1984


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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER'S POLITICAL SPEECHES, 1964-1971

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col.  PH.D.  1984

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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER'S
POLITICAL SPEECHES, 1964-1971

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech Communication,
Theatre and Communication Disorders

by

Merrill Anway Jones
B.S.G.S. Delta State University, 1976
M.A. Northeast Louisiana University, 1978
May, 1984
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The writer dedicates this dissertation to Joyce O'Rourke for her understanding, friendship, and appreciation of scholarly research.
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to analyze rhetorically the political speeches of Winthrop Rockefeller, 1964-1971. Criteria for the study were determined by the theories of Lloyd Bitzer, Ernest Bormann and Kenneth Burke, which as a whole, interrelated to give full understanding of Rockefeller's phenomenal political rise in Arkansas.

Examined were the political conditions in Arkansas prior to Rockefeller's emergence as the Republican Party leader in 1964. Application of Bitzer's situational theory revealed that the controlling exigence, the lack of a two-party system, was the direct cause of other exigences such as poor racial conditions, poor educational standards, poor economic growth, and the inferiority complex. The rhetorical audience was composed of poor white farmers, who were Democrats, uneducated beyond the ninth grade, prejudiced against blacks, and resentful of outsiders especially Northerners. Rockefeller, a resident of the state since 1953, faced constraints in his campaigns for governor. The constraints included his political affiliation, name, wealth, shy personality, and status as an "outsider."

Application of Bormann's fantasy theme analysis revealed Rockefeller as a Moses figure and super-hero who wanted to lead the people into the promised land. The
villains in the conspiracy drama, whose corrupt practices polluted the hierarchy, were Orval Faubus, Jim Johnson and Marion Crank, power figures of the one-party rule. Fantasy themes that chained out to mold the rhetorical vision, "Era of Excellence," were better education, better industry, better jobs, better roads, better prisons, and better government. Those who participated in the vision aspired for progress, excellence, independence, and honesty in government. The feared corruption, tyranny, and digression.

Rockefeller's rhetorical vision met the political constraints of the situation demonstrated by his victories in 1966 and 1968. Thus, in Burkeian terms, the hierarchy was restored. The basis of identification was Rockefeller's conscious attempt to isolate and propose solutions to major problems perceived by Arkansans.

Although Rockefeller's vision was shared by the majority of Arkansans, they grew weary of his conflicts with the legislature. He was defeated in 1970 by Democrat Dale Bumpers.
Governor Winthrop Rockefeller
1912-1973

Courtesy of the University of Arkansas - Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

John Ferguson, a historian and Director of the Arkansas History Commission, noting the importance of one of the state's most famous governors, stated in 1983:

Winthrop Rockefeller somehow bridged the chasm between the old time and the new. . . . He was, fleetingly, the right man at the right time. His trail-blazing made the efforts of his successors easier.1

When asked why he ran for governor of Arkansas, Winthrop Rockefeller once replied:

My parents . . . lived by their religious faith, and they trained their six children in this tradition . . . a tradition of humility and service. . . . It is understandable that when I chose to adopt the great state of Arkansas as my home, I should continue this tradition of service here. . . .2

Following an unsuccessful bid for governor in 1964, Rockefeller gained enough momentum to win the election in 1966 and to succeed again in 1968. During his two terms in

1John Ferguson, "Winthrop Rockefeller, Governor Extraordinary," a paper delivered at the Winthrop Rockefeller Symposium, July 9, 1983, p. 7.

2Winthrop Rockefeller, Address to the Little Rock Ministerial Alliance, October 26, 1964. On file in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections, Little Rock, Arkansas. Future references to all speeches in this study acknowledge the courtesy of the Archives in this footnote. Speech titles were given by the writer unless indicated otherwise.
office Rockefeller did provide Arkansas a service. As the state's and the South's first Republican governor in ninety-four years since Reconstruction, Rockefeller "got through more legislation than had been accomplished during any preceding four year period in Arkansas history." Some historians consider his victories a phenomenon in the political history of Arkansas. For example, Ferguson observes:

Rockefeller was the most unlikely man who ever became governor of Arkansas. In the first place, he was an "outsider" who had moved to the state scarcely more than a decade before he ran the first time. Outsiders, especially Northerners like Rockefeller, had long been suspect in the politics of the state.4

John Ward amplifies Ferguson's observation when he states:

He was a Republican in a state full of Democrats and a very rich man in a poor state. . . . To Arkansans, he was a Rockefeller--grandfather, father, son, brothers, the Foundation, Standard Oil, everything. . . . They saw him as a stranger they would never know or understand because they had nothing with which to compare him. And he, with all his experience and contact with the peoples of the world--he saw them as strangers too. Yet he needed them, in a way that he had never needed them, in a way that he had never needed anyone before.5

Statement of the Problem

Rockefeller's success with the voters of Arkansas raises a significant question: How was he able to win

4Ferguson, p. 1.
5Ward, pp. xii-xiii.
election to the highest position in the state when he did not possess a common identity with the state's citizenry? This study examines that question through exploration of Winthrop Rockefeller's rhetorical vision as it emerged from the constraints of the political situation in Arkansas. Because he was not a native Arkansan, Rockefeller had little hope of winning votes solely on the basis of name recognition or accomplishments made as Chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission; there was little commonality between him and Arkansans. The best strategy was to establish some identifying factor through political speech-making. This study shows that his unique identity as manifested through his rhetorical vision enabled Rockefeller to capture the political power needed to move Arkansas forward.

Contributory Studies

There is only one study in existence that is devoted entirely to Winthrop Rockefeller's political career in Arkansas. John Ward's *The Arkansas Rockefeller* provides a historical account of the significant events in Rockefeller's life in Arkansas, 1953-1973.6

Other texts which proved helpful in understanding Rockefeller's background include studies by Jules Abels, Peter Collier and David Horowitz, Ferdinand Lundberg, William Raymond Manchester, Joe Alex Morris, Alvin Moscow, and Tom Pyle.

**Methodology**

In order to understand Winthrop Rockefeller as a persuader, a biographical account of his life notes the major influences upon his speech-making. Examined also are the political conditions in Arkansas prior to Rockefeller's emergence as a leader of the state's Republican Party. The relationship of his unique identity and his rhetorical

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vision with Arkansans is studied through examination of representative speeches that Rockefeller made during his four political campaigns and his two terms in office. Criteria for the study are determined by the theories of Lloyd Bitzer, Ernest Bormann and Kenneth Burke.

The impact of Rockefeller's rhetorical strategies becomes significant when the political conditions in Arkansas at the time of his involvement in politics are appraised. One way to examine these political conditions is offered by Lloyd Bitzer, who views them in terms of rhetorical situations. Bitzer states:

Rhetorical situation may be defined as a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence.14

To understand rhetorical situations Bitzer suggests examination of three elements: exigence, audience, and constraints. He believes:

Prior to the creation and presentation of discourse, there are three constituents of any rhetorical situation: the first is the exigence; the second and third elements of the complex, namely the audience to be constrained in decision and action, and the constraints which influence the rhetor and can be brought to bear upon the audience.15

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15 Bitzer, p. 6.
Analysis to determine how Rockefeller met the constraints of the rhetorical situation is twofold. First, his rhetoric is viewed from the perspective of Ernest Bormann's fantasy theme analysis. The theory is useful for this study in that it enables the critic to understand more clearly the task Rockefeller faced in meeting the constraints of the political conditions in Arkansas. John Cragan and Donald Shields note in *Applied Communication Research: A Dramatistic Approach*:

The focus of the approach is not on the speaker, the audience, or the situation, but on the message. The method allows a critic to describe the rhetorical dramas that form a community's social reality and analyze the meanings, emotions, and motives that are contained in these rhetorical visions.16

Bormann defines a rhetorical vision as constructed from fantasy themes that chain out in face-to-face interacting groups, in speaker-audience transactions, in viewers of television broadcasts, in listeners to radio programs, and in all the diverse settings for public and intimate communication in a given society. Once such a rhetorical vision emerges it contains dramatis personas and typical plot lines that can be alluded to in all communication contexts and spark a response reminiscent of the original emotional chain. The same dramas can be developed in detail when the occasion demands to generate emotional response.17

The utility of such a theory is justified as follows:


If the critic can illuminate how people who participated in the rhetorical vision related to one another, how they arranged themselves into social hierarchies, how they acted to achieve the goals embedded in their dreams, and how they were aroused by the dramatic action and the dramatis personas within the manifest content of their rhetoric, his insights will make a useful contribution to understanding the movement and its adherents.18

Kenneth Burke's theory of identification is utilized to determine Rockefeller's effectiveness as a persuader in terms of consubstantiality, the most difficult barrier he faced in attracting voters. In setting forth the theory of identification, Burke explains the premise on which it functions when he says,

A doctrine of consubstantiality (identification) either explicit or implicit may be necessary to any way of life. For substance in the old philosophies was an act; and a way of life as an acting-together; and in acting together men have attitudes that make the consubstantial.19

Through Burkeian analysis, this study then answers the question: Did Winthrop Rockefeller's rhetorical vision exemplified through his unique identity as a Rockefeller make him consubstantial with Arkansans, and thus serve as a means for gaining political strength? All three theories, which are given more detailed descriptions as they are applied, are incorporated together to illustrate their relationship to the rhetoric of Rockefeller.

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18Bormann, p. 21.

Type of Data

Materials for the study include speeches, pamphlets, print and electronic media documents, interviews and books of or relating to Winthrop Rockefeller. An invaluable source of material was the Winthrop Rockefeller Manuscript Collection housed in the University of Arkansas—Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.

Plan

The organization of the remainder of this study is as follows:

Chapter II describes Winthrop Rockefeller's family background, education, personality, and speaking.

Chapter III deals with the political conditions in Arkansas as they were when Rockefeller moved into the state in 1953, through the years prior to his emergence as the Republican Party's gubernatorial candidate in 1964.

Chapter IV examines the link between Rockefeller's unique identity and his rhetorical vision as it developed in the first two campaigns and his first year in office.

Chapter V examines the link between Rockefeller's unique identity and his rhetorical vision as it emerged from his last two campaigns and last three years in office.

Chapter VI contains a synthesis and a general assessment of Rockefeller's effectiveness as a speaker.
Significance of the Study

The study is an extension of the biography by John Ward. Whereas Ward provides an historical account of Rockefeller's contributions to Arkansas, this study directs attention more specifically to the rhetoric of Rockefeller in an attempt to explain his phenomenal political rise in Arkansas from 1964-1971.

This study is justified because it will be the first and only complete study of the rhetoric of Winthrop Rockefeller. Through implementation of a collective methodology incorporating the theories of Bitzer, Bormann, and Burke, one can come to an understanding of the importance of Rockefeller, both as a progressive leader and an innovator of ideas.
Chapter II

WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER, THE MAN

United States Senator David Pryor of Arkansas recently stated, "Winthrop Rockefeller wanted to be wanted. He wanted to be needed. Not necessarily in the board rooms of Wall Street but in Arkansas. I think that was his greatest desire."¹ Perhaps Winthrop Rockefeller's need to be wanted is attributable to his earlier failures resulting from his apparent identity crisis. Born May 1, 1912, the fourth son of John D. Jr., and Abby Rockefeller, Winthrop failed to live up to the Rockefeller name throughout most of his life. In fact, until his rise to political power in Arkansas in 1966, "... the family thought he couldn't make it. They had given up on him as though he were the bad seed."² Peter Collier and David Horowitz note:

He became the 'black sheep' of the family. He wanted desperately (almost pathetically some family friends felt) to succeed on his father's terms. . . .

¹United States Senator David Pryor, "A Tribute to Winthrop Rockefeller," July 9, 1983. On tape in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.

It appeared that the only way Winthrop could distinguish himself was by failure.3

**Education and Personality Development**

**Winthrop's Uniqueness to the Family.** Winthrop Rockefeller was unique to the Rockefeller family. Alvin Moscow observes this phenomenon:

> From the outside it might look as though all five Rockefeller brothers were cast in the same mold of heredity and environment, but to Winthrop's mind it often seemed as though there were four brothers and himself. . . . No less love and concern had been lavished upon Winthrop by his parents than upon any of the others. Yet he had never been able to toe the line of his parents' strict Baptist, puritanical upbringing, not as his brothers could anyway.4

True, Winthrop was quite similar to his brothers--a "conservative, well-mannered Republican," but "he could not take hold of an event or opportunity and bend it to his purpose the way his brothers could."5 Even family friend and employee Tom Pyle notes, "They were all 'mister' to me except Winnie, who is of such different breed that it is impossible to observe the formalities with him."6

3 Collier and Horowitz, p. 219.  
5 Collier and Horowitz, p. 255.  
Consequences of Being a Rockefeller. An identity crisis commenced with Winthrop's realization that he was a part of the Rockefeller domain. The inheritance of the family name ordinarily an asset, came to be a liability for him. Joe Morris notes, "The Rockefellers always have their guard up against anyone who suggests that their name and wealth give them special privileges." Some family members felt the Rockefeller name was a curse. For example, Bobo Sears Rockefeller, the first wife of Winthrop, once recalled, "'If your name is Rockefeller, you don't have to prove you're rich. Strangers meeting you assume it. Indeed they often see you coming...'." Their father, too, understood the barriers caused by the name. According to Pyle, At times it has actually seemed as though the name has held one or two of them back from recognition their individual accomplishments merit. Their father always considered the Rockefeller name a social burden and a barrier to a real knowledge and friendship with people.

In fact, as Pyle continues, "Nothing pleased him [John D. Jr.] more than to pass unnoted and unrecognized, an accepted part of the ordinary scene."

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Pyle, p. 83.

Pyle, p. 83.
The Rockefeller name would be a political issue for Winthrop, especially in the 1964 gubernatorial race in Arkansas. For example, Orval Faubus attempted to make Rockefeller's name and wealth the major issue in the campaign. Faubus was reported to have said, "'It will be interesting to see if a poor boy can still beat a millionaire.'"\(^\text{11}\)

**Winthrop's Personal Battle with the Rockefeller Name.** The name was also a personal issue for Winthrop. Moscow believes that Rockefeller was torn "all his life between the high ideals and deep responsibilities of being a Rockefeller and a deep inner lack of confidence that he could measure up to those Rockefeller standards."\(^\text{12}\) This lack of confidence in himself was prevalent especially during Rockefeller's two terms as governor. Moscow continues noting:

> There were times of doubt, too, occasions when he wondered aloud whether he was really accomplishing very much in Arkansas, whether those accomplishments for whatever they were worth, would outlast his own years in office. \(\ldots\)\(^\text{13}\)

Footsie Britt, the Republican Lieutenant Governor during the Rockefeller years, recalls Winthrop's uncertainty about his own position in Arkansas. Rockefeller called Britt and a


\(^\text{12}\)Moscow, p. 289.

\(^\text{13}\)Moscow, p. 293.
friend to his home for a meeting in December, 1972, to seek assurance on his acceptance in the state and to confirm his positive work done as governor.  

Parents' Compensation through Training. To compensate for the problems inherent in the Rockefeller inheritance, John and Abby attempted to give their children training similar to that found in ordinary families. For example, what money was given them had to be earned. Nothing was free on the Rockefeller estate in Pocantico Hills, New York. As Pyle remembers:

They were all required to master small chores: cooking, gardening, sewing. . . . They were all raised with a strong sense of responsibility and a horror of waste and extravagance of any kind. They were taught in the good Baptist tradition of their grandfather, that fortune or no, they were expected to pay their passage on this earth. . . .

