relations

The governmental machinery of the United States for implementing foreign relations is cumbersome and antiquated. "This divided, competitive machinery usually shifts gears with a minimum of speed and a maximum of sound." In the first place, bureaucratic structures menace prompt and orderly conduct of business. Furthermore, thousands of separate decisions combine to create a national policy which nobody has consciously willed. Finally, the checks and balance system itself builds a potentiality for conflict in the conduct of foreign relations.

In time, the "overriding requirements of foreign policy may require basic, perhaps radical, changes in our traditional policy machinery. . . .The question we face is whether our basic constitutional machinery, admirably suited to the needs of a remote agrarian republic in the eighteenth century, is adequate for the formulation and conduct of foreign policy of a twentieth century nation, pre-eminent in political and military power. . . ."

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/ 18. International Interdependence

The United States has at times followed a policy of isolation, and even today many Americans dislike being in the center of world affairs. They consider international relations as a "rather troublesome excrescence upon the body politic." Such an attitude has resulted in many mistakes. At present, isolation as a foreign policy for the United States is impossible.

"Interdependence is the rule of the day," and the building of multinational mechanisms is the natural course for the United States to follow. Such internationalism will tend to diminish the growth and persuasiveness of extreme ideological doctrines. Moreover, the non-communist peoples need to be brought closer together economically, politically, and militarily into a "concert of free nations" that is rooted not only in "common peril but also in common values and aspirations."

/ 19. Inseparability between Domestic  
and Foreign Affairs

Domestic and foreign affairs have no meaningful distinction. "The line is now wholly erased." Each affects the other, and each is but one aspect of national policy.

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In fact, foreign policy could be defined as the "summation of all our policies."

#### 20. Kennedy

The leadership of President Kennedy has begun to move the United States and to stir its people with hope. He is "an articulate and vigorous advocate of the national interest," and "strong leadership and direction have been returned to the conduct of foreign affairs."

#### 21. Khrushchev

The United States underestimates Premier Khrushchev. With a more sophisticated approach than that of Stalin, he is "extraordinarily healthy, able, quick, and a bold and dangerous man." His primary concern is outproducing the United States, and he thinks it ridiculous not to believe in the superiority of the communist system.

#### 22. Local Interests in Congress

Although a "senator must conciliate local interests as well as frame national and international policy," "more broad vision and less local politics are needed in Congress." ". . .preoccupation with local matters and with the mechanics

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of political machinery is virtually bound to prevent him from. . .depth of knowledge in the field of foreign affairs."

### 23. Long-range Policy

"As a nation, we are understandably prone to be more responsive to dramatic events than to the hard continuing struggle itself." Because of this susceptibility which is common to free societies, the importance of specific events is often exaggerated. Long-term policies are the answer to the problem. Against them, "we can properly evaluate our initiative and our responses to critical events." Yearly programs are no longer adequate; they ricochet from crisis to crisis. National goals should be "conceived in terms of the advancement of a process rather than the achievement of finite objectives."

### 24. National Consensus

"National consensus is an elusive goal." The geographical, social, and organizational diversity within the United States is unified ordinarily only in times of national crisis. Loyalty to "an infinite of special interests" is frequently placed ahead of loyalty to nation. While the nation has performed well in reconciling these diverse

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elements, more union is needed. Individuals and organizations must identify their best interests with national interest and voluntarily subordinate their wishes to national urgency.

#### /25. Nuclear War

The most crucial current problems are to control the nuclear arms race and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. Although such a war is unlikely, it could happen, for there are "vital interests for which we would have to go to war if there were no alternative but surrender." Consequently, neither the United States nor Russia must ever be confronted with such a choice. Until international agreements are reached, however, security against surprise attack warrants the improvement of both conventional and nuclear weapons.

#### 26. One Party Responsibility for Government

The responsibility of government should rest in the hands of one political party at a time. "It is contrary to human nature to expect that men and women elected as members of one party should. . .exert themselves to the limit of their capacity to insure the success of the opposite party's

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policies." Consequently, this nation will be courting disaster "unless we give the control of both the legislature and the executive branches. . .to the same party."

#### 27. Presidential Power

"The fountainhead of an effective foreign policy is presidential power," but a niggardly grant of power has hobbled the American president. His power is not commensurate with his responsibility in the initiation and administration of foreign affairs; and the power needs to be reunited with responsibility. "It is disagreeable and dangerous to vest the Executive with powers unchecked and unbalanced. My question is whether we have any choice but to do so."

#### 28. Previous Democratic Administrations

In previous Democratic administrations, Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman maintained the confidence of the world in the United States. Wilson's idealism and compelling eloquence inspired people throughout the world. Roosevelt was an innovator who drew inventive ideas from the academic world to charm the American people with "confidence and compassion." Truman, too, in many respects was a "forceful and imaginative

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head of government," but his failure to symbolize the dignity of the nation damaged his foreign policies.

#### / 29. Priority of Values

The United States must revise its assignment of priorities in order to erase a "submission to the irrelevant." Domestically preoccupied with self-indulgence, its people "have become immersed in the crass delights of extravagant consumption, puerile faddism and callow amusements." Its foreign policy also suffers because of national decisions on the allocation of resources. Attention focuses on money rather than policy. The question is asked, "How much money ought we to spend?" rather than the truly vital question, "What kind of policy ought we to have?"

#### / 30. Red China

With the world's largest labor force and a rate of growth greater than that of Russia, the power of Communist China is becoming ominous. Within a foreseeable time, she can become a major industrial power and may attempt to dominate the rest of Asia. Although she is the "largest anthill slave state men have ever known," opposition to her admittance to the United Nations is gradually decreasing.

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### 31. Relation of U. S. to Underdeveloped Countries

The United States should identify its interests with those of the changing societies and "become a pivotal force in enabling well-intentioned governments of individual countries to bring about the economic and social reforms" desired. In each case, she should avoid direct involvements as much as possible, yet take the "leadership in attempting to alleviate conditions which cause trouble."

### 32. Relativity in Foreign Policy

In international relations as in other social areas, there are no absolutes and, hence, no place for moralizing. Yet, one of the basic problems in American foreign policy is the failure to recognize fully that there are no final and complete solutions, that western principles do not "represent the common aspirations of all peoples" and are not, therefore, necessarily applicable to the entire world. American judgments are not infallible, and "we can hope to do little more than mitigate our problems as best we can and learn to live with them."

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### 33. Resistance to Change by Americans

America has been "passive in the face of a changing world," reacting with "pathological petulance." ". . .any significant change in our traditional methods. . .is grudgingly considered and reluctantly accepted, if not rejected outright."

"It is the duty of our schools and universities to provide our citizens with the intellectual equipment for devising and accepting major changes where they are necessary for advancement toward our national goals." Otherwise, apathy toward change can destroy the United States just as it did the Roman Empire. As Lincoln said, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present."

### 34. Role of the Senate in Foreign Policy

The role of the Senate in foreign affairs is an advisory one to "advise and consent." Structurally, it is not adequate to pursue specific foreign policies, but it can offer broad guidelines for implementing long-range policies. It may also explain and rationalize policies in order to "contribute to the establishment of a national consensus."

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### 35. Russian Challenge of Cold War

Russia's challenge to the United States is a total one involving almost every aspect of national life. Politically, the communists have managed to consolidate and to stabilize their empire so that no violent upheavals have occurred since Hungary. Disputing the validity of the western concept of society, they are "vigorously pursuing a course designed to destroy free democratic, capitalistic communities." Militarily, their power is comparable to that of the United States. Ideologically, "communism appeals to men largely because it invites the individual to get beyond his immediate self and to find meaning in a larger whole, in a sweeping historical determinism, in an exhilarating sense of riding the wave of the future." As such, its precision and social comprehensiveness have produced "social engineers"--a phenomenon unacceptable and threatening to a democracy. Economically, Russia has begun a world trade offensive aimed directly at the United States, and in the future the competition between the two countries will be primarily economic. Finally, perhaps the most dangerous challenge is intellectual. Unlike the United States, the Russians have given their first priority to education.

An indication of the totality of the Russian challenge is the fact that "scarcely any measure is debated in the Senate that is not in some way related to the struggle with the Soviet Union." A long cold war is certain, and "the challenge to freedom. . .is grave and is likely to remain so throughout the lifetime of the present generation of Americans." Nevertheless, if it will, the United States can meet this challenge adequately.

#### 36. Trade and Tariff

The tariff reduction proposed in the Trade Expansion Act "represents a wise and farsighted plan." The experience of previous large-scale reductions disputes the myth that American industry cannot compete and shows that the damage is likely to be far less than expected while the benefits will be greater than expected. "Our creditor position demands that we give our debtors a chance to buy in our markets by selling their own products here more readily." Furthermore, only one-fourth of the imports are in direct competition with American products. Stimulating a freer flow of gold among nations, the tariff reduction will invigorate the American economy.

### 37. U. S. Survival as a Nation

The survival of the United States is not inevitable. "Nature is concerned with the survival of the species, not with some segment of it, not even with the survival of Americans." The American people fail to realize that the same principles of evolution and survival of the fittest that apply to plants and animals also apply to the human world.

"If we should perish, it will not be for lack of warning but for lack of the will to survive." Americans should consider, however, that survival against aggressive totalitarianism may hinge upon the sacrificing of some democratic luxuries of the past.

### 38. U. S. as a Leader in World Relations

"The leadership of the free world has been thrust upon us," leaving the United States no alternative but to accept. Nevertheless, this nation has partially defaulted in the leadership role by thinking it sufficient to live on the "fat of good will" accumulated during World War II.

"It has moved from an era when there was no question about the eminence. . .in military power, in industrial power, and in moral influence to an era when our military power is

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in doubt, our industrial growth is seriously lagging, and our moral influence is in decline."

With fifty per cent of the world's wealth, "America has a tremendous reserve of strength that would outstrip the Russians in any competitive realm." But in order to lead toward a way of life consonant with man's highest purposes, the American people must mature in foreign relations and foster a national resurgence of self-awareness about where they stand, not only in the world today, but in history.

#### 39. Western Alliance

Despite its great power, the destiny of the United States is closely related to that of an entire Western coalition. Whereas the Western nations presently lack common purpose and are thus divided, agreement upon common markets, defense, and research and the close coordination of political policies would develop a strength greater than the communist world can muster in the near future. Consequently, Western Europe will continue to receive high priority in American foreign policy because "whatever strengthens Western Europe strengthens freedom."





#### 40. World Change

The twentieth century has seen the world change its complexion at a fantastically rapid rate. Presently, it is in an era of transition in which "old colonial empires are liquidated, numerous new countries are formed, and ruthless empires are growing." Such ferment is likely to continue, and "the only predictable thing about it is that the velocity and violence of the change is likely to increase." These unprecedented changes would occur even if communism did not exist, and the American goal must be to foster these revolutions along constructive lines in order to preserve the "value system which constitutes the core of our national interest."

#### Conclusion

After the foregoing thematic definitions were established as being satisfactorily reliable, these forty themes were accepted as representing the basic ideas contained in Fulbright's speeches and served as the basis for the quantitative thematic analysis described in Chapters Four and Five.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the several procedures which were employed in analyzing the themes digested from the speeches of Senator Fulbright. The results of these analyses will be presented and interpreted in Chapter Five.

#### Step One: Frequency Analysis

The first procedure was to compute the frequency with which each theme appeared in the total group of speeches. In these computations each speech was considered as a separate recording unit, and the appearance of a theme was counted only once for each speech regardless of the number of times that it may have been repeated within a given speech.

Percentages of occurrence were used as indexes of attention and were computed by comparing the actual number of times that each theme occurred in the total group of speeches with the possible number of occurrences

(twenty-four). On the basis of these percentages, a rank order of themes was composed. (The rank order of themes is illustrated in Table 3.)

