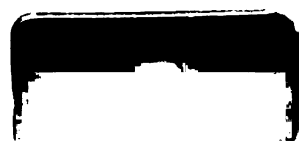


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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF GEORGE ROMNEY'S ADDRESS TO THE MICHIGAN COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY

by Richard K. Allen

This study is an attempt, by means of a study in depth of a single speech, to examine the speaking of Governor George Romney, as applied to current racial and poverty issues. The thesis, in addition to analyzing the Governor's speaking, aims, through its study of this specific speaking situation, to give some insight into how he has applied a lifetime of experiences and beliefs to what communities can and should do for themselves as a supplement to the various state and federal programs in the area of race relations. This analysis attempts to answer such questions as why a certain statement was made in the address, what was behind certain statements, and why certain events related to the address occurred.

Although it might be difficult to find support for such a label as "typical" for this address, a close examination of Romney's speaking in general shows that the moral and ethical undercurrents found in this address may be found in many of his addresses. It is hoped that the study, in addition to examining closely the speaking

of George Romney, will contribute an insight into his personal attitudes toward deprivation, poverty and racial problems of today.

The method of analysis employed may be considered by some readers to be quite different and unusual. It should be noted, however, that it is not the aim of the writer to do something different just to be different. Rather the aim is to avoid the frequent pitfall of attempting to force a speaker or an address into a preconceived set of categories that simply do not fit the particular set of circumstances. It hardly seems reasonable to assume that, because many scholars have used a certain thesis format over the years and in some cases have done so correctly, all topics are perfectly suited to this single format.

Chapter I, entitled, OCCASION and Chapter II, entitled, GEORGE ROMNEY, are treated separately for several reasons. The occasion chapter is general in nature and describes the Michigan Community Action Assembly, the reasons for calling the meeting, its aims, and the setting. The George Romney chapter is treated separately because its overall content serves a general biographical and background function. It is concerned with this speech and the general speaking and life of George Romney.

Chapter III is an analysis of the textual divisions of the speech. The portions of text are divided as they

are to make the thesis easier to read and to break the text in natural and logical places. Each section or division delves back into the historical and biographical data suggested by the portion of text. The textual divisions are also analyzed from the standpoint of audience response, preparation, delivery, style and particularly from the standpoint of the balance between materials of personal proof, materials of development and materials of experience. It was found that the Governor depended heavily upon his strong materials of personal proof, used his materials of experience well, but to a lesser degree, and made very limited use of the materials of development.

The strong undercurrent of religious and moral beliefs found in many of Romney's speeches was definitely present in this speech.

Although speaking from a prepared text, the Governor departed from it frequently and spoke impromptu. These departures from the manuscript caused the address to be about twice as long as it was in its original form. These departures from the manuscript resulted in many vocalized pauses and some redundancy; however, they did provide all four of the occasions when spontaneous applause occurred.

This study also revealed the fact that George Romney is a paradoxical figure in that he is somehow humble and yet, at the same time, very self-confident in his speaking.

AN ANALYSIS OF GEORGE ROMNEY'S ADDRESS
TO THE MICHIGAN COMMUNITY
ACTION ASSEMBLY

By

Richard K. Allen

A THESIS

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

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Speech

1966

Approved: _____

David C. Ralph

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful acknowledgment must go to Dr. David C. Ralph, my advisor and committee chairman, for his kind, critical application to my task; to Dr. Jack M. Bain and Dr. Frederick G. Alexander for their cooperation and invaluable assistance; and to all Department of Speech staff members who have demonstrated so much faith in me. Acknowledgment must also go to my parents for their encouragement over the years and, most particularly, to my wife, Jean and my two sons, Steven and Scott, without whose confidence, encouragement and patience this thesis could never have become a reality.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF APPENDICES	v
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. OCCASION	9
II. GEORGE ROMNEY: THE MAN AND THE SPEAKER.	18
Romney's Life and Its Effect on His	
Speaking	18
Romney the Politician.	20
Speech Training.	21
Materials of Personal Proof.	22
Materials of Personal Proof and	
Materials of Development.	24
Speech Preparation.	25
Delivery	26
Paradoxical Personality of George	
Romney.	27
Typicality of Romney's Speaking	28
III. THE TEXT	31
A Study of the Spoken Text at the	
Michigan Community Action Assembly	31
Introduction	31
The Urban League	41
The New Revised Constitution	47
Tumbling Legal Barriers	52
Legal Victories; A Hollow Ring.	54
Whitney Young; A Domestic Marshall Plan.	56
The War on Poverty.	59
Economic Opportunity Act in Michigan.	63

Chapter	Page
Need for New Staff People	66
Michigan Is Concerned.	70
The Inaugural Address.	72
Romney the Freedom Fighter	74
Our "Divine Destiny"	76
Religious and Moral Attitudes	78
IV. CONCLUSIONS	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	102
APPENDICES.	106

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix		Page
A	Textual Comparison	107
B	K444 Michigan Urban League Conference April 10-12, 1965, Registrants . .	116
C	Program Outline	122

INTRODUCTION

This study is an examination of the speaking of Governor George Romney, as applied to current racial and poverty issues, through a study in depth of a single speech. The speech was presented to the Michigan Community Action Assembly which was sponsored by the Michigan Urban League on April 10, 1966. The thesis, in addition to analyzing the Governor's speaking on this occasion, will try to show how he has applied a lifetime of experience and beliefs to what communities can and should do for themselves as a supplement to the various state and national programs concerning race relations. This analysis will attempt to answer such questions as why a certain statement was made in the address, what was behind certain statements, and why certain events related to the address occurred.

Although it might be difficult to find universal support for such a label as "typical" for this address, a close examination of Romney's speaking in general shows that the moral and ethical undercurrents found in this address may be found in many of his speeches. These undercurrents, which are a natural manifestation of the Governor's strict Mormon background, have appeared in

such major addresses as the 1965 Inaugural address when he said:

And if as public officials and as citizens we can truthfully serve our state and each other, then we will have in all righteousness served the Creator who made us all, for, "He that is in the service of his fellow men is in the service of his Creator."¹

Other examples of these undercurrents in Romney's speaking can be cited by quoting from the 1965 state of the State message in which he referred to "The divinely endowed right of all men without regard to creed, race or skin color to hold up their heads as self-respecting citizens,"² and from a speech at an Associated Press meeting in 1965 when he said, "America is more than just another nation. I believe that the hand of the Creator guided the formation and development of our country."³

The study, in addition to closely examining the speaking of George Romney, will contribute an insight into his personal attitudes toward deprivation, poverty, and racial issues today. The knowledge of these sociological ramifications are facets of the Governor that will be valuable contributions to the general body of knowledge surrounding this meteoric political figure. It appears,

¹From an official transcript of the Inaugural address of Governor George Romney, January 1, 1965.

²From the official copy of the text of the state of the State message of Governor George Romney, January, 1965.

³From the official copy of the text of an address to the Associated Press by Governor George Romney, April 19, 1965.

according to newspaper reports, that the day may be rapidly approaching when the entire nation, and perhaps the world, may care how George Romney views these important cultural and sociological issues. The Associated Press indicated Governor Nelson Rockefeller's attitude toward Romney when it reported on the Nassau County Republican dinner, May 23, 1966 in Long Island, New York. Rockefeller and Romney shared the platform that evening.

[Rockefeller said that] New York's Sen. Jacob K. Javits should be on the Republican national ticket in 1968 and indicates that Gov. Romney is his choice for the other spot.

Rockefeller did not say which man should head the ticket, but it was generally interpreted that he had Romney in mind.

Rockefeller, addressing himself to Romney said: "Let say here publicly, governor, that we in New York welcome and accept your initiative, and are happy to go with you down the road of sound and progressive Republican unity and strength."⁴

In a story referring to these statements made by Rockefeller, Jack Bell wrote:

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's suggestion of a 1968 Romney-Javits ticket gives Republican moderates a combination many of them might be willing to chance in an effort to retain party control.

Most party leaders say that neither an all-out liberal nor an all-out conservative is likely to be nominated in 1968. Romney looks good to some leaders as a possible compromise candidate in this situation.⁵

On May 25, 1966 George Romney announced his intention to run for his third term as Governor, and Associated Press writer Dick Barnes wrote, "Gov. Romney of Michigan announced

⁴The Lansing State Journal (Michigan), May 24, 1966.

⁵Ibid.

as expected today for a third term--one that could propel him to Republican presidential nomination in 1968."⁶

This possibility that the Governor may become a prime presidential candidate creates a situation in which his every speech and statement takes on added importance.

This study is concerned with a specific address delivered on one specific occasion and it should be considered a case study in depth. The methodology is critical, as defined in An Introduction to Graduate Study in Speech and Theatre, because the writer will be "evaluating phenomena of speech according to appropriate criteria or standards of judgment."⁷

The method of reporting used here may be considered by some readers to be quite different and unusual. It is not the aim of the writer, however, to do something different just to be different. Rather the aim is to avoid the usual pitfall of attempting to force a speaker and an address into a pre-conceived set of categories that simply do not fit the particular set of

⁶The Lansing State Journal (Michigan), May 25, 1966. (Romney was re-elected by a wide margin on November 8, 1966, and carried into office with him the first Michigan Republican to be elected to the federal Senate in 14 years. Additionally, the Governor helped regain for the Republicans the five federal congressional seats lost to Democrats two years ago and helped the Republicans wrest control of the Michigan Senate and gained a 55-55 deadlock in the House of Representatives.)

⁷Elton S. Carter and Eline Fife, "The Critical Approach," An Introduction to Graduate Study in Speech and Theatre, ed. Clyde W. Dow (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1961), p. 82.

circumstances. It hardly seems reasonable to assume that, because scholars have used a certain thesis format over the years and in many cases have done so correctly, all topics are perfectly suited to this single format. Although some forms of the familiar Aristotelean canons are used, each canon will not be treated as a separate chapter. It is difficult to separate the invention, arrangement, style, and delivery of this speech, and, more importantly in this address Governor Romney speaks toward several main topics, producing an address that naturally divides itself into content parts, many of which could be developed into separate speeches.

The chapters entitled OCCASION and GEORGE ROMNEY are treated separately for several reasons. The occasion concept will be handled as a separate chapter because it will describe the entire Michigan Community Action Assembly, indicate the reason the meeting was called, describe its aims and generally set the scene for the Governor's address. The George Romney chapter is treated separately because its overall content and function is biographical and deals with background materials. It is concerned with the total speech and the general speaking and life of George Romney as they apply to this speech.

Chapter III is simply the analysis of the divisions of the text of the speech. These divisions make the thesis easier to read and break the text in natural and logical places. They are the product of a chronological substance outline which was prepared for the study. The choice of

these breaking points was facilitated greatly by the fact that the Governor dealt with several separate and distinct facets of the total problem. Divisions in the text have also been made when passages are not in the original manuscript and are delivered impromptu. Each textual division delves back into the historical and biographical data suggested by these portions of the text. These sections of the address will also be analyzed from the standpoint of audience response, preparation, delivery, style and the materials of personal proof, development and experience. Particular attention will be paid to the Governor's use of the materials of personal proof, materials of development, materials of experience and the comparative balance of the use of these three materials of speaking. Perhaps it is wise to define these three terms. Materials of personal proof will refer to elements that arise from the speaker which lend credibility to what he says, such as competence, good character and good will.⁸ Materials of development may be such developmental factors as examples, statistics, repetition, comparisons, evidence, reasoning, and such factors which are intended to make the address more meaningful to the listener.⁹ Materials of experience are materials "designed to appeal primarily to the listener's

⁸Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph, and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 38.

⁹Ibid., p. 52.

basic motives, his sensory experiences and memories of them, and his needs, hopes, fears and desires."¹⁰

To assist the reader in following the format, each textual division will begin with the actual section of the text involved which will be done in italic type to facilitate the identification of the text. This text was taken by this writer from a tape recording of the address, and it should be noted that the pauses, stammers and "ahs" look much more inept in print than they sounded in the actual address.

The conclusion chapter will deal with a summary of the discoveries the study will attempt to make concerning this speech to the Community Action Assembly, the speaking of George Romney in general and the attitudes of the Governor toward racial and poverty problems of today. The chapter will also discuss briefly the outcome of the conference and what George Romney's relationship is to this outcome.

The basic sources used in this thesis are the above mentioned tape recording of the Romney text and an interview with Albert Applegate, a gubernatorial administrative assistant. Additional sources are interviews with Charles Orlebeke, administrative assistant to the Governor and the writer of this speech, and with Bruce Alderman, a conference consultant in Michigan State University's Continuing

¹⁰Ibid., p. 71.

Education Service. The basic source for definitions of rhetorical terms is Principles of Speaking by Hance, Ralph and Wiksell.¹¹

¹¹Ibid.

CHAPTER I

OCCASION

In this chapter an examination will be made of the events that led up to the Michigan Community Action Assembly; the audience; the purposes of the Assembly; and Governor Romney's role in the total program.

On December 10, 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson said:

One of the Presidents that I admire most signed the Emancipation Proclamation 100 years ago. But emancipation was a proclamation and was not a fact. It shall be my purpose and it is my duty to make it a fact.

.
There are men who are dying tonight in Viet Nam to preserve the freedom of us all, and the least that you can do, until you are called upon to give your life, is to give your support, give your talent, and give your heart to organizations like this and leadership of men like Whitney Young.¹²

The occasion of this speech was a Community Action Assembly in Washington, D. C. under the co-sponsorship of the federal government and the Urban League. The organization to which the President referred is the Urban League. The aims of this Community Action Assembly were naturally

¹²Lyndon B. Johnson, from the official copy of the text of an address by the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson to the Urban League Community Action Assembly, Washington, D. C., December 10, 1964.

much the same as the aims of the Urban League, since the League co-sponsored it.

The Michigan Community Action Assembly of 1965 was meant to be a follow-up meeting to this Washington meeting and was patterned after it as closely as possible.

It is altogether fitting that the Urban League be involved in these Community Action Assemblies for, since its inception in 1910, the League has pledged itself to the elimination of racial discrimination in American life and to seek improvements in education, employment, housing, health and welfare. The League derives much of its support from the United Fund organizations and has a tax exempt status. It is wise to note here that to be qualified in these areas an organization must be non-profit and non-partisan.

A statement by the Urban League concerning how it stands on Civil Rights issues reports:

The Urban League considers Civil Rights and Negro Rights as part of Human Rights. They are a vital part and have rightly been the concern of the League since it was founded in 1910. The League helped organize the march on Washington for jobs and freedom, and we share the aims of other responsible Civil Rights groups, but we do differ in our methods. For instance, the Urban League does not take part in sit-ins, does not go on freedom rides, does not picket, does not supply funds to those who do. We do help responsible Civil Rights groups (as well as other social agencies, and industries, labor unions and government agencies) by offering the counsel of our trained staff. Our unique function in the cause of Civil Rights is to bring together the leaders of all factions in a dispute and help them work out a peaceful solution before a crisis develops. Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National

Urban League, put it this way, "You can holler, protest, march, picket, demonstrate, but somebody must be able to sit in on the strategy conferences and plot a course. There must be the strategists, the researchers and the professionals to carry out a program. That's our role."¹³

In short, the Urban Leaguers seem to feel that they operate on a higher level than the day-to-day struggle going on in the streets. For this attitude they are criticized by many of the more overt Civil Rights groups. It does appear to be possible, however, that their staff, which is for the most part college trained in social work and oriented toward community organization, may belong at the negotiation table when the time is right. As Whitney M. Young, Jr. said in 1964:

. . . the Urban League provides unique machinery for affecting communications between white citizens and Negro citizens to avoid racial misunderstanding and strife. This service of the League has assumed increasing importance as the social revolution goes into its second year.¹⁴

As noted before, the Michigan Community Action Assembly of 1965 was meant to be a follow-up meeting to the National Community Action Assembly held in Washington. The plans for the Michigan Assembly were handled mainly by the Michigan Urban League Council. The basic purpose of the Council is to facilitate joint planning by local League affiliates in the State and to improve communications between them. In this particular case the Council, under

¹³A pamphlet published by the National Urban League, New York.

¹⁴Ibid.

the direction of its Chairman at that time, Ted Cobb of Flint, Michigan, began planning for the Michigan Community Action Assembly in December of 1964. In a December 18th letter to Dr. Armand Hunter, the Michigan State University Director of Continuing Education, Mr. Cobb outlined the preliminary plans for the Michigan meeting as follows:

This is to confirm the request of the Michigan Urban League Council for the cooperation of your office in carrying out a state-wide Community Action Assembly during the latter part of March or the first part of April, 1965, at the Kellogg Center.

The Assembly will be sponsored by the Michigan Urban League Council. Our aim will be to draw together top Negro leaders from all sectors of the state for a review of the President's Poverty Program and to formulate means by which Negro leaders may take a more affirmative part in its implementation. We will also be concerned with general advances which may be achieved in the state through a broader involvement of relatively untapped local community Negro leadership. Support for the Assembly has been expressed by George Romney's office and by various national officials administering the President's Program on Poverty.

Expected attendance is set at about 150 to 200 persons. In many respects the Assembly will be modeled after a similar activity just conducted in Washington, D. C. by the National Urban League with co-sponsorship by President Johnson.¹⁵

This portion of Mr. Cobb's letter sets the scene for what the expectations were for the Michigan Community Action Assembly.