Jules Abels records that the children's training was "designed to preserve a continuity in attitudes toward life and responsibility." Such training was not limited to household chores but included keeping exact accounts in their ledgers, subject to inspection by their father, as well as

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15 Pyle, p. 83.

contributing tithes to charity. Such significant contributions made by Winthrop in his early career were to the National Urban League. A strong interest in racial equality was a family tradition. Winthrop was also interested in Hampton Institute, where he made it a practice to help students attending the black college. The contributions to racial equality continued throughout his life. For example, Manchester notes that

One of his first acts in Williamsburg (as Chairman of the Board, Williamsburg, Inc.) was the desegregation, with the concurrence of John D. III, of inns and restaurants there. In Arkansas the general superintendent of his farm is a Negro college graduate from Harlem.

John D. Jr.'s approach, which was by example, proved successful to him. As he once remarked, "I think this experience did a lot for my sons... They must learn neither to scorn nor fear the common man." Thus, as Moscow concludes, "This de-emphasis of the importance of money in achieving either friendship or success as they want it is inherent in the brothers' thinking..."

From their mother the children gained a sense of independence and understanding of humanity. It is believed

17 Abels, p. 341.
18 Morris, pp. 110-111.
19 Manchester, p. 54.
20 Manchester, pp. 140-141.
21 Moscow, p. 209.
that she was the major influence upon their lives, especially Winthrop's. Manchester states, "Abby's children are concerned about how little others have—they are dedicating their fortunes to giving them more—but they don't make remarks about it." 22 Moscow also notes the strong influence of Abby when he states, "It had been their mother who had leavened and enabled them to accept without outright rebellion the perfectionist and often rigid standards of their father." 23 According to Ward and Charles Allbright, Rockefeller attempted to live up to the expectations of his parents, but especially his mother. 24 Max Milam, a former Rockefeller aide, also notes, "... The audience he [Rockefeller] always played to was his family, not Arkansans." 25

Personalities of John D. Jr. and Abby Rockefeller. Definitely the parents differed in personality traits. John D. Jr. has been described as "a far more withdrawn and reserved man than his father ... one who found it difficult to show his feelings although they ran deep ..." 26

22 Manchester, pp. 140-141.

23 Moscow, p. 209.


25 Max Milam, "Governor Rockefeller and Governmental Reform," a paper presented at the Winthrop Symposium, July 9, 1983. On tape in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.

26 Pyle, p. 12.
Collier and Horowitz confirm Pyle's observation when they state, "Yet while Junior could be a conscientious father, it was hard for him to be an affectionate one. He was a character that rationed emotion carefully. The lack of sensitivity and emotion manifested itself in John's "impatience" and "condescension," an often sore spot for Winthrop.  

Abby Rockefeller, on the other hand, was "much more outgoing and at ease with people than her husband. . . .;" however, "she was nonetheless equally concerned with the discipline and deportment that seemed to be a guiding motif for the conduct of the family's lives." She has been described as "the center of real intimacy in the Rockefeller household."  

Winthrop's Sensitivity. Despite what appears to have been excellent training given him by his parents, Winthrop was either incapable or apathetic about meeting the set standards. Although he was considered by some as "the most likeable and the most easy-going of the Rockefellers," "his brothers sensed that he was the weak link in the family  

27 Collier and Horowitz, p. 256.  
28 Collier and Horowitz, p. 256.  
29 Pyle, p. 12.  
30 Collier and Horowitz, pp. 187-188.  
31 Pyle, p. 78.
and picked on him constantly, . . . ,"32 taking advantage of his "soft touch."33 A well-known letter from Abby to his brothers still exists. She found the brothers' ill treatment of Winthrop distressful and wrote saying "'Abuse only makes him angry and much worse, while for love and kind treatment he will do anything.'"34

Winthrop's sensitivity remained with him most of his life, for as Milam recalls, "Winthrop was a very emotional man . . . who was embarrassed by his own emotions. . . ."35 His capacity to empathize with others was overshadowed, however, by his extreme shyness, especially noticeable in his campaigning. According to Moscow,

He was fundamentally a very shy man. He could be friendly and outgoing with those he knew and yet embarrassed meeting strangers, shaking hands, smiling when he did not mean it, making the gestures important for a politician. Nor did he really enjoy making speeches, standing in front of large crowds, and trying to please them.36

His embarrassment forced him to hide his feelings as if "they were overlarge hands or some other clumsy defect."37

32 Collier and Horowitz, p. 190.
33 Collier and Horowitz, p. 219. See also Moscow, p. 128.
34 Abby Rockefeller quoted in Manchester, p. 52.
35 Milam, July 9, 1983.
36 Moscow, pp. 285-286.
37 Collier and Horowitz, p. 437.
Because he could feel for others, however, he was the most likely to employ a personal approach to a job or problem. . . . He is more likely to see and be interested in the human factors involved in any given situation and to look for a solution in terms of the individual.38

Rockefeller enjoyed having people from all "walks of life and their conversation" around him.39 But in Arkansas his sensitivity would again work against him in his quest for political power. As a "very human being, a sensitive man thoroughly benevolent," he simply lacked "the tough hide of the politicians."40 He also was exploited because of his benevolence. Moscow believes,

Winthrop was quite aware that some people did try to take advantage of his generosity and open nature. He considered that part of the price paid for being wealthy, for being a Rockefeller. . . . He helped people with money because he wanted to because he remembered how painful it was to be in need of money and not have it.41

Ferdinand Lundberg describes Winthrop in colder terms when he refers to the man as

the limper or the lame duck of the Rockefeller brothers. . . . Widely regarded as the shnook, shlemiel, and the shlepper of the family, by the Cousins as the black sheep, he developed this way quite by family accident. He is a difficult case for eugenists to account for.42

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38 Morris, p. 107.
39 Moscow, p. 283.
40 Moscow, p. 289.
41 Moscow, p. 284.
Specifically, Winthrop "was always in hot water of some sort, with failure to keep accurate accounts, his laissez-faire attitude in life," a flaw which caused him severe problems in his gubernatorial administration. The major problem was his failure to be organized. Although Rockefeller knew the importance of good organization, "his performance as an administrator fell short of his ideals." The Root of Winthrop's Problems. The root of Winthrop's problems is explained by Lundberg, who believes, "He was quite simply overwhelmed by his older brothers in childhood, with the parents' helpless to deflect the primitive undercurrents, noticed probably too late." He suggests that Winthrop's bad behavior was a means of gaining attention of his parents, for "sibling competition always appeared particularly fierce." The consequences were detrimental, because

Winthrop . . . was made to feel inept from the outset and was also given special protection by his parents, making matters worse all around. And he remained more or less inept the rest of his life, the odd man out, the fumbler.

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43 Pyle, p. 78.
44 John Ferguson, July 9, 1983.
45 Ferguson, p. 5.
46 Lundberg, p. 273.
47 Mowcow, p. 197.
48 Lundberg, p. 273.
Perhaps the childhood experiences were the cause of Rockefeller's inability to establish strong personal relationships. Ward explains:

He was a man really apart from everyone else, because he appeared incapable of maintaining a normal one-to-one relationship with anyone. He would not reveal himself. As a matter of fact, every person who knew him would offer an entirely different view of the man. No one ever saw the whole man. He would show one person this part and another that; but he never really let anyone see him fully as he was. He was a man apart in that sense, and people tended to keep him apart.49

Winthrop's Dislike of School. Rockefeller faced other problems in his childhood aside from his personal attacks at home. One in particular was his rebellion against school. He never was a good student. In fact, he "failed so completely that he had to be taken out of Lincoln and sent to Loomis."50 Lundberg notes, "Winthrop was about the farthest remove from being a reader."51 He was more interested in human beings than he was in books.52 What Winthrop did gain from school was the enjoyment of making friends and contentment from his industrious work outside the classroom. "He waited tables and cleaned rooms to make extra money . . . and he was picking up some change by cutting the hair of his classmates. . . ."53

49Ward, p. 77.
50Collier and Horowitz, p. 193.
51Lundberg, p. 379.
52Abels, p. 351.
53Manchester, p. 108.
His rebellious nature toward his studies continued through his short-lived college career at Yale. "About the only thing he felt he learned, when he surveyed his college career several years afterward, was to smoke and drink." He thought that he was getting very little for the price paid. To Winthrop, dating girls and having fun with his buddies was preferable to studying. Although he never earned a college degree, Rockefeller ironically received seven honorary doctorates during his years in Arkansas. Likewise, he advocated education as the number one concern of all Arkansans. He pushed for strong reform in education, claiming it would be the solution to many of the state's problems, especially industrialization. He spoke in favor of a well-rounded education for all.

Winthrop in Texas. When Winthrop dropped out of Yale, he headed for the oil fields of Texas, securing a job with Humble Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Rockefeller-owned Standard Oil Company. According to Pyle, Rockefeller had always liked Texas since his first visit there. "From his first long visit out there, the West caught and held Winnie. He came home excited and happy and full of

54 Collier and Horowitz, p. 220.
55 Moscow, p. 198.
56 See Appendix A.
stories. . . . He loved the great expanse of the land, the breezy comradeship he found in Texas."\(^{58}\)

His work in Texas was also appealing to him. He found "men at work with their hands and their minds, producing something real, something of value that you could see."\(^{59}\) He did not forget this feeling. One of his favorite activities while living at Winrock Farms was working with his hands. Moscow states:

What he liked to do best, of all his activities, was to dress in old work clothes and mosey about his land, pruning trees and weeding the manicured lawn, which separated his home from the edge of Petit Jean Mountain. . . . Working with his hands was a form of relaxation.\(^{60}\)

His experience in Texas forced him to grow up in a hurry. For one thing, an individual was not judged by his name, but how well he could ride and shoot,\(^{61}\) and he succeeded working as a roustabout, "boll weevil," apprentice driller, and rough-neck. He was so successful that his foreman later told him, "'You are one of the best goddamn hands I ever had,'"\(^{62}\) and promised Rockefeller a letter of recommendation.\(^{63}\)

\(^{58}\) Pyle, p. 123.
\(^{59}\) Moscow, pp. 198-199.
\(^{60}\) Moscow, p. 282.
\(^{61}\) Pyle, p. 123.
\(^{62}\) Moscow, pp. 199-200.
\(^{63}\) Morris, p. 112.
Winthrop's move to Texas was not welcomed at first by his co-workers, primarily because relations between labor and management were not pleasant. It was taken for granted by the labor groups that Rockefeller was management, "no matter what kind of job he undertook. . . ." Rockefeller discovered that this work was the most difficult way to earn seventy-five cents an hour, but he did come to be accepted by his co-workers. As he later told a reporter, "I pitched right in . . . and fit the language." His work in Texas was not unique to the Rockefeller family, however. (Perhaps to his brothers it was). "Seventy years earlier his grandfather had donned hip boots and toiled in the slime of Pennsylvania's oil regions." But Winthrop was the first Rockefeller of the third generation "to have worked for pay with his hands. . . ."

His service in Texas deepened his interest in human relations. For example, a co-worker invited him to dinner one night. Rockefeller recalls having to wait because there were not enough utensils for everyone. He was surprised by

64 Morris, p. 110.
65 Morris, p. 112.
66 Adkinson Interview, May 12, 1966. On tape in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
67 Manchester, p. 64.
68 Lundberg, p. 275.
the lack of planning. He was also exposed to the problems of racial strife, which according to Moscow, "would prepare the way for a life-long interest in the Urban League and civil rights." 70

Winthrop in the Army. Not only was Rockefeller tested in Texas, but also in the army, in which he served as "the only brother to make his way up to officer progressing through the ranks." 71 Rockefeller served in the 77th Division, the most respected since World War I. As the first draftee in the division, he was a celebrity. "The men there looked him over, questioned him, tested him and finally accepted him for the man he was." 72 Rockefeller's army career produced for him several honors, one of which was the Purple Heart. 73 He left the army with the rank of colonel, and pleasant memories. According to Ward, he came closer to knowing what he wanted in life in the army, however, one doesn't make a career of the military if one's name is Rockefeller. . . . He didn't find what he was looking for in New York's Cafe' Society; he didn't find it in cattle ranching; and he didn't find it is politics either. 74

69 Adkinson Interview, May 12, 1966.
70 Moscow, p. 200.
71 Collier and Horowitz, p. 227.
72 Mowcow, p. 220.
73 See Appendix A.
74 Ward, p. 81.
Post Army Failures. Although Rockefeller appeared to be heading in the right direction following his military service, he again met defeat in 1953 when he officially announced his separation from Bobo after five years of marriage. Rockefeller was active in the Cafe' Society, earning his "playboy" image, when he met Bobo. They were married February 14, 1948, but the marriage soon fell apart. According to Collier and Horowitz, the reaction of the brothers toward the separation and pending divorce was negative. They state:

They were all aware that he had made a fool of himself and disgraced the whole family. . . . There was no other conclusion to draw. For Winthrop himself, it was the climactic incident in his life, showing once and for all that there was no way for him to succeed in the fast-paced milieu of his father and brothers.  

Winthrop's Move to Arkansas. Rockefeller left New York and Bobo and moved to Arkansas upon a strong recommendation from his army buddy Frank Newell. Some believe that he chose Arkansas to "nurse his wounds," and to escape the bad press. (Rockefeller was always a subject for gossip. According to Pyle, "Because of his giant size and his differences from his brothers, Winnie was always fair game.

74 Ward, p. 81.
75 Collier and Horowitz, p. 257.
76 Manchester, p. 11
77 Personal Interview, John Ward, August 15, 1983.
for the gossip mongers."\(^{78}\) The six-million dollar divorce settlement was no exception to the case.)

Rockefeller, soon noted as Arkansas' "first royalty,"\(^ {79}\) became a celebrity overnight after his arrival in the state. Several leading magazines and newspapers reported his move. Specifically noting the massive estate atop Petit Jean Mountain, *Life* described it as a "1,000 acre estate, complete with six man-made lakes, air strip, fire station, animal hospital, and 450 Santa Gertrudis cattle."\(^ {80}\) According to Collier and Horowitz, Rockefeller invested a fortune into his farm, which became a tourist attraction for thousands of Arkansans.

Within a few years, Winrock Farms was the first wonder of Arkansas. It attracted over 50,000 visitors a year, most of them citizens . . . who came to gawk at all the marvels of the place, including a $31,000 bull named Rock.\(^ {81}\)

As Rockefeller invested millions in his farms, he simultaneously invested millions in the state. *Time* recorded:

> He proceeded to put his abundant money and energies into Arkansas' sad economic and cultural life. Among his personal and business achievements: a public school rejuvenation program in Morrilton, including a model elementary school and donations totaling $500,000 for the school district; a clinic

\(^{78}\)Pyle, p. 124.


\(^{80}\)"An Arkansas Anniversary," *Life* 55(September 6, 1963), p. 87. Actually Rockefeller bought 927 acres from Walter C. Hudson. The transaction was completed in the summer, 1953. See Adkinson Interview, May 21, 1966.