TABLE 3  
RANK ORDER OF TERMS

Theme No.	Theme Title	Number of Speeches in Which the Theme Appears	Per Cent of Speeches in Which the Theme Appears	Rank Order of Appearance
35	Russian Challenge	22	92	1
38	U.S. as Leader in World Relations	18	75	2
10	Education	14	58	4
19	Inseparability Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs	14	58	4
40	World Change	14	58	4
23	Long-Range Policy	13	54	6 1/2
25	Nuclear War/Armaments	13	54	6 1/2
5	Communist Imperialism	12	50	8 1/2
13	Foreign Aid	12	50	8 1/2
1	American Moral Ineptness	11	46	10 1/2
29	Priority of Values	11	46	10 1/2
16	Importance of Foreign Relations	10	42	13
31	Relationship of U.S. to Underdeveloped Nations	10	42	13
39	Western Alliance	10	42	13
18	International Interdependence	9	38	15 1/2
21	Khrushchev	9	38	15 1/2
8	Democracy: A Difficult Form of Government	8	33	18 1/2
17	Inadequate Governmental Machinery for International Relations	8	33	18 1/2

TABLE 3--Continued

Theme No.	Theme Title	Number of Speeches in Which the Theme Appears	Per Cent of Speeches in Which the Theme Appears	Rank Order of Appearance
27	Presidential Power	8	33	18 1/2
36	U.S. Survival as a Nation	8	33	18 1/2
9	Diplomatic Service	7	29	22
11	Eisenhower	7	29	22
32	Relativity in Foreign Policy	7	29	22
6	Conservatism	6	24	26
20	Kennedy	6	24	26
22	Local Interest in Congress	6	24	26
28	Previous Democratic Administrations	6	24	26
34	Role of the Senate	6	24	26
12	European Federations	5	21	31 1/2
7	Cuba	5	21	31 1/2
14	Frustration in International Affairs	5	21	31 1/2
24	National Consensus	5	21	31 1/2
26	One Party Responsibility for Government	5	21	31 1/2
37	Trade and Tariff	5	21	31 1/2
30	Red China	4	16	35
2	American Revolution	3	12	37
15	Great Britain	3	12	37
33	Resistance to Change by Americans	3	12	37
3	Berlin	2	08	39
4	Colonialism	1	04	40

### Step Two: Symbol Coding Analysis

In order to understand better in quantitative terms the themes of Senator Fulbright, symbol coding analysis was employed to give a more sensitive indication of the Senator's attitudes toward certain concepts.

First, the symbols to be coded were selected in the following manner. In the rank order of frequency, nine themes occurred in more than half of the speeches. Assuming frequency to be a measure of attention and, therefore, assuming these nine themes to be among the most important to Senator Fulbright, the analyst selected fifteen symbols on the basis of their relevance to these nine themes. Each symbol was then defined in terms of synonyms in order to standardize the coder's entries. Thus, a symbol was coded only if it or a synonym was explicitly stated. (The fifteen symbols and their synonyms are listed in Table 4.)

Next, the paragraph was selected as the recording unit. Alternative units were: (1) the speech unit, (2) the three-sentence unit, and (3) the sentence unit. These alternatives were discarded for the following reasons. Both the sentence and three-sentence units yield differentiated information but are slow and laborious. The speech unit is fast but

TABLE 4  
SYMBOLS CODED

Symbol	Synonyms
1. Americans	American people
2. Change	Revolution; changing world (society); upheaval
3. China	Chinese; Chinese Communists
4. Communism	Communist; Communist party (system)
5. Democracy	Democratic country (state, system); democratic principles (ideology); democratic form of government
6. Education	
7. Eisenhower*	
8. England	Great Britain; British Commonwealth; Britain; British
9. Foreign Aid	Technical assistance; American (our) aid; economic aid; foreign assistance
10. Governmental Machinery	Bureaucracy; checks and balances; decision-making process, governmental system; system of government
11. International Law	Rule of law among nations; United Nations; internationalism; World Court
12. Kennedy*	
13. Khrushchev	
14. Russia	Soviets; U.S.S.R.; Soviet Russia; Russians
15. United States America	

\*"The President" was also used as a synonym for both Eisenhower and Kennedy during their respective administrations if it was clear that Fulbright had reference to the person and not merely the position.

does not yield much differentiated information about the symbols coded. The paragraph unit, on the other hand, facilitates relative speed in coding while still yielding information consistent with analyses by each of the alternative units. Consequently, expediency led to its selection.

In the collection of data, every paragraph of every speech was read carefully, but only one entry for a symbol was made per paragraph. For example, if the symbol "Russia" appeared three times within a given paragraph, it would be coded only once. Consequently, the frequency per symbol is equal to the number of paragraphs in which it or a synonym appeared.

Each time one of the fifteen symbols or a synonym was explicitly stated in a paragraph, the coder classified it under the following categories. (1) The morality-immorality category indicated the speaker's judgment as to the "referent's conformity or non-conformity to norms of morality."<sup>1</sup> Reference to decency and the pursuance of a moral cause came under this classification. (2) The strong-weak category was used to classify a symbol according to the power imputed to its referent. (3) A desirable-undesirable

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<sup>1</sup>H. D. Lasswell, N. Leites, and associates, Language of Politics (Cornwall, New York: Cornwall Press, Inc., 1949), p. 55.

category referred to Fulbright's favorable or unfavorable disposition toward the symbol's referent. (4) A neutral category was available if the symbol was ambiguous or if the above classifications did not apply.

Each entry for the symbol could be coded under any combination of the first three categories. Consequently, the analyst was able to discover Fulbright's mixed valences as well as his one-sided attitudes.

### Step Three: Contingency Analysis

The frequency analysis revealed those themes which occurred most often, but it ignored important contextual matters within the speeches. Consequently, the third procedure was to submit the themes to a contingency analysis, a research method designed to reveal those themes which tend to occur in specific relationships to other themes--i.e., association of concepts. The resulting information permits the indexing of symbolic associational structures. Osgood suggests:

If there is any content analysis technique which has a defensible psychological rationale, it is the contingency method . . . it seems reasonable to assume that greater than chance contingencies of items in messages would be indicative of association in the thinking of



the source.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly,

a contingency below chance is treated as evidence for disassociation in the thinking of the source--these ideas are related, but in such a way that the occurrence of one is a condition of the non-occurrence of the other.<sup>3</sup>

First, a raw data matrix was prepared. Twenty-four rows in the matrix represented the twenty-four speech units, and forty columns represented the forty themes. Presence of a theme in a speech unit was scored by one (1) whereas absence was scored by a zero (0). (Table 5 presents the Raw Data Matrix.)

A contingency matrix was then prepared in order to compare the chance association of themes with the obtained association of themes. Such a comparison was made for every combination of two that was possible for the forty themes.

First, the chance probability of an association between two themes was computed by multiplying together the percentage of occurrence of one theme with that of the second. For example, if the percentage of occurrence of theme A were 25% and the percentage of occurrence for theme B

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<sup>2</sup> I. de Sola Pool, Trends in Content Analysis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 65.



were 50%, then the probability of their occurring together in a speech would be 12.5%. The percentages of chance association were then entered into the upper right half of the contingency matrix.

Next, the obtained association of two themes was computed from the Raw Data Matrix; it is the percentage of the twenty-four speeches in which the two themes actually occurred together. These percentages were entered in the lower left half of the contingency matrix. (The completed Contingency Matrix is illustrated in Table 6.)

Finally, the percentages of obtained association were compared with the percentages of chance association for each combination of two themes. If the former contingency was greater than the latter, then the themes appeared together more often than by chance. A significant deviation of any obtained contingency from the chance contingency was detected by means of a standard error of percentage:  $\sigma p = \frac{\sqrt{pq}}{N}$ .<sup>4</sup> P represents the probability of chance association; q is 1 - p; and N equals twenty-four, the total number of speeches. "This gives us an estimate of how much an obtained percentage may be expected to vary about its expected value," and a difference of two sigmas is significant at the ninety-five

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

TABLE 6  
CONTINGENCY MATRIX

		Chance Contingencies																			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Obtained Contingencies	1.	--	.06	.04	.03	.23	.11	.10	.15	.13	.27	.13	.10	.23	.10	.06	.19	.15	.17	.27	.11
	2.	04	--	01	01	06	03	03	04	03	07	03	03	06	03	01	05	04	05	07	03
	3.	08	04	--	00	04	02	02	03	02	05	02	02	04	02	01	05	03	03	05	02
	4.	00	04	00	--	02	01	01	01	01	02	01	01	02	01	00	02	01	02	02	01
	5.	25	08	00	04	--	12	11	17	15	29	15	11	25	11	06	21	17	19	29	12
	6.	13	00	00	00	17	--	05	08	07	14	07	05	12	05	03	10	08	09	14	06
	7.	04	04	00	00	13	13	--	07	06	12	06	04	11	04	03	09	07	08	12	05
	8.	25	04	08	00	04	04	04	--	10	19	10	07	17	07	04	14	11	13	19	08
	9.	21	08	08	00	17	08	08	08	--	17	08	06	15	06	03	12	10	11	17	07
	10.	33	08	08	04	25	17	13	21	21	--	17	12	29	12	07	24	19	22	34	14
	11.	13	00	00	00	08	13	08	08	08	21	--	06	15	06	03	12	10	11	17	07
	12.	08	04	00	04	17	00	00	08	00	04	00	--	11	04	03	09	07	08	12	05
	13.	21	08	00	04	38	08	13	97	21	29	13	17	--	11	06	21	17	19	29	12
	14.	13	04	00	00	13	04	04	08	04	08	04	04	08	--	03	09	07	08	12	05
	15.	04	04	04	00	04	04	00	04	04	04	04	04	04	00	--	05	04	05	07	03
	16.	21	04	04	04	25	13	13	13	17	33	08	08	29	04	00	--	14	16	24	10
	17.	25	04	08	00	08	08	04	21	13	21	17	04	08	00	08	08	--	13	19	08
	18.	13	08	00	04	25	00	04	13	08	17	04	21	29	13	04	13	04	--	22	09
	19.	38	04	08	00	25	21	08	25	25	42	21	08	29	08	08	33	25	13	--	14
	20.	08	04	00	04	13	04	08	08	04	08	04	08	17	04	00	17	00	13	08	--
	21.	21	08	04	04	21	17	04	04	13	29	17	04	13	08	08	17	17	04	25	04
	22.	13	04	04	00	04	08	04	13	13	13	13	04	08	00	08	08	13	08	25	08
	23.	29	13	08	04	29	17	13	17	21	38	13	08	25	17	08	21	17	21	29	13
	24.	13	04	04	00	04	04	04	13	13	13	08	00	08	04	04	08	04	08	17	13
	25.	25	04	04	04	29	13	08	21	08	33	04	17	29	08	04	29	17	21	33	08
	26.	08	00	00	00	08	04	04	00	08	17	17	00	08	04	00	04	08	04	13	00
	27.	21	04	04	00	04	08	04	21	17	21	17	04	13	04	08	08	17	13	29	13
	28.	13	04	04	00	04	13	08	13	08	17	17	00	04	08	08	08	13	04	17	08
	29.	29	00	04	00	21	13	04	13	17	33	21	00	21	08	04	25	21	08	33	08
	30.	13	04	04	00	08	08	04	04	08	13	13	00	04	00	08	04	17	00	13	00
	31.	17	13	04	04	29	04	13	13	13	13	00	17	29	08	04	21	08	25	21	17
	32.	25	04	04	00	17	08	08	17	08	21	13	04	13	08	04	08	17	08	17	08
	33.	13	04	04	00	04	04	04	08	08	13	04	00	04	04	04	04	08	04	08	04
	34.	13	04	08	00	04	08	04	17	13	17	13	04	04	04	08	08	17	08	21	04
	35.	46	13	08	04	46	17	13	29	29	54	25	21	50	25	13	38	33	38	54	21
	36.	17	04	04	00	17	08	04	08	08	21	13	08	17	08	13	08	13	13	21	04
	37.	17	04	04	00	17	04	00	08	13	08	00	08	17	04	04	13	04	08	17	08
	38.	46	13	08	04	42	17	08	29	25	38	21	21	38	21	13	25	33	29	38	17
	39.	17	04	00	04	21	04	04	13	04	21	04	21	25	13	04	08	08	29	17	17
	40.	25	08	08	04	29	08	08	21	17	38	17	17	33	08	13	25	25	29	29	17