As plans for the Assembly were beginning to materialize, Ted Cobb left the scene to take a position with the United States government as the Program Director for

¹⁵Letter from Wesley T. Cobb, the Chairman of the Michigan Urban League Council, December 18, 1964.

the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio and Minnesota. John W. Mack, an Urban League staff member in Flint, Michigan, took over Mr. Cobb's duties including the planning of the Assembly. Whether or not this had an effect upon the efficiency of the Assembly is not certain, but Mr. Mack said that this shift of responsibility did cause some confusion.¹⁶

The Michigan Community Action Assembly actually came into fruition on the ninth, tenth and eleventh of April, 1965, at the Michigan State University Kellogg Center in East Lansing, Michigan. The theme of the three day meeting was Expanding Michigan's Economic Opportunities: A New Key to Civil Rights Progress. The 150 to 200 delegates originally expected, however, turned out to be 136 in actual attendance. The 136 figure was broken down in the following manner:

Registrants	97
Program Personnel	
Michigan State University	2
Off Campus	25
Guests	
Michigan State University	2
Off Campus	<u>10</u>
Total	136

¹⁶ Interview with John W. Mack, Executive Director, Flint Urban League, Flint, Michigan, February 9, 1966.

No attempt was made to invite professional social workers, but rather an attempt was made to gain the support of various types of community leaders. The Assembly was a heterogeneous cross-section of people from the fields of education, industry, local governments and business, the majority of whom were Negroes. Since community action was the ultimate aim of this assembly, the above broad range of backgrounds, representing all types of community leadership, was an effort to gain the interest and support of the local power structures. It is reasonable to assume that local social workers would be strong in their support of such programs and plans as discussed here. Without the support of the power structure of the communities represented here, however, the community action accomplishments of the social workers would very likely have been diminished considerably.

On Friday, April 9, 1965, at 3:00, the Michigan Community Action Assembly delegates registered at the Kellogg Center in East Lansing, Michigan for the three day conference. Urban League Executive Directors Charles Sanders of Muskegon, Michigan and John W. Mack of Flint, Michigan, chaired the late afternoon and evening sessions, which were concerned with the briefing and groundwork for the remainder of the conference.

Saturday morning, April 10, 1965, registration was re-opened for the late arrivals and the general session was opened with a welcome by Ted Cobb, the former Chairman

of the Michigan Urban League Council. Bruce Alderman, a Conference Consultant from Michigan State's Continuing Education department, spoke to the conference concerning leadership development and better community organization, followed by comments by Dr. Louis A. Doyle, the Associate Director of the Michigan State Continuing Education.

The pace of the Assembly picked up some as Dr. Albert Brown, consultant to the Michigan Economic Opportunity program and Joseph Beebe, a program research specialist with the National Urban League in its Washington Bureau, spoke on the subject of the dimensions of poverty in Michigan. With this outline of the problems and needs in mind, the assembled delegates heard an analysis of the Economic Opportunity program by Malcomb Lovell, its Michigan director.

Following the 12:30 P.M. luncheon, Ramon S. Scruggs, Urban League Vice-President, introduced Governor George Romney. According to Bruce Alderman, the pace of the entire conference was a little slower than anticipated and rather disappointing, particularly up to the time of the Governor's address.¹⁷ Considering this, there was little apparent build-up to Romney's speech.

Any concerned civil rights groups, particularly the Negro segment, would naturally tend to listen to a

¹⁷An interview with Mr. Bruce Alderman, the Michigan Continuing Education Conference Consultant assigned to the Michigan Community Action Assembly, May 5, 1965.

Caucasian speaker speaking on civil rights issues with a certain amount of skepticism. This audience, however, should have had little doubt that Governor Romney represented the state of Michigan's commitment to a vast program of help to all deprived citizens, since the Governor stated that, in addition to his personal commitment, the Constitution provides legal mandates which the executive office was required to uphold.

The Governor generally speaks with a friendly but firm manner which became apparent to the leadership of the Urban League prior to the actual address.¹⁸ While the aforementioned morning session was taking place, he met with these League leaders and told them that, while the State would give all the help possible, much of the real civil rights work could only be started properly from within their own communities. As he spoke to the entire Assembly Romney made it clearer that he and the State would go far in working with the local communities if they were willing to initiate the action. According to Alderman, some of the Urban League leaders expressed surprise that the Governor spoke so frankly.¹⁹

In general, the purpose of the Governor's address was to discuss "plans to utilize the new Economic

¹⁸From personal observation at the address.

¹⁹Ibid.

Opportunity Act to launch self-help projects for disadvantaged Negro citizens.²⁰

The address, which lasted about thirty minutes, was only one of three addresses Romney delivered around the State that day, according to Albert Applegate, an Administrative Assistant to the Governor and the Governor's main speech writer.²¹

Following the address was a series of workshops and lectures lasting through the remainder of Saturday and until about 2:30 P.M. Sunday, April 11, 1965.

It is difficult to understand why the Governor's address was placed where it was in the program. It would seem that, since the Governor's address was the acknowledged high point of the Assembly, it would have enhanced both the program and the address to have placed the speech either at the beginning in a keynote spot or at the end for a more stimulating finish. As the program was organized, it started slowly and ended slowly, with the featured address in the middle. This seemed to do neither the speech of the Governor nor the Assembly as much real service as might have been the case under one of the other schedules suggested above.

²⁰The State Journal, April 11, 1965.

²¹Interview with Albert Applegate, Administrative Assistant to Governor George Romney, August 23, 1965.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE ROMNEY: THE MAN AND THE SPEAKER

The purpose of this chapter is not to produce a full length biography, but rather to probe the phases of the life of George Romney which are pertinent to his political life, his speaking in general and this speech in particular. The chapter will look into such aspects of the Governor's life and speaking as his ethics, materials of personal proof, preparation, reasoning and delivery.

The Story of George W. Romney; Builder, Salesman, Crusader is certainly an apt title for the Romney biography written in 1960 by biographer Tom Mahoney. Since 1960, however, one could really add the designation "politician" to the title.

Romney's Life and Its Effect on His Speaking

Governor Romney was born July 8, 1907 in Chihuahua, Mexico, of American parentage. The Romney family was driven out of Mexico by Pancho Villa when George was five years old and they were fed and housed by the United States Army. They were driven from Mexico because they were Mormons and the practice of polygamy was frowned upon by the Mexican government. Although Romney's father did

not practice polygamy, he was a Mormon in very good standing. Romney's early life was spent in Utah and Idaho and, after attending the University of Utah and George Washington University, he left the United States October 22, 1926, to work as a Mormon missionary in the British Empire. This foreign missionary duty was a phase in the life of young George Romney which was destined to affect the speaking, as well as the creed, of the Governor. A Mormon missionary friend of Romney's spoke of the Governor's speaking and persuasive ability as related to his missionary work in the British Isles. He said:

George was a great preacher. . . . Besides our church speaking assignments, we would have invitations to speak to various clubs and organizations. These always went to George because he could handle them better than any other man we had.²²

Shortly after his return to the United States, Romney joined the staff of Senator David I. Walsh in Washington, D. C.; first as a secretary and then as his legislative assistant. He later joined the sales force of the Aluminum Company of America and eventually became their Washington representative. In 1939 he went to work for the American Manufacturers Association in Detroit, later became their President and was known as one of the outstanding men in this field. Romney joined the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation on April 1, 1948, as assistant to the President. In May,

²²Tom Mahoney, The Story of George W. Romney; Builder, Salesman, Crusader (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 80.

1954, the corporation merged with the Hudson Motor Car Company, forming American Motors Corporation; and on October 12, 1954 Romney was named President of the Corporation.

Romney the Politician

Long concerned about basic problems confronting the State, Romney helped organize Citizens For Michigan, a non-partisan group, in September of 1959. Citizens For Michigan helped provide the leadership to call a State Constitutional Convention which was endorsed by the voters after an intensive campaign. Romney was elected as a delegate to the Convention from Oakland County in 1961 and served as a vice-president of the Convention in 1961-62. Elected Governor of Michigan in 1962 and again in 1964, Romney is now one of the leading national figures in the Republican party. After he began his first term as Governor, Romney led a successful campaign for adoption of the new State Constitution in early 1963. It was adopted April 1, 1963 and took effect the following January.

By any standard the Governor is a phenomenal paradox in today's political world. As Bruce Blossat wrote in a Newspaper Enterprises Association series:

. . . George Romney is a tantalizing blend of evangelist, salesman, strong-headed leader, dedicated servant of varied and changing causes.

Evangelism is most likely the key. A young missionary who shouted Mormonism from a soapbox in London's Hyde Park, the Governor has been schooled from childhood to elevate cause above

person. He must keep on doing it to be square with the teachings of his lifetime.

So in the political world, he shouts program, platform, principle and tries to scale down candidates, including himself.²³

When pressured, Romney once said, "I'm a citizen who is a Republican, not a Republican who is incidentally a citizen."²⁴ Such a philosophy seems to be a source of considerable annoyance to many of the Republican leaders because of its non-partisan ring. These leaders are, however, well aware of the fact that they have not found a Michigan Republican with Romney's vote-getting power for many years and so they seem to be inclined to endure as quietly as possible such non-partisan statements.

Speech Training

As we shall see, the Governor does not necessarily adhere to all the principles of rhetorical training; however, in the case of many prominent speakers, we find a rather large gap between training in public speaking and training for speaking in public. George Romney has had considerable training for speaking in public, almost since birth. For instance, public speaking is an integral part of Mormon education, with small children making two and one-half minute talks as a part of their Sunday school training. At his own high school graduation Romney was

²³Bruce Blossat, Lansing State Journal, April 27, 1965.

²⁴"Cover Story on George Romney," Time, November 16, 1962, p. 21.

the valedictorian and, of course, he was called upon to deliver the customary valedictory address. This presented no great problem, however, since he had belonged to his high school speaking club. Later, while working in California for the Aluminum Company of America, the Governor took public speaking courses at the University of Southern California. Although this is not a great amount of formal speech training, it is certainly more speech training than many citizens, and even many politicians, can claim. Although all of this speech training has no doubt been invaluable, a political figure must be prepared to speak to all audiences, sometimes quite hostile or indifferent audiences. As it was pointed out in the George Romney biography:

Speaking to an indifferent or hostile public street meeting is more difficult than talking to friends. The street meeting, in the course of which the speaker is likely to be heckled by any bystander and must compete with other speakers talking at the same time, is an institution better established in the British Isles than in the U. S.²⁵

One might assume, then, that all this experience, particularly the tour of missionary duty, was excellent training for speaking in public.

Materials of Personal Proof

An apparent source of annoyance to many Democrats, as well as some Republicans, is the Governor's image of

²⁵Mahoney, op. cit., p. 78.

"goodness." The Democrats fret over how to combat this image and the Republicans worry that such a candidate in these times will be perceived by the voting public as being literally "too good to be true." A Democrat was once heard muttering, "He's for home, mother, free beer, wide highways and early spring."²⁶ One fact seems to be that Romney is:

. . . a truly religious man, a Mormon who was a missionary in his youth and really prays over decisions; tithes; obeys the faith's ban on drinking and smoking; and, as president of its Michigan "stake," is the spiritual leader of 3,600 members of the denomination in Eastern Michigan, Western Ontario and Northern Ohio;²⁷

Another fact is that, "devout Mormons count as cardinal principles of their religion, individual responsibility and dedication to public service."²⁸ These materials of personal proof are rare in politicians in any era and are powerful tools when used to full advantage.

Some materials of personal proof are stronger and more effective than others and perhaps one of the strongest a speaker could hope for is a quality called "charisma." Time Magazine said of Romney's first gubernatorial victory:

In the end, Romney won because he appeared to be a prophet at a time when Michigan desperately needed one. His victory was one of charisma, that indefinable quality of leadership, force and spiritual magnetism that defies pat explanations.²⁹

²⁶Bruce Blossat, Lansing State Journal, April 25, 1965.

²⁷Mahoney, op. cit., front of book jacket.

²⁸Time, loc. cit., p. 21. ²⁹Time, loc. cit., p. 22.

Materials of Personal Proof and
Materials of Development

This rather magical support-eliciting power, known as charisma, seems to play a large part in Romney's success, both personally and politically. The perceived personal proof of the Governor is one of his strongest points and, perhaps without realizing it, he seems to rely on it heavily. Personal proof as strong as George Romney's has a tendency to take the place of lengthy, well-developed proofs and at times during an address Romney begins a phrase with the words, "I believe" When these words appear it may be taken as a signal that you are not likely to get many more materials of development than just that. "I believe" is tied closely to his personal proofs and could be translated to mean, "I say this is true and you know I would never state or support any falsehoods."

Since the Governor delivers speeches that are generally short and to the point, he rarely is on his feet for what could be considered a lengthy piece of oratory. The frequent result is speeches filled with several main topics and rather limited development of proofs. This, of course, is not to say that Romney's speaking is bad because of these limited proofs. In this regard Robert T. Oliver said that the fact that a speaker's method is nonlogical "is of itself no proof that the speaker's ideas are bad."³⁰

³⁰Robert T. Oliver, Psychology of Persuasive Speech (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1957).

Speech Preparation

Since busy political personalities could not possibly be everywhere and do everything at the same time, they must surround themselves with experts and talented assistants. In the area of communications, George Romney utilizes a press secretary, an assistant press secretary, a speech writer and occasionally the particular talents of his other administrative assistants. The Governor has a staff of assistants who research, advise and represent him in many varying areas. Although Albert Applegate, the Governor's speech writer, does most of the speech writing, speeches are at times written by other members of the staff. In the particular case of this address to the Michigan Community Action Assembly, the speech writer was Dr. Charles Orlebeke, the Governor's administrative assistant in charge of Civil Rights problems. He was chosen because he is the specialist in the Civil Rights issues related to the Governor's office.

No matter which staff member is assigned to write a speech for the Governor, there is an attempt made toward a consistency of style and preparation. They all try to apply and integrate their subject knowledge with their knowledge of the Governor's feelings and the organization, style and delivery he would be likely to express himself on the subject in question.³¹ The Governor seems to

³¹Applegate, op. cit.

follow the manuscripts prepared by these people with varying degrees of accuracy, depending upon the speaking situation. For instance, a textual study of a state of the State message and an inaugural address revealed very little variance from the prepared text. Conversely, in other cases, such as speeches delivered in a less formal situation he seems to vary from the script to a much greater degree. Since the responsibility for what is actually said from the platform is ultimately his, the Governor always reads his speeches before delivering them. Mr. Applegate reported that he has been told since the beginning of his speech writing duties to write with virtually a free hand and let the Governor take the responsibility of what is actually delivered.³² Although this would seem to be the only logical course for a public figure to follow, some busy people, such as the late Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan, do not assume this responsibility.³³ The added burden this places upon the press secretary or speech writer is quite obvious; he becomes totally responsible for another human beings' public image and is very likely not to be as imaginative as he might be.

Delivery

Often, according to Applegate, when the Governor is rushed and has many speaking engagements, he will read the

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

manuscript through several times and then speak from these ideas, almost extemporaneously. His staff reports that they worry about an excessive amount of extemporizing because it jeopardizes the total length of the speech, which desirably is usually about twenty to thirty minutes.³⁴

The Governor speaks with a firm, resonant voice and possesses diction that could actually be called crisp. His general appearance and dress are usually impeccable and, although relatively short in stature, he presents a rather imposing figure when speaking from a platform. He employs a modicum of appropriate gestures and bodily action. Tom Mahoney's biography summed up the persuasive speaking of George Romney this way:

As a speaker George Romney is earnest rather than polished. His platform manner has a certain awkward quality of innocent, unsophisticated sincerity that strikes a friendly chord with listeners. "He leaves you feeling," a lawyer says, "that he is not a smooth speaker, maybe not even a trained speaker, but that he is in the right and, if you know what is good for you, you will go out and vote for bonds, or buy a small car, or whatever he is asking you to do."³⁵

The Paradoxical Personality
of George Romney

The personality of Governor George Romney is itself a paradox. He is self-assured and yet humble; rather arrogant and yet sensitive to the needs of others; a

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Mahoney, op. cit., p. 230.

perfectionist and yet understanding. His Mormon teachings give him his responsibility toward his fellow men and his humility, and as Bruce Blossat stated:

. . . these notions are at war within him and other compelling beliefs--in strong leadership and his view that he is an ordained leader of men. From these flow ambition which he seeks constantly to keep veiled.

Some critics who perceive the conflict label his ambition real and his concern for causes phony. But many who study the Governor closely and continuously believe both are thoroughly real.

None denies that the leader always shows through. He looks, acts, and talks the part. He has a sense of where power resides--and what to do with it.³⁶

Typicality of Romney's Speaking

If one were to name two words that typify the speaking of George Romney they would probably be "implicative" and "inductive." With the partial limitation of proof development found in the speaking of the Governor, implicative thoughts and ideas seem rather inevitable. This type of implication, which is caused by limited proof, is, however, only one type. Another type is one that could best be termed an ever-present underlying theme in the thinking and speaking of the speaker. Governor Romney also employs this type of implicit speaking. Partly because of his strong Mormon training and partly because of his own personal beliefs, he rarely speaks on any subject without the presence of an implied plea for a higher morality and a stronger family life.³⁷ Sometimes, when extemporizing,

³⁶Blossat, loc. cit., April 27, 1965.

³⁷Applegate, op. cit.

these implicit ideals become explicit and these philosophical ideals seem, in the opinion of this writer, to be the most effective portions of Romney's speaking. If this is actually the Governor's most effective style, it could perhaps be so because it is most natural for him and it represents language and ideals with which he seems to be most familiar.