\(^{81}\)Collier and Horowitz, p. 258.
in poor Perry County; a campaign that raised
$700,000 for an arts center, a home building program
that includes Negro communities.82

He even bought an artmobile "to carry culture to the hills
and hollows of the Ozarks."83

Rockefeller liked Arkansas. As he told one reporter, "'What you do here shows up in a hurry. You can see the results.'"84 There were other reasons for his attraction to
Arkansas. Moscow notes:

He had had more than enough of his playboy days
of frustration in New York. He liked the people
here too. They reminded him of his happy days
in the Texas oil fields, people who were straight
forward, proud, close to the earth, men who worked
with their hands and brawn as much as with their
brains.85

Likewise, the people of the state were happy to have Rockefel-
ller. Lisenby states, "The very fact of Rockefeller's
'adoption' of Arkansas as his home became a matter of pride
to many Arkansans."86 Ironically, his political foe to be
in the 1964 gubernatorial race was glad to have a Rockefel-
ller living in the state. Collier and Horowitz record


83 Collier and Horowitz, p. 439.

84 Collier and Horowitz, pp. 257-258.

85 Moscow, p. 267.

the reaction of Orval Faubus to Rockefeller's move to
Arkansas. They state:

His arrival in Arkansas seemed a godsend. It was as
Orval Faubus had said at a conference of southern
governors when one of them asked how a person might
go about getting a Rockefeller for his state. "I
don't know," the governor replied, "but you keep
your cotton-pickin' fingers off mine."87

Many felt that Rockefeller would not settle in Arkansas, but
he did. His death from cancer on February 22, 1973, marked
nearly 20 years in the state.

Winthrop's Defeats in Arkansas. Although it was in
Arkansas that Rockefeller would assume an identity, find
comfort in being accepted, and meet a new companion (Mrs.
Jeannette Edris, whom he married in 1954), he would have to
continue to confront the burden of his name and wealth.
Additionally, Rockefeller would face defeats. One of the
most publicized criticisms, aside from his attempt at
politics, was his taste for alcohol. Some claim that "he
was alcoholic by the age 35."88 His drinking habit often
got in the way of work. According to printed accounts, he
appeared before the legislature "in a falling-down drunk
condition. . . ."89 Although Rockefeller seemed to have
control over his drinking spells, "demands upon his time
grew, frustrations became more frequent and his needs

87 Collier and Horowitz, p. 439.
88 Collier and Horowitz, p. 256.
89 Lundberg, p. 286. According to Ward and All-
bright, it was not true.
for relaxation through alcohol became greater. He became a cyclical drinker." \(^{90}\) "In fact, "his drinking became public knowledge, openly discussed, a good deal exaggerated, and a political albatross." \(^{91}\)

Despite the drawbacks, Rockefeller was happier in Arkansas than in New York. "Win paid a great price for it, [his move from New York] but he rebelled rather forcefully and went his own way. Without breaking completely, he attempted to start a whole new life for himself. . . ." \(^{92}\) A major reason for his contentment lay in the fact that "he was no longer forced into the role of Mr. Junior's ungainly, wastrel son. His natural warmth reappeared. . . ." \(^{93}\) The move to Arkansas began his success story.

**Winthrop's Speaking**

Because of Rockefeller's celebrity status, "he became perhaps the most talked about man in the state, the most sought-after speaker at conventions, dinners, fairs and schools. . . ." \(^{94}\) However, his speaking style was much

\(^{90}\) Moscow, p. 282.
\(^{91}\) Moscow, p. 290.
\(^{92}\) Collier and Horowitz, p. 548.
\(^{93}\) Collier and Horowitz, p. 437.
\(^{94}\) Moscow, p. 276.
different from what most Arkansans were accustomed. Ward explains:

Rockefeller did not possess any of the brashness Arkansans had come to expect in folks from the north. At least a measure of it would have served him well, many of his admirers sometimes thought as they sat and strained with him while he moved in his own way through a speech. His awkwardness, his shyness before a crowd never left him, even after countless appearances and campaign speeches.95

Ferguson notes also that "Rockefeller's personal mannerisms caused him to seem nervous and lacking in self-assurance."96 Tom Dearmore agrees, stating:

Rockefeller is not a natural politician. He is uncomfortable with the breed and with crowds, his speeches convey little warmth, and possess no strong personal appeal.97

Aside from his shyness, there were other problems which prevented Rockefeller from presenting himself at ease in public. He lacked any formal training in public speaking, but most importantly, Rockefeller, like his brother Nelson, had dyslexia which was often mistaken for a lack of intelligence or drunkenness.98 To compensate he would commit his speeches to memory in taped sessions with his speech writers. This process was effective because of Rockefeller's powerful memory. Moscow, writing of

95Ward, p. 37.
96Ferguson, p. 5.
Rockefeller's memory skills, states, "He could listen to an explanation of a complex subject, remember it and repeat it accurately months later and retain it longer." The length of the sessions, which were usually held late at night (Rockefeller was a night person), varied with the type and number of speeches to be given, but in either case, careful preparation was given to each. When forced to read from a manuscript, Rockefeller often fumbled; therefore, he usually delivered short, extemporaneous speeches.

The ideas in the speeches were Rockefeller's. As Allbright recalls, "Only his [Rockefeller's] ideas went into the speech." The addresses appear to be policy statements rather than speeches as such, lacking emotional appeal. Dearmore observes:

There is no attempt to employ emotionalism. Only when Rockefeller talks of inhumanity . . . does passion enter his voice. . . . The South's favorite demons go unbeaten, the flag unwaved, the pase unrevered. His main contribution has been a dramatic change of tone, an abrupt shutting off of hair raising appeals to the prejudice of the populace. . . .

The emphasis upon logical appeals is attributable to Rockefeller's personal belief in pragmaticism. He often

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99 Moscow, p. 283.
100 Personal Interview, John Ward, August 15, 1983.
102 Dearmore, p. 16.
had to pull back his speech writers from idealistic approaches. 103

Despite drawbacks, Rockefeller was heard. Moscow states, "On the campaign trail, he stumbled and bumbled as an amateur would and yet the honesty and sincerity of his convictions came through. . . ." 104 It was his unique delivery style that Arkansans found attractive. Margaret Kolb, a Baptist leader in the state, remembers Rockefeller in this way:

They had been used to the polished oratorical Southern Democrat type of politician, and it was very refreshing to have a very wealthy man, big in stature, and yet not a good speaker, getting up in front of a crowd. This psychologically appealed, especially to women. They all wanted to mother him. 105

Winthrop's Personal Appearance

Additional assets which Rockefeller possessed were his physical appearance and personality. Dearmore notes, "Rockefeller speaks poorly, but arrives grandly, and his physical appearance is a prime campaign asset." 106 Rockefeller's physical appearance is best described by Time which stated:

If he hardly sounded to the Ozarks born, Rockefeller had long since looked the part, from fancy cowboy boots . . . to Western style hat. . . . Even with a

103 Personal Interview, Charles Allbright, January 12, 1984.
104 Moscow, p. 287.
105 Margaret Kolb quoted in John Ward, p. 37.
106 Dearmore, p. 15.
dinner jacket, he wears riding boots. His embon-point bulging over his belt, his thinning gray hair straggly in the back, his broad smile displaying teeth molted by two packs of unfiltered Picayunes a day, Rockefeller is every inch the hillbillionaire.107

Summary

Although Rockefeller was born into the wealthiest family in America, with the opportunity of receiving the best education at home and in schools, he rebelled. Known to his family as a failure, Rockefeller appeared to have little hope to overcome that image resulting from his disappointing performance at home, at Yale, his "playboy" activities in the Cafe' Society, and his well-publicized divorce from Bobo Sears Rockefeller. Rockefeller wanted to be among the working class doing as it did, not in New York with the social elite. His first opportunity to move away, which was to Texas, convinced him of his yearning even more, and it was no surprise that he chose to live in Arkansas in 1953 after his separation from Bobo. It was in Arkansas that Rockefeller found happiness for himself, doing for Arkansas what he could not do for New York.

His early experiences significantly affected his personality traits. Remembered by others as a very shy man, awkward in front of crowds, he was not a good speaker. However, these disadvantages worked in his favor on the campaign trail because he was the atypical Arkansan.

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS
IN ARKANSAS, 1953-1964

Rockefeller moved to a state which appeared to be stagnant in terms of growth, both socio-economically and politically. *Time* described Arkansas in these terms:

A part of the world that had gone no place since the Civil War, the directionless road of a vaudevillian fame was far more apt as a symbol of Arkansas' dead-end economic and political condition than as a sampling of Ozark humor. For all its majestic forests and fertile bottom lands, its bountiful natural resources and the Mississippi on its eastern frontier, the state remained for long decades a kind of limboland. . . . In the eyes of the world it seemed aimlessly insular, obdurately independent--and comically backward. . . .

Several factors contributed to the poor conditions of Arkansas that Rockefeller found in 1953. To understand the reaction of Arkansans to Rockefeller, it would be well to examine the socio-economic and political conditions of the state at the time of his arrival through 1964, the year of his candidacy for governor of the state. Lloyd F. Bitzer's situational theory is best suited to explain those conditions.

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Lloyd Bitzer's Situational Theory

According to Bitzer, it is understanding the situation that helps critics appreciate the importance of the rhetorical act. Bitzer states:

So controlling is situation that we should consider it the very ground of rhetorical activity, whether that activity is primitive and productive of a simple utterance or artistic and productive of the Gettysburg Address.2

Bitzer further explains the meaning of rhetorical situation. He defines it as:

a natural context of persons, events, objects, relations, and an exigence which strongly invites utterance; this invited utterance participates naturally in the situation, is in many instances necessary to the completion of the situational activity, and by means of its participation with situation obtains the meaning and its rhetorical character.3

Bitzer emphasizes, too, that

the speaker's intentions were determined by the situation. One cannot say that the rhetorical transaction is simply a response of the speaker to the demands or expectations of an audience, for the expectations of the audience.4

Focus will turn now to a detailed discussion of the three elements discussed in Chapter One: exigence, audience, and constraints. Bitzer makes clear his definition of exigence when he states:

3 Bitzer, p. 5.
4 Bitzer, p. 12.
Any exigence is an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be. In almost any sort of context, there will be numerous exigences, but not all are elements of a rhetorical situation—not all are rhetorical exigences. An exigence which cannot be modified is not rhetorical... In any rhetorical situation there will be at least one controlling exigence which functions as the organizing principle; it specifies the audience to be addressed and the change to be effected.5

Discussion of exigence as well as constraints will shed light about the audience, which Bitzer views as distinguished from a body of mere hearers or readers; properly speaking a rhetorical audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change.6

The Controlling Exigence

The controlling exigence was the lack of a two-party system. To understand the role of the one-party system in Arkansas, discussion will turn to Richard E. Yates, who explains the basis of the state's political attitudes. One primary factor in viewing politics in Arkansas is the presence of geographical differences. According to Yates, the geographic sections of the state differ in politics and government, although not so significantly today as in the nineteenth century. There are two major sections of the state. Yate explains:

5 Bitzer, pp. 6-7.
6 Bitzer, p. 8.
A diagonal line, drawn from the northeastern to the southwestern corner and running through Little Rock, divides the state into two sections which possess distinctive geographic, demographic, economic, and social characteristics. This sectional division has persisted in strength for more than a hundred years, and despite the accelerating changes of the mid-twentieth century, it is still relevant to any consideration of Arkansas politics.7

Yates continues describing in detail the distinctive characteristics of the northern and southern sections. The northern section is

a region less favorable to large-scale agriculture, though even here along the river bottoms the plantation economy of the east has thrust long but narrow fingers into the interior. The great bulk of the western section, however, is hilly and mountainous. The farms are smaller and the economy is more varied. Milk, poultry, fruit, and cattle are the chief agricultural products. Into this section, especially since the mid 1940s, many light industries have moved. Economic change has been especially pronounced in the northwestern corner of the state.8

The southern section, according to Yates,

retains, in great measure, its distinctive plantation qualities. Large landholdings, some running into thousands of acres, continue to dominate the economy. Negroes, though reduced in numbers, still heavily populate this part of the state. In five counties bordering the Mississippi, they constitute more than 50 percent of the population and the conservative's states' rights political philosophy appears to retain its greatest strength in the southeastern section.9

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8Yates, p. 234.

9Yates, p. 234.
Most of the citizens in Arkansas belonged to the Democratic party; however, there were a few Republicans. According to Ferguson, "Outside the Ozarks and downtown Little Rock, Republicans were virtually unknown."¹⁰ Both Ferguson and Yates provide explanations for the presence of the one-party system in the state. Yates states:

After the disfranchisement of the Negro during the period 1890-1910, the Republican Party became a hopeless and despairing minority. It retained considerable strength in a few mountainous counties, occasionally electing county officials and from time to time electing a legislator or two. But in statewide elections, it had been overwhelmingly defeated so many times that by the 1940s it had almost ceased to fight. It maintained state, district, and county organizations, and it routinely nominated candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, thus retaining its status as a political party and its minority-party representation on state and county election boards. . . . As a viable element in Arkansas politics, the Republican Party had only a nominal existence.¹¹

Ferguson adds to Yates' account. He suggests reasons for the downfall of the party:

. . . [W]e had disposed of our only period of Republican party dominance with a ragged little civil conflict called the Brooks-Baxter War of 1874. Traditionally, the Grand Ole Party was associated in the popular mind with armed Yankees, free blacks and the "Hoover Depression." As late as 1936 Democratic party speakers were still asserting that the only use we had for Republicans was to pick our cotton. . . .¹²

Alexander Heard offers other reasons for the presence of the one-party system. He cites three justifications for the persistent existence of the Democratic Party:

¹⁰Ferguson, pp. 1-2.
¹¹Yates, p. 246.
¹²Ferguson, pp. 1-2.
Table 1

ARKANSAS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1952-1964

Yates, p. 268.
First, it originated in the purpose of excluding Negroes from effective political action, and indirectly from economic and social opportunity. If the system can no longer do those things, or if southerners no longer deserve it to do them, an obstacle to change is removed, though change is not compelled. Second, the system has benefited some southerners more than others. If it ceased to serve those people in state politics or in national politics they would have incentives to change it. Third, the system has operated in an economic and social context that has nourished its survival. Fundamental changes in that context might force changes in the system.13

Arkansas is traditionally Democratic. As V. O. Key notes, "Perhaps in Arkansas we have the one-party system in its most unveiled and undiluted form . . . .,"14 the effect being that "social and economic issues of significance to the people have lain ignored in the confusion and paralysis of disorganized factional politics."15 Jack Bass and Walter DeVries agree, stating, "... [T]raditional voting habits remain an important clue in predicting voter behavior. No state has been more traditionally Democratic than Arkansas."16 The historians provide examples to explain their point:


15Key, pp. 183-184.

Table 2

Republican Vote in Arkansas in Presidential and Gubernatorial Elections, 1932–1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Republican Vote for President</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Vote</th>
<th>Republican Vote for Governor</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Vote</th>
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<td>13</td>
<td>19,713</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13,121</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1936</td>
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<td>11,974</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>68,555</td>
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<td>184,508</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>129,921</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yates, p. 269.
The state voted Democratic in every presidential election until 1968, when George Wallace won with a plurality, and never voted for a Republican presidential candidate until the Nixon landslide in 1972. This is a record of Democratic allegiance unmatched by any other state.17

Rockefeller felt that the one-party system "was the principle roadblock to progress."18 He was convinced that the majority of problems facing the state were "attributable to the lack of a competitive two-party system."19 The major problem areas lay in racial conditions, education, and economic conditions.