TABLE 6--Continued

		Chance Contingencies																			
		21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
	1.	17	11	24	10	24	10	15	11	21	07	19	13	06	11	42	15	10	35	19	27
	2.	05	03	06	03	06	03	04	03	06	02	05	03	01	03	11	04	03	09	05	07
	3.	03	02	04	02	04	02	03	02	04	01	03	02	01	02	07	03	02	06	03	05
	4.	02	01	02	01	02	01	01	01	02	01	02	01	00	01	04	01	01	03	02	02
	5.	19	12	27	11	27	11	17	12	23	08	21	15	06	12	46	17	11	38	21	29
	6.	09	06	13	05	13	05	08	06	11	04	10	07	03	06	22	08	05	18	10	14
	7.	08	05	11	04	11	04	07	05	10	03	09	16	03	05	19	07	04	16	09	12
	8.	13	08	18	07	18	07	11	08	15	05	14	10	04	08	30	11	07	25	14	19
	9.	11	07	16	07	16	06	10	07	13	05	12	08	03	07	27	10	06	22	12	17
	10.	22	14	31	12	31	12	19	14	27	09	24	17	07	14	53	19	12	44	24	34
	11.	11	07	16	06	16	06	10	07	13	05	12	08	03	07	27	10	06	22	12	17
	12.	08	05	11	04	11	04	07	05	10	03	09	06	03	05	19	07	04	16	09	12
	13.	19	12	27	11	27	11	17	12	23	08	21	15	06	12	46	17	11	38	21	29
	14.	08	05	11	04	11	04	07	05	10	03	09	06	03	05	19	07	04	16	09	12
	15.	05	03	06	03	06	03	04	03	06	02	05	03	01	03	11	04	03	09	05	07
	16.	16	10	23	09	23	09	14	10	19	07	18	12	05	10	39	14	09	32	18	24
	17.	13	08	18	07	18	07	11	08	15	05	14	10	04	08	30	11	07	25	14	19
	18.	14	09	21	08	21	08	13	09	17	06	16	11	05	09	35	13	08	29	16	22
	19.	22	14	31	12	31	12	19	14	27	09	24	17	07	14	53	19	12	44	24	34
	20.	09	06	13	05	13	05	08	06	11	04	10	07	03	06	22	08	05	18	10	14
	21.	--	09	21	08	21	08	13	09	17	06	16	11	05	09	35	13	08	29	16	22
	22.	08	--	13	05	13	05	08	06	11	04	10	07	03	06	22	08	05	18	10	14
	23.	25	13	--	11	29	11	18	13	25	09	23	16	06	13	50	18	11	41	23	31
	24.	04	17	13	--	11	04	07	05	10	03	09	06	03	05	19	07	04	16	09	12
	25.	17	04	29	00	--	11	18	13	25	09	23	16	06	13	50	18	11	41	23	31
	26.	17	04	08	04	04	--	07	05	10	03	09	06	03	05	19	07	04	16	09	12
	27.	08	25	17	21	08	04	--	08	15	05	14	10	04	08	30	11	07	25	14	19
	28.	17	13	13	13	00	08	17	--	11	04	10	07	03	06	22	08	05	18	10	14
	29.	25	08	21	08	21	17	17	17	--	07	19	13	06	11	42	15	10	35	19	27
	30.	17	08	13	04	00	08	08	13	13	--	07	05	02	04	15	05	13	12	07	09
	31.	04	13	25	08	25	00	13	04	08	04	--	12	05	10	39	14	09	32	18	24
	32.	13	04	21	08	13	08	13	13	17	13	08	--	03	07	27	10	06	22	12	17
	33.	08	04	08	08	00	04	08	13	08	08	04	13	--	03	11	04	03	09	05	07
	34.	08	21	17	13	08	04	21	13	08	08	08	04	04	--	22	08	05	18	10	14
	35.	38	21	50	17	50	21	29	21	46	17	38	25	13	21	--	30	19	69	39	53
	36.	17	13	29	08	17	18	13	08	08	13	14	13	04	13	33	--	07	25	14	19
	37.	08	08	13	08	08	00	04	04	08	04	17	08	04	04	21	08	--	16	09	12
	38.	33	21	42	13	38	13	25	21	38	17	29	25	13	17	75	25	21	--	32	44
	39.	08	08	25	08	29	04	13	04	04	00	21	08	04	08	42	17	08	33	--	24
	40.	21	13	38	13	29	13	17	17	25	17	25	21	13	17	58	29	13	46	33	--

Obtained Contingencies

per cent level of a two-tail test.<sup>5</sup> Since the number of units was a constant twenty-four, a table of significant differences at a ninety-five per cent level of confidence was prepared to show the size of differences necessary for various magnitudes of p.

#### Step Four: Elementary Linkage Analysis

Although the contingency analysis revealed significant associations between themes, little was still known about the structural way in which these themes fit together. Consequently, the data were analyzed for structural significance by elementary linkage analysis, a research method developed by Louis L. McQuitty for the rapid and objective clustering of variables. The clustering is accomplished by the isolation of associational linkages, defined as "the largest index of association which a variable has with any or all the other variables . . . [or] with a composite of all the characteristics of the cluster."<sup>6</sup>

The linkage analysis method yields results quite similar to those of factor analysis; but it has the advantages

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> L. L. McQuitty, "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies," Educational and Psychological Measurement, XVII (1957), p. 208.

of (1) being faster and (2) isolating typical structures rather than the simple structure discovered through factor analysis. A typical structure is one

in which every member of a type is more like some other member of that type (with respect to the data analyzed) than he is like any member of any other type.<sup>7</sup>

In terms of thematic analysis, every theme in a given type (cluster) has a higher correlation with other themes in the type (cluster) than with themes not included in its type. Thus, frequency of a theme becomes significant only in respect to its highest index of association.

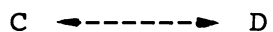
The following hypothetical model and discussion will illustrate the method of linkage analysis.

TABLE 7  
SAMPLE CONTINGENCY

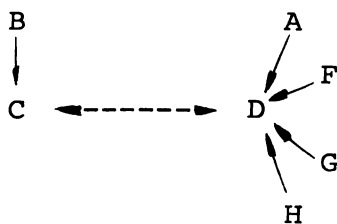
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
A	--	38	45	57	37	35	26	50	08
B	38	--	60	49	24	43	30	39	01
C	45	<u>60</u>	--	<u>61</u>	46	50	39	52	00
D	<u>57</u>	49	<u>61</u>	--	39	<u>57</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>60</u>	08
E	37	24	46	39	--	52	32	50	<u>53</u>
F	35	43	50	57	52	--	32	46	09
G	26	30	39	44	32	32	--	37	25
H	50	39	52	60	50	46	37	--	07
I	08	01	00	08	<u>53</u>	09	25	07	--

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

First, the highest occurrence of each theme should be underscored--i.e. underline the highest percentage in each column. For this example, the highest percentages are: A-57, B-60, C-61, D-61, E-53, F-57, G-44, H-60, and I-53. In selecting the highest entry in the matrix, the occurrence of 61 mediates between themes C and D. Since these are reciprocals--that is, they have the highest correlation with one another--they constitute the basis of the first cluster. They might be diagrammed as follows:



Next, the themes occurring most often with the reciprocals are selected. These are found by noting the underscored values on rows C and D. A, F, G, and H occur most frequently with D, while B occurs most frequently with C. Now the relationship becomes more complex.



This process is continued until the relationships within the C-D cluster cannot be carried farther. If there





are still themes not classified, an analogous process will develop additional clusters. In this case, for example, themes E and I are reciprocal and, therefore, create a different cluster.

In order to avoid an unduly laborious and time consuming task by hand, data for the linkage analysis were programmed through the MISTIC computer at Michigan State University. Assistance in designing the program and in the coding process was obtained from Mr. Jack Prather and Mr. James Clark, assistant instructors in the Communication Research Center, Michigan State University.

Step Five: Analysis of Theme Adaptation  
to Audience Type

In his Rhetoric, Aristotle reflected awareness of three principal elements in speech making--speaker, subject, and the audience. Up to this point, the study has revolved around the speaker and the subject. Nevertheless, "a speaker needs to develop a sensitivity to listeners that will guide him as he makes various decisions about selecting . . . materials,"<sup>8</sup> and this particular portion of the analysis

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<sup>8</sup>Loren Reid, First Principles of Public Speaking (Artcraft Press: Columbia Missouri, 1962), p. 71.



investigated how Fulbright adapted to particular types of audiences in his treatment of the speech themes.

First, the twenty-four speeches were classified according to the type of audience to which they were delivered. Four rather distinct types seemed evident: (1) academic, (2) business and professional, (3) international, and (4) political. (This classification is presented in Table 8.)

Second, the speeches within each group were analyzed to determine which themes tended to be emphasized or de-emphasized within each particular group. The percentage of occurrence of each theme for a particular group was computed by dividing the number of that group's speeches in which the theme appeared by the total number of speeches within the group. For example, suppose there were eight speeches in Group One. If theme B occurred in four of them, its percentage of occurrence would be fifty per cent.

On the assumption that each theme could be expected to occur equally in the four groups, the percentage of occurrence within an audience grouping was then compared with the percentage of occurrence of that theme for the total twenty-four speeches. The standard deviation from the expected percentage was calculated by  $\sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{N}}$ , and a

TABLE 8

## AUDIENCE CLASSIFICATION

Audience Type	Speech Number	Specific Audience
1. Academic	4	Columbia University
	10	Harvard Club
	14	Indiana University
	15	American Philosophical Society
	16	University of Virginia
	17	Cornell Law School
	21	Stanford University
2. Business and Professional	2	Overseas Press Club
	3	American Society of Newspaper Editors
	6	Iowa Bankers Association
	8	Downers Grove Village Forum
	11	American Bar Association
	18	Little Rock Jr. Chamber of Commerce
	23	Arkansas Chamber of Commerce
	24	Merchandising Corporation Convention
3. International	7	Fifth Annual NATO Parliamentarians Conference
	9	West Indies
	12	World Affairs Council, Los Angeles
	13	World Affairs Council, San Francisco
	22	Seventh Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference, London
4. Political	1	Democratic Victory Dinner
	5	Senate
	19	Senate
	20	Senate

ninety-five per cent level of significance was regarded as being two sigmas in either direction from the expected percentage.<sup>9</sup> (Table 9 presents the percentages of theme occurrence before the four audience types.)