A point that should be noted is that, while the Governor organizes inductively, using ethical appeals extensively (and his staff uses these factors in attempting to write as nearly as possible in the manner in which he speaks), they all seem to have no idea that they are writing inductively organized speeches which are full of materials of personal proof.³⁸ The interesting facet of this is that, while the Governor and his staff simply do what is "natural" to them and is their ordinary manner of presenting spoken material, speech critics have developed labels for what they are doing. In our investigation of the speaking of an individual we attempt to match him up with this preconceived set of standards and when we tell him that he is organizing inductively or developing strong materials of personal proof, he says, "I am?" His answer seems to be half surprise and half a sort of "so what" attitude. The latter attitude presents an interesting proposition for study in itself.

³⁸Ibid.

In this address, we should find examples of these characteristics of the speaking of George Romney. The highly inductive organization, the frequent absence of materials of development and the very powerful materials of personal proof, all so much a part of the Governor, should be present in this speech.

CHAPTER III

THE TEXT

The textual material presented in Chapter III is reproduced as exactly as possible from a tape recording of the speech made by the writer. No editing has been done and all of the vocalized pauses, incomplete sentences, repeated phrases, and other typical manifestations of impromptu speaking are retained in this transcription.

The text of the address is indented and done in italic type to facilitate the separation of the text from the narrative for the reader.

The reader should refer to the appendix before reading this chapter in order to get a better perspective concerning the ratio of impromptu passages spoken in this text as compared to the passages spoken directly from the prepared manuscript. By the rough estimate of this writer, the actual spoken text is approximately twice as long as the original prepared manuscript.

Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

*Thank you very much. Thank you very much--ah--Ray
Scruggs.*

*Now as I look around the room I realize that
Ray's--ah--sentiments about the recent gubernatorial*

elections are not necessarily endorsed by everybody in the room but--ah--in any event, I appreciate Ray's--ah--feeling that way.

It is true that--ah--I've had some exposure to poverty. As a matter of fact--ah--I was a revolutionary refugee at the age of five. Our family was driven out of Mexico on forty-eight hours notice with nothing and--ah--we were housed and fed by the United States Army until my father could get a job as a carpenter. And without going through all of the vicissitudes--ah--we were a struggling family--ah--for the next fourteen years and I picked a lot of Idaho potatoes at a time when--ah--you couldn't sell 'em and you just ate 'em; morning, noon and night. So--hav--I do have a first hand acquaintance with the problem of families under difficult--ah--economic circumstances.

As shown in the textual comparison in the appendix, the material covered in the first three paragraphs of the text was entirely impromptu. The original text which the Governor took to the Community Action Assembly was not put to use until later when he began to speak concerning the Urban League. The fact that this first section of the text is completely impromptu helps, to a large extent, explain the relatively large number of pauses, hesitations and the rather profuse use of the word "ah."

Governor Romney seems to have a tendency to open his speeches by saying "thank you" repeatedly as the audience applauds his appearance on the platform. Here again, these "thank you's" look more awkward in print than they sounded on the tape recording.

The gentleman named Ray Scruggs mentioned in the text was the man chosen to introduce the Governor. Scruggs, a Negro vice-president of the National Urban League and former employee of the Michigan Bell Telephone Company, is a public relations executive with American Telephone and Telegraph. His personal proof and popularity with this audience was naturally high, tending to give the Governor the added advantage of external personal proof even before he began to speak. In introducing Romney, Mr. Scruggs said:

I'd like to say hello in this more formal manner to all of my friends in Michigan, many of whom I'm sure are wondering why I'm out here today and I'm sure that the only reason I'm here is that Ray Brown thought, along with Ted Cobb, that following the three day Community Action Assembly in Washington, where the whole--ah--Economic Opportunity Program was thoroughly discussed and aired and passed along to grass roots leaders from all over the country, that he--they thought perhaps just for a matter of form, a member of the National Urban League board of trustees should be out here and I was the only one who probably would pay his own way to come out; so I'm here. I do want to congratulate you here in Michigan for gathering today to go into this whole matter of the anti-poverty program. Ted Cobb said for me to talk about some aspects of this from the national board's point of view, but I told Ted that this was not the time and place for me to make a speech; that I was asked to preside and introduce our honored speaker and I'm going to try to stick very close to that. Last night I happened to run

into two of my good and firm friends in Michigan, Marion Carter and Louise Cobb and they said to me, "Well, knowing you, I know that you have had your speech written out to introduce the Governor tomorrow," and I said, "No I haven't," and they seemed a little surprised. And I just said to the Governor that I didn't know how to introduce him today and that--ah--I was--ah--going to let--ah--the spirit move me about my introduction that I made to him. My firm conviction is that he needs no introduction, but just to re-emphasize one or two things. I would like to say to you that the state of Michigan has always been for--ah--fortunate in the decision of its electorate to put into the Governor's office at a time in the history of the State--ah--the particular--ah--person who--ah--had the attributes to provide the kind of leadership that the State was in need of at that particular period in history. And so you've put into office in Michigan--ah--a person who has--ah--in my opinion one of the few people in public life who has real deep-seated convictions about many of these human problems that we are concerned with. Ah--our honored guest, and I'm only saying this for emphasis, has gone through the whole experience of persecution as a child, exile from his own country and then reverse persecution forcing him back as a child into his country. He has gone from the potato fields as a picker up to the presidency of one of the outstanding industrial concerns of America and all of this has been done because of some very basic human factors. And I'd just like to say that those have been faith, conviction, determination and an understanding and belief in the basic worth of the individual. And I think that we are indeed fortunate that we have with us today the Governor of Michigan, the Honorable George W. Romney.³⁹

The Governor interjected a bit of humor at the start of the address when he noted, in a good-natured way, the presence of some known Democrats in the audience by stating that he was certain that every delegate present didn't necessarily share Scruggs' enthusiasm toward the outcome of the gubernatorial election. In a Newspaper

³⁹Taken from a tape recording of the actual address.

Enterprises story, Bruce Blossat pointed out, "Last year [1964] he [Romney] won nearly 20 per cent of the Negro votes, cut into the Democrats' labor strongholds in Detroit and Flint . . ." ⁴⁰ While the 20 per cent was a very good record, there were very likely some solid Democrats in this predominantly Negro audience.

Romney then proceeded to play upon the Scruggs comments concerning his humble beginning. Many people probably think of Governor George Romney as an influential intellectual who has risen to political prominence in recent years, and many people probably also remember him as a man who took a floundering automobile manufacturing firm and brought it into line with the leaders of that industry. Undoubtedly a much smaller number of citizens realize the comparatively humble beginning into which Governor Romney was born. Since the Governor was addressing a group of people concerned with poverty, economic opportunity and civil rights, many of them Negroes, the facts brought out by Mr. Scruggs in his introductory remarks should have done much to externally enhance the Governor's personal proof. The facts stated by both Romney and Scruggs concerning the humble beginning are certainly well documented in sources such as Tom Mahoney's book, The Story of George W. Romney; Builder, Salesman, Crusader. As stated in Chapter II, the Governor was a revolutionary refugee and, according to

⁴⁰ Blossat, loc. cit., April 27, 1965.

Mahoney, the Governor's early life actually was spent on farms in Idaho and Utah where he did pick potatoes "at a time when you couldn't sell 'em so you ate 'em morning, noon and night."⁴¹

There can be little doubt, after checking the facts, that the Romney family knew plenty of hardship and difficulties during George's early years. Not the least of these were economic difficulties; however, the problems of a carpenter [George's father] in search of a job during any period of time would seem to be rather a far cry from the deprivation encountered by the average Negro in the street today. If the Negroes in the audience were generally at a higher intellectual and economic level than the average Negro, and they probably were, many of them had still very likely encountered greater "vicissitudes" than most temporarily unemployed carpenters. When speaking of the Romney family as poor, one must realize they were not poor in the same sense in which we classify our poor today; not the kind of poor for which this conference was being held. It seems that in the earlier 1900's there were not as many extremely wealthy people as we find today but, conversely, not as many were poor as we know poverty today in certain areas either. For instance, Michael Harrington pointed out in The Other America the following thoughts concerning different types of poverty:

⁴¹Mahoney, op. cit.

If one is to make the mistake of being born poor, he should choose a time when the majority of the people are miserable too.

.....
Unlike the poor today, the majority poor of a generation ago were an immediate (if cynical) concern of political leaders.⁴²

Harrington was speaking here of the majority poor in the depression days of the early 1930's. He goes on to say:

Today's poor, in short, missed the political and social gains of the thirties. They are the first minority poor not to be seen, the first poor whom the politicians could leave alone.⁴³

The Romney family had to work hard, and whenever possible young George and his brothers had to help their father, but their circumstances hardly paralleled those of many Negroes today. The genre of poverty found today in most Negro families is not only based upon meager livelihood and long, hard work but one based upon unbearable frustration; a poverty of soul, mind, spirit and opportunity, as well as one of economics. Poverty today has been defined as follows:

To all too many people, poverty means merely the absence of money. This is a definition influenced, perhaps, by the belief in American society that if money is lacking, work and determination will provide it, and that in our affluent society no one need starve. Admittedly, nobody starves today and apples will probably never again be sold on the street corners. But it must also be remembered that poverty is not merely a question of food, or

⁴²Michael Harrington, The Other America (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962), p. 7.

⁴³Ibid., p. 9.

of money, or of determination. For poverty deprives the individual not only of material comfort but also of human dignity and fulfillment. Its causes are much more complex, and its cure requires more than merely a relief check or the creation of one or two programs of training and retraining. It must be realized that, because of the growing complexity of modern society, the disadvantaged, in particular, more and more lose the very ability to make choices, to be responsible, to know what must be done, and to take action. In short, poverty has today become a complex interlocking set of circumstances, caused by and in turn reinforcing each other, that combine to keep the individual without money, without help, without work. It can truly be said that today people are poor who can least afford it.⁴⁴

The strengthened personal proof created for Romney by this introductory material is not without foundation because, although the Governor had not probably known poverty as some know it today, he certainly had a humble beginning. For a man to begin his life in this humble manner and rise to prominence in any of the fields of endeavor which Goerge Romney has, presents to the Horatio Alger oriented American public a thrilling success story; one that has to carry with it great personal proof. There might be some question concerning whether or not this excitement concerning a Horatio Alger type story is primarily a middle-class phenomenon. According to Ralph Bonner⁴⁵ and Bruce Alderman⁴⁶ the audience was made up of

⁴⁴From hearings before the Select Committee on Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 88th Congress, Second Session.

⁴⁵An interview with Ralph Bonner, the Executive Director of the Urban League office, Lansing, Michigan, April, 1965.

⁴⁶Alderman, op. cit.

at least middle class people and not the "grass roots" Negro poor, which should place it in the success-centered cultural group. It is also the personal belief of this writer that many people who have little hope or desire to be successful themselves still thrill to such a story. For example, Robert K. Merton, the top sociologist, points out:

No matter how many times we hear this Horatio Alger story with new names substituted, we always thrill to its success-centered ending. Most Americans consider, either consciously or subconsciously, such a story to be additional proof that the American dream of power and monetary success is attainable if one but has the requisite abilities.

.
The symbolism of a commoner rising to the estate of economic royalty is woven deep in the texture of the American cultural pattern finding what is perhaps its ultimate expression in the words of one who knew where of he spoke, Andrew Carnegie: "Be a king in your dreams. Say to yourself, 'My place is at the top.'"⁴⁷

The Governor's humble beginning helps explain, in part at least, the firm hold the Mormon principles have on his life, since humility is a paramount Mormon virtue.

As previously mentioned, Governor Romney organized inductively for the most part. The first part of the text covered by this chapter is a good example of this. The Governor piles fact upon fact concerning the problems of his early life and finishes the segment with the purpose

⁴⁷Robert K. Merton has said, "We always thrill" here in Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1949), p. 132, while he himself was born to immigrant parents in a South Philadelphia slum.

sentence which states that he had first hand acquaintances with poverty.

Much has been said both here and in other sources about the strong Romney personal proof but there is another element of the materials of speaking definitely present in this address. The Governor and Mr. Scruggs, through their description of his early life and its vicissitudes, made use of materials of experience and created an audience identification. The introduction by Scruggs and Romney's accompanying comments were attempts, whether conscious or unconscious, to identify the man with the problems of the audience.

Reactions to the Governor's introductory remarks⁴⁸ tend to indicate that these introductory thoughts sustained, perhaps even increased, his already strong personal proofs even before he reached the body of the speech. Furthermore the chains of materials of experience seemed to have been accepted by the audience as indicative of Romney's empathy, as well as his sympathy, for the problems of disadvantaged people.

The Governor continued to build his materials of experience from this point by showing feeling and understanding for the big job and even bigger problems that the Urban League has faced and is now facing, in the following passage:

⁴⁸From the personal observation of the writer.

I want to congratulate the Urban League for calling this Community Action conference and I'm well aware of the important contribution of the Urban League over the past half century. Of course, in its earlier years the--ah--Urban League concentrated on helping migrants from the South to learn the strange and bewildering ways Northern cities but then when the trickle of migrants--ah--grew to a flood--ah--neither the League nor any other organization could--ah--keep up with the needs for assistance and Negroes by the tens of thousands moved into the older and deteriorating centers of our great--ah--Northern cities. And, of course, many of them were not only unskilled but uneducated and--ah--had practically no education and in some instances none at all. And the result is that a number were illiterate and a vicious system of segregation Northern style kept Negroes boxed into menial, low-paying jobs and crowded into inadequate housing.

The fact is that the National Urban League was originated for the purpose of helping migrants from the South to make the difficult adjustment to the ways of the North. Now operating offices in over 70 cities in the United States, the League has performed a great service in some areas. The Urban League has operated in Michigan for one half century and presently has affiliate offices

in Detroit, Pontiac, Flint, Lansing, Grand Rapids and Muskegon. All League affiliates are associated with the National Urban League, participating in programs of the Red Feather and Council of Social Agencies in their respective communities as well as the Michigan United Fund and the Michigan Welfare League on the statewide level. The League, in Michigan, maintains a trained staff of 29 people who are supplemented by more than four thousand active volunteers and members. They have an aggregate service radius of approximately three million people, including the bulk of the State's Negro population, which stands above the one-half million mark.⁴⁹

The Michigan Urban League Council, which sponsored this Community Action Assembly, was formed due to a need for continuity of policy and action around the State. The Michigan Urban League Council, in its present form, was established officially by the National Urban League in cooperation with the Michigan Urban League affiliates in the Spring of 1963. While Urban Leagues have maintained a close communication over the years, the organization of a council takes into account the increased complexity and inter-relationship of race problems which spread beyond the boundaries of any community in the State. Presently, the organization and continuity of the Council is maintained through regular bi-monthly meetings of the Executive

⁴⁹From the mimeographed material printed by the Michigan Urban League.

Directors or specially designated representatives from each League affiliate. The group is headed by a Chairman chosen from among the Michigan Urban League Executive Directors with the approval of the National Urban League.

Throughout the foregoing portion of the address, Romney was very complimentary toward the past and present efforts of the Urban League and its leaders. At the same time, he was attempting to prove that he was quite knowledgeable concerning the League's accomplishments and many of the difficulties encountered by them.

These comments by the Governor seemed to convey to the audience the fact that he either knew a great deal about their problems or he had researched them quite thoroughly.⁵⁰ This apparently adequate preparation could probably be attributed in part to the fact that the speech was written by Dr. Charles Orlebeke, the Governor's administrative assistant in charge of Civil Rights matters. This somewhat emotionally presented account of the Urban League's role to date was an excellent way for the Governor to build his personal proof through an increased rapport with this particular audience. Further, the Governor's apparent understanding feeling for the League's problems should have carried with it considerable personal proof.

As mentioned before, Romney's speech writing staff has certain misgivings, which seem at times to be well

⁵⁰Personal observation of this writer at the address.

founded, concerning extreme departures from the prepared text. A textual comparison between this address (see Appendix A) as it was originally written and its delivered form reveals such an instance. In the last sentence of this paragraph under study concerning the Urban League, the Governor added the words, "And the result is," to the text. These words changed the paragraph from a mere series of facts, as it was written by Dr. Orlebeke, to an unsupported causal relationship. While the staff worries about too many departures from the text making a speech too long or causing damage to the Governor's public image, it is doubtful that the above mentioned result of textual variance ever occurred to them. Nevertheless, the unsupported assertion at this point in the text might have been damaging to the speakers personal proof, assuming, of course, that it was perceived as such by the listeners.

Now the Urban League--ah--has rendered a great service in finding jobs for Negroes and certainly it has provided the leadership and salesmanship and sometimes more than that in prying open--ah--many doors of opportunity--ah--which--ah--have been traditionally closed.

And the League saw all along that the drive for Negro advancement would fail unless Negroes were equipped to share fully in the fruits of our American society. Now some might say "American prosperity"; I think it's more fundamental than

that. I think it's a sharing in the total American society, which at base is spiritual and moves on into the political and the social as well as economic.

But far too often the League's powers of persuasion could not break through the indifference or hostility of the so-called white power structure. Now as the plight of Negroes throughout the country worsened it became clear that the civil rights of Negroes must be spelled out in law and backed up by enforcement power. And the result is that Civil Rights has--ah--over shadowed all other aspects of our extremely complex social and economic crisis. And militant civil rights organizations have moved into the forefront of the struggle and challenged the American conscience with dignified and dramatic protest against the intolerable delay in granting Negroes full enjoyment of their citizenship rights.