According to Ward, prior to Rockefeller's move to Arkansas blacks "were not only not encouraged to talk with white leaders as equals, they most often never had the opportunity to talk with these whites at all."20 Ward continues, stating that Winthrop Rockefeller found blacks "treated with a special kind of 'tolerance' that was as unequal as it was seemingly gentle."21 This negative feeling toward the black man was manifested in the 1957 Little Rock Crisis. According to Lisenby,

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17 Bass and DeVries, p. 87.


20 Ward, p. 159.

21 Ward, p. 159.
The emerging positive image of Arkansas which Rockefeller was helping to fashion was, of course, overshadowed by the 'bad press' resulting from the Little Rock integration crisis of 1957. When Governor Orval Faubus defied a federal court order requiring integration at Central High School, thus provoking intervention by the Eisenhower administration, Little Rock became a world-wide symbol of racism.22

To the rest of the nation, Arkansas had become "the symbol of mob violence and racial hatred."23

Additional Exigences

A second important exigence the state faced was unemployment. Moscow claims the economy was the worst of all its problems. He states:

22Lisenby, pp. 5-6. See also Lisenby, "A Survey of Arkansas' Image Problem," The Arkansas Historical Quarterly 30 (Spring-Winter, 1971), 60-82.

Arkansas as a poor state had every kind of problem imaginable, in education, health, and a host of other areas, but its foremost problem was economic. From a southern cotton economy, it had shifted to soybean and rice farming and then, hit by the technological revolution in agriculture after the Second World War, farm laborers were laid off their jobs and found no place to go for work except outside of Arkansas. More than 400,000 residents had been forced to emigrate in search of work since the end of the war.24

Bass and DeVries amplify Moscow's findings when they state:

Poverty that was more severe among whites than in any state wore down the spirit of protest. Thus it was that Winthrop Rockefeller, a scion of all that Wall Street represented, found a "mass inferiority complex."25

Ferguson compares Arkansas of that time to "a commonwealth which is even today sometimes compared with Third World countries."26

Arkansas, the smallest state west of the Mississippi, had an estimated population of 1,909,511 in 1950; however, by 1960, the figure dropped approximately 6.2 percent, recording only 1,786,272,27 just a slight increase from 1957, when the state's population was 1,733,000.28 The cause of the apparent immigration was a lack of jobs. The

24Moscow, p. 274.
25Bass an DeVries, p. 89.
26Ferguson, p. 2
27Yates, p. 239.
two largest groups to immigrate were the blacks and college graduates of both races. Aside from agricultural work, only one third of those employed worked in non-agricultural positions.

The third exigence, the state's educational system, was not in much better condition than employment. Arkansas consistently ranked at the bottom along with the average income. For example, in 1960 the median school years of those 25 and over was 8.9; the national average was 10.6. There were only 60,000 who had completed one to three years of college and only 46,000 who had completed four or more years in higher education. Other exigences surfaced after the 1964 campaign was under-way.

Although Rockefeller blamed the one-party system for these three significant problems, the causes was more complex. The cause, which can be considered the fourth exigence as well as a constraint, originated with the New South Myth. According to William J. Cash, the South wanted to deny any problems inherent in the system since the Civil War. Cash explains:

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29 Yates, p. 239.

30 United States Bureau of the Census, pp. 11, 16.


32 United States Bureau of the Census, pp. 113-114.
The result is that the body of the South has inevitably been confirmed in complacency and illusion. In large part, efforts to call attention to the problems which exist have been treated not only as an unnecessary attempt at trouble-making but as a gross afront to the section. And often the active leaders have been the first to assert it.33

Paul Gaston's findings concur. He reveals the sentiments of the South as expressed by an Arkansas Senator, John E. Miller, who stated in the 1930s: "The South needed to be left alone, not ridiculed."34

The New South Myth, which according to some historians still exists, "has been more devastating than any previous assault."35 As Cash notes:

Violence, intolerance, aversion and suspicion toward new ideas, an incapacity for analysis, an inclination to act from feeling rather than from thought, an exaggerated individualism and a too narrow concept of social responsibility, attachment to fictions and false values, above all too great attachment to racial values and a tendency to justify cruelty and injustice in the name of those values, sentimentality and a lack of realism--those have been its characteristic vices in the past. And, despite changes for the better, they remain its characteristic vices today.36

Although Arkansas lies in the peripheral border of the South, it, too, was guilty of clinging to the New South Myth. As Lisenby notes, most Arkansans were quite defensive of their state. He states:


35Gaston, p. 236.

Some defenders of Arkansas expressed downright hostility to critics—especially those considered to be outsiders, including Arkansas residents not born in the state. Not only did these spirited boosters refute the critic's attacks, but they asserted that Arkansas was superior to its sister commonwealths. Other boosters have been more temperate in dealing with criticism, recognizing that deficiencies exist—for example, in the poor tax support for education—but predicting that such problems will be solved and praising the state for its variety of riches—such as fresh air, fresh water, forest lands, and good soil.37

Such actual factors contributing to Arkansans' defensive posture, which in turn pinpoint the cause of the state's negative image, include "Thomas W. Jackson's On a Slow Train Through Arkansas," "supposedly representative Arkansans as Lum and Abner," "jokes about 'barefoot and Arkies'" and the diatribes of critics like H. L. Mencken."38 Lisenby feels that these factors "have prompted over the years, many of whom not only refuted why they perceived to be distorted statements about the state, but also pointed out its economic and cultural assets."39 When Rockefeller emerged as the candidate for the Republican Party, Faubus took advantage of the defensive posture of the state, attacking all of Rockefeller's policies on grounds that he was an outsider.40

37Lisenby, p. 1.
38Lisenby, p. 1.
39Lisenby, p. 1
40See for example, speeches by Rockefeller made during the 1964 campaign. On tape and manuscript in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
Constraints

Basically, the concern for improved race relations was dependent upon the attitudes inherent in those people from the two distinct sections of the state. Recalling that the majority of blacks live in the southern section, Yates observes:

Since Negroes are an important element in the eastern area, the dominant whites there have thought they had a strong interest in the political suppression and the economic exploitation of the black race. Political leadership in the east, therefore, has moved vigorously to use the power of state government and party organizations to achieve desired ends in this field of activity.41

The same cannot be said, however, of those living in the northern section. Yates concludes:

The hill people have not liked or desired to protect the Negroes; but since so few are in their midst, the whites of the west and northwest look upon these enterprises in social discrimination with only a mild interest.42

With feelings of indifference in the northern section and feelings of exploitation in the southern section, blacks had little hope of gaining recognition. Thus, as Key concludes overall:

Arkansas—a state with comparatively few Negroes, about one person in four—has no inexorable law that drives many of its political leaders to cap their careers by hysteria on the race question. ...43

41 Yates, p. 236.
42 Yates, p. 236.
43 Key, p. 183.
These attitudes expressed on such issues as race are, in Bitzer's terms, the third element of the rhetorical situation--the constraints. Bitzer describes constraints as "made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence." Such specific examples of constraints are: beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives and the like; and when the orator enters the situation, his discourse not only harnesses constraints given by situation but provides additional important constraints, his logical proof, and his style.

Rockefeller's Initial Efforts

Rockefeller felt that the emergence of a two-party system would alleviate the problems and bring the state forward. He set out to develop a "party for two parties," which in disguise was none other than a campaign for the establishment of the Republican Party in Arkansas. At this time Rockefeller had no intentions of campaigning for any political office.

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44 Bitzer, p. 8.
45 Bitzer, p. 8.
46 Ward, pp. 15-16. "Under the guise of a new name we had been able to bring out Independents and many Democrats who are disgruntled with the present situation."
47 According to Jeanette Rockefeller, Winthrop's second wife, he did not want to run nor did he want to be governor. See Ward, p. 9.
The early campaign was not easy. Ward describes the Republican Party prior to Rockefeller's involvement in the late 1950's. He states:

... [T]he Republican Party was truthfully about five old men who sat on a porch until there was a Republican President and then held out their hands for some patronage.48

Ward also notes that Rockefeller was an unwelcome sight in the Republican camp. He says:

When Rockefeller began his move to revitalize the Republican party, as both he and Mrs. Rockefeller had predicted, he was not welcomed with open arms by all the party faithful. There were lost of party functionaries who had worked out a comfortable way to "live with" the Democrats in their home counties; and functionaries and hierarchy alike enjoyed carving up the patronage pie whenever a Republican administration took up residence in Washington.49

Rockefeller's efforts, however, appeared to be successful. In 1961 he was named the national committeeman for the Republican Party in Arkansas. The following year the Republicans ran 150 candidates, the most in the state's history. Life, commenting on the success of the party's efforts, reported, "Many observers think that some time in this decade Arkansas will have its first Republican governor since 1874--and they are betting Rockefeller will be the man."50

48Ward, p. 16.
49Ward, p. 9.
Not only did Rockefeller seek to reactivate the Republican Party, but he also accepted a governmental post in the Faubus administration, which advanced his efforts for Republicanism within the state. Rockefeller was named head of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, the first of its kind in the South.\(^5\) As one reporter recalled:

In 1955, Faubus, figuring a Rockefeller would be quite an attraction for new business, picked Win to be chairman of the newly created Arkansas Industrial Development Commission. It was probably the best move Faubus has made as Governor.\(^2\)

Rockefeller was so successful in his post as chairman that Faubus eventually felt threatened. As Time noted, "... [H]e has perhaps done too well at helping Arkansas redeem itself from poverty. For Democrat Faubus is now trying to oust Republican Rockefeller from the A.I.D.C. chairmanship."\(^3\) Rockefeller eventually did resign that position and declared his candidacy for governor. "By 1964 Rockefeller believed that he could no longer postpone his entry into politics."\(^4\)

\(^5\)The AIDC was formed in 1955 by ACT 404.
\(^2\)"Can We Win?" Time 84(October 16, 1964), p. 38.
\(^3\)"The Squire of Petit Jean," Time 81(March 8, 1963), p. 27.
\(^4\)Dillard p. 230. His resignation was effective March 28, 1964. See also Ward and Adkinson interview, May 21, 1966, on tape in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
Ward recalls Rockefeller's true reasons for his involvement in politics:

Early in the 1960s he had begun to chafe at the way things were in Arkansas, politically and economically. And the "Party for Two Parties" was only the first shot in what would be a regular salvo, day by day and week by week, against the status quo.55

Winthrop Rockefeller once stated, "'I became involved as a candidate because of the two-party thrust.'"56 Moscow notes that Rockefeller's involvement was inevitable:

Probably there was no escaping it, given the circumstances of Winthrop's unique position in Arkansas, his acceptance by the public, his recognition and popularity and given his own compulsion to live up to his family name and to what was appropriate and expected of him.57

Rockefeller had little chance of winning because of two constraints that he himself brought into the situation. The most important factor, aside from the fact that he was an "outsider" and a Rockefeller, was his political affiliation. According to Moscow,

. . .[T]here were no Republicans in Arkansas, certainly none that counted, and if Winthrop insisted on being a Republican, then he was cutting himself off from a huge area of influence in the state. [George Reynolds and Frank Newell] suggested that if he could not declare himself a Democrat he could run for office . . . as an independent.58

55Ward, p. 16.
56Rockefeller quoted in Ward, p. 16.
57Moscow, pp. 185-187.
58Moscow, p. 280.
The second factor was his personal nature. Again, Moscow notes, "Personally he did not want to campaign for or to hold public office. . . . It ran counter to his fundamental shyness. . . .," but as Moscow continues, "The arguments were sound. If he truly intended to establish the Republican Party in Arkansas, he himself would have to run for governor in 1964." 59

Summary

Application of Bitzer's situational theory reveals that the controlling exigence, the lack of a two-party system, was the direct cause of other exigences such as poor racial conditions marked by the Little Rock Crisis, poor educational standards, and poor economic growth.

Interrelated within the rhetorical situation were the audience composition and constraints. Most employed Arkansans were poor white farmers (exceptions being those in the southern section of the state, where the majority of blacks lived), Democratic, uneducated beyond the ninth grade, prejudiced against blacks, and resentful of outsiders, especially northerners.

Although Rockefeller was regarded with respect in the state, he faced constraints as a political candidate. Barriers included his political affiliation, name, wealth, and his shy personality.

59 Moscow, p. 287.
Chapter IV

IDENTIFICATION AND POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS:
THE RHETORICAL VISION OF WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER
1964-1967

According to Lloyd Bitzer, "... the second characteristic of the rhetorical situation is that it invites a fitting response, a response that fits the situation."¹ To determine if Rockefeller's response was fitting, i.e., if his rhetoric met the political constraints of the situation, the focus of this chapter is to examine the applied theories of Ernest Bormann and Kenneth Burke, who suggest analyzing rhetoric in dramtistic terms. Bormann's theory of fantasy theme analysis is incorporated into Burke's terms of order considered dramatistically which in turn gives insight into Rockefeller's rhetorical vision as it emerged from the political conditions in Arkansas, 1964-1967. Such an approach also explains why the vision chained out and was sustained in the minds of Arkansans, thus illustrating Rockefeller's use of consubstantiality or identification.

Bormann's Fantasy Theme Analysis

The theory of fantasy theme and rhetorical vision developed by Bormann can be considered the most useful means

¹Bitzer, p. 10.
of discovering what the message of a speaker really means.

The development of rhetorical visions is explained by Bormann:

A small group of people with similar individual psychodynamics meet to discuss a common preoccupation or problem. A member dramatizes a theme that catches the group and causes it to chain out because it hits a common psychodynamic chord or hidden agenda item on their common difficulties vis-a-vis the natural environment, the socio-political systems, or the economic structure. The group grows excited, involved, more dramas chain out to create a common symbolic reality filled with heroes and villains. If the group's fantasy themes contain motives to "go public" and gain converts to their position they often begin artistically to create messages for the mass media for public speeches and so forth. When they need to develop a message for a specific context they often find themselves shaping the drama that excited them in their original discussions into a suitable form for a different public.2

The term chaining out refers to the process by which messages are transferred from member to member within a group. From the small group the fantasy themes are chained into the public's mind where, if sustained, they form a rhetorical vision. Bormann continues:

Some of the dramas of their public rhetoric now catch members of the audience in the situation. . . . Those so transported take up the dramas in small groups of acquaintances, and some of these derivative dramas again chain out as fantasy themes in the new groups; thus, the rhetorical vision is propagated to a larger public until a rhetorical movement emerges.3

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3 Bormann, p. 19.
Bormann explains also the content of the fantasy themes, i. e., what does it reveal about attitudes, values and beliefs of particular groups? Bormann states:

The content consists of characters, real or fictitious, playing out a dramatic situation in a setting removed in time and space from the here-and-now transaction of the group. (The "here-and-now," a concept borrowed from the sensitivity and encounter group practice, refers to what is immediately happening in the group. Thus a recollection of something that happened to the group in the past or a dream of what the group might do in the future could be considered a fantasy theme.)