TABLE 9  
THEME OCCURRENCE BEFORE AUDIENCE TYPES

Theme	Audience Type*			
	A	B	I	P
1. American Moral Ineptness	.57	.63	.20	.25
2. American Revolution	.28	.00	.00	.25
3. Berlin	.14	.13	.00	.00
4. Colonialism	.14	.00	.00	.00
5. Communist Imperialism	.43	.50	.60	.50
6. Conservatism	.28	.25	.20	.25
7. Cuba	.14	.13	.20	.50
8. Democracy: A Difficult Form of Government	.43	.38	.20	.25
9. Diplomatic Service	.28	.25	.40	.25
10. Education	.72	.63	.60	.25
11. Eisenhower	.43	.00	.40	.50
12. European Federations	.14	.38	.20	.00
13. Foreign Aid	.28	.50	.80	.50
14. Frustration in International Affairs	.14	.25	.00	.50
15. Great Britain	.28	.00	.20	.00
16. Importance of Foreign Relations	.43	.63	.40	.00
17. Inadequate Governmental Machinery for International Relations	.43	.25	.40	.25
18. International Interdependence	.28	.38	.60	.25
19. Inseparability Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs	.57	.75	.60	.25
20. Kennedy	.57	.25	.00	.00

<sup>9</sup> Pool, *ibid.*

TABLE 9--Continued

Theme	Audience Type*			
	A	B	I	P
21. Khrushchev	.57	.38	.20	.25
22. Local Interests in Congress	.57	.13	.20	.00
23. Long-Range Policy	.72	.50	.20	.50
24. National Consensus	.57	.00	.20	.00
25. Nuclear War/Armaments	.14	.88	.60	.50
26. One Party Responsibility for Government	.14	.13	.40	.25
27. Presidential Power	.72	.13	.20	.25
28. Previous Democratic Administrations	.57	.00	.20	.25
29. Priority of Values	.57	.38	.40	.50
30. Red China	.43	.00	.20	.00
31. Relationship of U.S. to Underdeveloped Nations	.43	.50	.20	.50
32. Relativity in Foreign Policy	.43	.13	.20	.50
33. Resistance to Change by Americans	.28	.00	.20	.00
34. Role of the Senate	.43	.25	.20	.00
35. Russian Challenge	.86	1.00	1.00	.75
36. Trade and Tariff	.28	.38	.00	.00
37. U.S. Survival as a Nation	.43	.38	.40	.00
38. U.S. as Leader in World Relations	.86	.75	.60	.75
39. Western Alliance	.28	.63	.60	.00
40. World Change	.72	.50	1.00	.00

\*Audience types are represented as follows: A-academic, B-business and professional, I-international, and P-political.

Step Six: Analysis of Theme Treatment During  
Different Presidential Administrations

Since thirteen of the twenty-four speeches occurred during the Eisenhower administration and eleven were





delivered after President Kennedy took office, the analyst used this opportunity to contrast Fulbright's treatment of themes during these two administrations. The objective was to determine whether or not any themes were significantly emphasized or de-emphasized in the speeches of one administration and not those of the other.

The percentage of occurrence of each theme in the speeches of a given administration was computed by dividing the number of speeches of that administration in which it actually appeared by the total number of speeches delivered during that administration. The percentage of occurrence of a theme in the total group of speeches was used as the expected percentage that each theme would occur in the speeches under each administration. The standard deviation from the expected percentage was calculated by the formula  $\sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{N}}$ . At a ninety-five per cent level of confidence the actual percentage of occurrence would not differ more than two standard deviations from the expected percentage. Significant differences were determined by contrasting the actual percentage of appearances in the speeches of a given administration with the expected percentage. (The percentages of actual occurrence are presented in Table 10.)

TABLE 10

## THEME OCCURRENCE UNDER DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATIONS

Theme	Administrations	
	Eisenhower	Kennedy
1. American Moral Ineptness	.62	.27
2. American Revolution	.08	.18
3. Berlin	.15	.00
4. Colonialism	.00	.09
5. Communist Imperialism	.38	.63
6. Conservatism	.15	.36
7. Cuba	.08	.36
8. Democracy: A Difficult Form of Government	.46	.18
9. Diplomatic Service	.38	.18
10. Education	.70	.45
11. Eisenhower	.39	.18
12. European Federations	.15	.27
13. Foreign Aid	.46	.54
14. Frustration in International Affairs	.15	.27
15. Great Britain	.08	.18
16. Importance of Foreign Relations	.46	.36
17. Inadequate Governmental Machinery for International Relations	.54	.09
18. International Interdependence	.31	.45
19. Inseparability Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs	.77	.36
20. Kennedy	.00	.54
21. Khrushchev	.46	.27
22. Local Interests in Congress	.23	.27
23. Long-Range Policy	.46	.63
24. National Consensus	.15	.27
25. Nuclear War/Armaments	.62	.45
26. One Party Responsibility for Government	.38	.00
27. Presidential Power	.31	.36
28. Previous Democratic Administrations	.23	.27
29. Priority of Values	.62	.27
30. Red China	.23	.09
31. Relationship of U.S. to Under- developed Nations	.31	.54
32. Relativity in Foreign Policy	.38	.18

TABLE 10--Continued

Theme	Administrations	
	Eisenhower	Kennedy
33. Resistance to Change by Americans	.15	.09
34. Role of the Senate	.31	.18
35. Russian Challenge	1.00	.81
36. Trade and Tariff	.23	.18
37. U.S. Survival as a Nation	.31	.36
38. U.S. as Leader in World Relations	.77	.72
39. Western Alliance	.31	.54
40. World Change	.62	.54

### Conclusion

In this chapter, six procedures were described by which Senator Fulbright's treatment of his speech themes was analyzed. The first four procedures--frequency analysis, symbol coding analysis, contingency analysis, and elementary linkage analysis--analyzed the data for possible generalizations about thematic treatment within the total twenty-four speeches. Sub-groups of the speeches, however, were also analyzed for theme frequency in order to investigate possible significant differences in thematic treatment (1) in speeches delivered to four different types of audiences and (2) in speeches delivered during the presidential administrations of Eisenhower and Kennedy.

The significant results of these six analyses are presented and interpreted individually in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF ANALYTIC RESULTS

The objectives of this chapter are to set forth the results of the individual analyses described in the previous chapter and to offer an interpretation of them. In this section, the analyses are considered independently; however, the discussion in Chapter Six will be based on the combined results of all six analyses.

#### Frequency Analysis

Out of the forty themes which seemed to be basic in Senator Fulbright's speeches, the frequency analysis differentiates among nine themes which appear in fifty per cent or more of the speeches studied. These nine themes are listed in rank order as follows:

1. Russian Challenge
2. United States as Leader in World Relations
3. Education
4. Inseparability Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs
5. World Change
6. Long Range Policy
7. Nuclear War
8. Communist Imperialism
9. Foreign Aid



Thus, 22.5% of the themes studied occur in at least half of the speeches studied, and these most frequent themes tend to emphasize the American-Soviet competition. They divide into two rather natural groupings.

If frequency of occurrence is regarded as an index of attention, then the Soviet aspect of the competition seems to be uppermost in Fulbright's mind. The most prevalent theme describes the totality of the Russian challenge, and this preoccupation is consistent with his statement in a speech that "scarcely any measure is debated in the Senate that is not in some way related to the struggle with the Soviet Union." As an example of the Soviet challenge, Fulbright emphasizes the theme of Communist Imperialism.

In another grouping, five of the most frequent themes are concerned with the American role in the struggle with the Communists. The emphasis is different, however. Whereas he concentrates on Russian strength, each of these themes revolves around a weakness on the part of the United States--weaknesses that enhance the Soviet challenge. These weaknesses are: a default in world leadership, less emphasis on education than that of the Soviet Union, a failure to recognize that domestic and foreign policies must fuse together, a hesitancy to make long-range plans, and a psychological

aversion to the idea of other nations taking American foreign aid for granted. It is noteworthy that the weaknesses about which he speaks do not concern material wealth or strength. In fact, he says, "America has a tremendous reserve of strength that would outstrip the Russians in any competitive realm." Instead, each of them emerges from a psychological set or mental attitude imputed to the American people, and these psychological sets, in turn, are responsible for the structural weaknesses that discourage long-term planning while permitting a foreign policy to evolve out of thousands of unrelated domestic decisions.

Despite the fact that the Senator paints a vivid picture of the Russian challenge while criticizing American weaknesses, he does not display a resignation to defeat. Each theme also describes an opportunity for improvement, and, combined, they offer a very broad and very general guideline for repulsing the Soviet challenge. He calls for greater maturity in foreign relations through: the careful exercise of leadership in world relations, and increased emphasis on basic education; the meshing of domestic and foreign policies into a consistent national policy; the making of long-term plans; and a concerted effort to thwart poverty and communism through the continuation of foreign aid.

The theme of Nuclear War receives great emphasis probably because it represents a possible outcome of the American-Russian conflict and, therefore, points out the seriousness of this conflict.

The final theme which receives great emphasis is that of World Change. Its emphasis probably stems from the great influx of changes throughout the world which Americans tend to regard as crises. He attempts to explain the relationship between American foreign policy and these processes of seemingly eternal transformations. Although he explains change as a natural course of events that operates regardless of the ideologies influential in the world, he does not completely divorce it from the American-Russian ideological conflict, because this conflict influences the direction of the changes.

#### Symbol Coding Analysis

Fifteen symbols relating to the nine most prevalent themes were coded on continuums of morality, strength, and desirability. The results of this symbol coding analysis further illustrate the magnitude of the opposing forces in Fulbright's estimation of the Cold War. (Table 11 presents the results of this coding process.)





TABLE 11

## SYMBOL CODING RESULTS\*

Symbol	Neu- tral	Morality		Strength		Desira- bility		Fre- quency of Occur- rence
		+	-	+	-	+	-	
Americans	27	3	0	7	12	17	9	75
Change	13	0	0	25	0	14	3	50
China	2	0	2	6	0	0	11	14
Communism	2	2	11	22	4	0	65	72
Democracy	11	3	0	7	0	20	1	32
Education	7	0	0	21	7	45	2	59
Eisenhower	8	2	0	1	16	4	16	31
England	5	0	0	11	0	16	0	24
Foreign Aid	3	1	0	7	2	12	1	20
Government								
Machinery	4	0	0	1	7	1	7	15
International								
Law	9	0	0	4	0	10	0	19
Kennedy	7	3	0	14	0	24	0	31
Khrushchev	8	0	1	12	0	0	17	28
Russia	8	0	2	63	3	0	77	105
United States	42	9	0	48	11	52	10	123

\*Each time one of the symbols was explicitly stated in a paragraph, it was classified under the categories listed in the columns above. The numbers in each column, therefore, represent the number of paragraphs in which the symbol was classified as falling in that category. Since a given appearance of a symbol might be coded under any combination of the Morality, Strength, and Desirability categories, the frequency of occurrence is not the row total.

Fulbright uses the symbol "United States" more frequently than any other of those analyzed. It is generally discussed in contexts that attribute morality, strength, and



desirability to it. Nevertheless, about one-sixth of the references are to weaknesses and undesirable traits of the nation. Furthermore, a favorable disposition toward the referent of the symbol "Americans" does not keep him from referring more frequently to their weaknesses than to their strong points. These mixed valences are consistent with the findings of the frequency analysis in which Fulbright recognized the strength of the United States but also stressed serious weaknesses that needed to be overcome.

The American ally "England" is also considered to be strong and desirable, and there is no mixed valence in Fulbright's attitude toward it.

For America's opponents in the Cold War, Russia and China, Fulbright's attitude seems to be that they are immoral, strong, and undesirable. His references tend to emphasize their strength and undesirability.

This same pattern follows for the other elements of opposition in the Cold War. Both ideologies are referred to as being strong, but references show "Democracy" to be much more desirable to Fulbright than "Communism." In judgments of morality, there are references to both ideologies as having moral aspects, but he refers more often to the immoral aspects of "Communism" than to its moral aspects.

Fulbright's attitudes toward the principal men involved in the American-Soviet conflict are all one-sided rather than being characterized by mixed valences. He refers to "Khrushchev" as being strong but undesirable, but he associates both strength and desirability with "Kennedy." In contrast, his attitude toward the symbol "Eisenhower" seems to be that the referent is both weak and undesirable.