The form of the Urban League's contribution to the total racial movement seems to be a little contradictory. The League offices are staffed with knowledgable people, mostly graduate social workers, and they claim to have a definite opinion of just how they fit into the total milieu. Both Ralph Bonner, the Lansing, Michigan Urban League director and Whitney M. Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League convey the thought that,

while the League has no quarrel with militant demonstrations, they neither take part in or support them. Mr. Young said:

You can holler, protest, march, picket and demonstrate, but somebody must be able to sit in on the strategy conferences and plot a course. There must be the strategists, the researchers and the professionals to carry out a program. That's our role.⁵¹

The contradiction is exemplified in the fact that the National Urban League sponsored the march on Washington and Young, himself, took part in the march on Montgomery, Alabama.

The difference seems to be that the less militant attitude was the League's original policy and, although even Whitney Young still occasionally follows this policy, the actual policy of the League has changed. Allan Morrison said in an article concerning the revitalized League:

Over the years, their organization [the Urban League] became more and more "militant," evolving slowly from an original "social work" agency concerned with finding jobs and housing for urban Negroes to the often brash and insistent instrument of social change it is today.⁵²

Whitney Young recently said, "Urban League people today talk tall. Nobody now apologizes for being an Urban Leaguer. We are not social workers in the case-work sense of the term, we are social actionists."⁵³

⁵¹A pamphlet published by the National Urban League, New York, 1964.

⁵²An Urban League paper entitled, New Look For the Urban League, 1965.

⁵³Ibid.

In reality, then, the actual accomplishments of the Urban League have often been questioned, particularly by the other Negro organizations. In this regard Allan Morrison noted:

It was not too long ago that the Urban League was thought of as the "Girondists" of the Negro revolt. Like the classic French conservatives, it balked at the more abrasive measures of social change. It was said to be hopelessly dependent on white sponsors, powerless to ignite the fire of social revolt. "Revolution is war," hissed the critics, "not handouts."⁵⁴

In this passage we also find a brief example of the explicit expression of the Governor's normally implicit moral theme which was discussed in the thesis introduction when he refers to the Negroes' problems being basically "spiritual."

In the last paragraph of this portion of the text Romney followed the text very closely and then suddenly once again added the phrase, "And the result is." As mentioned in the discussion of the preceeding passage, this changed a factual statement use to a "cause and effect" relationship.

In the following portion of the text Governor Romney speaks of the new revised Constitution, the Civil Rights Commission and the legal aspects of the racial issues.

Now in Michigan--ah--we adopted a new Constitution and our Civil Rights Commission in the state

⁵⁴Ibid.

began to function in 1964 and it is empowered to function in every area. There isn't any area involving Civil Rights that the Civil Rights Commission in Michigan is not empowered to deal with and to deal with effectively and adequately. And I believe that the people who've been serving and the basic approach they have developed, which is a solid one of moving--ah--in a way that will command the--resp--support of the courts and the public, is going to result in this state achieving progress in this respect--ah--that is more--ah--adequate than you'll find in any other state in the union. At least that's our objective and that's our purpose.

The new Constitution Governor Romney refers to is Michigan's new revised Constitution, which was the product of the Constitutional Convention of 1961. The Constitutional Convention, or Con-Con as it came to be known around the State, was authorized by the voters in April of 1961 to replace the antiquated Michigan Constitution of 1908. The Convention was an outgrowth of Romney's Citizens for Michigan organization and he was not only among the one hundred and forty-four delegates elected September 19, 1961, but was named vice-president of the Convention by the delegates. The new revised Constitution was adopted by the Convention on August 1, 1962 and by the voters of Michigan on April 1, 1963 to become

effective January 1, 1964. It is interesting to note that Romney was elected Governor for the first term in September of 1962. The new Constitution seemed to be the latest in a series of springboards toward the Governor's ever-growing political prominence and it has always been tied closely to him. It has been so closely tied to the Governor that his election in 1962 and the adoption of the new Constitution by the people in April of 1963 were thought of by many as votes of confidence for each other. There must be very few Governors in history who have taken office with their own tailored Constitution with which to work.

As Romney indicated in the address, the Civil Rights Commission was a great part of the revised Constitution and, in fact, is the only constitutionally provided Civil Rights Commission in the country. The actual declaration of a citizen's civil rights is contained in Article I, Section 2 of the new revised Constitution as follows:

Sec. 2. No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws; nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of his civil or political rights or be discriminated against in the exercise thereof because of religion, race, color or national origin. The legislature shall implement this section by appropriate legislation.⁵⁵

The Constitution provides for a Civil Rights Commission and, in replacing the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the Civil Rights Commission was given a much broader scope. The Civil Rights Commission is established

⁵⁵Taken from the new revised Michigan Constitution, adopted in April of 1963.

and empowered under Article V, Section 29 of the new Constitution, as follows:

Sec. 29. There is hereby established a civil rights commission which shall consist of eight persons, not more than four of whom shall be members of the same political party, who shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, for four-year terms not more than two of which shall expire in the same year. It shall be the duty of the commission in a manner which may be prescribed by law to investigate alleged discrimination against any person because of religion, race, color or national origin in the enjoyment of the civil rights guaranteed by law and by this constitution, and to secure the equal protection of such civil rights without such discrimination. The legislature shall provide an annual appropriation for the effective operation of the commission.

The commission shall have power, in accordance with the provisions of this constitution and of general laws governing administrative agencies, to promulgate rules and regulations for its own procedures, to hold hearings, administer oaths, through court authorization to require the attendance of witnesses and the submission of records, to take testimony, and to issue appropriate orders. The commission shall have other powers provided by law to carry out its purposes. Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to diminish the right of any party to direct and immediate legal or equitable remedies in the courts of this state.

Appeals from final orders of the commission, including cease and desist orders and refusals to issue complaints, shall be tried de novo before the circuit court having jurisdiction provided by law.⁵⁶

As Governor Romney stated, the Civil Rights Commission is empowered to deal with civil rights problems in all areas. At the first meeting of the Commission its Co-Chairman made the following statement:

⁵⁶Ibid.

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The people of Michigan by adopting a new Constitution, created this Civil Rights Commission.

The challenge to our Commission stems from the Declaration of Rights in our new Constitution.

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We intend to administer the mandate set forth in this Constitution in a judicious and responsible manner. While we safeguard the rights of all our citizens as we work out this great challenge, we mean business in protection against discrimination because of religion, race, color or national origin.

Civil rights do not accrue to a group. They are guaranteed to individuals, to people, and we will be mindful that we are dealing with the rights of people as individuals.

It is an awesome responsibility and in its administration we need the sustaining hopes, cooperation and prayers of all our people.⁵⁷

The Governor departed from the prepared manuscript considerably within the foregoing portion of text. Although in the portion of text here being examined Romney did not depart completely from the manuscript, he did attempt to enlarge considerably upon it. In the beginning of this section of text the Governor said, "Our Civil Rights Commission in the State began to function in 1964 and it's empowered to function in every area." He then said in the next sentence, "There isn't any area involving civil rights that the Civil Rights Commission in Michigan is not empowered to deal with . . .". These two back to back statements, which are both very loose interpretations of the prepared manuscript (see Appendix A), form a peculiar sounding redundancy. This seems to constitute another

⁵⁷ A statement by Co-Chairmen of Michigan's Civil Rights Commission, John Feikens and Damon Keith, January 3, 1964 at the first meeting of the Commission, taken from the official printed text.

major problem for concern in excessive departures from the manuscript. It is possible, of course, that when the Governor does this he is knowingly editorializing or commenting on his own spoken comments, particularly when one considers the fact that the original manuscripts are in reality not Romney's own words, but the words of a speech writer. There is no denying the fact, however, that it is still a redundancy.

This portion of text presently under study contains a number of "ah's" and partially stated and mis-spoken words. It should be noted, as stated earlier, however, that when studying the actual, unedited text, as we are here, the stammer, pauses and partially stated words appear to be more serious in the written form than they actually sounded during the address.⁵⁸

Now since the explosive summer of 1963 legal barriers to equal rights have tumbled at a record rate and legal safeguards of equal opportunity have been built up. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 established a national policy on problems of discrimination in voting, public accommodations, employment and the use of federal funds. And we've now arrived near the point where most of the fundamental legal questions about civil rights have been settled.

⁵⁸From my personal observation at the address.

The "explosive Summer of 1963" to which the Governor referred were the riots such as those in Harlem. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a piece of federal legislation which covers all areas of Civil Rights including voting, public accomodations, public facilities, public education, equal employment and the creation of a Commission to carry these out.⁵⁹

This is the second paragraph of text in a row which the Governor began with the word "Now," both of which were not in the original text. Romney uses the word "Now" at the beginning of many thoughts in his speeches⁶⁰ and when heard in person his "Now" sounds like a sort of verbal pointed finger. This section of the address was no exception, as it sounded like he was saying, "You listen to what I am going to say."

Sure, we need additional implementation in the voting rights area and some other areas but basically there's--no one--no particular challenge of the legality of--ah--the fundamental civil rights of Negroes. And the result is that--we--now the fight for equal opportunity is becoming the big and important aspect of this whole situation.

⁵⁹From a summary of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, published by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C., August, 1964.

⁶⁰From studying the 1965 Inaugural address and the 1965 state of the State message of Governor Romney.

Here again the Governor has departed from the manuscript and he seems to be personally emphasizing and qualifying the preceding portion of text.

In reading this portion of text and the preceding one the reason remains obscure why the Governor said, "And the result is." It is difficult to imagine that he really means to portray these two sections of text as a legitimate cause and effect relationship. The meaning of the phrase, "this whole situation" is also quite obscure to this writer.

Perhaps when the Governor speaks impromptu or departs from the text materially, he uses certain key phrases which appeal to him and apparently, since they are impromptu, are not too well thought out from an organizational point of view. In other words, it seems possible that Romney uses the phrase "And the result is" because it appeals to him and comes to his mind when he is forming thoughts in an impromptu fashion and not because he really means to tell his audience that one certain event or philosophy is the result of a series of other events or philosophies. It is also possible that this phrase is a habitual vocalization the same as the "ah's" and the pauses.

Legal victories have a hollow ring for Negro masses who are poorly equipped to compete in our economy. Fair employment laws help the Negro with

exceptional ability and training to get the job he's--qual--qualified for but these laws don't prepare a single unqualified Negro to compete for the skilled jobs our economy demands. And I'm sure that most Negroes are simply asking for the opportunity to develop their skills and abilities so they can compete and demonstrate their capacity and abilities on a basis of fairness and equity.

Now Fair Housing laws help the Negro with enough money to buy a better home but they don't help the many Negroes who can't afford to move out of the slums. In short, all of the legal safeguards we now have and will have aren't enough to deal with the staggering legacy resulting from centuries of deprivation and discrimination.

Throughout the foregoing section of the text Governor Romney seems to be attempting to build his personal proofs more and more with a display of understanding for the underlying, grass-roots problems of the Negro. Particular evidence of this appeared in the opening lines of this passage in the truism spoken by the Governor concerning the "hollow ring for Negro masses" contained in the civil rights legal victories. The ensuing series of "hollow ring" applications should have been particularly well taken by this audience which was made up of people who have lived through this apparent dichotomy between the new laws and their enforcement.

The audience, through their attention and facial expressions, definitely seemed to approve of these statements,⁶¹ possibly because they concerned the two most pressing racial issues, housing and employment. In addition, it is worthy of note that the Governor employs reasonably tight causal reasoning in this section.

Romney followed his manuscript closely here, except at the end of the first paragraph where he began, "And I'm sure that most Negroes . . .". The Governor seems to be speaking from his own personal convictions, and no evidence is offered.

The National Urban League's brilliant Executive Director, Whitney Young, has done much to dramatize the destructive impact of poverty. He's called, as you know, for a domestic Marshall Plan; a massive public and private offensive against--ah--unemployment, poor housing, disease and family breakdown. And we simply must redefine our concept of equal opportunity to include both legal safeguards against discrimination and positive action to deal with the disastrous economic and social byproducts of discrimination.

Whitney Young's proposed Domestic Marshall Plan is a point worthy of further consideration. This Domestic

⁶¹From the writer's personal observations at the address.

Marshall Plan is for all practical purposes now in effect because, according to Ralph Bonner, the Urban League Director in Lansing, Michigan, this plan was actually the idea that germinated into President Johnson's War on Poverty program.⁶² This is further substantiated by Elizabeth Wickenden in a paper on the Office of Economic Opportunity poverty program's concentrated services. She stated:

In many ways this aspect [concentrated services] of the poverty program follows the proposal for a compensatory Marshall Plan type of concentration of services for Negroes, put forward by Whitney Young.⁶³

In the foregoing section of text, in which Romney follows the original manuscript almost perfectly, he is consistent in calling for solutions to both the legal and the practical problems of discrimination.

The mention of Urban League Director Whitney Young's plan and furthermore labeling him as "brilliant," which he is reported to be, seems to be an effective means for the Governor to further his rapport with this Urban League audience.

⁶²Bonner, op. cit.

⁶³Elizabeth Wickenden, "Federal Legislation; Its Impact and Opportunity for Social Welfare," Paper read before the National Conference on Social Welfare, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 27, 1965.

And I think the most serious one and the most vital one is motivation. There isn't any question but what the key to overcoming the handicaps is to provide the assistance that children need in their early lives, to have the desire to acquire the education and the training that will enable them to fill their full potential in society. And this, I believe, will receive increasing attention.

The Governor was saying here that we should provide young people with the desire to better themselves. Many of the poverty problems existing today stem from the basic attitudes of people whose parents never even really had a chance in life and from such people as third generation ADC mothers, most of whom have given up.⁶⁴

The entire foregoing passage is impromptu and another of the types of problems which trouble the Governor's advisors and speech writers, when he speaks outside of the manuscript, arises here. The problem is in the area of organization, or the lack of it. For example, the last sentence in the section of text covered here uses the words "will receive" and then "must receive" in that order. It would seem to be far more logical to have had "must" precede "will."

⁶⁴From personal observations in my work with the poverty program of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Now the "war on poverty" phase of the Civil Rights movement calls for a new type of action. Our local communities must be inspired by persistent determination to equip every willing citizen with the tools he needs to earn a livelihood. There must be also constant impatience with apathy, indifference, greed and rationalization. Thus recruits in the "war on poverty" are motivated, not only by a sense of justice, but more particularly by a sense of responsibility. Today we're forging new and more effective weapons to defeat poverty. I believe our efforts should not cease until we've developed programs and policies needed to eliminate the causes of poverty other than the refusal of individuals to do their part.

When the Governor spoke concerning the War on Poverty program he was speaking to this Urban League oriented audience concerning a program which is a deeply integrated part of civil rights problems in most areas. Many of the areas blighted with poverty include the Negro sections of cities and the discrimination against the Negro has been a contributing factor toward his membership in the poverty stricken portion of the population. Another close alliance between the War on Poverty and this Urban League oriented audience was the previously mentioned Domestic Marshall Plan proposed by Whitney Young and its relationship to the present

poverty program. The Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the War on Poverty program, is particularly concerned with involving the people to be served, the poor themselves, in the action programs and in gaining their opinions of proposed programs.⁶⁵ With this in mind, it is apparent that race or color has no real bearing on who is in this group to be served. The Negro is already a part of this group and was before the War on Poverty program was ever proposed. There should have been some audience identification with Romney's stated backing of the poverty program, in view of the above mentioned oneness of purpose between the War on Poverty and the Urban League.

According to the stated purpose of the Community Action Assembly, which was to urge affirmative action in implementing the war on poverty program, this statement by the Governor seems to be right at the heart of the subject. Here he is calling for the delegates and their local peers at home to mount an all out attack on poverty and its causes. Romney has, in the passage, charged the audience with its responsibilities.

During this entire section of the address the Governor adhered very closely to the original manuscript,

⁶⁵An interview with James Jacobs, Lansing representative of the Michigan Economic Opportunity Office, May, 1966.

perhaps because of the crucial nature of the passage to the entire purpose of the Assembly.

. And here I want to emphasize the fact that Ray Scruggs has pointed out in a meeting we've just had and pointed out to me in earlier conversations and that is that the poverty program--ah--as it's presently conceived is essentially one for making up for deficiencies in regular and well established programs. For example, we shouldn't limit our effort in the field of education to simply helping those who have gone through school and still can't read and write or haven't had the opportunity in the past to get adequate education to read and write and be able to use mathematics. We ought to focus our effort equally on making certain that the youngsters who are now in school are going to get the sort of education that our school system ought to supply them.⁶⁶ And the same things are true with our other institutions that exist to enable young people to be equipped when they complete their regular programs.

For the first time in the address, the Governor drew spontaneous applause from his audience.⁶⁷ This favorable audience reaction occurred when Romney referred in an

⁶⁶Spontaneous applause, from the actual tape of the address.

⁶⁷From the actual tape of the address.

impromptu manner to his conversation with Ray Scruggs concerning educational deprivation and deficiencies. The Governor was asking in this portion of the address for a better initial job of student training, as well as for attention to be paid to the big job of retraining those whom the system had originally failed to train properly. In other words, he wanted a system which, while attempting to remedy its past deficiencies, would also eliminate any future deficiencies. These thoughts must have enhanced his rapport with his audience since they registered their apparent approval through their applause. Perhaps Governor Romney struck a note of rapport⁶⁸ here with his audience because at approximately the same time as this address was delivered, the Detroit school system was being criticized by employers in the Detroit area for some of its recent high school graduates who were unable to pass simple employment tests. It should be noted that the favorable audience reaction occurred at a point where Romney's impromptu remarks seem rather vague and disorganized. A possible suggestion here is that good organization may be less important when personal proof is high.

The last sentence in this passage is vague and appears a bit anti-climactic.

⁶⁸Ibid.

Now I believe that the disadvantaged youth, the functionally--it--illiterate and other victims of poverty, both in urban and rural areas, can and must be afforded appropriate opportunities equal to other members of society.