For purposes of this study, a good explanation of fantasy theme analysis is given by Richard Jensen, Robert Schrag, and Janice Shuetz. The rhetorical vision would be the party platform and the planks of the platform would be the fantasy themes. More specifically,

When politicians run for office they talk about the ways in which they feel government should function. The relationship between what should and what comes to be after the election is rarely a direct one. The vision is the should, and usually implies the dream that the should will become reality.

There are particular items that a critic should examine when exploring fantasy themes of the rhetorical vision. Bormann succinctly lists the points to be considered:

The critic begins by collecting evidence related to the manifest content of the communication, using video or audiotapes, manuscripts, recollections of participants, or his own direct observations. He

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4Bormann, p. 19.

discovers and describes the narrative and dramatic incidents he can look for patterns of characterizations (do the same people keep cropping up as villains?) of dramatic situations and actions (are the same stories repeated?) and of setting (where is the sacred ground and where the profane?). The critic must then creatively reconstruct the rhetorical vision from the representative fantasy chains much as a scholar would delineate a school of drama on the basis of a number of different plays.6

After the rhetorical vision is defined, Bormann suggests a series of questions to be answered. Who are the dramatis persona? . . . . Who are the heroes and the villains? How concrete and detailed are the characterizations? Motives attributed? How are the members of the rhetorical community characterized? For what are the insiders praised, the outsiders or enemies castigated? . . . .

Where are the dramas set? . . . . What are the typical scenarios? . . . . What meanings are inherent in the dramas? . . . . How does the movement fit into the scheme of history? . . . .7

**Fantasy Themes**

**Origins of the Rhetorical Vision: The 1964 Campaign**

Winthrop Rockefeller's rhetorical vision solidified in 1966 after two years of campaigning. The vision culminated in his inaugural address delivered January 10, 1967:

> I ask you to join me in pledging to work— as no men have— so that Arkansas may enter into a new Era of Excellence . . . to launch a far-reaching quest for quality in which we shall no longer be content merely to exult in our potential, or measure our progress in comparison with our past.8

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6 Bormann, p. 21.

7 Bormann, p. 22.

8 Inaugural Address, January 10, 1967.
The words, "new Era of Excellence," labeled the rhetorical vision, thus illustrating a characteristic often found in detecting visions. Bormann explains:

Often the emergence of a rhetorical vision is indexed by the term new. Such labels as "New South," the "New Deal," and the "New Left" are shorthand ways of referring to rhetorical visions which have emerged clearly enough so people can refer to them and understand the basic elements of the vision when they are so characterized. As a new vision takes shape interested observers will often discuss and debate the meaning of a label. The rhetoric surrounding a new label when a vision is emerging is often couched in definitional terms but the real question at issue is essentially the character of the rhetorical vision indicated by the terms.9

The phrase, "Era of Excellence," was coined by Tom Downie, an attorney for Rockefeller. According to Ward,

We were talking about themes on the way to Palm Springs, California, after Win had been elected the first time. We were all going to contribute ideas to the inaugural speech. When Downie uttered the phrase, we all seized on it. It held up well, and survives even now.10

The particular fantasy themes which comprised the rhetorical vision may be classified as "modal society fantasy themes," a term borrowed from Donald Shields. He defines them as

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8 Inaugural Address, January 10, 1967.


fantasy themes so intrinsic to our society that they exist as a general pattern among individuals stemming from long standing values, public dreams, and rhetorical visions.11

The fantasy themes originated in Rockefeller's initial efforts to establish a Republican Party in Arkansas. Claiming that most of the state's problems were due in part to a one-party rule, Rockefeller visited over 75 counties to determine exactly what those problems were as perceived by native Arkansans. On his first visit to Winthrop, Arkansas, in early May, 1964, specific problems in education, welfare, roads, state government, and election day itself were the most often mentioned. These concerns became the set themes in his campaign.12

Cast into a scenario of conspiracy drama, Rockefeller sought to defeat members of Orval Faubus' administration who led the way for dominance of one-party control. According to Cragan, a conspiracy plot line in fantasy theme analysis is described as having three predictable lines or motives for the super-hero: "(1) piecing together the

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12 "WR Set Theme for Campaign in Visits to All 75 Counties," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, November 1, 1964.
conspiracy; villains; (2) uncovering the secret plans of the secret hideouts of the villains; and (3) punishing the conspirator." These motives are discussed later in relation to Burke's terms of order. In Rockefeller's plan to overturn Faubus and his administration, he capitalized upon several major fantasy themes which were emphasized in his inaugural address:

I am confident that through programs which will be presented for your consideration we can achieve many good things: better government, better schools, better roads, more and better jobs . . . an improved standard of living for Arkansas.\textsuperscript{14}

Assuming the persona of a Moses figure, Rockefeller sought to bring Arkansans into the promised land. Convinced that the people of the state were held captive by the one-party system, Rockefeller vowed to end the corrupt practices of the "King Faubus" administration. Placing the one-party rule in victimage, Rockefeller subtly used Faubus as his scapegoat to blame for the problems inherent in the state and thus to escalate the need for change:

I have been fully aware of the frustrations and the obstacles that are hampering the even greater growth of our good state because we are denied much, in that we are the victims of a one-party political philosophy of government. We need but look to our


\textsuperscript{14} Inaugural Address, January 10, 1967.
sister states that are enjoying a more appropriate share of the good things of life to realize that these states are experiencing greater growth and vigor in large measure because they enjoy the benefits of a two-party system.15

As the campaign continued, Rockefeller's image of the political conditions became more focused, pinpointing specific harms resulting from the one-party rule. In so doing, he projected himself as the super-hero in the conspiracy plot line. Cragan defines a super-hero as

> a character of such moral stature that he can defeat the conspiracy. He is usually a man who has dedicated his life to the careful study of the villain and over the years has developed the ability to spot the few available signs of the evil one—signs that the average person could easily overlook.16

The persona which surfaced in the rhetorical vision was quite unlike the persona Rockefeller was reputed to be. In fact, Rockefeller's style of language was stronger than his delivery skills.17

The Evils of the Villain. There were several evils of the one-party rule in Arkansas. One in particular was the harm done to industry. Rockefeller was seriously concerned about the potential of industrial growth. As he spoke of this concern, he simultaneously projected the villainous image of Faubus:

> We have created in the State of Arkansas for the past ten years a political climate that has an aspect where I marvel that industry continues to

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16 Cragan, p. 70.

17 See Chapter Two, "Winthrop's Speaking," to draw comparisons and contrasts of his delivery technique and his language usage.
"The case against a sixth term" is more than a campaign slogan. Eternal control of government by any one man—even a good man—is a real threat to the freedom of individuals and to the quality of government. In 6 terms—yes, even in 5 terms—of the same leadership, government gets lax and wasteful of your taxes.

- The Arkansas Constitution provides 6-year terms for members of most of our boards and commissions.
- It was never anticipated that a Governor would serve over 2 terms, and thereby control all boards with his own appointees.
- Some members of each board were to have been appointed by this governor and some by the next so that no governor could control every board.
- Governor Faubus in the past 9½ years has appointed every single member of every board and commission... he's been governor for 3½ years longer than most board members' terms.
- Governor Faubus thus controls every board and commission, and the people have NO control.
- Win Rockefeller says, "I will not accept a third consecutive term (as Governor) under any circumstances."

For the good of Arkansas... for constitutional government...

Win with Win Rockefeller for Governor

Courtesy of the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections. Rockefeller depicted Faubus as a tyrannical king who gained power through his length of stay in public office.
come here. People are looking at the state of Arkansas now as that second only to Louisiana under the rule of Huey Long.18

Because Faubus was the leader of the Democratic Party, he soon was cast into the mold of villain, regarded by Rockefeller as a dictator. Later references by Rockefeller depicted Faubus as a tyrannical king who gained power through his length of stay in public office. Rockefeller's marvel at the arrival of industry was stated to imply a futuristic vision of Arkansas devoid of new industry since his resignation from the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, whose tenure under the Faubus Administration brought into the state 600 new industries and approximately 100,000 new jobs. The implication intended was that without Rockefeller, the state would return to the deplorable economic conditions that he discovered in 1953. However, with Rockefeller and the emergence of the two-party system, political conditions would enhance industry. Rockefeller promised the voters that

When I am your governor, I will assure you that the political climate in the state of Arkansas is going to be a political climate where people will be proud and will be anxious to come with their industry.19

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18El Dorado Speech, September 14, 1964. This speech was representative in style and content of Rockefeller's campaign speeches in 1964.

19Television Address, October 14, 1964.
His promise suggested quite clearly his role as leader of the Republican Party who planned to gather his people and bring them into the "Land of Opportunity." 20

To reinforce his evil image of Faubus and the connection to the one-party rule, Rockefeller attempted to equate the one-party system with anti-American attitudes. Suggesting that the persistent existence of the one-party system would be seriously detrimental, he stated:

> We realized the importance of a Two-Party System because a Two-party System is . . . an expression of the American tradition of competition. It is carrying the American tradition of competition and free enterprise into government and that is one of the healthiest and most stimulating phases of our American system. It is the competitive system. 21

Thus, with Rockefeller's dream Arkansas would become the epitome of American democracy.

Not only did Rockefeller attack the Democratic Party for its failure to provide diversification, and therefore not uphold American values, but he also attacked the party on the grounds that it had helped its leaders create a political machine which had become the nucleus of Arkansas' problems. Rockefeller declared:

> It is time for the government to be given back to the people. While I have been traveling, shaking hands with and talking with people on the Court House Square, until recently, my opponent was going from smokey room to smokey room in County Court House after County Court House in secret meetings greasing and oiling machines. 22

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20 "Land of Opportunity, " is the state's slogan, adopted in 1963.


WR Campainer, 1964, on file in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections. Rockefeller accused Faubus of threatening state employees.
The image associated with the political machine was to be frequently used throughout the 1964 campaign. Although the root of Arkansas' problems was the lack of a two-party system, Rockefeller needed a tangible source to blame. His strategy was to project the negative attitudes of the one-party rule into Faubus, who represented the culmination of its evils. The tactic became successful for Rockefeller, especially when using such visions of secrecy in government which connoted to Arkansans' feelings of "hate, fear, cynicism, greed and arrogance," in government.23

Poor Educational Standards. Aside from industry, Rockefeller cited other problems or evils facing the state. The most pressing, according to him, was the poor educational system. Rockefeller felt that education was related to everything, especially to industry. In his treatise on the subject, he wrote:

Every improvement we have made as a state, so far, and every improvement we can hope to make is directly related to the quality of education we provide. . . .

Our future--economic and otherwise--depends upon our educational program. There is plenty of evidence to prove that a state in an educational boom is also a state in an economic boom. One is vital to the other . . . . Arkansas cannot continue to grow industrially without better schools.24

23Address, October 26, 1964.

24Winthrop Rockefeller, Arkansas Education Today... and Tomorrow. Rockefeller MSS Collection, University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections, Little Rock, Arkansas.
The sense of urgency for improved school conditions, aside from his dream of a two-party state, became Rockefeller's dominant campaign issue followed by industry. In citing the major problems of the educational system, Rockefeller noted these things:

> Our school system is not well integrated and well organized in the sense of being able to make the most of the tax dollar for each of our children in the schools. We must plan and we must have leadership.25

**Secondary Concerns.** There were other problems which Rockefeller brought to the attention of Arkansans. For example, he was concerned about the state's welfare program. Rockefeller accused Faubus of threatening welfare recipients by claiming that because their money was a personal grant from Faubus, Rockefeller, if elected, would stop their checks or reduce the amount given them. For example, Rockefeller said of his concern:

> . . . [W]elfare in these great and prosperous United States to me is a challenge for us to show our appreciation to our senior citizens and to those of us who are less fortunate. It is my intention as your governor to remove welfare from politics and to face with sympathy and understanding and dignity the problems of these people.26

The impact of this claim was reinforced by making Faubus appear to be insensitive to those in need.

The welfare recipients were not the only ones threatened. Rockefeller described the dim picture of fear:


Businessmen are threatened with reprisals if they don't support the administration. Every citizen of Arkansas who can be pressured, either directly or indirectly, is threatened or warned.

Those state employes [sic] who have dared to openly disagree are all gone. Conscientious legislators who have opposed the administration have found themselves and their constituents intimidated and neglected. And those who are in a position to profit financially from the state Administration are constantly reminded of their good fortune, sure to continue only as long as nothing changes.27

Additional problems were gambling in Hot Springs, corrupt practices at the voting polls, and poor road and highway systems.

Defense of Hero-Image. Rockefeller not only had to develop strategically his persuasive message for his political philosophy, but also had to defend his credibility against the strong personal attacks of Orval Faubus. Faubus forced Rockefeller to spend much time refuting attacks on his wealth, personal habits, family lineage, and, of course, his political affiliations with the Republican Party and the National Urban League. In creating the negative image of Rockefeller as an outsider coming to Arkansas to integrate the races, Faubus attempted to solidify the myths of the "New South." Such attacks against Rockefeller were predicted prior to the campaign. Karl Shannon, an editorialist for the Arkansas Democrat wrote:

WR Campaigner, 1964, on file in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections. Faubus' praise of Rockefeller's work as Chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission worked against him in the 1964 campaign.
Although Winthrop Rockefeller is now "one of us" by his own claims and those who know him, the other side of the coin will come into full view during the hard-fought campaign. He perhaps will be referred to as an "outsider" by his opponent. The opposition may try to turn his wealth from an asset to a liability. He may be slurred, his character may be attacked. There may be reflections upon his habits, past and present. As the campaign reaches white heat, there may be little regard for truth.28

Approximately one week later, after Shannon's predictions were printed, Faubus declared his candidacy for governor and the personal attacks against Rockefeller commenced. As the campaign progressed, the attacks increased in number and severity. For example, Time reported:

Faubus, plainly worried, has attacked Rockefeller as a carpetbagger, conjured up pitiful images of a poor country boy running against the Rockefeller millions, seen to it that everyone has been reminded frequently of Rockefeller's sensational 1954 divorce and the subsequent $6,000,000 settlement with his first wife, Bobo.29

One exemplary statement by Faubus to illustrate the image he desired Arkansans to adopt of Rockefeller is as follows:

How could Mr. Rockefeller understand our problems as well as me? He never needed medical attention and couldn't afford it. He never needed a hospital room and couldn't pay. He never slept out because he had not money for fare. Never ate chili because he couldn't afford steak. Never longed for Christmas toys that could not be obtained. Never was cold because he lacked warm clothes. He has never had any problem like ours in all his life.30

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29 Clipping, untitled, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, October 9, 1964.

30 Clipping, untitled, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, October 9, 1964.
Faubus even attempted to draw the link between Rockefeller and the price of coal set by his grandfather in 1910. Other attacks were upon Rockefeller's personal habits. For example, "The governor chided Rockefeller for the whiskey he brought with him when he moved to Arkansas in 1953." He also attacked Rockefeller for trips to New York to get a haircut. On this subject Faubus was reported to have said, "'He uses that $1 million jet to fly back to New York to get his haircuts. . . . Now if you people had the barbers help me, we'll give him a good Arkansas trim on November 3.'" As Ferguson points out, "Governor Orval Faubus was not unaware of the residual prejudices of rural populism. . . ." Rockefeller felt the need to respond to Faubus' innuendoes. To battle the constraints created by Faubus, Rockefeller refuted with these words:

Frankly, I cannot see that it is important for us to discuss the price of coal in 1910, in 1964 when we have our future ahead. I cannot see that it is important to discuss whether I eat chili or not. I do not see that it is necessary for me to ride a railroad freight car from here to the west coast when there are problems in Arkansas to be dealt with in the highway department. I have pointed out to my opponent that my experience . . . of six years in the infantry, three years in the oil fields in Texas have qualified me and proved that I have gotten along well and happily with my fellow man. That I

31"Faubus Again Hits Personal Affairs of His Opponent," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, October 20, 1964.