Two of the symbols border on the periphery of the Soviet-American controversy. These are "Education" and "Foreign Aid," and Fulbright's attitude toward each of them has a mixed valence. While his references were primarily to the strength and desirability of the symbols' respective referents, the mixed valences indicated that he thinks there are areas for improvement in each.

Finally, Fulbright's attitude toward "Change" is that it is a strong force to which he is favorably disposed. He also considers "International Law" to be strong and desirable. These two evaluations lead the analyst to surmise that the Senator might hope that future change in the world will be guided through international channels.

Contingency Analysis

Analysis of the data revealed twelve significant contingencies among the forty themes of Senator Fulbright. All of these contingencies indicated association in the thinking of the Senator whereas no significant disassociations were noted. (These twelve contingencies are listed in Table 12.)

TABLE 12  
CONTINGENT THEMES

Theme Number	Contingent Theme Number
11. Eisenhower	26. One Party Responsibility for Government
12. European Federations	18. International Interdependence
15. Great Britain	36. U.S. Survival as a Nation
22. Local Interests in Congress	24. National Consensus
22. Local Interests in Congress	27. Presidential Power
22. Local Interests in Congress	34. Role of the Senate
24. National Consensus	27. Presidential Power
27. Presidential Power	34. Role of the Senate
28. Previous Democratic Administrations	30. Red China
28. Previous Democratic Administrations	33. Resistance to Change
30. Red China	17. Inadequate Governmental Machinery
32. Relativity in Foreign Policy	33. Resistance to Change

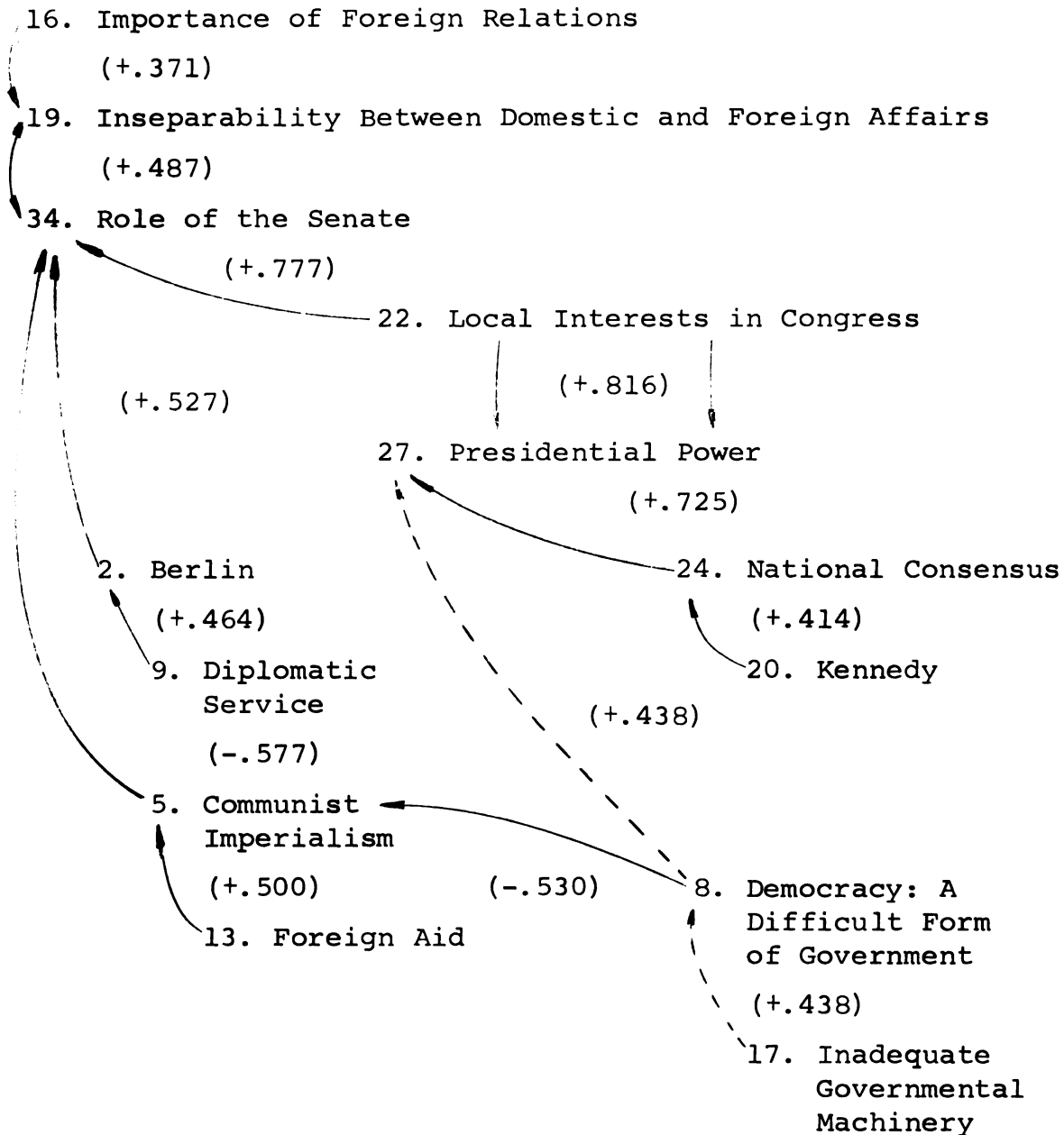
These contingencies are inherent in the typical structures revealed through the elementary linkage analysis; consequently, they are discussed in the following section with the typical structures.

### Elementary Linkage Analysis

Ten basic typical structures (theme clusters) were revealed among the forty themes by the elementary linkage analysis. Each of these types is illustrated and discussed below. The correlation between themes is listed in parentheses. When a theme is included in a cluster through a negative correlation, the themes with which it has the strongest positive correlation are listed. Since such associations were not strong enough to be added to the cluster, they are demonstrated by broken lines.

#### Type One

The concept of American structure of government is central to Type One, and it offers an interesting problem-solution. The themes cluster around the reciprocal themes: Local Interests in Congress (22) and Presidential Power (27). The problem is stipulated in two different sub-clusters.



The first of these centers around a preoccupation with Local Interests in Congress (22), and references to it tend to cluster with references to the Role of the Senate (34), Inseparability Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs (19), and



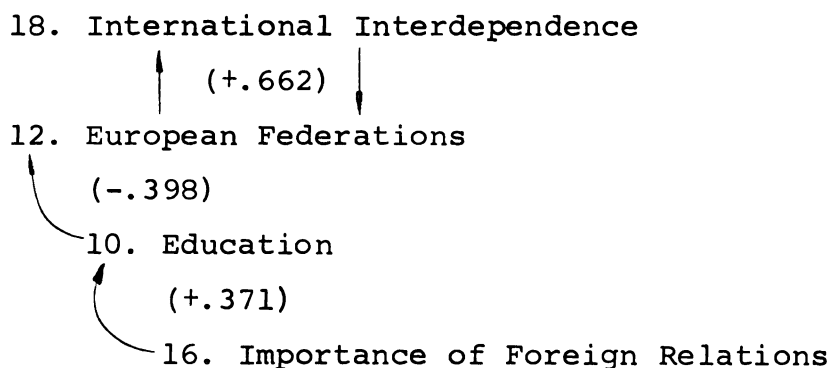
the Importance of Foreign Relations (16). With these last three themes the Senator seems to be stating the case against the weaknesses that result from a preoccupation with local interests by emphasizing the greater importance of foreign affairs to the nation generally over the importance of local interests. The problem is further illuminated in a second sub-cluster in which Fulbright maintains that Democracy is a Difficult Form of Government (8). This theme is positively associated with the theme of Inadequate Governmental Machinery (17). Thus, in this sub-cluster Fulbright seems to pin-point one of the difficulties of the democratic form of government as being a structural inadequacy for the most efficient implementation of foreign affairs.

Contingent with these themes are the themes of Presidential Power (27) and National Consensus (24). Having discussed a problem, the Senator seems to be suggesting a solution to it through these two themes. The association seems to be as follows. The president needs greater authority in foreign relations for two reasons. First, presidential authority currently lags behind presidential responsibility. Second, the president is the only one who speaks for the nation as a whole, and only he can reconcile the many diverse

local elements toward a national consensus. The theme of Kennedy (20) is connected with that of National Consensus, suggesting that the Senator thinks President Kennedy is especially adept at eliciting a national consensus.

The above themes relating to American governmental structure, especially the theme about the Role of the Senate (34), correlate negatively with the theme of Communist Imperialism (5). Furthermore, when he talks about Democracy being a Difficult Form of Government (8), he tends to avoid talking about Communist Imperialism (5). This relationship suggests, perhaps, that the Senator does not associate the American governmental structure with the threat of communist imperialism. Within the cluster, the theme of Foreign Aid (13) is associated positively with Communist Imperialism (5), and this relationship might be expected because the aid is used as a means of combating communism.

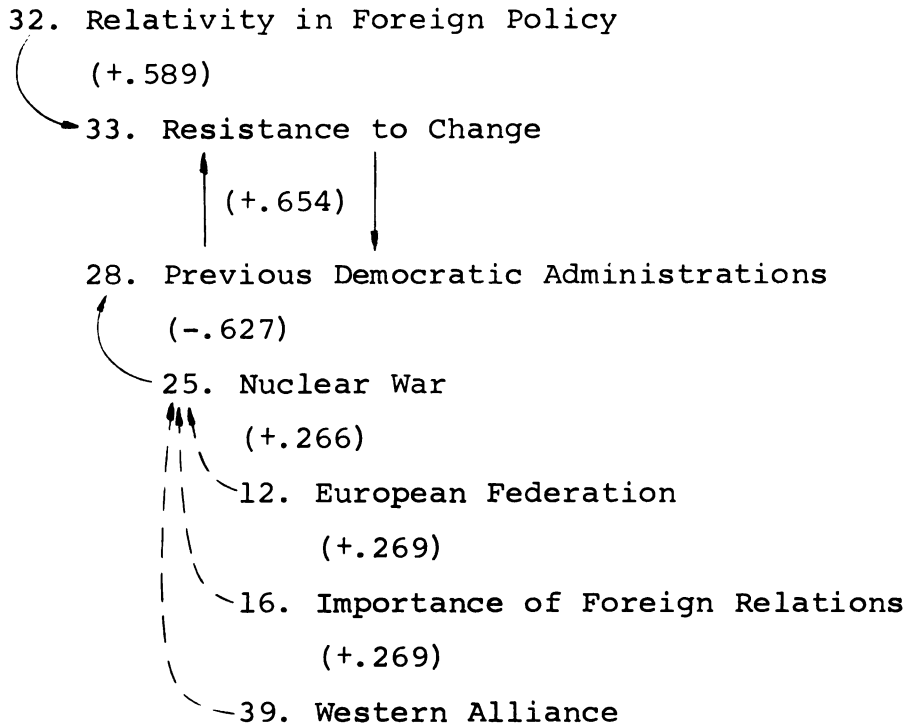
### Type Two



The reciprocals of Type Two are the themes of European Federations (12) and International Interdependence (18). Their association seems to stem from a specific application of a basic assumption which the Senator believes. The assumption is that "interdependence is the rule of the day," and the specific application of this principle is that the European nations must "federate or perish."

The association in Senator Fulbright's thinking between the Importance of Foreign Relations (16) and Education (10) is understandable in consideration of his statement that education "will be the most important single factor to influence the foreign . . . relations of this country." On the other hand, the disassociation between Education (10) and European Federations (12) is not readily ascertainable. He supports both strongly. Perhaps the reason for the disassociation then is that the latter theme does not directly involve the American nation whereas the former theme is directly concerned with the United States.