Stating this fact, which is one that this Community Action Assembly audience no doubt already accepted and understood, as his own belief, was apparently designed to further build the Governor's personal proof. The statement actually is an obviously necessary answer to the educational problems brought out in the preceding paragraph.

I believe that the Economic Opportunity Act affords Michigan additional resources to wage our continuing war on poverty and presents a united attack that is being integrated with Michigan's all-out campaign to help eliminate this paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty;

The Economic Opportunity Act to which Romney has referred here in the address is the federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which has been helpful to the citizens of all states, including Michigan. The Act is involved in areas of youth programs, urban and rural community action programs, special programs to combat poverty in rural areas, employment and investment incentives, family unity through jobs and the creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The specific responsibilities of the Office of Economic Opportunity are as follows:

The Bill establishes the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President. The Director of the Office is provided with coordinating powers with respect to existing Federal agency poverty-related programs, and with authority to carry out new programs to attack poverty. Operating functions of the new programs, except for the Job Corps, the community action programs and the Volunteers for America program, will be performed by other departments and agencies.⁶⁹

The Governor has pointed out here that the state of Michigan is moving in on the State's poverty problems and referred to the problem in the familiar terms of "poverty in the midst of plenty."

and we do have an all-out campaign. And Mac Lovell here is the man responsible for the direction of this campaign as far as it relates to the Economic Opportunity Act and there are other individuals-- ah--involved in state government who have the responsibility for making certain that we take advantage of the other programs that are coming along that relate to this same basic problem.

Again the Governor has added what we have already identified as a sort of commentary on what are supposed to be his own comments originally. As shown before, these additional comments border on redundancy. It is really impossible to be objective after the fact; however, it seems that, with the difference in wording and organization,

⁶⁹Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (ed.), Poverty in America (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1965), Appendix.

one can almost discern where the script and the impromptu portions begin and end.

"Mac" Lovell, whom the Governor mentioned in the address, is presently the Director of the Michigan Employment Security Commission, but was the first Director of the Michigan Office of Economic Opportunity and was its director at the time of this address. Obviously, by his statements in the address, Governor Romney believed Mr. Lovell to be very competent in this endeavor.

Now I believe that, working together, federal, state, local and private agencies possess the skills and knowledge to mobilize our total resources and effectively apply them in this war on poverty promptly and decisively.

As previously mentioned logical proofs and such materials of development are often limited or missing completely in a Romney address and these past few passages studied seem to be representative examples of this tendency. Here may be found the use of "I believe" and "I think" several times and, apparently, these phrases often take the place of proof development. This example also illustrates the use of materials of personal proof in place of materials of development, for, once the personal proofs are established, "I believe" and "I think" can take on a great importance with the audience.

This portion of text and the previous two portions which all began with the words, "I believe" point out the

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efforts of the Governor's speech writers to write as nearly as possible to the way the Governor speaks. In other words, although "I believe" is the Governor's language, an analysis of the original text (see Appendix A) shows that these words were written for him by Dr. Orlebeke.

And another thing that was brought out in our discussion ahead of this luncheon was this. We must not let these new programs weaken the established programs like the Urban League programs and the private programs that have been making a contribution.⁷⁰ These new programs ought to add to the total effort not tend to replace present effort and I think we're going to have to pay a good deal of attention to these programs to make certain that that doesn't happen. And one of the most obvious aspects of that problem is the extent to which those individuals who have been well trained in the most distinctive aspect of American life, in terms of progress, namely these voluntary cooperative organizations, must not be drained away into these new programs so that the established programs are lacking in leadership and trained staff to get the jobs done. And I think this is a problem that must not be overlooked.

⁷⁰Spontaneous applause from the actual tape of the address.

The entire foregoing passage was, of course, impromptu since it is concerned with a conversation in which the Governor was engaged just prior to the luncheon address. Although Romney went into detail concerning the problems created when new programs drain off trained people from existing programs in an inductive manner, he really hit at the heart of the situation in his first sentence. The Governor, in fact, touched the audience in this first sentence to the extent that he again drew spontaneous applause from these Urban League oriented listeners.⁷¹ The applause was apparently a reflection of the audience reaction to Ted Cobb's move from the chairmanship of the Michigan Urban League Council to a federal position in Chicago, mentioned earlier in Chapter I. Cobb had left Michigan shortly before the Michigan Community Action Assembly to take a position with the federally operated Neighborhood Youth Corps as the Regional Director, covering Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Ohio and Minnesota. He was a brilliant, effective and well-respected Urban Leaguer whom many people have felt will be sorely missed in Michigan. According to Bruce Alderman, of the Kellogg Center, many members of this audience were considerably upset by Cobb's being called away from the Michigan Urban League scene.⁷²

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Alderman, op. cit.

It cannot be determined whether or not the Governor purposely played upon the listeners' feelings here, but, since Alderman was aware of their feelings, it seems quite logical that Romney would also be aware of the situation. Given this awareness, it would certainly be wise on the part of the speaker to make full use of it. One factor worthy of consideration, with regard to the organization of this passage, is that the pauses and stammers found in other impromptu portions of this address were not present here. This may possibly indicate that the Governor knew very well where he was going and just what his point would be here.

Now I believe these things--both--I believe these things both as a matter of personal conviction and as a matter of public duty and responsibility under our State's Constitution. And, incidentally, our state Constitution contains this mandate:

The public health and the general welfare of the people of the state are hereby declared matters of primary public concern.

Romney delivered this portion of text in language very close to the language in which it was written into the original manuscript. Earlier we had a situation where the Governor delivered a series of "personal beliefs" written for him in the manuscript, represented by the passages beginning with the words, "I believe." The passage immediately preceding this one departed completely from the text

and then he came back to the text here and said, "Now I believe these things both as a matter of personal conviction and as a matter of public duty and responsibility under our State's Constitution." It seems that the impromptu remarks concerning the proselytizing of trained people to new programs has interrupted the chain of passages which adhered so closely to the manuscript. The interruption seems to have caused the passage now under study to make less sense and not to flow properly. This may be a danger in speaking from a manuscript, then speaking impromptu, and then attempting to return to the script.

The Governor then spoke of a mandate contained in the new Constitution.⁷³ The reference here is to Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution, which was passed on May 11, 1962. The Constitutional section serves as "the basis for many of the decisions of the Civil Rights Commission and gives them a direction in their decisions."⁷⁴ In reference to the new Constitution, Romney was emphasizing the fact that these mandates set up in the Constitutional Convention of 1961 were now beginning to function in a manner of significance to all humanity in general and to the civil rights movement in particular. This section of

⁷³The new Constitution of the State of Michigan, 1962.

⁷⁴Interview with Donald Holtrop, a field worker with the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, April 22, 1965.

the new Constitution would naturally be vital to the interests of this audience.

Now I'm glad that we live in a system that expresses deep concern and takes strong positive action to eliminate unemployment at a time when most people are employed. I don't think there has been any time in the history of this state when so many of us have joined together in such an affirmative way to aid the few who are not sharing in Michigan's general prosperity.

The Governor once again brought in the fact that efforts should be, and were being, made to eliminate "poverty in the midst of plenty." The "poverty" group he referred to here, which he called the "few," were, in some cases, members of this audience, while in other cases members of the audience represented the "few." In either case, the Governor seemed to be complimenting the efforts of the audience and speaking on behalf of the accomplishments of his administration at the same time.

The entire foregoing passage was almost spoken verbatim from the manuscript.

We have a lot to be proud of in our state. We certainly can feel good that our general economic picture is more favorable than it has been. Our--ah--our employment levels are high, our unemployment is lower than it's been in a long, long time, and

there's a general feeling of well being throughout the state. But despite that fact we face serious problems and one of them is the problem we're here to deal with today. And your state government is ready to help and federal officials have promised cooperation and are providing leadership, and if we work together with vision and vigor we can make fully effective use of these tools in the war on poverty.

From the previous passage, which was delivered exactly close to the manuscript, Romney now suddenly has spoken all around the manuscript. The Governor, uniquely, has neither read his manuscript here nor spoken in an impromptu fashion, but rather has done something that could be classified as extemporizing from the manuscript. A textual comparison (see Appendix A) reveals that without using the exact words in the manuscript, he has said, in his own words, no more and no less than the original text. In speaking in this manner the Governor has created a sort of relaxed, off-handed manner of speaking just a little different from any he has used up to this point in the address.

The general message in the foregoing section of text is really a further amplification of the previous passage in which Romney gave the audience a sort of capsule state of the State message. The message here appeared to be that

Michigan was in the best economic condition it had been in for some time. In the latter portion of the passage the Governor told his listeners what they probably had hoped to hear him say when they came to the Community Action Assembly; his pledge of federal and state assistance toward the fulfillment of the goals of the assembled delegates. Romney seems here to have attempted to weld his audience together with group pride and used his materials of experience well by moving from emotional appeals into motivational appeals in an interesting manner.

May I remind you of what I said in my Inaugural address on January 1, 1963. I said to the people of Michigan then and I repeat it here today because it's right on target:

Only when brotherhood is translated into practical citizenship can we build a floor below which man's inhumanity to man shall not operate, eliminate poverty and raise every citizen above want without getting the beehive or the antheap. Only thus can we--compete--complete Lincoln's unfinished work of creating a society in which all men can hold up their heads as equal and self-respecting citizens.

The portion of text considered here was designed by the speech writer to be the closing passage of the address and well could have been, except that Romney did not begin the first phrase with "In closing," as it was written. This would certainly lead an observer to believe that the Governor had preplanned the additional message which followed this manuscript ending. In other words, it

appears that he purposely kept this from being the end of the address because there was more he wanted to say to his audience.

Most of this final passage was spoken directly from the manuscript without variation. It would seem extremely difficult to follow the manuscript faultlessly, leave it for a few phrases and then return to it, as Romney had done in these last three divisions in the text.

The reference in this passage was to the Governor's first inaugural address in 1963 and it apparently was, as he said, "right on target" considering the aims of this Urban League audience.

The portions of the text from this point to the end of the address are all impromptu, but represent areas in which the Governor speaks well and with authority, in the writers opinion. These are materials with which Romney is very familiar because of his religious background and areas which would, at the same time, likely be difficult for a speech writer to write for him.

One cannot really say that these patriotic and religious statements were spoken in an absolute impromptu manner because, in one sense, the Governor has spent his lifetime preparing himself to state these ideals. Over the course of his life these beliefs have become so strong that, upon close examination, one would find these same words or slight variations on the theme present, either

implicitly or explicitly expressed, in nearly all addresses by Romney.

Now while I was sitting here during lunch and talking to Ted Cobb he told me that his son here wanted him to ask me a question and the question he wanted his father to ask me was, what made me a freedom fighter and my response was this; every American who really understands America and the principles on which America is founded, starting with the opening words of the Declaration of Independence, will be a freedom fighter.⁷⁵ And it's my hope that the freedom fighters that are being trained in America to eliminate human injustice and discrimination, that has continued too long since we recognized the evil of slavery and the denial of full citizenship, will be available to use their capacities and abilities to fulfill our world role as freedom fighters.

Once again the audience-revered name of Ted Cobb appeared, which seemed to be a way to excite, or at least gain the full attention of, this audience.⁷⁶ By using Ted Cobb, his son, and the type of question which was asked, Romney tried to establish himself as a "freedom

⁷⁵From the actual tape of the address, spontaneous applause.

⁷⁶From the writers personal observation of the address.

fighter" without further question or doubt. The question, it should be noted, was not worded, "Are you a freedom fighter?", but "What made you a freedom fighter?" In other words, the question, as the Governor related it, was worded to say, "We all know you are a freedom fighter but how did you get to be one?" This was an excellent use of suggestion.

The Governor's explanation of what made him a freedom fighter drew spontaneous applause from the audience.⁷⁷ The delegates to this Community Action Assembly no doubt considered themselves freedom fighters, one and all. Through the establishment of himself as a freedom fighter, then, an identification seemed to be taking place between the Urban League audience and Romney.

Simplifying freedom fighter status to merely a basic understanding of the opening words of the Declaration of Independence seemed to be saying that anyone who followed the mandates of this document could not be anything but a freedom fighter. This seems to be logically sound reasoning, or at least it is certainly reasoning that was followed by this audience. We could support this by recalling an earlier point in the address which referred to the "hollow ring" of the legal victories, which also elicited strong audience applause and approval. The "hollow ring" statement and the assertion concerning why Romney is a freedom fighter

⁷⁷From the actual tape of the address.

have a similarity in that they both point out that people cannot really consider themselves to be law abiding citizens unless they carry out the letter of the law in their everyday dealings with their fellow men.

This nation has a divine destiny. This nation is not just another country. This nation is founded by individuals who were inspired to write into the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States, principles that you won't find elsewhere fully expressed. You'll find segments, sure, because they come out of the Judeo-Christian heritage of Rome and Greece, but, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they bring together the very essence of the inspiration of the ages in terms of human rights and human relationships, and they make this country the country responsible for taking these principles and expressing them so fully at home that people elsewhere through the Earth will want to adopt them and adapt them to their circumstances. And they also make us, as Americans, responsible to share these principles with peoples around the Earth. And this we must do, in my humble opinion, if we're going to keep the peoples of the Earth from turning on us to take away--ah--the blessings and abundance that--ah--we enjoy.

Basically this passage charges the audience with its responsibility as Americans, to their fellow Americans and furthermore to the peoples of the world. The consequences Romney outlines here are no less than the loss of the "blessings and abundance that we enjoy."

Perhaps one of Romney's greatest speaking assets is his ability to charge an audience with its responsibilities in a frank, firm manner. Such a speaking endeavor seems to be powered with strong materials of experience and carried on a base of high personal proofs possessed by the speaker. In this portion of the text the Governor has used some strong materials of experience through connecting the founding of the United States to such factors as the Judeo-Christian heritage, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

When such materials of experience and materials of personal proof are present and the actual platform speaking is well done, a speaker such as George Romney can apparently preach a sermon or engage in activities commonly called "flag-waving" without being too severely criticized by even the most cynical critics.

Toward the end of this passage the Governor uses the phrase "in my humble opinion," but most of the remainder of what he said and the manner in which he said it belied the fact that he really considered his opinion to be "humble." The reference here is to his firm, outspoken style and the

previously discussed use of "I believe," "I think," and "Now" at the beginning of a phrase, with a relative lack of materials of development. A person who truly thinks of himself as humble is not apt to expect people to accept what he says as incontrovertible fact without further proof.

In the chronological substance outline⁷⁸ the following portion of the text was set aside as the beginning of the conclusion of the address, but in another sense it might be considered the beginning of the basic part of the address. As mentioned before, when speaking impromptu, the Governor sometimes turns his implicit feelings into explicit terms. Such is the case from here to the end of the speech, since what Romney said from this point on was the real underlying philosophy of what he had been saying implicitly throughout the address.

Now that leads to one final comment and that's this. I've had the pleasure in the last few years to become acquainted with some of your fine ministers and many are increasingly concerned and I share their concern. They're increasingly concerned that, as their membership is elevated in a material sense, they reduce their activity in a religious sense. And if this happens, it'll be a great tragedy, because in a period of difficulty, such as you and

⁷⁸The chronological substance outline was done prior to beginning the study.

*your people have been living through, you live on the basis of faith more than on a material basis. And this has been one of your great strengths and one of your great contributions to our nation. And, in my humble opinion, the most serious threat to the future of this nation is the decline in religious conviction, moral character and family life. Now these are the great dangers of the country.*⁷⁹ *And I'm all for this effort to overcome these things that have provided obstacles and barriers to the ability of anyone, without regard to race, color, creed or national origin, to--to--secure whatever degree of economic recognition he or she is entitled to. But let's not let it occur at the cost of losing things that are more important.*

Earlier in this thesis Bruce Blossat was quoted as saying, "George Romney is a tantalizing blend of evangelist, salesman, strong-handed leader, dedicated servant of varied and changing causes. Evangelism is most likely the key."⁸⁰ The passage under consideration here seems to support this statement, because the Governor touched on the religious and faith implications of the civil rights struggle. Without demeaning the importance of the social

⁷⁹Spontaneous applause, from the actual tape of the address.

⁸⁰Blossat, loc. cit.

and material needs in the civil rights movement, Romney pointed out here that people involved in these movements should guard against a possible decline in the religious activity of the deprived people as they began to realize the fulfillment of their material goals. Apparently these thoughts met with considerable audience approval, since another burst of applause occurred here as shown in the text.

As stated before, the Governor's beliefs manifesting themselves in this portion of the address were woven into the entire text of this address. These beliefs, of course, stem from Romney's active participation in the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints (Mormon), as the Governor has long been active as a district lay leader and lay preacher in the Church. His religious convictions, such as no alcohol or stimulants of any kind and keeping Sunday strictly as a sacred day of rest, have been a marvel to his political associates.

According to Albert Applegate, Romney has a set of life values and an order to them which he follows devoutly. These values take the form of duties or obligations and are listed in their order as follows:

1. Obligation to God.
2. Obligation to family.
3. Obligation to community.
4. Obligation to vocation.⁸¹

⁸¹Applegate, op. cit.

The Governor's close associates say he prayerfully considers all important decisions and, in speaking of his beliefs, Romney once said:

[Religion] "has taught me to honor the convictions and personal rights of others, to accept truth wherever I find it, and to seek everywhere for 'anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy.'"

.
Among the values he listed were:

The end of all Learning is to know God. And knowing Him, to love Him and strive to be like Him . . . When we serve our fellow men, we serve our God. Marriage and the family ties can and should be eternal.

Man is that he might have joy.