32"Faubus Again Hits Personal Affairs of His Opponent," October 20, 1964.

33Ferguson, p. 2.
have not suffered for want does not disqualify me from recognizing need when I see it. . . . This campaign of smears, slander and tears I do not believe is the campaign for the future of Arkansas.34

This speech was the first indication of Rockefeller's mounting anger stemming from his opponent's verbal attacks. Rockefeller apparently wanted to avoid defending his wealth and wished to concentrate on the issues. In fact, he was cautioned about what type of campaign to consider. Lisenby notes:

Rockefeller was warned of the disadvantages of being an outsider active in politics. One supporter cautioned Rockefeller to avoid giving any indication that he was a transplanted New Yorker, another suggested that he avoid "too slick" a Madison Avenue type of campaign.35

Faubus, of course, countered Rockefeller's attacks by asserting that despite what good programs Rockefeller might have for the state, he would not be successful in implementing them because of the solid Democratic legislature, which members opposed Rockefeller's rhetorical vision. Furthermore, Faubus indicted Rockefeller's programs on counts of vagueness and use of studies rather than specific solutions. Faubus stated:

I'm not saying enough has been done. I want Arkansas to keep on advancing. . . . but I don't need to

34El Dorado Speech, September 14, 1964.
35Lisenby, p. 7.
make studies to know our problems because I've grown up with them.36

Faubus further strengthened his identity with Arkansans, making it more difficult for Rockefeller to demonstrate qualities of the super-hero capable of defeating the one-party rule. In fact, Faubus' basic strategy in the campaign was to rely on myths of the Old and New South through personal attacks on Rockefeller. Faubus rarely dealt with future plans for the state.

Rockefeller's response to Faubus in regard to the potential friction with the legislature was the beginning of a new complimentary fantasy theme to the emergence of the two-party system. Rockefeller envisioned harmony in working relationships for the betterment of Arkansas. He believed:

It seems to me that the people of the state of Arkansas are awakening to the fact that we need not buffoons in our legislature but serious men who are considering the needs and the aspirations of the people in the state. The majority of these people who are serving you and serving you loyally in the legislature I feel will work cooperatively and happily with me because we will have jointly and together a plan for the future and growth of Arkansas.37

As for vagueness in his proposals, Rockefeller stated:

I can't formulate a program without facts. You have to have one to do the other. Once I am governor, I


AS A CITIZEN OF ARKANSAS, WIN ROCKEFELLER HAS SPREAD HIS EFFECTIVE INTEREST IN PEOPLE TO EVERY CORNER OF THE STATE.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: Rockefeller's 8 successful years (55-64) as chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission brought great accomplishments: 600 new factories; 90,000 new jobs; $270 million more in annual payroll; better wages; per capita income up 50%.

EDUCATION: Rockefeller has created Student Aid Funds at 4 Arkansas colleges; 40 scholarships a year through the Arkansas Opportunity Fund; grant to Arkansas Foundation of Associated Colleges and scholarship awards through the Rockwell Foundation; established Morrilton District Enrichment Fund; helped to establish the Arkansas Graduate Institute of Technology.

HEALTH & MEDICINE: Aided state health studies through U of Arkansas School of Medicine; equipped & sustained Perry County Rural Health Clinic; served as fund chairman for National Association for Mental Health.

ARTS: Helped establish Arkansas Arts Center and the Artmobile.

HOUSING: Established through Winrock Enterprises a division for constructing homes in low-price range.

AGRICULTURE: Operates Winrock Farms, world-famous for cattle breeding, crop, and veterinary programs.

FOR MORE good things for Arkansas...

WIN with WIN ROCKEFELLER for GOVERNOR.
will have the facts presented me and the details will be supplied. Right now I have set attainable goals we can reach.  

Reinforcements for the Hero-Image. In spite of Faubus' projected negative images of Rockefeller as an intruder into the state to do harm, Rockefeller continued spreading his message of hope for a better Arkansas, entering each new town with a reputation for good work. US News and World Report noted, "Winthrop Rockefeller has gained stature, identity, and reputation for sobriety and public service in Arkansas." Faubus even awarded Rockefeller a certificate of merit for his excellent work as Chairman of the A.I.D.C., an act he regretted in the campaign, for it was thought that

It will be difficult for Faubus to undo all this--to convince the voters that Rockefeller is a Yankee intruder who came to Arkansas as a playboy and has remained primarily to integrate the races.

Additional reinforcements were Rockefeller's "Statement of Beliefs," a document listing Rockefeller's basic values which would "benefit every citizen of Arkansas..."  

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38 "Rockefeller Irked by Faubus Charge, Calls It a 'Flat Lie'," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, October 18, 1964.  
41 "Statement of Beliefs," WR Campaigner, 1964. See Appendix B.
The Old Pro is Finally "Stumped"

OH WELL—STUMP SPEAKING IS OLD FASHIONED ANYWAY!

RIGHT, GOVERNOR—AND MAY I SUGGEST THAT YOU FINISH THE CAMPAIGN FROM AN AIR CONDITIONED TV STUDIO.

Courtesy of the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
According to Ward, "This declaration of sixteen principles proved the most successful campaign document Rockefeller distributed through all the campaigns, and it may have been the most widely circulated campaign document in Arkansas political history." One of the beliefs that Rockefeller emphasized was his promise not to run nor hold office for more than two terms.

Election Results. Rockefeller fared well in the campaign, earning 44 percent of the vote. Although he knew the first run would not put him in the governor's mansion, he felt that the progress made would serve as a stronger foundation for the 1966 campaign and hope for his vision to take root. Basic reasons for his loss were, according to the New Republic, "[Faubus'] organization, the Democratic label, control of the courthouse rings who supervise the vote count, and of most of the state's big money that is not in one or another of Rockefeller's bank accounts."

1965

According to Time, Rockefeller "never stopped running between elections, averaging two speeches a week

\[42\]Ward, p. 39.
\[43\]Ward, p. 21.
before the next formal campaign started." The fantasy themes in his rhetoric began to take more definite shape as he continued campaigning. Basically, Rockefeller still pushed for a visionary two-party system as the foundation of his platform; however, he attempted to provide a stronger justification for adoption of the Republican Party by making promises easily attainable. In a speech delivered on May 12, 1965, Rockefeller expressed his hope for the future of Arkansas, stating:

We can have an Arkansas which by 1980 can furnish employment for everyone who wants an opportunity to earn a decent living.

We can have an Arkansas with a per capita income even with or above the national average.

We can have an Arkansas that makes the most of changes in the coming decade . . . while preserving and enhancing at the same time the Arkansas that we all love.

These goals can be reached by 1980 . . . . But we must be visionary. . . . We must be creative. . . . We must be persistent.46

The Deliverance of the Two-Party System. The basis, of course, for a progressive Arkansas was the deliverance of the Republican Party. However, Rockefeller did not take for granted that Arkansans were aware of the stability of the party's presence in the state. He, therefore, expanded his discussion of the party to illustrate its growth as related to its potential. For example, he noted generally the contributions that the party had made:


46Address to the Newport Chamber of Commerce, May 12, 1965.
I know that most citizens of Arkansas--who are not incumbent Democratic officeholders or their cronies--agree that the GOP has made a significant, lasting and vastly beneficial contribution to Arkansas government.

Whether we ever won an election or not, the existence of a responsible second party that is not confined by a straight-jacket label has been a much-needed reinforcement for the principles of democracy in Arkansas . . . the two-party system of government that is synonymous with Democracy.47

In praising the worth of the party, Rockefeller, too, demonstrated its strength, thus equating additional good traits to himself as its leader, capable of bringing reform through defeat of the Democratic nominee.

Earlier that year Rockefeller expressed his delight in the results of the 1964 election, viewing them not as a sign of defeat, but rather as a start for his vision. According to Rockefeller,

The two-party system has really arrived in Arkansas. It was so firmly established by the 1964 General Election that it is certain to be a significant political force in every election in the future. . . All of you had a part in our last election, whether you voted or stayed at home . . . and the astonishingly large number of people who did vote represent the best proof I know of the values of the two-party system . . . [It] will be a meaningful, listened to, effective voice in the Arkansas politics from now on.48

In almost every speech made in 1965, both in and out of the state, Rockefeller devoted some time to discussion of the emerging Republican Party in Arkansas. For example, he referred to the party as "a party that can not only survive

47 Address to the Alabama Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, Birmingham, Alabama, July 29, 1965.

48 Address, January 6, 1965.
'I'm Aimin' to Bring Him In!'
but grow stronger in these days of shifting alliances and changing emphases." On another occasion he subtly implied that the Republican Party was the party of the future. He stated, "... [A] mature Republican party will present a healthy cross section of political viewpoint and will take a positive attitude toward the problems that must be solved." To corroborate his hope, Rockefeller relied upon empirical evidence to substantiate the solidification of the two-party system. Recalling the success of the party's returns in the 1964 election, Rockefeller then concluded that the two-party system was desirable. He further reiterated what he expressed in 1964 as the reasons for change, giving meaning to the "here-and-now:"

The people want a two-party system because of unrest created by the ever-darkening shadow of machine rule. In that shadow is fear, given life and then spread by the administration. State employees are told their jobs will be gone if I am elected. Welfare recipients are told their checks will stop or be cut back. Businessmen are threatened with reprisals if they don't support the administration. Every citizen of Arkansas who can be pressured, either directly or indirectly, is threatened or warned.51

49 Address to Vanderbilt University, March 4, 1965.

50 Address to the Alabama Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, July 29, 1965.

Evils of the Villian. To give impact to his accusations of Faubus, Rockefeller emphasized the problems Arkansans faced in 1965 just as he had done in 1964; however, he provided much more detail, not only in the description of the problem, but also in the detail of his solutions. The basic reason for the problems was, of course, a "lack of leadership," which resulted in poor administrative functions, bad planning in economic development and poor budget control. These three problem areas, according to Rockefeller, manifested themselves in harming job security, education, tourism, industry and the like.

Poor Administrative Functions. For example, Rockefeller specifically noted problems in administrative functions:

We have a set-up that is scattered all over everywhere with a lot of duplication between agencies. In fact, we have agencies that ought to be abolished. On the point of duplication, it is sufficient to tell you that each of our state agencies maintains its own accounting and data processing systems and generally arranges for offices services such as communications, reproduction, office equipment, maintenance and so on. This is ridiculous, and this duplication is wasting a great deal of money.

The duplication is not limited to state agencies, unfortunately. Many of the duties and functions of the treasurer, auditor, secretary of state and land commissioner are in the same category. Rockefeller, therefore, concluded that "our state's business is not being properly run, is not keeping pace with the times and as compared with other states or the national

52 Address, January 6, 1965.
53 Address, January 6, 1965.
average, is slipping further and further behind in many ways." 54

Poor Economic Development. On the subject of poor economic development, Rockefeller cited the decrease in population due to the absence of employment opportunities. He confirmed:

For one thing, I am certain all of us are concerned that thousands of Arkansans have moved because the opportunity for employment was lacking. Those other states do offer advantages that Arkansas cannot offer. . . . At least that is the reason given for moving. . . . 54

Rockefeller also attacked the Faubus Administration for neglect in preparing provisions for human and natural resources, stating:

I see an absence of cooperative development and forward-looking programs . . . and I see random developments . . . a haphazard approach that indicates a lack for a program of planned development that is tailored to the natural resources of Arkansas. I am fearful . . . and I know you share this fear with me . . . that Arkansas at this time may be selling out her future by not preparing for it. 55

Poor Budget Control. The third problem area in efficiency was budget control. Rockefeller blamed the administration's use of old-fashioned methods for producing only waste of the taxpayer's money. According to Rockefeller,

54 Address, January 6, 1965.

55 Address, January 6, 1965.
The primary purpose of overall budget control is defeated by the method used in our state government at present. In addition, many agencies have the discretion to charge expenditures against the budget or a cash fund, depending upon the availability of unbudgeted versus unbudgeted cash funds. This practice must stop. It is my conviction, and one I know you share. That every cent of taxpayer's money that is spent ought to be accounted for to those citizens who are taxes for the revenue in the first place.

These accusations by Rockefeller coupled with his previous attacks on the corrupt practices of Faubus enlarged the villainous image and reinforced Rockefeller's perspective of the harms caused by one-party rule.

**Education and Industry.** In addition to these fundamental areas of harm within the administrative wing of government, Rockefeller stressed even more importantly the issues of industry and education and spoke of their importance to the overall development of an individual. He believed that

"In all the hubbub of meeting the strange, swiftly changing challenges of our world, we must somehow return to the business of educating the whole man, the well-rounded man, the man who is prepared for his role even though that role may be hypothetical, or unknown, for much of his lifetime. Whether we view our educational system from a lofty academic perch, or whether we look at it from the most mundane of viewpoints, we must face the reality that it urgently needs more flexibility and versatility."
Rockefeller's concept presented that day was his clearest description of his educational philosophy. He concluded the speech by saying, "The great goal and challenge is to constantly re-evaluate and continuously adapt our educational system to produce the Harmonious Man." Rockefeller also stressed the relationship between education and industry. He once stated, the 'industrialist has long ago learned that the quality of education has a direct effect on the quality of his industry. . . ." Furthermore, he said, "I'm talking about the constant search by industry for a 'quality environment.' This environment is a direct product of education." He concluded his idea stating that "a high quality environment in a community will assure a happy union between that community and top industry . . . and it is the community's responsibility to take the first step."

Regional Development. To solve such problems in education and industry, Rockefeller envisioned the concept of regional development. The idea was correlated to his

60 Address to the Community Forum of St. James School, Texarkana, Arkansas, May 19, 1965.
Rockefeller blamed Faubus and the one-party system for the problems facing Arkansans.
vision of harmonious relationships with all Arkansans, including the legislature, in working together for a better Arkansas. The major concept of regional planning was to allow people of a particular area with common interests and common problems an opportunity to meet. The particular regions could devise for themselves with help from a centralized agency the best course of action to follow in planning and development. This course of action was preferable to a solely centralized form of study group. According to Rockefeller,

Frankly, I am somewhat skeptical about the chances of success of planning and development studies which are made by one group but are to be executed by an altogether different group. Local leaders certainly should participate in the studies that are of direct concern to them. Experts should be utilized from outside the area to expand and concentrate the understanding of the lay leaders. And I believe that the state's responsibility to regional development councils is to provide the overview and the technical competence to achieve these goals through regional development.62

Rockefeller summarized succinctly the tasks which lay ahead for each individual willing to help in bringing about a better Arkansas:

Several overall programs must be developed. One is needed to bring more money into Arkansas. This means we have to attract more industry, more tourists, and more matched federal grants-in-aid. And we must devise creative new programs to serve the Arkansas people and the nation.

Another program must be developed to keep more Arkansans at home. This means we must start new industries, more business, spend more for recreation in Arkansas, process more Arkansas.