## Type Three



When Senator Fulbright speaks about American Resistance to Change (33), he also tends to talk about the application of Relativity in Foreign Policy (32). Apparently, this association in his thinking is based on a cause and effect relationship. The effect is that Americans resist change partly as a result of their failure to acknowledge relativity--i.e. that there are no final and complete solutions and that Western principles do not "represent the common aspirations of all people."

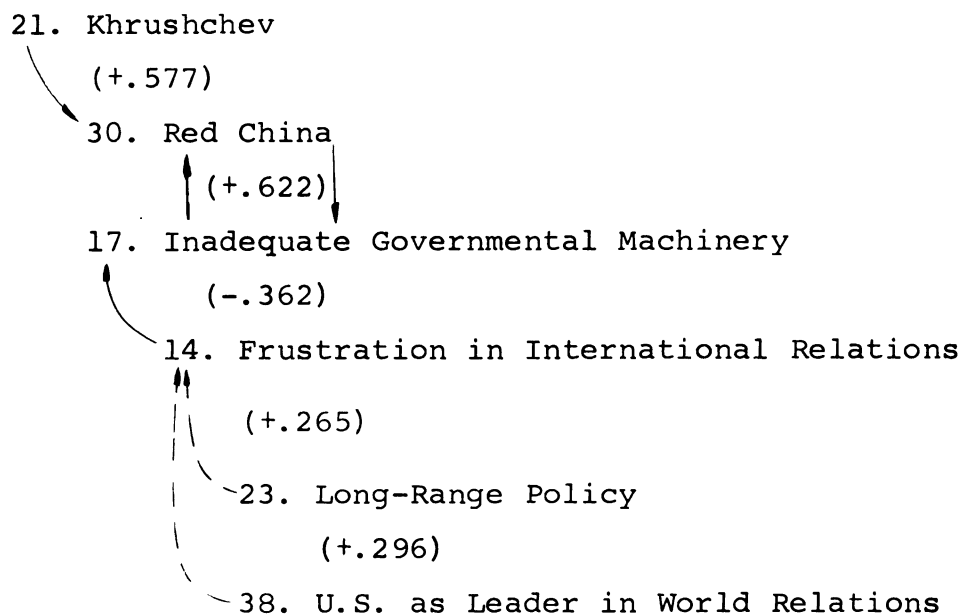
This theme of Resistance to Change (33) is reciprocal with the theme of Previous Democratic Administrations (28).

Since he is favorably disposed toward the latter but not to the former, it seems that he is developing a contrast between the concepts expressed in these themes. Apparently, when he thinks about his appraisal of the current attitude of Americans toward change, he immediately tends to associate it with periods of American History noted for their changes.

The disassociation between the Democratic Administrations (28) and Nuclear War (25) may be plausibly explained by the fact that it was not until the Truman Administration--the last Democratic Administration considered in theme number 28--that Russia perfected atomic weapons and Nuclear War (25) became a possibility. Therefore, this time factor might account for the disassociation.

No themes cluster strongly enough with the theme of Nuclear War (25) for this association to be depicted in Type Three. The themes, however, with the highest correlations with the theme of Nuclear War (25) are: European Federations (12), Importance of Foreign Relations (16), and Western Alliance (39). Thus, there appears to be a slight tendency for Fulbright to regard the possibility of a nuclear war as a reason for increasing concern for foreign relations and the need for alliances within the free world to repel the opposition.

## Type Four



Two of the relationships in Type Four are difficult to explain. The first is the reciprocal association between the themes of Inadequate Governmental Machinery (17) and Red China (30). On the one hand, the Senator describes the potential power of the Chinese Communists and the ominous threat which this power might pose. In this connection, the association between the themes of Khrushchev (21) and Red China (30) is understandable since they are both antagonists in the Cold War against the United States. On the other hand, the Senator calls for a re-evaluation of American governmental machinery which "usually shifts gears with a minimum of speed and a maximum of sound." Therefore, the Senator



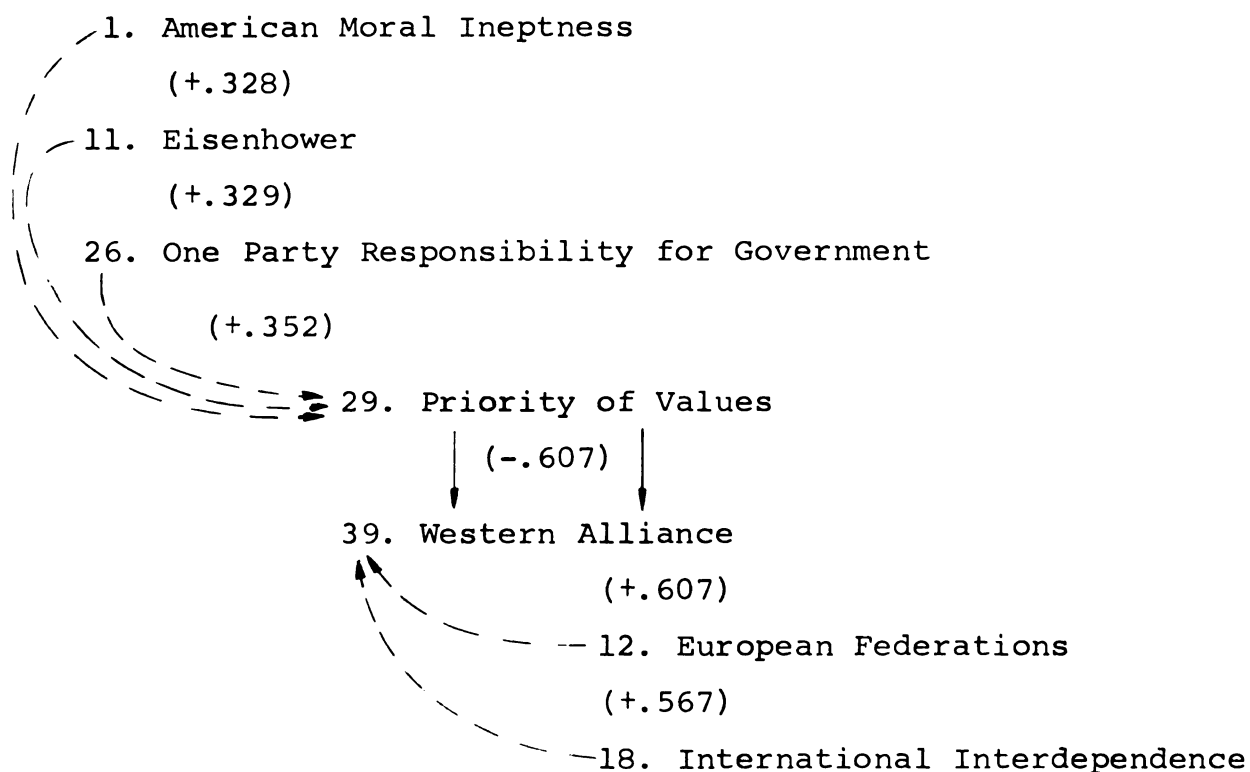
appears to be pitting strength against weakness by referring to a specific strong threat to the United States in the form of China in order to stimulate more serious evaluation of the American governmental structure. While this explanation may appear plausible here, it is not consistent with Type One in which the Senator disassociates the threat of Communist Imperialism (5) from his discussion of specific aspects of the American structure of government.

The second relationship which is difficult to understand is the fact that when he tends to talk about Inadequate Governmental Machinery for Foreign Affairs (17), he tends not to talk about Frustration in International Relations (14). On the surface, it would seem that the former would be a cause of the latter, and that these themes would appear concurrently. In the definition of the theme about frustration, however, the cause of the frustration is reputed to be the fact that American efforts have not solved international problems. Again, he is concerned with a mental state imputed to the American people, and perhaps this is the reason why this theme does not occur with his discussion of governmental machinery. The themes with which the theme of Frustration in International Relations (14) has the



greatest associations also revolve around mental states of the American people: an unwillingness to make long-range plans (23) and a default by the United States in its role as leader in world relations (38).

#### Type Five



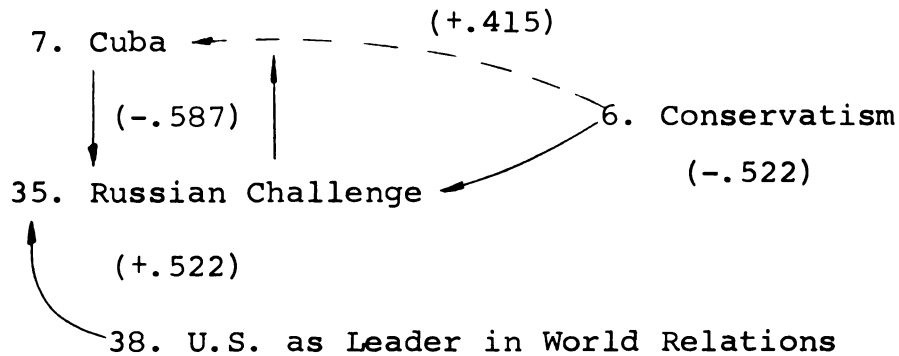
The reciprocals of Type Five cluster through a disassociation. When Senator Fulbright speaks about the need for Americans to change their Priority of Values (29), he tends not to talk about--i.e. disassociate it from--a Western Alliance (39). On the one hand, he criticizes the attitudinal state of the American people as being quite weak and

undesirable; on the other hand, he forecasts great strength through concerted effort. Since he could not draw a picture of the American people as being simultaneously weak and strong, these two ideas seem to be disassociated in his thinking.

Each reciprocal theme is further illuminated through the themes with which it has the highest positive associations. He suggests two areas, for example, where the American people must examine their values. The first of these concerns Moral Ineptness (1) or an apathetic attitude, and Fulbright regards Eisenhower (11) as a man who cultivates this attitude in America. The second area concerns governmental structure, and Fulbright maintains that Americans must review their values here and perhaps adopt a system of government which permits one party to lead both the legislative and executive branches of government at a given time.

The themes with which the other reciprocal has the highest correlations are European Federations (12) and International Interdependence (18). The association of these is based on Fulbright's idea that the free nations of the world are dependent on one another for security and economic progress.

## Type Six



The relationships among all of the themes in Type Six are relationships of disassociation. The apparent disassociation in Fulbright's thinking between the reciprocal themes of Cuba (7) and the Russian Challenge (35) was unsuspected by the analyst until it appeared in the linkage analysis. In the theme of Cuba (7) he advocates a policy of non-intervention, and the Cuban situation is never discussed in terms of being a part of the Cold War struggle which is described in the theme of the Russian Challenge (35). One plausible reason for this disassociation might be the fact that many of the speeches analyzed were delivered before Premier Castro announced his Communist leanings and actively sought ties with the Soviet Union.

The theme of Conservatism (6) is associated with Cuba (7) but is disassociated with the Russian Challenge (35). Each of these themes contain elements of distress for

Fulbright. Perhaps the association is based on Fulbright's charge that the conservatives offer "deceptively simple solutions," and one of these solutions was to eliminate the Cuban problem" by American force," a solution he considered unwise.

The theme most highly correlated with the Russian Challenge (35) is that of the United States as leader in World Relations (38). These are also the themes about which he talks most frequently. Since the basic issue of American foreign policy is American-Soviet competition, it is understandable that when he talks about one of the major sides in this competition, he will also talk about the other.

#### Type Seven

26. One Party Responsibility for Government

↑ (+.573) ↓

11. Eisenhower

(-.542)

31. Relationship of U.S. to Underdeveloped Nations

(+.398)

37. Trade and Tariff

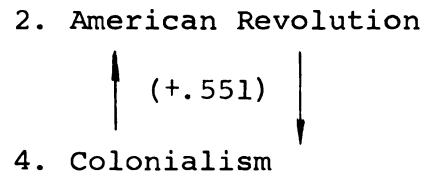
References to the theme of One Party Responsibility for Government (26) were significantly contingent upon references to the theme of Eisenhower (11). References to

the theme of the Relationship of U.S. to Underdeveloped Nations (31) were associated with references to the theme of Trade and Tariff (37) but were disassociated with references to the theme of Eisenhower (11). Such negative correlations are at least suggestive of repressions on Fulbright's part so that he does not talk about the Eisenhower administration when he talks about the relationship of the United States with developing nations.