Freedom of choice is man's great privilege . . . We cannot be saved in ignorance; we cannot be saved any faster than we gain knowledge.

That America is the "Land of Promise" and the "Everlasting Hills" referred to in Israel's blessing to Joseph who was sold unto Egypt. That the Constitution of the United States is a divinely inspired document whose purpose is to free Americans and through their example and assistance free men everywhere from bondage of all forms. . . .⁸²

It is easy to see, from such moral and religious principles, why the Governor is such a strange political paradox and why these factors keep coming up in his speaking. One has only to investigate other speaking texts of the Governor to find that these religious and moral statements in this address were simply variations on the theme.⁸³

⁸²Mahoney, op. cit., p. 88.

⁸³Inaugural address and state of the State message, op. cit.

Additionally, Romney once again used the phrase, "in my humble opinion" in much the same manner as it was previously used.

The history of the world can be--sa--covered in--this--th--these simple words. Mankind--ah-- in groups and in nations and in civilizations have moved from fetters to faith, from faith to freedom, from freedom to folly, and from folly back to into fetters. Now that's the history of the world up to this time, basically. And, as a nation, we're only going to avoid that pattern if those of you who have a --mor--a sharper appreciation of freedom in it's full sense, as a result of fighting for it today, can retain your faith and these things that have urged you on in this fight and to make this great effort.

The Governor was supplementing the moral and religious philosophies discussed in the preceding section here by using this sort of parable. He urged the delegates not to forget the attitudes and beliefs that had carried them to that point in their fight for their rights when they finally achieved success. Romney used this rather strong emotional appeal to warn them that, as they achieved the freedom they were fighting for, they should avoid the pitfall which has occurred over and over again throughout history of failure to success and back to failure.

*And so I hope that your contribution will be a complete--ah--contribution and will strengthen our society in those places where it needs strengthening, as well as to enjoy a complete and full expression of your rights and opportunities. Thank you very much.*⁸⁴

Romney concluded his address by charging the assembled delegates to give back to society at least as much as they take from it in order to enjoy a complete freedom and full citizenship rights.

This conclusion not only looks weak in the printed form, but it sounded weak at the time of the address and on the tape recording, as well. It seems to be anticlimactic to some of the passages just preceding it.

As Governor Romney finally thanked the listeners for their earnest attention, they generously applauded the man and his address.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Spontaneous applause, from the actual tape of the address.

⁸⁵From observation at the address and the tape recording.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

In the introduction it was stated that this thesis, in addition to analyzing a specific speech, would attempt to point out other factors surrounding Governor George Romney and his speaking.

The address was to be analyzed from the standpoint of preparation, delivery, style, audience response and particularly from the standpoint of the balance between materials of personal proof, materials of development and materials of experience.

These other factors which were to be brought out were to show how the Governor has applied a lifetime of beliefs to what communities can and should do for themselves as a supplement to the various state and national programs concerning race relations. It was hoped that the study would also contribute an insight into Romney's personal attitudes toward deprivation, poverty and racial issues. The study additionally sought to answer such questions as why a certain statement was made, what was the historical significance of such a statement, and why certain events which were related to the address occurred.

The purpose of this chapter, then, will be to discuss the findings of this study in relation to these original goals concerning Romney and his speaking, particularly as they apply to this speech. Also included will be a brief examination of the outcome of the Michigan Community Action Assembly as compared to the original expectations of the Assembly, as well as the role of the Governor in this outcome.

The process of outlining and plotting the organization of this address was not extremely difficult, since Romney spoke in a manner that often sounded like an outline. This speaking method tended to divide the speech into separate speeches within themselves. That is why this particular thesis structure was chosen.

Governor Romney has a staff of press and public relations people, including a speech writer. The speech writer, Albert Applegate, is responsible for writing most of the major addresses. Governor Romney's speaking schedule is planned well ahead of time and Charles Harmon, the Governor's press secretary, assigns the speech writing duties from that schedule. Mr. Applegate writes 60 per cent of the total of all addresses written for the Governor, while the remaining speech writing assignments are given out to the other members of the administrative staff in accordance with their specific talent and/or areas of interest. Such was the case in this address,

as Dr. Charles Orlebeke, the Governor's administrative assistant in the area of civil rights, was assigned to write the speech. No matter who writes an address for the Governor, there is an attempt at uniformity from one speech to another, and all writers attempt to write as nearly as possible to the style in which the Governor speaks.⁸⁶ This drive for consistency is natural, since the words, when delivered from the platform, are supposed to be Romney's own words and incidentally could in part explain the sameness of Romney's speaking which has been discussed in this study.

The staff is concerned about the length of the speeches, too many departures from the manuscript, and the preservation of the general Romney image. A critical Democrat said, while explaining why Romney's image gets so many votes:

He looks perfect. He has an innate PR [public relations] sense. His PR victories are his own making, not his staff's. He looks the part of a B-movie president, white sidewalls [sideburns] and all.⁸⁷

The Governor has been quoted many times as saying he doesn't like small talk, hence the short speeches of about twenty minutes duration, to which Applegate said the staff members prefer to have Romney limit himself,⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Applegate, op. cit.

⁸⁷ Arthur Edson, "Not Talking, But Thinking," The State Journal, (July 31, 1966), p. D-1.

⁸⁸ Applegate, op. cit.

are probably also to the liking of the Governor. Romney recently told an interviewer:

I have been involved with people all my life. This was true in business. I'm not inclined to sit around and gab without some point to it. I am inclined to be frank and blunt at times. (Short laugh.) I just let the chips fall.⁸⁹

This perhaps also helps account for the fact that this speech is made up of a series of short, direct points with a minimum of preliminaries and, in fact, sometimes limited use of materials of development.

It was learned that the Governor reads a speech, at least for content, before delivering it, which makes him responsible for the content, rather than the speech writer. In fact, Romney told Mr. Applegate, when he joined the staff, to write with a free hand and use all the imagination possible. The Governor said he would assume full responsibility for what was said from the platform.⁹⁰ Surprisingly, this is not always the case with every speaker. It happens that Applegate's sister was the writer and press secretary for Michigan's late Governor Kim Sigler, who practically never read a speech before delivering it, placing the full responsibility for the man's public image in the hands of the writer.⁹¹

Governor Romney and his staff are no doubt well aware of the words and philosophies that must be used to a given

⁸⁹Edson, loc. cit., p. D-2.

⁹⁰Applegate, op. cit.

⁹¹Ibid.

audience to create the proper image, mood or reaction. In analyzing an address we attempt to use our rhetorical labels for the phenomena we find contained in the address. The Governor and his staff may execute a perfect example of a rhetorical principle, however, without ever having heard of such a label and without realizing precisely what they have done. In fact, by Applegate's own admission, they are not necessarily aware of whether they are writing inductively or deductively.⁹² The position in which we find ourselves is one of applying a theoretical label to an already executed practical act, at best a difficult task.

Labels are a necessity, however, if with any meaning we are to analyze and comment upon what we hear and see in an address. Two such labels which were found to be applicable to George Romney in this speech were "inductive" and "implicative."

There are rare exceptions, but, for the most part, Romney's methods of organization appear to be inductive and practically this entire address is a prime example. When making the logical outline of this address, the writer usually had to go to the end of a thought pattern to find the topic sentence and then go back to the beginning of the thought pattern to gather the supporting materials. For instance, the main theme of this address was the religious, moral and philosophical aspects of the civil

⁹²Ibid.

rights movement. This thought, however, was not expressed explicitly until the end of the address, which means that the overall organization of the address was actually inductive.

These moral aspects expressed explicitly at the end of the address were found implicitly throughout the address, just as they are in many Romney addresses. The religious and moral beliefs of the Governor seem to form an undercurrent in most of his speaking, in fact, in most of his thinking, and they are explicitly expressed somewhere in many of his speeches.

It is through the expression of these ethical and moral beliefs that the Governor's strong materials of personal proof manifest themselves. In the conclusion of this address the Governor talked of ethical beliefs and religious convictions as they apply to the struggle against poverty and discrimination in which the delegates were involved. The ethical and moral level, known to be part of Romney's everyday life, once again evidenced itself here, and the feeling of the "good man" that was concerned about their problems seemed to be communicated to the listeners. This high level of morality presented by Governor Romney is the real heart of his strong personal proof.

The Governor's strong Mormon background, with its stress on family life, abstinence from stimulants or alcohol, and a generally high level of morality in dealing

with one's fellow men has given him an unusual, built-in moral fiber. These factors, coupled with the previously mentioned life value order of God, family, community, and vocation make George Romney tend to fit the "white knight" label given him by some observers and cause him to appear to be a bit of a political phenomenon.

The honest image of "goodness" created by the Governor is a source of annoyance to some Republicans because they are afraid that, in this age, the image may seem to some voters to be literally "too good to be true."⁹³ This may be due in part to a feeling that the average voter is not this "good" and will not want to believe that another man is either, particularly a political figure. The real annoyance, however, is to those who oppose Romney. It is difficult, even in the heat of a political campaign, to find a weak spot in the Governor's armor-plated personal proof. To be openly critical of the Romney image could open the critic to the risk of an atheistic label and perhaps political suicide. The frustrations of searching for a method of combating Romney politically are heightened by the Governor's apparent ability to rise up in righteous indignation when he is personally attacked and come out of the political fray a winner. For instance, as the UAW-CIO in Michigan prepared for their Labor Day, 1966, reception and program for President Johnson and memorial to the late

⁹³Ibid.

Senator Patrick McNamara, they absolutely refused to offer the Governor a formal invitation. Instead of creating a noisy political furor, Romney simply said:

I don't need an invitation, . . . I'll be there, whether I'm on the platform or seated in the audience or standing at the back of the hall.

Labor Day is a day when we all pay our respects to working people, . . . It would be negligent on my part if I didn't show my respect to the working people and to Sen. McNamara.⁹⁴

How strong a man's materials of personal proof should be or how much benefit he gains from this strength is difficult to ascertain however, as stated earlier, Romney's personal proof has been said to approach the magical quality known as charisma. This would seem to be a level of personal proof to which many aspire and few achieve.

It appears that the Governor, at least in this address, relies heavily upon these strong personal proofs. He relies on them so heavily, in fact, that materials of development are non-existent at times and the personal proof is used to carry the burden of proof for his statements. Although the Governor is methodical and well organized in the presentation of his materials of development when he uses them, he frequently seems to feel it is sufficient to add simply, "and I believe this is very important" or "and this must receive increasing attention." Many times during this address Romney began a phrase with

⁹⁴The State Journal, September 1, 1966, p. A-6.

the words, "I believe . . .". When these words appear, it may be taken as a signal that you are not likely to get much more development than just that. "I believe" is tied closely to his personal proofs and could be translated to mean, "I say this is true and you know I would never state or support any falsehoods."

George Romney, whether it is done intentionally or not, is quite adept at heaping materials of experience on his already strong materials of personal proof. The result of this is an image of a man who believes strongly in certain convictions and, through his firmness in them, seems to bring most of his listeners along with him. Because of his own sincere religious and ethical principles, Governor Romney is able to use strong materials of experience and get away with them. Somehow, when he speaks out concerning God, mother and the flag, it does not seem to carry with it the "false" qualities usually connoted by the label, "flag-waving."⁹⁵

In summary, it may be said that in this address the Governor very definitely has relied most heavily upon his materials of personal proof, which were interspersed with a considerable use of materials of experience. Materials of development were, however, extremely limited in this address.

⁹⁵From my personal observations and opinions at the address.

The most peculiar facet of the personality of George Romney is that he is a very paradoxical figure, notwithstanding these strong personal proofs and image factors. There appears possibly to be another side to the man. A Democrat who knows the Governor well has said:

We had an argument shortly after he [Romney] took office. A change came over him that was absolutely frightening. His knuckles went white. He lost control of himself. There's something in this man's makeup that gives him the knowledge that he is doing right and that those who oppose him are the apostles of the devil.

I actually believe he feels he's divinely ordained.⁹⁶

Although it should be noted that these are the thoughts of a political opponent, there is evidence of at least some truth to the above statement in this address when the Governor uses the very strong, firmly stated word, "Now" at the beginning of phrases. As stated in Chapter III, this word, "Now," as it was used, seemed to be a verbally pointed finger that said, "You listen to what I have to say."⁹⁷ Further proof is Romney's ability to charge an audience in a frank manner, apparently secure in thought that his directives are the correct ones. The Governor has a way of charging an audience to do whatever must be done, not necessarily by "nice" talk, but rather by firmly telling the people what is expected of them; what their role in achieving the desired goal must be. He

⁹⁶Edson, loc. cit., p. D-1.

⁹⁷From my personal observations at the address.

demonstrated this when he told the Assembly leaders, in a morning meeting before his address, that the initial effort in the war on poverty would have to come from within their own ranks.⁹⁸ Several times during the address he went on emphatically to inform the audience what would be expected of them if their goals were to be achieved.

The Governor used his "humble" childhood to gain some rapport, through identification, with his listeners. Although we established in Chapter III that this beginning was not as humble as that of some people in his audience, Romney did seem to gain stature with his listeners through the mention of these facts pertaining to his early childhood.⁹⁹

Humility is an admirable quality in anyone, particularly a political figure, but self-proclaimed humility is not always acceptable or in keeping with the man's projected total image. At several points in this address the Governor referred to "my humble opinion," however his forceful method of stating facts and expecting them to be accepted without question belies the fact that he really looks upon his own opinion as "humble."

No man could be considered extraordinarily humble when, in fact, he has an overwhelming belief that his cause is the "right" cause and the tenacity to hold to it.

⁹⁸Alderman, op. cit.

⁹⁹From my observations at the address.

Such a man is George Romney, and this belief in himself, and even more particularly his tenacity in a speaking situation, may stem in part from the fact that he has had considerable experience in speaking to hostile audiences. Starting with his early Mormon days when, as was pointed out in Chapter II, the Governor competed with others for an audience on a street corner or in a park in London, and moving on to his present encounters with his political opponents, Romney has frequently found himself in the position of having to literally shout down the jeers of his detractors. Time Magazine reports that in his early days of campaigning, more than once Romney

. . . turned up uninvited at labor gatherings and demanded to be heard. More than once, he was sent away. At last union leaders decided that they were getting a reputation for undemocratic attitudes. After that they sent Romney invitations and he did not hesitate to appear and preach his gospel.¹⁰⁰

Governor Romney has exhibited a tendency in this address to follow his manuscript, leave it completely for a few passages and then return to it. Seemingly, it would be quite difficult to depart sporadically from the manuscript and still follow the organization of it well enough to pick it up again at will. Arthur Edson, citing Dr. D. Duane Angel's doctoral dissertation concerning "The Campaign Speaking of George Romney," said, "Campaign oratory

¹⁰⁰Time, loc. cit., p. 21.

does not show Romney at his best."¹⁰¹ Edson, further citing Angel, went on to say:

Romney does fine on inspirational talks, but he gives him poor marks on prepared texts.

"He doesn't read speeches very well anyway," Angel says. "But I think Romney is a word artist. He invented the words 'compact car.' The small car means you're cheap while the compact car means you're thrifty. When he proposed a Michigan state income tax, Romney spoke of fiscal reform. And he said in 1964, 'I accept but do not endorse Goldwater.' What does that mean? I don't know, but the people bought it."¹⁰²

One extremely interesting point related to the discussion of Romney's impromptu speaking and the passages in which he adhered closely to the manuscript is the fact that in each of the four cases which drew spontaneous applause during the address, he was speaking impromptu at the time. This could be taken as further proof that the Governor is more effective when not speaking directly from a manuscript.

Excessive departures from the script have certain shortcomings for Romney, however, which are pointed out rather well in this address. These problems seem mainly to be a lack of organization and excessive redundancy, as pointed out in Chapter III.

Close observation of the impromptu portions of the speech bears out the fact that the original manuscript was

¹⁰¹ Arthur Edson, "Not Talking, But Thinking," The State Journal (July 31, 1966), p. D-2, citing D. Duane Angel, "The Campaign Speaking of George Romney," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.

¹⁰² Ibid.

not written by the Governor himself, since he appears to be commenting upon comments which were already supposed to be his own in the manuscript. If Romney had actually written the manuscript all of this would be unnecessary, but, since he didn't, he was actually editorializing on a manuscript which was written by Dr. Orlebeke.

It has been mentioned several times during this thesis that the use of the word "ah" and similar incidents of vocalized pauses are prevalent. These occur, for the most part, when Romney is speaking impromptu and apart from the manuscript. As was shown in Chapters II and III, however, these breaks in the flow of the address appear to be momentous flaws in the printed form, but actually they did not sound nearly as bad on the tape recording or at the time of delivery.¹⁰³ This brings to light an interesting point in relation to the long-standing philosophical issue as to just how much difference there is between words which are spoken and the same words when they are written. The difference in this case is unquestionably great, even to a casual observer of the comparison.

To some observers, Romney is not considered to be an orator of high style; however, Thonssen and Gilkinson pointed out that

¹⁰³From the writer's personal observations at the address and from the tape recording.