We need a program to get more results for our money. Such a program calls for greater reliance on local leadership. . . .63

Such a proposal would "lead to development that utilizes fully the capacities of local leadership."64 The plan also would put a sense of responsibility upon those who shared his vision. As he told one audience,

Now I believe that the public has in mind these high goals. I believe our aspirations are excellent . . . and I have found in the people of Arkansas a spirit of cooperativeness and the necessary vision and ambition to make regional development work.65

If regional development were implemented Rockefeller sensed that Arkansans would achieve much and therefore would prove the potential he thought the state and its people possessed. However, Rockefeller was concerned about the role of responsibility each citizen had to take in order to meet the goals. The way to implement these proposals was, of course, through the defeat of the one-party rule and the rise of the two-party system, the emergence of the Republican Party and the election of Winthrop Rockefeller as governor. Rockefeller guaranteed his constituents that he would bring reform to the state if elected. Reflecting his attitude of service, his motive for seeking office, Rockefeller promised:

63 Address to the Newport Chamber of Commerce, May 12, 1965.
64 Address to the Newport Chamber of Commerce, May 12, 1965.
65 Address to the Newport Chamber of Commerce, May 12, 1965.
I will use the office of governor for one purpose only—to stimulate and guide Arkansas toward statewide improvements in education, jobs, roads, and in fulfilling our other unmet needs.66

The 1966 Campaign

Although a new candidate emerged from the Democratic Party in the 1966 campaign (Orval Faubus decided not to seek re-election), the issues which Rockefeller addressed in 1964 and in 1965 remained virtually the same. Justice Jim Johnson, the Democratic hopeful, was to Rockefeller one of the "Old Guards" of Faubus' political machine, and he treated him accordingly. In other words, Rockefeller assigned him the same traits of the villain as he had done with Faubus. Johnson, of course, claimed to be "controlled by no man and . . . obligated to no one other than the hard working, sincere and dedicated people of Arkansas."67

The Racial Issue. Rockefeller blasted Johnson for not campaigning on legitimate issues. In fact, the only issue of importance that Johnson thought to deal with was race. Most of his efforts were concentrated on attacking Rockefeller's name, wealth, and personal habits, a very similar strategy to Orval Faubus'.

Johnson took pride in his racial attitudes. He stated that he was a segregationist and declared:

66 Address to the Newport Chamber of Commerce, May 12, 1965.
I do not apologize for being a segregationist . . . . I would not tolerate the sordid spectacles that you have witnessed in Watts, California, Cleveland, Ohio, Chicago, Illinois, New York City, and in various degrees in practically every state where the chief executive is an integrationist. It is not the function of government to create integrationist or segregationist society—people of good-will will solve their problems.68

Rockefeller gave his position:

I was so shocked in 1957, at the events at Little Rock Central High School . . . and we have come forward from that day. But I think you must agree with me that there are still problems, that there are still so-called leaders who would pit one group of citizens against another in order to gain personal benefit from the conflict.

There is discrimination in employment, in health, in housing, in the professions and in opportunities for the individual to make full use of latent ability.69

Race, ironically, really was not an issue in the 1964 campaign, although Rockefeller did address the problem in his "Statement of Beliefs." However, with the thought of Faubus running for a seventh term, Rockefeller recognized the need to incorporate the issue into his campaign after he discovered that Faubus had received 84 percent of the black vote in 1964.70 Fortunately, for the Rockefeller camp, Jim Johnson did not campaign for the black vote; thus, it was a significant asset to Rockefeller's win in 1966. As one newspaper reported,


69 Address to the Stephens School Patrons at Dunbar Community Center, March 7, 1966.

Jim Johnson's statement during the Democratic primary, 'I'm not campaigning amongst the colored people,' created a void that was to haunt him in the general election campaign with Winthrop Rockefeller. The Rockefeller forces welcomed the opportunity to cultivate the state's Negro voters—and no amount of back-peddling by the Johnson forces could win the Democratic nominee any sizable support among the Negro community. . . .

The Rockefeller forces campaigned among the Negroes with as little fanfare as possible to avoid stirring up a backlash among the white electorate. Local Negro leaders were sought out and asked to direct the campaigning, and white officials kept in the background.71

Defense of the Hero-Image. As in the 1964 campaign, Rockefeller was subjected to harsh personal attacks from his opponent. He predicted that Johnson's campaign would be quite similar to Faubus'. According to a newspaper report,

Two years ago, he was kept busy answering 41 different lies instead of devoting his time to the issues . . . He was skeptical that it would be much different this year with Jim Johnson as his Democratic opponent, but he promised to try to stay with the issues.72

Rockefeller's skepticism was justified. Johnson not only attacked Rockefeller's personal life but also members of Rockefeller's family. At that point Rockefeller spoke out against Johnson.

Johnson called Rockefeller a series of names, some of which were delivered on television. For example, he referred to Rockefeller as the "prissy sissy," the "Santa

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Rockefeller forces saturated Negro neighborhoods with cartoons like these.


One way Rockefeller sought the black vote was to publicize Johnson's segregationist views.
Gertrudis steer, "the Madison Avenue Cowboy," "the anointed one," "this clever manipulator," and "King Winthrop the First." Of these attacks, the most offensive and most defeating to Johnson in the polls was referring to Rockefeller as the "prissy sissy." Now that Arkansans had accepted Rockefeller as one of the fold and were proud that he had adopted their state, such name-calling was viewed in bad taste. A typical Rockefeller response to Johnson directly is given below:

He [Johnson] started out calling me a prissy sissy and the fascinating thing to me is that he has yet to meet the prissy sissy on the same platform and answer questions . . . . When it comes to the microphone, it's Win Rockefeller who gets up and talks to the people.

Establishment of the Two-Party System. Because Johnson expressed stereotyped attitudes representative of Arkansas' politicians, especially since the Little Rock Crisis, Rockefeller continued with the same themes of progress and reform associated with his 1964 campaign. In a speech delivered in January of 1966, Rockefeller again repeated his reason for running for governor, which was to establish a permanent two-party system in Arkansas. Rockefeller announced:

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73 Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, September 17, 1966.
74 Interview, John Ward, August 15, 1983.
75 Little Rock Rally Campaign Speech, November 4, 1966. On tape in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
I have found the desire for a two-party system of government growing stronger than ever, in my travels about the state since the election. The people have had a taste of the great progress possible and the rejection of their interests that exists in a two-party state.76

Rockefeller also continued to illustrate the growing strength of the party, almost suggesting a bandwagon appeal for voters to join or at least vote for the two-party system. One such example of his attempt follows:

Our success is obvious. New and dynamic people are joining us in every county . . . our party in Arkansas has developed a genuine broad base. It is solid--built on good substantial citizens . . . people determined to have constructive change in Arkansas, and working hard for it.77

The hope of such a vision was dominant in his thinking because he realized the great potential of the state. Noting the assets of Arkansas, Rockefeller stated:

Arkansas is abundantly blessed. We have more good things to work with more good things to achieve, than any of our neighbors. We can, with sound programs, administered by men of leadership and integrity, become the envy of the South and, I say to you, the entire nation.78

He emphasized that the success of the two-party system in the state was to be the standard for the nation in the development of the Republican Party. He said, "Arkansas is


77 Statement on Filing for Governor, January 11, 1966.

78 Address to the Annual Convention of the Young Republican League of Arkansas, Hot Springs, April 23, 1966.
becoming a national example for a developing two-party system. The eyes of America are on Arkansas in 1966." He then cautioned his audience saying, "This imposes a tremendous obligation on us. If we fail, two-party government will suffer a great setback." On a different occasion he stated:

In a large measure, we are testing tradition in Arkansas. We are attempting to overturn a century of domination by one political party. We seek to substitute in its place a legitimate two-party system of government.

Rockefeller even noted that Democrats were switching over to the Republican Party in the campaign:

Moreover, a number of well-known Democratic officeholders have switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party. Other well-known people, previously identified as Democrats, have changed and are actively working for us. People, generally are far less timid about openly espousing our candidates than they were, even two years ago. These are hopeful signs. They are signs that 1966 could be a Republican year.

The GOP in 1966 fielded 520 candidates, "more Republicans than have run in all Arkansas elections combined since Reconstruction," and elected 163. The Republican Party

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79 Election Eve Address, November 7, 1966.
80 Address to the Annual Convention of the Young Republican League of Arkansas, Hot Springs, April 23, 1966.
81 Address to the Annual Convention of the Young Republican League of Arkansas, Hot Springs, April 23, 1966.
was successful in part due to the new organization, "Democrats for Rockefeller," whose members were disgruntled with the Democratic Party.  

In this campaign Rockefeller attempted to make the Republican Party not only synonymous with progress but also with excellence. Giving his audience a choice between mediocrity and excellence, he told them:

You will come to many forks in the road. One way will be the road of excellence. Don't take the wrong road. In politics, all shortcuts lead to mediocrity.

The implication given was that the recent administration under the one-party rule sought only mediocrity; therefore, it was an administration which precluded progress. In fact, for any reforms made under the Faubus administration, Rockefeller qualified their existence:

Significantly, the reforms which have been accomplished have been in spite of, not because of, the Governor and his inner circle came into play at all, it was in the direction of diluting these reforms.

Rockefeller also recaptured the theme of honesty in government through the two-party system. He stated:

Once people get used to honest government they will keep it. . . . The problem has grown and magnified in Arkansas the past 100 years under one party.

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84 Ward, pp. 125-126.

85 Address to the Annual Convention of the Young Republican League of Arkansas, Hot Springs, April 23, 1966.

86 Address to the Annual Convention of the Young Republican League of Arkansas, Hot Springs, April 23, 1966.
But there is every evidence this year that people want a change. 87

He had previously addressed this point when speaking of the Republican Party as the party of the future because of its inviting trust:

Trouble develops only when government seeks to play politics with the trust that the people have placed in it. That's been the pattern of the past in Arkansas, but it will not be the pattern of our future. 88

Rockefeller, too, noted that the two-party system was the better alternative "for a great state and a people who deserve much better government than they have had in over a decade." 89

By the end of the campaign in 1966 Rockefeller had come to believe that the Republican Party was in Arkansas to stay. However, to show fully the benefits of the party's presence, his election was necessary. As he stated, "This system will never be a reality until the Republican Party has the opportunity to demonstrate its responsible leadership. . . . Together, we can build a better Arkansas." 90 He continued his plea demanding that the two-party system have a stake in the future of Arkansas:

89 Statement on Filing for Governor, January 11, 1966.
We must have a two-party system. It's at stake in this election. . . .

Hundreds of thousands of Republicans, Independents and Democrats are joined in this fight for a two-party system. They are working of the election of Winthrop Rockefeller, it's true.

But they are working for another reason. These citizens are working because they believe that better government is the product of a two-party system.

They want a real change in government . . . to something better.91

After his election in November, Rockefeller joyfully declared:

I am convinced that this is truly a victory of the people, and I am thrilled that you have said to the rest of the nation, 'Yes, we want a two-party system of government in Arkansas.'92

Working in Harmony. In demanding the change to a two-party state Rockefeller was aware of objections to his being elected on grounds that he would not be effective with an all Democratic legislature, an issue he already had dealt with in the 1964 campaign. To respond he stated, "Ninety percent of those seeking office are motivated by the same principle that I am. They are for the state first and the party second."93 His election provided him that optimism,

91Statement in Conjunction with the Formal Opening of His Campaign for Governor, Winthrop, August 16, 1966.

92Statement in Conjunction with the Formal Opening of His Campaign for Governor, Winthrop, August 16, 1966.

93Statement, November 9, 1966.
for he stated the day after his victory, "All of us—Republicans, Democrats and Independents—working in harmony with God's will, can accomplish great purpose. . . ." In working together Rockefeller envisioned a new sense of responsibility and confidence in building a better government. He believed:

We must build confidence not undermine the social economic unrest. In short, where there has been progress, we must redouble our efforts.

It is my opinion that this state stands on the threshold of dramatic progress. So let's not spend our time lamenting the past. Let's look to the future and come to grips with the real issues.

Rockefeller's confidence to move forward was confirmed on election day when he was moved to say, "With this expression of support for new programs and new solution to old problems, we can move forward into a new day of greatness." His confidence had root in his faith in the people to work toward the new beginning. He expressed these thoughts in relation to his concept of a trusting government: "I have confidence in the people in making sound decisions if they know the facts. . . ."

Evils of the Villain. As in the two previous campaigns Rockefeller retold the dismal future which lay ahead in the continuance of a one-party system. As he spoke, for

95 Statement, November 9, 1966.
96 Statement, November 9, 1966.
97 Television Address, September 6, 1966.
example, of the problems concerning education and industry, Rockefeller introduced a new phrase, "new solutions to old problems," which was to be utilized throughout the campaign. Rockefeller contended that until new ways were introduced to solve problems rather than to tolerate them, they would persist. A newspaper account recorded Rockefeller as saying that he would use his wealth to "find the cure, rather than to treat the patient" in matters of socio-economic problems. In a specific reference to education Rockefeller stated:

Welfare is charity. Treating the sick man is not curing the disease... I am proud to contribute to the solution of the problem. Education is the solution and here is where the money should be applied.98

**Regional Development.** Part of the answer in developing new solutions, however, was in his push for regional development and responsibility:

You must have new solutions. And that means you must exercise your sense of individual responsibility and search out the answer... Many of our problems today cannot be solved by legislation or the machinery of politics. They can be solved only through participation by individuals approaching each other with principles of justice, mercy and humility in mind.99

His plea for participation was related to his vision of harmony. For a better Arkansas Rockefeller stated:

98Adkinson Interview, May 12, 1966.

Let us keep our sights high and trained on the targets of opportunity, as they present themselves. Let us continually strive for those conditions of excellence for which God had endowed us with minds to aspire.

Let us, finally, cultivate these enobling virtues that motivate us to rise about the commonplace.100

Education and Industry. Rockefeller's vision of improved educational standards remained consistent as in previous statements. He did, however, attempt to strengthen the connection between education and industry. More importantly, he heightened his image with the industrial leaders of the world. As Rockefeller pointed out,

I am proud of the many friends I have who make up the industrial leadership of this nation. These friends, and others like them, are interested in Arkansas. They are fully aware of our splendid resources, of our geographical advantages, soon to be heightened even by navigation on the Arkansas River. They know the capabilities of Arkansas people, their intelligence and their productiveness. But they need to know that we are not going to be satisfied with more of the same. They need to know that Arkansas is ready for the great future that can surely come to it.101

Rockefeller was also concerned about the poor planning by the Faubus administration in its direction for the future growth of industry. Having observed the problem, Rockefeller stated:

We've reached a standstill in Arkansas. You can name on the fingers of one hand the major new industries which have come to Arkansas in the past

100Address to the State Hi-Y Convention, Petit Jean State Park, April 16, 1966.

101Address to the State Hi-Y Convention, Petit Jean State Park, April 16, 1966.
two years. Why? What happened to our tremendous industrial program that was once the envy of every other state in the union . . . a program that produced 600 new industrial plants and 100,000 new jobs for the people of Arkansas, during the eight years when I was chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission? What happened?

I say to you that politics--one-party rule--stifled and virtually destroyed the industrial program of Arkansas. We need to revive it. On January 1, 1967, we will do just that.