One reason for the association between Eisenhower (11) and One Party Responsibility for Government (26) is suggested by the following facts. Senator Fulbright believed quite strongly in the European principle that the executive and legislative branches of government should be controlled by the same political party in order to facilitate the smooth exercise of power. President Eisenhower's occupancy of the White House concurrently with a Democratic Congress conflicted with this belief. Consequently, it is plausible to believe that the actual circumstances were responsible for this association. Furthermore, the apparent validity of this supposition is heightened by the fact that the theme of One Party Responsibility (26) appears significantly more frequently in the speeches delivered during the

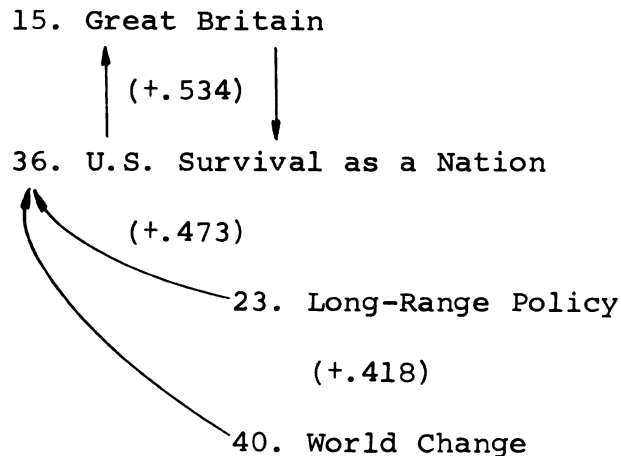
Eisenhower administration than in those delivered during the Kennedy administration. During the Kennedy administration, of course, there was no reason to stress the One Party Responsibility theme because the Democratic party controlled both the legislative and executive branches.

### Type Eight



There is an inherent association between the concepts described in the themes American Revolution (2) and Colonialism (4), since the former describes a nationalistic revolution against colonial control.

### Type Nine

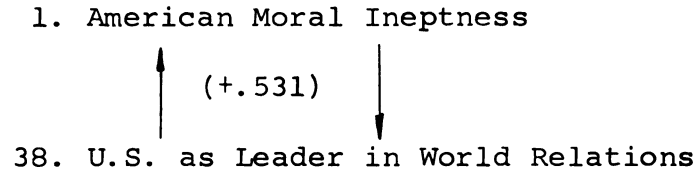


When Fulbright refers to the theme of U.S. Survival as a Nation (36), he also tends to refer to the themes of Great Britain (15), Long-Term Policy (23), and World Change (40).

Two primary inferences might be made from this cluster. First, Fulbright seems to suggest a particular link between the welfare of the United States and Great Britain. Warning that American survival as a nation is not inevitable, he proposes in his speeches that international cooperation, especially with Europe, is the key to national preservation. He says, "Whatever strengthens Europe, strengthens freedom," and he then asserts that this strength revolves around England, which alone has the "political maturity for leading Europe." Consequently, he seems to associate the national well-being of the United States to a strong Europe, which, in turn, is based on the leadership of England.

Second, the Senator seems to suggest that the survival of the United States hinges upon the nation's accommodation to the constant changes of the world, an accommodation that must be implemented through long-term planning that does not ricochet from crisis to crisis.

## Type Ten



The association between the reciprocal themes of American Moral Ineptness (1) and U.S. as Leader in World Relations (38) might be based on a cause and effect relationship. The principal idea in the former theme is that Americans lack purpose and maintain an apathetic attitude toward the rest of the world. The principal idea in the latter theme is that the American nation has defaulted in its world leadership role. Since these ideas tend to occur together, it is reasonable to assume that Senator Fulbright regards the moral ineptness as being partially responsible for the nation's default in leadership.

Theme Adaptation to Audience Type

The themes of the Russian Challenge (35) and the U.S. as Leader in World Relations (38) were emphasized in the speeches to all four audience types: academic, business and professional, international, and political. Significant differences, however, occur in the emphasis accorded some



other themes in the speeches to specific audience types.

These differences are presented and discussed below.

#### Academic Audiences

Seven themes are significantly emphasized in the speeches to academic audiences. These themes are as follows:

- 15. Great Britain
- 20. Kennedy
- 22. Local Interests in Congress
- 24. National Consensus
- 27. Presidential Power
- 28. Previous Democratic Administrations
- 30. Red China
- 34. Role of the Senate

Five of these themes were shown to be associated in

**Type One** of the elementary linkage analysis. They are: **Kennedy** (20), **Local Interests in Congress** (22), **National Consensus** (24), **Presidential Power** (27), and the **Role of the Senate** (34). The unifying concept of Type One is the **American** structure of government, and the cluster seems to **contain** discussions both of weaknesses in this structure and of **solutions** for these weaknesses. The fact that Type One is **emphasized** significantly before academic audiences suggests **that** the Senator may feel that the best place to stir a **re-evaluation** of the nation's governmental machinery is amid **the** intellectual challenges of the colleges and universities.

Somewhat related to the five themes discussed above is the theme of Great Britain (15), which is also emphasized in the speeches to academic audiences. The British, he says, are more "attuned to the compelling realities of the twentieth century" than are the Americans, and he uses the British governmental system as a model in contrast to the "structurally predetermined amateurism" fostered by American governmental institutions.

Finally, significant emphasis is accorded the themes of Red China (30) and the Previous Democratic Administrations of Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman (28).

To these academic audiences, the Senator significantly refrains from discussing the themes of:

- 2. American Revolution
- 13. Foreign Aid
- 25. Nuclear War

These omissions, however, are consistent with the general trends of association of themes for the total group of speeches. Type One reveals that Fulbright always tends to de-emphasize the theme of Foreign Aid (13) when discussing the themes concerning the American structure of government, and Type Three reveals that the theme of Nuclear War (25) is generally not discussed when the theme of Previous Democratic Administrations (28) is emphasized.

### Business and Professional Audiences

In the speeches to business and professional audiences, Senator Fulbright significantly accents the foreign ties of the United States. The themes significantly emphasized are:

- 16. Importance of Foreign Relations
- 25. Nuclear War
- 39. Western Alliance

These themes did not cluster together in any of the types revealed through the elementary linkage analysis.

From an interpretive standpoint, the themes he de-emphasizes to these business and professional audiences are more significant than the ones he emphasizes. He tends to refrain from discussing six themes, five of which deal with domestic politics:

- 11. Eisenhower
- 24. National Consensus
- 27. Presidential Power
- 28. Previous Democratic Administrations
- 30. Red China

First, he avoids two themes which propose greater centralization of government: National Consensus (24) and Presidential Power (27). Second, a discussion of partisan politics is minimized since he refers neither to the theme of Previous Democratic Administrations (28) nor to the theme about the Republican President Eisenhower (11). It is particularly

interesting to note that despite his intense opposition to Eisenhower, the theme of Eisenhower (11) does not occur in any of the speeches to the business and professional audiences. This type of audience is the only one to which he does not criticize the former President.

The patterns that tend to evolve in speeches to the business and professional groups, then, are: (1) an avoidance of certain themes which deal with Red China and domestic politics and (2) a significant emphasis on themes relating to the multifarious relations of the United States with other nations.

### International Audiences

In the speeches before international audiences, three themes occur with significant frequency. They are:

- 18. International Interdependence
- 26. One Party Responsibility for Government
- 40. World Change

The first and third themes present descriptive generalizations that Senator Fulbright makes about the world in general--interdependence and change--and, therefore, emphasis on them might be expected for an audience composed of representatives from many countries. The theme of One Party Responsibility (26), however, concerns the internal

workings of the American government, a subject which, on the surface, seems less likely to occur in a speech to such an audience. Perhaps the significant emphasis of this theme suggests that the Senator may have been trying to promote understanding of the structure of the American government.

The following five themes are significantly de-emphasized in the speeches to international audiences:

- 14. Frustration in International Affairs
- 23. Long-Range Policy
- 20. Kennedy
- 31. Relationship of U.S. to Underdeveloped Nations
- 37. Trade and Tariff

It may seem strange that when the Senator addressed international audiences, he tends not to talk about the themes of the Relationship of the U.S. to Underdeveloped Nations (31) and Trade and Tariff (37), themes which directly concern American relations with foreign countries. This de-emphasis, however, is consistent with the pattern of theme cluster described in Type Seven of the elementary linkage analysis. This type suggests that, generally, these two themes are not discussed when the theme of One Party Responsibility for Government (26) is emphasized--as it is in the speeches to international audiences.

Senator Fulbright also abstains from discussing the

themes of Frustration in International Affairs (14) and Long-Range Policy (23) before these audiences. These two themes are highly critical of the United States, and it is plausible to believe that the Senator prefers to discuss American weaknesses with American audiences while projecting a stronger image of the United States to an international audience.

#### Political Audiences

Four themes are significantly emphasized in the Senator's speeches to political audiences. They are:

- 7. Cuba
- 11. Eisenhower
- 14. Frustration in International Relations
- 32. Relativity in Foreign Policy

No two of these themes appear in the same theme cluster of the linkage analysis so there seems to be no significant associations among them. All of them, however, might be expected to appear in a speech to a political audience. The theme of Cuba (7) concerns a specific foreign policy problem that could be assumed to be of high interest to any political audience. It may be noted, however, that no such emphasis is accorded the theme about Berlin (3), a similar specific problem. Nothing in the analysis suggests a reason for this difference.

The theme of Eisenhower (11) contains criticism of a president, an appropriate and expected subject for a speech to a political audience.

Frustration in International Relations (14) is a theme which describes an American reaction to the nation's experiences in its relations with other countries; and the theme of Relativity in Foreign Policy (32) suggests the adoption of a pragmatic approach to the formulation of foreign policy--i.e. the recognition that there are no final solutions and that Western principles are not necessarily applicable to the entire world.

The themes which are significantly de-emphasized in his speeches to political audiences are as follows:

- 12. European Federations
- 16. Importance of Foreign Relations
- 19. Inseparability Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs
- 20. Kennedy
- 22. Local Interests in Congress
- 24. National Consensus
- 30. Red China
- 34. Role of the Senate
- 36. U.S. Survival as a Nation
- 37. Trade and Tariff
- 39. Western Alliance
- 40. World Change

A notable observation about the lack of emphasis on certain themes is that five of them are associated in the theme cluster of Type One. These five themes are: Inseparability

Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs (19), Kennedy (20), Local Interest in Congress (22), National Consensus (24), and Role of the Senate (34). Consequently, it seems that Senator Fulbright refrains from discussing the machinery of the American government with his political audiences.

Theme Treatment During Different  
Presidential Administrations

Three themes occur with significantly more frequency in the speeches delivered during the Eisenhower administration than in those delivered during the Kennedy administration. These themes are: Inadequate Governmental Machinery (17), Inseparability Between Domestic and Foreign Affairs (19), and One Party Responsibility for Government (26). These themes are all related to the general subject of the American structure of government.

Thus, the analysis indicates that Senator Fulbright was more concerned over the inadequacies of the American governmental machinery during the Eisenhower administration. This concern may have stemmed from (1) his evaluation of Eisenhower as a very weak president and (2) the fact that the Senator believed the then-existing situation of one party controlling the executive branch of government with



a different party controlling the legislature was a major weakness of government. The reason for emphasizing the theme of One Party Responsibility for Government (26) was alleviated when President Kennedy, a Democrat, was inaugurated. Furthermore, the symbol coding indicates that Fulbright believes Kennedy to be much stronger than Eisenhower, and perhaps this is another reason for the apparent decrease in the Senator's concern over governmental machinery during the Kennedy administration.