A speaker's style serves the important function of clothing ideas with language. Its purpose is to open the minds of the listeners for a reception of the speaker's thought. It is not an instrument of display, or of exhibition. Flashy, showy language that fails to make listeners give full attention to the material content of a talk has no intrinsic value. To be effective, style must further the ends of communication; it must tell the message the speaker intends and tell it with unmistakable clarity.¹⁰⁴

If we accept this criterion, the Governor seems to be an effective speaker. There appears to be very little doubt that, after he has spoken, Romney has communicated with his receivers, regardless of how his speeches may sound to the critical observer of speeches. For instance, we already have cited the example from the Romney biography by Tom Mahoney, in which it was reported:

As a speaker, George Romney is earnest rather than polished. His platform manner has a certain awkward quality of innocent, unsophisticated sincerity that strikes a friendly chord with listeners. "He leaves you feeling," a lawyer says, "that he is not a smooth speaker, maybe not even a trained speaker, but that he is in the right and, if you know what is good for you, you will go out and vote for bonds, or buy a small car, or whatever he is asking you to do."¹⁰⁵

It can safely be stated, from studying this particular address and from almost daily political examples, that George Romney is a very persuasive man. His persuasive ability evidences itself at all levels of communication, for in day to day situations he seems to get that which he

¹⁰⁴Lester Thonssen and Howard Gilkinson, Basic Training in Speech (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1947), p. 525.

¹⁰⁵Mahoney, op. cit., p. 230.

desires more often than not. Representative William S. Broomfield, the Republican Congressman from Romney's home district in Michigan, was quoted as saying, "He's one of the greatest campaigners I ever saw. He electrifies people. You can feel it."¹⁰⁶

It is certainly difficult to make a value judgment concerning the typicality of a particular speech in relation to a speaker's usual pattern of organization, style and delivery. It can be stated, however, that certain characteristics found in this speech to the Michigan Community Action Assembly are present in many other Romney speeches which the writer has heard. In fact, many people feel that most of Romney's speeches are simply variations on one theme, adapted to particular situations. That main theme, of course, is the constant reference to the religious and moral aspects of life. In a recent newspaper article by Arthur Edson of the Associated Press it was pointed out that

. . . underneath this neatly tailored exterior lurks an old-fashioned evangelist. For years Romney has preached one theme; down with big government, big business, big labor unions; up with individual, local, family and state responsibility.

"He's the only politician in the country," one critic has said, "who can make exactly the same speech at a commencement exercise one night and at a political rally the next."

Through almost all of Romney's speeches runs a firm religious note.

"I believe," George Romney has said, "that the hand of the Creator guided the formation and

¹⁰⁶Edson, loc. cit., p. D-1.

development of this country. I believe that God has a purpose for this nation, and a plan for every individual in it."¹⁰⁷

Dr. Angel, now a speech professor at the University of Delaware, said, "Romney has been making the same speech for 10 years."¹⁰⁸

The writer's comparisons of various Romney addresses and these foregoing comments seem to indicate that there is a high degree of typicality in most of the Governor's speaking, including this address.

The Michigan Community Action Assembly itself was not as well attended as was originally planned, since Mr. Cobb's letter, included in Chapter I, said that 150 to 200 persons were expected, whereas only 136 attended (see Appendix B). The meetings did not meet the expectations of Bruce Alderman, of the Kellogg Center, in terms of activity, discussion and meaningful content. Alderman felt that perhaps the Michigan Community Action Assembly, which was one of the first follow-up meetings in the country after President Johnson's similar Washington meeting, was planned a bit too soon and too fast.¹⁰⁹

In view of the fact that the basic purpose of the meeting was to stimulate interest in community action programs under Title IIa of the Economic Opportunity Act, however, there has been some success. All but two of

¹⁰⁷Edson, loc. cit., p. D-2.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Alderman, op. cit.

Michigan's 83 counties now have community action programs and growing out from these programs are many local programs designed to assist the poor and disadvantaged people. It is virtually impossible to say to what degree the successes are directly attributable to the Michigan Community Action Assembly.

It seems equally difficult to make a value judgment concerning what degree of effect the Romney address had on the total Michigan Community Action Assembly and the successes which have followed. It is possible, however, to assess the feelings of the people I have interviewed who were in the room the day of the address and, from information gathered from these interviews, it is my conclusion that Governor Romney gave his listeners considerable encouragement to go back to their local areas and get these programs implemented. It is also my opinion that he conveyed the thought that he and the state of Michigan were behind them in this endeavor. The image seemingly created here was that the Governor, a "good man," was in favor of moving in on these local problems with organized community action. This image should have contributed a great deal toward local interest in these programs.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TEXTUAL COMPARISON

Delivered Text*

*Taken from a tape recording of the actual address.

Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you very much--ah--Ray Scruggs.

Now as I look around the room I realize that Ray's--ah--sentiments about the recent Gubernatorial elections are not necessarily endorsed by everybody in the room but--ah--in any event, I appreciate Ray's--ah--feeling that way.

It is true that--ah--I've had some exposure to poverty. As a matter of fact, --ah--I was a revolutionary refugee at the age of five. Our family was driven out of Mexico on forty-eight hours notice with nothing and--ah--we were housed and fed by the United States Army until my father could get a job as a carpenter. And without going through all of the vicissitudes, --ah--we were a struggling family--ah--for the next fourteen years and I picked a lot of Idaho potatoes at a time when--ah--you couldn't sell 'em and you just ate 'em; morning, noon and night. So--nav--I do have a first hand acquaintance with the problem of families under difficult--ah--circumstances.

I want to congratulate the Urban Leagues for calling this Community Action conference and I'm well aware of the important contribution of the Urban League over the past half century. Of course, in its earlier years the--ah--Urban League concentrated on helping migrants from the South to learn the strange and bewildering ways of Northern cities but then when the trickle of migrants--ah--grew to a flood--ah--neither the League nor any other organization could--ah--keep up with the needs for assistance and Negroes by the tens of thousands moved into the older and deteriorating centers of our great--ah--Northern cities. And, of course, many of them were, not only unskilled, but uneducated and--ah--had practically no education and, in some instances none at all. And the result is that a number were illiterate and a vicious system of segregation, Northern style, kept Negroes boxed into menial, low-paying jobs and crowded into inadequate housing.

Prepared Manuscript*

*A machine copy of the original manuscript, courtesy of the Governor's office.

I want to congratulate the Michigan Urban League council for calling this Community Action Assembly. This assembly of community service leaders is yet another sign that the Urban League is determined to spearhead a broad attack on poverty and its related social evils.

For more than half a century, the Urban League has been the firm friend of Negro Americans. In its early years, the League helped Negro migrants from the South learn the strange and bewildering ways of Northern cities. But when the trickle of migrants swelled into a flood, neither the League nor any other organization could keep up with the needs for assistance. Negroes moved by the tens of thousands into the older, deteriorating centers of our great cities. Many of them were unskilled and uneducated, and an alarming number were illiterate. A vicious system of segregation --Northern style--kept Negroes boxed into menial low-paying jobs and crowded, inadequate housing.

Now the Urban League--ah--has rendered a great service in finding jobs for Negroes and certainly it has provided the leadership and the salesmanship and sometimes more than that in prying open--ah--many doors of opportunity which--ah--have been traditionally closed.

And the League saw all along that the drive for Negro advancement would fail unless Negroes were equipped to share fully in the fruits of our American society. Now some might say "American prosperity;" I think it's more fundamental than that. I think it's a sharing in the total American society, which at base is spiritual and moves on into the political and the social, as well as the economic.

But far too often the League's powers of persuasion could not break through the indifference or hostility of the so-called white power structure. Now as the plight of the Negroes throughout the country worsened it became clear that the civil rights of Negroes must be spelled out in law and backed up by enforcement powers. And the result is that Civil Rights has--ah--overshadowed all other aspects of our extremely complex social and economic crisis. And militant Civil Rights organizations have moved into the forefront of the struggle and challenged the American conscience with dignified and dramatic protest against the intolerable delay in granting Negroes full enjoyment of their citizenship rights.

Now in Michigan--ah--we adopted a new Constitution and our Civil Rights Commission in the state began to function in 1964 and it is empowered to function in every area. There isn't any area involving Civil Rights that the Civil Rights Commission in Michigan is not empowered to deal with and to deal with effectively and adequately. And I believe that the people who've been serving and the basic approach they have developed, which is a solid one of moving--ah--in a way that will command the--resp--support of the courts and the public, is going to result in this state achieving progress in this respect--ah--that is more--ah--adequate than you'll find in any other state in the union. At least that's our objective and that's our purpose.

The Urban League worked hard to find jobs for Negroes, and it pried open many doors of new opportunity which had traditionally been closed.

The League saw all along that the drive for Negro advancement would fail unless Negroes were equipped to share fully in the fruits of American prosperity. But far too often, the League's powers of persuasion could not break through the indifference or hostility of the so-called "white power structure."

As the plight of Negroes throughout the country worsened, it became clear that the civil rights of Negroes must be spelled out in law, and backed up by enforcement powers. The issue of Civil Rights eventually overshadowed all other aspects of an extremely complex social and economic crisis. Militant Civil Rights organizations moved into the forefront of the struggle and challenged the American conscience with dignified and dramatic protest against the intolerable delay in granting Negroes full enjoyment of their rights.

In Michigan, in 1964, a new Constitution and a constitutionally established Civil Rights Commission launched an all-out attack on Civil Rights discrimination anywhere.

Now since the explosive summer of 1963 legal barriers to equal rights have tumbled at a record rate and legal safeguards of equal opportunity have been built up. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 established a national policy on problems of discrimination in voting, public accommodations, employment and the use of federal funds. And we've now arrived near the point where most of the fundamental legal questions about civil rights have been settled. Sure, we need additional implementation in the voting rights area and some other areas but basically there's --no one--no particular challenge of the legality of--ah--the fundamental civil rights of Negroes. And the result is that--we--now the fight for equal opportunity is becoming the big and important aspect of this whole situation.

Legal victories have a hollow ring for Negro masses who are poorly equipped to compete in our economy. Fair employment laws help the Negro with exceptional ability and training to get the job he's--qual--qualified for but these laws don't prepare a single unqualified Negro to compete for the skilled jobs our economy demands. And I'm sure that most Negroes are simply asking for the opportunity to develop their skills and abilities so they can compete and demonstrate their capacity and abilities on a basis of fairness and equity.

Now fair housing laws help the Negro with enough money to buy a better home but they don't help the many Negroes who can't afford to move out of the slums. In short, all of the legal safeguards we now have and will have aren't enough to deal with the staggering legacy resulting from centuries of deprivation and discrimination.

The National Urban League's brilliant Executive Director, Whitney Young, has done much to dramatize the destructive impact of poverty. He's called, as you know, for a domestic Marshall Plan; a massive public and private offensive against--ah--unemployment, poor housing, disease and family breakdown. And we simply must re-define our concept of equal opportunity to include both legal safeguards against discrimination and positive action to deal with the disastrous economic and social by-products of discrimination.

Since the explosive summer of 1963, legal barriers to equal rights have tumbled at a record rate, and legal safeguards of equal opportunity have been built up. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 established national policy on problems of discrimination in voting, public accommodations, employment, and the use of federal funds. We have now arrived near the point where most of the fundamental legal questions about Civil Rights have been settled.

Now the fight for equal opportunity is entering a new and more difficult phase. Legal victories have a hollow ring for Negro masses who are poorly equipped to compete in our economy. Fair employment laws help the Negro with exceptional ability and training to get the job he is qualified for, but these laws don't prepare a single unemployed Negro to compete for the skilled jobs our economy demands. Fair housing laws help the Negro with enough money to buy a better home, but they don't help the many Negroes who can't afford to move out of the slums. In short, all the legal safeguards we now have, and will have, are not enough to deal with the staggering legacy resulting from centuries of deprivation and discrimination.

The National Urban League's brilliant Executive Director, Whitney Young, has done much to dramatize the destructive impact of poverty. Young has called for a domestic "Marshall Plan"--a massive public and private offensive against unemployment, poor housing, disease, and family breakdown. We simply must re-define our concept of "equal opportunity" to include both legal safeguards against discrimination, and positive action to deal with the disastrous economic and social by-products of discrimination.

And I think the most serious one and the most vital one is motivation. There isn't any question but what the key to overcoming the handicaps is to provide the assistance that children need in their early lives, to have the desire to acquire the education and the training that will enable them to fill their full potential in society. And this, I believe, will receive increasing attention and must receive increasing attention.

Now the "war on poverty" phase of the Civil Rights movement calls for a new type of action. Our local communities must be inspired by persistent determination to equip every willing citizen with the tools he needs to earn a livelihood. There must be also constant impatience with apathy, indifference, greed and rationalization. Thus recruits in the "war on poverty" are motivated, not only by a sense of justice, but more particularly by a sense of responsibility. Today we're forging new and more effective weapons to defeat poverty. I believe our efforts should not cease until we've developed programs and policies needed to eliminate the causes of poverty other than the refusal of individuals to do their part. And here I want to emphasize the fact that Ray Scruggs has pointed out in a meeting we've just had and pointed out to me in earlier conversations and that is that the poverty program--ah--as it's presently conceived is essentially one for making up for deficiencies in regular and well established programs. For example, we shouldn't limit our effort in the field of education to simply helping those who have gone through school and still can't read and write or haven't had the opportunity in the past to get adequate education to read and write and be able to use mathematics. We ought to focus our effort equally on making certain that the youngsters who are now in school are going to get the sort of education that our school system ought to supply them.† And the same things are true with our other institutions that exist to enable young people to be equipped when they complete their regular programs.

*Applause

The "war on poverty" phase of the Civil Rights movement calls for a new type of action. Our local communities must be inspired by persistent determination to equip every willing citizen with the tools he needs to earn a livelihood. There must be, also, constant impatience with apathy, indifference, greed, and rationalization. Thus, recruits in the war on poverty are motivated not only by a sense of justice, but more particularly, by a sense of responsibility.

Today we are forging new and more effective weapons to defeat poverty.

I believe our efforts should not cease until we have developed programs and policies needed to eliminate the causes of poverty, other than the refusal of individuals to do their part.

Now I believe that the disadvantaged youth, the functionally--it--illiterate and other victims of poverty, both in urban and rural areas, can and must be afforded appropriate opportunities equal to other members of society.

I believe that the Economic Opportunity Act affords Michigan additional resources to wage our continuing war on poverty and presents a united attack that is being integrated with Michigan's all-out campaign to help eliminate this paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty; and we do have an all-out campaign. And Mac Lovell here is the man responsible for the direction of this campaign as far as it relates to the Economic Opportunity Act and there are other individuals--ah--involved in state government who have the responsibility for making certain that we take advantage of the other programs that are coming along that relate to this same basic problem. Now I believe that, working together, federal, state, local and private agencies possess the skills and knowledge to mobilize our total resources and effectively apply them in this war on poverty promptly and decisively.

And another thing that was brought out in our discussion ahead of this luncheon was this. We must not let these new programs weaken the established programs like the Urban Re-Development programs and the private programs that have been making a contribution. These new programs ought to add to the total effort not tend to replace present effort and I think we're going to have to pay a good deal of attention to these programs to make certain that it doesn't happen. And one of the most obvious aspects of that problem is the extent to which these individuals who have been well trained in the most distinctive aspect of American life, in terms of progress, namely these voluntary cooperative organizations, must not be drained away into these new programs so that the established programs are lacking in leadership and trained staff to get the jobs done. And I think this is a problem that must not be overlooked.

+Applause

I believe that the disadvantaged youth, the functionally illiterate and other victims of poverty, in both urban and rural areas, can and must be afforded appropriate opportunities equal to other members of society.

I believe that the Economic Opportunity Act affords Michigan additional resources to wage our continuing war on poverty, and presents a united attack that is being integrated with Michigan's all-out campaign to help eliminate this paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

I believe that, working together, federal, state, local and private agencies possess the skills and knowledge to mobilize our total resources, and effectively apply them in this war on poverty promptly and decisively.

Now I believe these things--both-- I believe these things both as a matter of personal conviction and as a matter of public duty and responsibility under our state's Constitution. And, incidentally, our state Constitution contains this mandate:

The public health and the general welfare of the people of the state are hereby declared matters of primary public concern.

Now I'm glad that we live in a system that expresses deep concern and takes strong positive action to eliminate unemployment at a time when most people are employed. I don't think there has been any time in the history of this state when so many of us have joined together in such an affirmative way to aid the few who are not sharing in Michigan's general prosperity. We have a lot to be proud of in our state. We certainly can feel good that our general economic picture is more favorable than it has been. Our--ah--our employment levels are high, our unemployment is lower than it's been in a long, long time, and there's a general feeling of well being throughout the state. But despite that fact we face serious problems and one of them is the problem we're here to deal with today. And your state government is ready to help and federal officials have promised cooperation and are providing leadership, and if we work together with vision and vigor we can make fully effective use of these tools in the war on poverty.

May I remind you of what I said in my Inaugural address on January 1, 1963. I said to the people of Michigan then and I repeat it here today because it's right on target:

Only when brotherhood is translated into practical citizenship can we build a floor below which man's inhumanity to man shall not operate, eliminate poverty and raise every citizen above want without getting the beehive or the antheap. Only thus can we--complete--complete Lincoln's unfinished work of creating a society in which all men can hold up their heads as equal and self-respecting citizens.

I believe these things, both as a matter of personal conviction and as a matter of public duty and responsibility under our state's new constitutional mandate which provides:

"... the public health and general welfare of the people of the state are hereby declared to be matters of primary public concern. . ."

I am glad that we live in a system that expresses deep concern, and takes strong positive action to eliminate unemployment at a time when most people are employed. I don't think there has been any time in the history of this state when so many of us have joined together in such an affirmative way to aid the few who are not sharing in Michigan's general prosperity.

We have much to be proud of in Michigan. We can congratulate ourselves on our rate of economic growth, our higher employment level, our relatively low level of unemployment, and the general feeling of well being which pervades our state today. But we face serious problems, both today and in the years immediately ahead.

Your state government is ready to help. Federal officials have promised cooperation. If we work together with vision and vigor, we can make fully effective use of these additional tools in our unrelenting war on poverty.

In closing, may I remind you of what I said in my inaugural address on January 1, 1963. I said to the people of Michigan then, and I repeat it here today because it is right on target:

"... only when brotherhood is translated into practical citizenship can we build a floor below which man's inhumanity to man shall not operate, eliminate poverty, and raise every citizen above want, without creating the beehive or the ant-heap. Only thus can we complete Lincoln's unfinished work of creating a society in which all men can hold up their heads as equal and self-respecting citizens."

Now while I was sitting here during lunch and talking to Ted Cobb he told me that his son here wanted him to ask me a question and the question he wanted his father to ask me was, what made a freedom fighter and my response was this; every American who really understands America and the principles on which America is founded, starting with the opening words of the Declaration of Independence, will be a freedom fighter.+ And it's my hope that the freedom fighters that are being trained in America to eliminate human injustice and discrimination, that has continued too long since we recognized the evil of slavery and the denial of full citizenship, will be available to use their capacities and abilities to fulfill our world role as freedom fighters.

This nation has a divine destiny. This nation is not just another country. This nation is founded by individuals who were inspired to write into the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States, principles that you won't find elsewhere fully expressed. You'll find segments, sure, because they come out of the Judeo-Christian heritage and Rome and Greece, but, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they bring together the very essence of the inspiration of the ages in terms of human rights and human relationships, and they make this country the country responsible for taking these principles and expressing them so fully at home that people elsewhere through the Earth will want to adopt them and adapt them to their circumstances. And they also make us, as Americans, responsible to share these principles with peoples around the Earth. And this we must do, in my humble opinion, if we're going to keep the peoples of the Earth from turning on us to take away--ah--the blessings and abundance that--ah--we enjoy.

Now that leads to one final comment and that's this. I've had the pleasure in the last few years to become acquainted with some of your fine ministers and many of them are increasingly concerned and I share their concern. They're

+Applause

increasingly concerned that, as their membership is elevated in a material sense, they reduce their activity in a religious sense. And if this happens, it'll be a great tragedy, because in a period of difficulty, such as you and your people have been living through, you live on the basis of faith more than on a material basis. And this has been one of your great strengths and one of your great contributions to our nation. And, in my humble opinion, the most serious threat to the future of this nation is the decline in religious conviction, moral character and family life. Now these are the great dangers of the country. And I'm all for this effort to overcome these things that have provided obstacles and barriers to the ability of anyone, without regard to race, color, creed or national origin, to--to--secure whatever degree of economic recognition he or she is entitled to. But let's not let it occur at the cost of losing things that are more important.

The history of the world can be--sa--covered in--this--th--these simple words. Mankind--ah--in groups and in nations and in civilizations have moved from fetters to faith, from faith to freedom, from freedom to folly, and from folly back to into fetters. Now that's the history of the world up to this time, basically. And, as a nation, we're only going to avoid that pattern if those of you who have a--mor--a sharper appreciation of freedom in its full sense, as a result of fighting for it today, can retain your faith and these things that have urged you on in this fight and to make this great effort. And so I hope that your contribution will be a complete--ah--contribution and will strengthen our society in those places where it needs strengthening, as well as to enjoy a complete and full expression of your rights and opportunities. Thank you very much.*

+Applause

APPENDIX B

K444 MICHIGAN URBAN LEAGUE CONFERENCE
April 10-12, 1965*

REGISTRANTS:

Beasley, Mrs. Olive R.	Mich. Civil Rights Comm.	812 Citizens Bank 328 S. Saginaw St. Flint, Michigan
Benison, Richard		200 E. Kearsley St. Flint, Michigan
Bennett, Grady Jr.		2023 Ferris Avenue Flint 3, Michigan
Blackman, Saul	Mich. Econ. Opportunity Office	7310 Woodward St. Detroit, Michigan
Bloodworth, Ralph		121 Monroe Street Flint, Michigan
Blow, J. M.		2440 Reynolds St. Muskegon Hts., Mich.
Bristol, Agnes		1241 Joseph Campau Detroit 7, Michigan
Brown, Dr. C. Bassett		407 S. Fair Avenue Benton Harbor, Mich.
Carter, Cheryl		720 Wellington St. Flint 3, Michigan
Carter, Marion		620 Chandler Ave. Detroit 2, Michigan
Cheng, Charles		2918 N. Saginaw Flint, Michigan
Cobb, Louise S.		111 King St. Detroit, Michigan
Coburn, Frances E.		10085 Kenowa S. W. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Cofer, Lloyd M.	Central High School	2425 Tuxedo St. Detroit, Michigan
Coleman, Lucile		646 Franklin Grand Rapids, Mich.
Conley, Dorse		8039 Northlawn Detroit, Michigan
Crawley, John N.		230 Birdie Ave. Benton Harbor, Mich.
Cummings, Roy		469 S. Paddock Pontiac, Michigan
Cunningham, Ira		443 Thomas St., S.E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Dawley, Lewis H.		1506 S. Milwaukee St. Jackson, Michigan
Dosey, Donovan		906 Holten St. Lansing, Michigan
Duncan, William M.		1381 Coolidge Hwy. River Rouge, Michigan
Dunr, Patricia		911 E. Grand River East Lansing, Michigan
Edwards, George H.	State Representative	87 Woodland St. Detroit, Michigan
Evans, Mrs. Helen	Motown Record Corp.	1977 Courtland St. Detroit 6, Mich.
Ford, William R.	Consultant, Special Projs. Dept. of Public Inst.	Lansing, Michigan

*Provided by the Michigan State University Continuing Education Service.

REGISTRANTS (Continued)

Franks, Mrs. Daisy

French, Mabel J.

Fuller, Alex

Gillespie, Marjorie

Gogulski, Joan

Garber, Mrs. J. Patrick

Gardner, Mabry

Grady, Ozie

Graham, F. O.

Greene, Leo A.

Hayes, Annamarie

Hill, Charles, Jr. & Mrs.

Himmelhoch, Martha

Hughes, Roberta V.

Jones, Andrew

Jones, Jeweldean

Johnson, Louis

Johnson, Marie

Kennedy, Mrs. Jessie

Kernen, C. James

Keyes, Karl M.

Lattimore, Mrs. Equilla M.

Layton, Mary

Lee, Delbert H.

Leibov, Joellen

Lewis, Anne A.

Lowrey, Flossie

Mack, Harriett

McCullough, Ethel

Office of Economic
OpportunitiesNational Urban League,
Inc.

Northwestern High School

1942 Emerald N. E.
Grand Rapids, Mich.
926 W. Kalamazoo
Lansing 15, Michigan
2310 Cass Ave.
Detroit, Michigan
5450 John R. Hwy.
Detroit 2, Michigan
1724 Aberdeen N.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan
3139 Risedorph St.
Flint, Michigan
1427 Princeton
Kalamazoo, Michigan
200 E. Kearsley St.
Flint, Michigan
2021 Dyson Street
Muskegon, Michigan
1839 McPhail St.
Flint, Michigan
208 Luther St.
Pontiac, Michigan

Eloise, Michigan
411 6th Street
Fenton, Michigan
1701 Water Board Bldg.
735 Randolph St.
Detroit, Michigan
500 W. Muskegon Ave.
Muskegon, Michigan
14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y.
3900 Beaubien Ave.
Detroit, Michigan
46 Chapman
Pontiac, Michigan
6300 Grand River
Detroit, Michigan
1308 N. Hayford Ave.
Lansing, Michigan
1306 W. St. Joseph St
Lansing, Michigan
345 Logan St. S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan
513 S. Jenison St.
Lansing, Michigan
515 Owen St.
Detroit, Michigan
200 E. Kearsley St.
Flint, Michigan
208 Mack Avenue
Detroit, Michigan
731 1/2 Tilden St.
Flint, Michigan
857 E. 7th St.
Flint, Michigan
566 Prospect Ave. S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan

REGISTRANTS (Continued)

McCullough, Rudolph	U.A.W. Executive Board Member	8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, Michigan
McFadden, Charlene		1249 Julia Street Flint, Michigan
McGuire, Cyril	F.E.P. Committee	1609 W. St. Joseph Lansing, Michigan
McMullen, Frances		122 E. Flint Park Blvd. Flint 5, Michigan
Minard, L. H.		284 Rapid Pontiac, Michigan
Nelson, Marian		Pioneer Hall Alma College
Norton, John C.		1220 S. Grand Traverse Flint, Michigan
Perry, Lowell		16630 Normandy Detroit 21, Michigan
Pharms, Mrs. Frank		733 Cass S.E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Ponders, Phyllis		5450 John R. Detroit 2, Michigan
Porter, Grady	Chairman, F.E.P.C. Committee	1210 W. St. Joseph Lansing, Michigan
Randolph, Hazel	Delta Sigma Theta Sorority	214 E. Hancock St. Detroit, Michigan
Reynolds, Henry G.		2211 Jarman St. Muskegon Hts., Mich.
Rombouts, Jack		5304 River Ridge Lansing, Michigan
Russau, Helen		111 Franklin St. S.E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Rutledge, Philip J.	Assistant Dir. Mayor's	800 Guardian Bldg. Detroit 26, Michigan
Ryan, Elvin		132 Franklin Blvd. Pontiac, Michigan
Sabbath, Clarence B.		508 Frazier River Rouge, Michigan
Schenck, Douglas G. & Mrs.		2934 S. Washington Ave. Saginaw, Michigan
Scott, Moses Matthews		474 Moore St. Pontiac, Michigan
Scudder, Elmer A.		245 N. Wood St. Battle Creek, Mich.
Seaman, Mrs. John	Lansing Urban League	835 Westlawn East Lansing, Mich.
Shaw, Albert C.		196 Old Riley Ct. Pontiac, Michigan
Shearer, Leon		5038 S. Clarendon Detroit 4, Michigan
Sheffield, H.		8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, Michigan
Snead, Herman		2951 Doris Detroit 38, Michigan
Spencer, Edward		440 Thomas S.E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Spencer, Leona		440 Thomas S.E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Steele, Mrs. Marshall	Pres. Elect, Flint Deanery Council of Catholic Women	3517 Bennett Flint, Michigan
Stewart, W. L.		2231 Moffett St. Muskegon, Michigan

REGISTRANTS (Continued)

Thomas, Mary Catherine		527 Prospect Ave., S.E. Grand Rapids, Michigan
Turner, Hazel M.		803 Holten Street Lansing, Michigan
Veldman, Nella		16 Graceland Grand Rapids, Mich.
Warfield, Rev. Bernis, Jr.		1414 N. Church St. Kalamazoo, Michigan
Warren, Wilbur		428 Delaware Grand Rapids, Michigan
Watts, James		8222 Joy Rd. Detroit 4, Michigan
Williams, Calvin		717 E. Philadelphia Flint, Michigan
Wexler, Charles W.		2004 Lafayette Twrs. Detroit, Michigan
Williams, Mrs. Leila		715 Sherman S.E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Williams, Rev. John V.		1817 Covington S.E. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Williams, Maxine Broyles	Detroit Urban League	20139 Santa Rosa Dr. Detroit 21, Michigan
Willis, Robert & Mrs.	Flint Urban League	6606 N. Saginaw Ave. Flint, Michigan
Wright, William & Mrs.		430 Morris S.E. Grand Rapids, Michigan

PROGRAM PERSONNEL:

MSU

Alderman, Bruce
Doyle, Dr. Louis

Off Campus

Barnes, Clarence	Pontiac Urban League	132 Franklin Blvd. Pontiac, Michigan
Brown, Dr. Albert	Mich. Economic Opportunity Program	1454 Whitmire Ypsilanti, Michigan
Brown, Ernest L.	Michigan Consolidated Gas Company	1 Woodward Detroit, Michigan
Brown, Raymond R.	Midwestern Regional Office National Urban League	106 S. Main St. Akron, Ohio
Cobb, Ted	Michigan Urban League Council	200 E. Kearsley St. Flint, Michigan
Gillespie, Frank		922 E. Gillespie Flint, Michigan
Glick, Lawrence		1701 Penna. Ave. N.W. Washington, D. C.
Haskins, Wm. L.	National Urban League, Incorporated	1226 First Nat. Twr. 106 S. Main St. Akron, Ohio
Hill, Walter W.		625 N. Main Ann Arbor, Michigan
Johnson, Mrs. Cernoria	National Urban League	777 14th St. Washington, D. C.
Kennedy, Edward		21447 Scotia Lane Ferndale, Michigan
Kornegay, Francis	Detroit Urban League	208 Mike Street Detroit, Michigan

PROGRAM PERSONNEL (Continued)

Layton, William & Mrs.		513 S. Jenison Lansing, Michigan
Lovell, Malcolm	Michigan Economic Opportunity Program	
Mack, John		200 E. Kearsley St. Flint, Michigan
McCree, Floyd	Flint Urban League	739 E. Baker Flint, Michigan
Megbell, Joseph	Flint Urban League	Flint, Michigan
Phillips, Paul	Grand Rapids Urban League	164-166 Ottawa N.W. Grand Rapids, Mich.
Romney, George W.	Governor	
Sain, Leonard F.	Kettering Senior High School	7630 Harper Ave. Detroit, Michigan
Sanders, Charles	Muskegon Urban League	500 W. Muskegon Ave. Muskegon, Michigan
Scruggs, Ramon	National Urban League	195 Broadway New York, N. Y.
Tucker, Charles M., Jr.	Oakland County NAACP	903 Pontiac State Bank Pontiac, Michigan
Turpin, Robert R.		108 Franklin Blvd. Pontiac, Michigan
Washington, Lawrence		7535 Dexter, Detroit 6, Michigan

GUESTS:

MSU		
Clinton, Ivory		
Williams, Mattie		
Off Campus		
Edwards, Donald		206 W. 10th Ave. Flint, Michigan
Fraser, Archie C.		4685 Woodcraft Rd. Okemos, Michigan
Jarvie, Dr. L. L.	Flint Public Schools	923 E. Kearsley St. Flint, Michigan
Robbs, Rev. Alfred		910 Gillespie St. Flint, Michigan
Sharp, Mrs. M. S.		950 Audubon Rd. East Lansing, Mich.

SUMMARY

Registrants.	97
Program Personnel	
Michigan State University . . .	2
Off Campus	25
Guests	
Michigan State University . . .	2
Michigan State University Students Off Campus	<u>10</u>
Total	136

CONSULTANT: Bruce Alderman

CONTINUING EDUCATION
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

APPENDIX C

PROGRAM OUTLINE

MICHIGAN COMMUNITY ACTION ASSEMBLY*

THEME . . . "Expanding Michigan's Economic Opportunities"

A New Key to Civil Rights Progress

Friday, April 9, 1965

Designed especially for early arrival.

Afternoon and evening

3:00 Registration, Conference Registration Desk,
Lobby, The Kellogg Center

5:00 ADVANCE BRIEFING
to

9:00 Chairman--Charles Sanders, Executive Director,
Muskegon Urban League

Dinner--On your own

FILM FORUM PREVIEW

Moderator--John W. Mack, Acting Executive Director,
Flint Urban League

Saturday, April 10, 1965

Morning

8:30 Registration--continued
Continental Breakfast--on your own

9:30 OPENING GENERAL SESSION

Chairman's Welcome--Ted Cobb, Chairman,
Michigan Urban League Council

*Provided by the Michigan State University Continuing
Education Service.

Kellogg Center's Concern With Leadership
Development

Bruce W. Alderman, Conference Consultant,
Continuing Education Service, Michigan State
University

Comments

Dr. Louis A. Doyle, Associate Professor
and Associate Director, Continuing Edu-
cation, Michigan State University

DIMENSIONS ON POVERTY IN MICHIGAN

Dr. Albert Brown, Consultant, Michigan
Economic Opportunity Program
Joseph Beebe, Program Research Specialist,
National Urban League, Washington Bureau

ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Malcomb Lovell, Director, Michigan Economic
Opportunity Program

Afternoon-Evening

12:30 Luncheon--Centennial Room
to

2:00 Presiding--Ramon S. Scruggs, Vice President,
National Urban League
Address by Governor George Romney

2:00 AFTERNOON WORKSHOPS
to
Chairman--Charles Sanders
4:00

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND WORK TRAINING
Chairman--Francis Kornegay, Executive Director,
Detroit Urban League

SMALL COMMUNITIES

Chairman--Clarence Barnes, Executive Director,
Pontiac Urban League

ASSISTANCE TO SMALL BUSINESS OPERATIONS

Chairman--Paul Phillips, Executive Director,
Grand Rapids Urban League

CITIZENS PARTICIPATION

Chairman--Floyd McCree, Member, Board of
Directors, Urban League of Flint, Vice
Mayor, Flint

4:30 FILM FORUM--A special showing of an outstanding
documentary
Produced by The National Urban League
Forum Chairman--John W. Mack
Film Commentator--William Haskins, Associate
Director, Mideastern Regional Office,
National Urban League

6:00 Banquet--Big Ten Room

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY IN A
CHANGING SOCIETY

Presiding--Joseph Megbell, President Flint
Urban League, President, Yankee Stores
Raymond R. Brown, Director, Mideastern Office,
National Urban League
Mrs. Cernoria Johnson--Director, Washington
Bureau, National Urban League

8:30 Reception--Centennial Room

Sunday, April 11, 1965

Morning-Afternoon

8:00 Continental Breakfast--on your own

10:00 Reports and Recommendations
to Presiding--Raymond R. Brown
12:00

12:30 Luncheon--on your own

SUMMING UP

Raymond R. Brown
Mrs. Cernoria Johnson
Tedd Cobb

2:30 Adjourn

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