The only theme which occurs with a significantly greater frequency in the speeches delivered during the Kennedy administration is the Kennedy theme (20). This emphasis obviously stems from the fact that Senator Kennedy did not figure more prominently than any other senator until his candidacy and election to the presidency in the latter part of 1960. Thus, this theme would not be expected to appear frequently in the speeches delivered during the Eisenhower administration.

### Conclusion

This chapter described and interpreted the results of six analytic procedures: (1) frequency analysis, (2) symbol coding analysis, (3) contingency analysis, (4)

elementary linkage analysis, (5) an analysis of theme adaptation to audience type, and (6) an analysis of theme treatment during different presidential administrations.

The interpretations of these analyses are inferences, and there may well be alternative interpretations possible as to why particular phenomena occur--such as the linking of themes in a particular cluster through positive or negative correlations. "But the inferences have the advantage of resting on demonstrable verbal behavior which may even be unconscious to the source. They do not necessarily depend upon explicit statements of relation by the source."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>I. de Sola Pool, Trends in Content Analysis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959), p. 71.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter One, three purposes were proposed for this study. They were: (1) to consider the development of Senator Fulbright as an outstanding statesman and an influential speaker, (2) to ascertain objectively and quantitatively his basic ideas concerning foreign policy as set forth in his speeches, and (3) to relate these political ideas with his biographical development. The first purpose is accomplished in Chapter Two in that it provides a brief summary of Senator Fulbright's life. The second purpose is accomplished in Chapters Three, Four, and Five; they not only define his basic ideas in terms of forty themes but also demonstrate the cluster relationships between these themes. The aim of this present chapter, then, is to accomplish the third objective by stating the basic conclusions which can be drawn from this analysis and to relate them, wherever possible, to various aspects of Fulbright's life.

Nine major conclusions were digested from the analyses of Senator Fulbright's speeches. These are listed and

discussed below.

First, Senator Fulbright tends to be an internationalist in his approach to foreign policy. In 1959, Newsweek described him with the adjective "internationally-minded,"<sup>1</sup> and the appropriateness of this label is substantiated in this analysis.

In the first place, it was the Fulbright Resolution in 1943 which proposed the creation of an organization for international cooperation; this proposal ended the United States' traditional foreign policy of isolation and paved the way for the nation's entrance into the United Nations. Furthermore, he perpetuates this "internationalist" image of himself in his speeches. Stating that domestic and foreign affairs cannot be separated, he advocates international interdependence and stresses the need for alliances among the western nations. In Type Nine, for example, the theme of United States Survival (36) is positively linked with that of Great Britain (15). Finally, the symbol coding for "international law" reveals that he is favorably disposed toward its referent and considers it to be strong.

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<sup>1</sup>"A Day to Remember," Newsweek, LIII (February 9, 1959), p. 29.



To maintain that his international leanings are a direct result of his travel and study abroad would probably be a gross oversimplification. Nevertheless, it is plausible that this factor might have generated attitudes conducive to such an approach to foreign policy.

Second, the Senator tends to conceive of American foreign policy as revolving around the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. In one speech he states that scarcely any measure is debated in the Senate that is not in some way related to the struggle with the Soviet Union." Consistent with this statement is the fact that the nine themes which occur most frequently in his speeches seem to stress this competition. The theme of the Russian Challenge (35) occurs in ninety-two per cent of the speeches and is further enlarged through the themes of Communist Imperialism (5) and the threat of Nuclear War (25). The theme of United States leadership in world relations (38) occurs in seventy-five per cent of the speeches and is related to three additional themes which extoll the American aspect of the struggle: Education (10), Foreign Aid (13), and the need for Long Range Policy (23). Within these themes he maintains that the struggle pervades every aspect of national life.

Third, Senator Fulbright concentrates heavily on the weaknesses within the United States, constantly reminding the American people of areas of national life which should be improved. Only occasionally does he enlarge upon the nation's strength. He seems to fear that satisfaction with the status quo might lead to complacency and stagnation.

In the symbol coding analysis, approximately sixteen per cent of his references to the strength of the "United States" associates weakness with this symbol; and almost sixty per cent of his references to the strength of "Americans" associates weakness with its referent. Furthermore, the themes of American Moral Ineptness (1) and Priority of Values (27) state these weaknesses explicitly. Several other themes also are developed around areas for improvement. Thus, the importance which he attaches to these weaknesses is suggested by the great attention which he gives to them. This importance is also suggested in Type Ten of the cluster analysis when he associates the theme of American Moral Ineptness (1) with the theme of the United States as Leader in World Relations (38). In this relationship, he seems to depict the psychological weakness

inherent in the former theme as the cause for a default in world leadership by the United States.

This conclusion is not intended to imply that Fulbright is a prophet of doom. On the contrary, he nearly always suggests the possibility that Americans can cope with their problems adequately--if they will. Nevertheless, his desire seems to be to ward off any development of complacency on their part by assuring them that their survival is not inevitable and that to fail to improve is to stagnate.

Fourth, concern about the governmental machinery of the United States is evident in the Senator's speeches, and he tends to favor greater centralization of government in the framing of foreign policy.

Six themes are directly concerned with the problem of improving the governmental structure of the United States and its distribution of power. These themes are: Democracy: a Difficult Form of Government (8), Inadequate Governmental Machinery (17), Local Interests in Congress (22), One Party Responsibility (26), Presidential Power (27), and the Role of the Senate (34). These themes, which cluster in Type One, maintain that the current governmental structure hampers an effective implementation of foreign relations. They



propose that the problems be solved by; (1) increasing the power of the President in making foreign policies and (2) providing that the legislative and executive branches of government be controlled by the same political party at a given time. He compares the American structure of government with that of Great Britain and seems to favor certain aspects of the latter.

Fifth, Fulbright tends to propose a pragmatic foreign policy that is based on a theory of relativity. The Senator advocates this principle of relativity as a basis for developing foreign policy and criticizes the American people for their reluctance to accept change and situations which are different from those to which they are accustomed.

That he himself acts on the basis of such a principle is suggested in the statement by Holmes Alexander that was quoted earlier:

Today Senator J. William Fulbright holds the same amoral, unflinching, unsentimental stethoscope to the heart of international affairs. He tries to find out what the situation truthfully is. After that--whatever works is right.<sup>2</sup>

That he tends to hold an "amoral. . .stethoscope to the heart of international affairs" is suggested by the symbol

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<sup>2</sup>Holmes Alexander, "A Senator Who Does Right as He Sees It," Los Angeles Times (August 27, 1960).

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coding analysis which indicates a reluctance on the Senator's part to associate judgments of morality with symbols. Perhaps one contributing factor to this restraint is his experience as a Rhodes Scholar when his travels taught him "something of the world's vast variety of political and religious beliefs."<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, this idea of relativity must also be predicated on the acceptance of continuous change. Fulbright not only regards change as an inevitable process but he also considers it to be a strong and desirable force, as is shown by the symbol coding.

Sixth, Senator Fulbright tends to talk about broad philosophical guidelines on which foreign policy should be founded rather than to talk about specific incidents and specific contemporary problems. He raises many questions. He may suggest a general direction for answering the question. But he seldom offers a specific solution.

One reason for this phenomenon is that he distinguishes quite carefully between the roles of the executive and the legislature in the exercising of foreign relations.

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<sup>3</sup>Beverly Smith, Jr., "Egghead from the Ozarks," Saturday Evening Post, CCXII (May 2, 1959), p. 116.

The president has the prerogative, and the responsibility, of initiating specific policies; the role of the legislature is to advise and to offer guidelines on which specific policies can be formulated. Consequently, he refrains from elaborating on specific problems. Of the forty themes, only two--Berlin (3) and Cuba (7)--deal with specific problems, and these rank thirty-ninth and thirty-first respectively in the rank order of frequency of occurrence.

Seventh, Fulbright advocates a much greater emphasis on education than it presently receives in the United States. His emphasis might be expected in view of the fact that most of his early career was spent in the educational arena--i.e. as Rhodes Scholar, teacher at George Washington University, and professor and president of the University of Arkansas. Another reason for this emphasis is that his chief concern in foreign policy seems to be the struggle with Russia, and he states that the main challenge of Russia is intellectual.

Furthermore, Type Two exhibits a positive association between the themes of Education (10) and the Importance of Foreign Affairs (16). This association of themes and his proposal of the Fulbright Scholarships demonstrate his



belief that education facilitates the international understanding necessary for the successful pursuit of cooperative international relations. To the Senator, it is the restraining force which can prevent the committing of suicide by mankind.

Eighth, the Senator from Arkansas seems to be very much pro-British. According to the results of the symbol coding analysis, he is favorably disposed to Great Britain and estimates that country to be very strong. He maintains that the British are politically mature and that their foreign policy is frequently more attuned to the realities of the twentieth century than is that of the United States. In a comparison of governmental structures, he advocates that the United States adopt some aspects of the British system, such as one party control over both the legislature and the executive branches. Finally, the theme cluster in Type Nine indicates that he associates Great Britain with the survival of the United States as a nation.

Ninth, Senator Fulbright adapts the content of his speeches to particular audience types. His technique for doing this in campaign speeches is to let the audience ask

questions. In more formal situations, he decides exactly what will be his subject matter.

In this study, his audiences were divided into four classifications, and the content of the speeches for each type was analyzed. While the major themes of the Russian Challenge (35) and the United States as Leader in World Affairs (38) are emphasized in the speeches to all groups, subtle differences in emphasis before particular groups do appear.

For the academic audiences, the Senator significantly concentrates on discussions of the governmental structure of the United States. For the political audiences, however, such discussions are significantly omitted.

The importance and ramifications of foreign policy are the focal points in the speeches to the business and professional audiences. Themes about domestic politics and the structure of government were deemphasized significantly.

Finally, interdependence in a rapidly changing world is the underlying idea which is stressed before the international audiences; and Fulbright refrains from discussing internal American weaknesses with this audience type.

Summary

The focal point of this study was an analysis of the themes in twenty-four speeches on foreign policy by Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas. In order to implement this thematic analysis, six analytic procedures were utilized. (1) A frequency analysis indicated which themes tend to appear in most of his speeches. (2) A symbol coding analysis revealed his attitudes toward important concepts in the themes. (3) A contingency analysis revealed significant associations between any two themes. (4) Elementary linkage analysis exhibited the cluster patterns among themes. (5) Frequency analysis indicated Fulbright's relative stress and de-emphasis of particular themes to each of four audience types--i.e. audience adaptation. (6) A final frequency analysis showed differences in his treatment of themes under the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. The end result was a clarification of Senator Fulbright's basic ideas concerning foreign policy.



Suggestions for Further Study

Suggestions for further study lie in two areas. The first concerns Fulbright himself. Since he has just been reelected to the Senate, his ideas will continue to be important in regard to foreign policy, and later analyses of these ideas will be appropriate. Furthermore, having examined Fulbright's ideas as they are expressed in his speeches, an analyst may wish to examine the manner in which Senator Fulbright implements these ideas into action. Finally, the language and rhetorical style of Fulbright's speeches are rich and would merit extensive study.

The second area for further research concerns the method of thematic analysis as an instrument for the analysis of speeches. Audience adaptation is one of the focal points in the teaching of public speaking; yet little quantitative investigation has been done in this area. This study has indicated that the method of quantitative thematic analysis can be useful in studying the differences in thematic treatment before different kinds of audiences. Perhaps this method can be enlarged and refined to add to current knowledge about audience adaptation by speakers.

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