Arkansas has--in the next decade--an opportunity for an unprecedented new rate of industrial growth.102

He also blamed prejudicial attitudes prevalent in the state for blocking industry. Speaking to the Greater Little Rock Women's Republican Club, Rockefeller stated, "Big industry is shying away from Southern states which think they are above federal control."103 The reference made was to the racial crisis in Little Rock in 1957. Another problem cited for the lack of growth in industry was the absence of cultural programs.

Other Issues of Importance. Rockefeller also stressed the importance of better roads, improved prison conditions, and raised teacher salaries. He hoped to accomplish these reforms without a raise in taxes:

I am convinced that millions of dollars can be saved for the taxpayers of Arkansas when decisions are based on good sound business practices instead of politics and incompetence. . . . The people of Arkansas pay a tremendous amount of taxes. It is a tragedy that so much of the money--your money and

102 Election Eve Address, November 7, 1966.

103 Statement in Conjunction with the Formal Opening of His Campaign for Governor, Winthrop, August 16, 1966.
mine—has been wasted in political road-building and other "deals" made by public officials trying to keep themselves in office. We cannot afford this waste.  

Motives for Seeking Governorship. Rockefeller wanted to make clear his motive for seeking the governorship so that any doubt the voters might have in trusting him would be erased. He restated his desire to serve and again promised to "do everything in my power to keep Arkansas sound, stable, and peaceful." He also offered specific reasons:

I have had much experience in dealing with million-dollar enterprises. Arkansas needs an unobligated governor... one who does not have to wait outside the door of the millionaire businessman.

Today, I see a chance for Arkansas to have a governor who doesn't owe anyone anything. I am perhaps the only candidate for governor in Arkansas this year who could be inaugurated without a single obligation that must be paid with a political favors.

If elected, I could slam the door on those who have profited from a friendly governor in recent years. Left in the cold for two to four years, such influence would wither and dry up.

Rockefeller, too, repeated his obligation to serve. He pledged:

I'm proud of the fact that I had parents who taught us 6 children that the mere fact we have inherited money puts us in the position of being stewards of that money. And that it should be spent wisely.

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105 Statement in Conjunction with the Formal Opening of His Campaign for Governor, Winthrop, August 16, 1966.

106 Television Address, September 6, 1966.
And I think that I can say with great pride that my four brothers, my sister and of the rest of the family coming along having nothing to do with the fact that my mother was in New York the day I was born. . . .

He acknowledged that his motivation to serve could be interpreted as a "thread-bare cliche in American politics, particularly in southern politics. In my case, it is true." Rockefeller's dream of service to Arkansas was "to say that I served during the years of greatest progress in this history of our state," giving Arkansas "work instead of words, help instead of hate, sincerity instead of slurs, and stability instead of instability."

The Rhetorical Vision Emerges

The Governorship. Rockefeller's inaugural address reaffirmed his convictions found in speeches from his two campaigns. He clearly demonstrated his role as leader of the people of Arkansas in bringing them into the "land of milk and honey" by encouraging each of them to take a part in the progress he had in mind for Arkansas:

110 Television Address, September 6, 1966.
Rockefeller's rhetorical vision, "The Era of Excellence," emerges.
The facts that related to my having been elected are—to me—an expression by the people that instead of looking backward, we are looking forward. And, in electing me and other Republicans, the people were expressing a desire for change . . . not one in the spirit of vindictiveness, but of confidence . . . and of faith.

He stressed the importance of faith in government by saying, "Without the faith and confidence of the people, government can accomplish nothing. With it, government can accomplish anything. I believe the people want and have this faith."

And in faith, Rockefeller believed the people would have freedom "in which he the individual may express and develop his own hopes and his own destiny."

Rockefeller envisioned his administration as an active one. He called on all Arkansans "to put politics behind us," in order to "come here committed not to discord, but to doing . . . Not to destroying, but to discovering . . . Not to dividing, but to dissolving old problems with new solutions."

The goal of his inaugural address was to recap those ideas expressed in his campaigns since 1964 and to solidify his vision of better education, better industry, better jobs, better roads, better prisons, and better government.

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111 Campaign Speech, 1966.
112 Inaugural Address, January 10, 1967.
113 Inaugural Address, January 10, 1967.
114 Inaugural Address, January 10, 1967. All enclosures unless otherwise footnoted are taken from the Inaugural Address.
Better Education. His request for better education was his dominant fantasy theme. Recalling the connection that education had to every other facet of society, Rockefeller considered it "the vital foundation block." Hoping for quality education for everyone, he claimed that without it, "whatever else we build cannot be fully meaningful." Likewise, he was concerned about the teachers. "To keep our good teachers . . . to keep good people and attract more, obviously we must compensate them more in keeping with the contributions." Rockefeller acknowledged the state's obligation to education, stating, "We shall have met this obligation only when every gray, substandard, scholastic corner within our borders has been eliminated; where the opportunity for quality education is everywhere."

Better Industry and Better Jobs. Rockefeller had hope in his vision of regional development for economic development in the state. He stated:

Regional planning enables groups of counties to accomplish things they cannot accomplish individually. . . . It gives the regions guidance and proper direction, and it can earn for them vital financial support.

Better Roads. Considered by Rockefeller as an important issue in the 1966 campaign, he pledged better roads and highway system. Although he knew that Arkansas was incapable of providing anything elaborate, Rockefeller knew that "we can have the highway system we need;" however, "such a program will require vision, greater responsibility and cooperation, and fewer short-range demands. We must
achieve better balance between road use and the expenditure of road money."

**Better Prisons.** As a matter of deep concern, Rockefeller vowed to improve the penal system in Arkansas. He stated, "As Governor I will put maximum emphasis on clearing up deplorable conditions within our prisons, and our probation and parole systems." Such concern was expressed because "No burden rests more heavily on the conscience of Arkansas hour by hour, than a prison system regarded by professional penologists as being generally the worst in the United States."

**Better Government.** One of the basic reforms in government was a desire to update the Constitution of 1874, "designed at a moment in the history of the South as a reaction to Reconstruction." Rockefeller requested a Constitutional Commission to study the constitution for possible changes.

Other reforms sought for better government were programs in tax sharing, a Department of Administration "to coordinate inter-governmental affairs," a study commission designed to evaluate procedures in order to make suggestions for increased efficiency. "By increasing governmental efficiency, I am convinced our state can make dramatic gains--not only financially--but in terms of an even greater objective, the reinforcement of public confidence."

The confidence in government would also be made through efforts to remove coercion from state employees and to give more concern for the welfare recipients. Also
Rockefeller envisioned a government which adhered to law and order as well as protection at the voting polls to ensure justice.

Other Dreams. Although the major fantasy themes have been examined, Rockefeller also had other minor dreams. For example he strove for better medical services, "an abundant future as a tourist and retirement area," and a merit system for the state employees. Rockefeller dedicated his administration "to the people of Arkansas."

The reaction to his inaugural address was some indication of the probable success or failure he would face in the legislature. One editorialist wrote:

It was one of the great inaugurals in Arkansas history, all the more memorable for the long, long years since the people of the state have been addressed by their governor in such fashion . . . . It was, indeed, a great inaugural, outlining the requirements of reform, appealing to the best of our popular instincts and the most constructive of our popular desires. As such, it was devoid of the demogogic appeals to prejudices that have become more the rule than the exception in our regional forms of government.115

Legislators responded overall favorably as well, with one exception—Rockefeller's criticism of the state prison system. Of course, some legislators did not attend and some

"WHERE YOU GUYS BEEN?"

Courtesy of the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections. Rockefeller was Arkansas' first Republican Governor since Governor Baxter left office in 1879.
"Old Guard members of the Faubus Administration were noticeably undemonstrative." In spite of the conflicts that were predicted for Rockefeller's first legislative session, at least one leading newspaper expressed hope in the Rockefeller administration:

The prospects for Rockefeller's administration continue to be promising, whether or not Rockefeller gets much major legislation through his first legislative session. He has shown a readiness to consider and advocate basic reforms, to move toward his goals in a straight line, to give honest answers to public questions. Their characteristics may be particularly welcomed in a state that is weary of the deviousness, intrigue and unrelieved opportunish.

Reactions to the Vision. As Rockefeller moved into his first year serving the state, he diligently pushed hard for the reforms he promised Arkansans. However, as he soon realized, not everyone, namely members of the legislature, shared his vision of progress, Time reported:

During his six months in office, the state's first Republican Governor in 93 years has been somewhat less successful in opening the "era of excellence" that he talked about in his inaugural.


According to one magazine, the major constraint he faced was the "bitter aftertaste of Faubus' twelve-year reign." Rockefeller had always contended in his speeches that his relationship with the legislature would be good and would not preclude the implementation of his proposals. At the same time, he deplored any suggestion that success of the reform bills would be at the expense of an individual's control over a body of legislators. Expressing these concerns in his address to the Joint Session of the Legislature, Rockefeller stated:

Your independence is a good thing; I applaud it. I was unhappy that for years the executive branch almost totally dominated the deliberations here, and that there was very little independence. That was an unhealthy situation . . . an era that is now gone . . . and I would not call it back for anything. Let us not sacrifice the progress we can have for petty politics . . . . I am hopeful that you and I will keep in mind that our reason for being here is to do right for the people of Arkansas. If we keep that thought uppermost in our minds, then no one should have any worries about the outcome of this Sixty-sixth General Assembly.

In his endeavor to persuade the legislature of the necessity to pass such legislative reforms, Rockefeller realized that he had to motivate it to see the future as he did. Recalling his distinction between solving problems and coping with them, he addressed the issue of excellence versus mediocrity in changes for the state:


120 Address to the Joint Session of the Sixty-Sixth General Assembly, February 13, 1967.
We have fallen behind by not adapting raidly enough to basic technological and economic changes. I also have maintained that we have not aimed high enough. We have not been motivated to seek excellence; to create change rather than merely respond to it.

As long as the South concentrates only on the symptoms of under-development and poverty, it will be stuck with them. Our resources are limited, and we can expend them trying to appease these symptoms without every making any meaningful progress toward eliminating the causes. 121

Despite his appeals for cooperation with the legislature to achieve the new Era of Excellence, Rockefeller appeared at first to be unsuccessful with it. Some compared his battle with the General Assembly to that of Andrew Johnson's relationship with Congress a century earlier. Rockefeller became so frustrated with the legislature that he called on the public for its support. He pleaded with Arkansans saying,

"These are not partisan measures; they are designed in the best interest of the people of our state. I call upon the members of the General Assembly, and all of our citizens to join in a united effort for building a better Arkansas." 122

Although to many it seemed a losing battle, Rockefeller complimented the legislature at the end of the session claiming that it had done a good job. According to one report, the General Assembly "had passed more bills that any

121 "Uniqueness: The Great Hope for the South," a speech delivered to Johns Hopkins University, April 14, 1967.

ELECTION-YEAR COMMUNICATIONS

Democratic Lawmakers

Urgent Legislation

Republican Gov.

Courtesy of the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections. Rockefeller faced many battles with the legislature during his first year in office.
previous session and was without domination by the governor's office." Of the 600 pieces of legislation introduced in the legislature, particular items of importance which passed were his Department of Administration bill and the revenue stabilization bill, considered by Rockefeller as the "tools" with which to operate the state. A third bill of major concern was his prison reform bill which mandated a study commission to examine and give recommendations on improvements to the penal system. Rockefeller hoped that this commission would serve to bring "the penitentiary system out of the dark ages of penology into the era of professionalism." The fourth major bill which passed with the long-awaited creation of a Constitutional Commission to consider reform of the 1874 Constitution. Significant failures were his bill requiring public bond issues and his minimum wage bill.

Rockefeller not only had to contend with battles inside the legislative chambers, but also he met an enemy which was to plague his hope for reform throughout his

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125 Report to the People, March 17, 1967.
entire tenure as governor. Rockefeller realized that Arkansans did not have confidence in themselves to truly work toward the vision he dreamed. He also became aware that the problem was not isolated in Arkansas but throughout the entire South. He turned his attention to this problem, an apparent inferiority complex:

A number of years ago, during my earliest travels in behalf of developing Arkansas, I came to the conclusion that the greatest problem facing the South was a massive inferiority complex. Today, much of my optimism about the future rests upon the fact the South is in the process of shaking off this old complex; that it is turning away from what is past, and is beginning in earnest to explore the opportunities of the present and of the future.126

The significance of destroying the inferiority complex lay in the advancement of the state to meet its goals. Rockefeller continued:

This transformation is essential if the South is to meet three vital prerequisites to truly dramatic development. These prerequisites, I believe are understanding, motivation, and initiative.

We must understand clearly the environment that shapes our economic development.

We must be motivated to see higher goals.

And we must seize the initiative in creating our own opportunity.127

Rockefeller wanted the South and Arkansas to be more than "average." He had much faith in the state slogan "Land of Opportunity."

126 "Uniqueness: The Great Hope for the South," a speech delivered to Johns Hopkins University, April 14, 1967.

127 "Uniqueness: The Great Hope for the South," a speech delivered to Johns Hopkins University, April 14, 1967.
He praised the people of Arkansas for their resourcefulness and reminded them of their source of strength, the recommitment to excellence, and the Republican Party. He continued to emphasize the assets the party offered presently and for the future. For example, on one occasion Rockefeller said:

. . .[I]n coming elections the greatness of the Republican Party will not be on trial. What will be on trial will be the vision and the boldness and the qualities of leadership of those who take the Republican story to the people.128

To Rockefeller, "the future will belong to the party."129

Identification and the Rhetorical Vision

Identification plays a key role in chaining out of fantasy themes in the development of rhetorical visions. For in knowing the "insiders" and "outsiders," the critic comes to know what type(s) of person(s) shares the vision and what type(s) does not. According to Jensen, et al.,

Analysis of this concept helps determine how support is sustained for the vision, how insiders identify with each other, how people in the group treat those outside, and what function the outsider assumes in relationship to the vision.130

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128 Address to the Campaign Management Seminar, University of Oklahoma, Norman, July 15, 1967.

129 Address to the Campaign Management Seminar, University of Oklahoma, Norman, July 15, 1967.

130 Jensen, et al., p. 110.
Criterion to examine the role of identification in the development of Rockefeller's rhetorical vision is Kenneth Burke's dramatistic theory.

**Burke's Concept of Identification**

Burke sees identification as more than just "proving opposites," but as the essence of rhetoric. According to Burke, "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your way with his."\(^{131}\) The concept of identification is equivalent to Aristotle's term *ethos* in which one persuades by gaining "credibility" through demonstration of trustworthiness, expertise, and dynamism (contemporary terms for Aristotle's concepts of good will, intelligence, and character).\(^{132}\) In setting forth the groundwork of identification, Burke explains it from the perspective of substance:

> The word substance in its etymological origins would refer to an attribute of a thing's context, since that which supports or underlies a thing would be a part of the thing's context. And a thing's context, being outside or beyond the thing, would be something that the thing is not. 133

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Furthermore, to identify with a concept, the implications are deeper than what may actually have been spoken. As Burke notes,

To call a man a friend or brother is to proclaim him consubstantial with oneself, one's values or purposes. To call a man a bastard is to attack him by attacking his whole life, his "authorship," his "principle," or "motive" (as expressed in terms of familial). 134

Burke also sees that one "need not scrutinize the concept of 'identification' very sharply to see implied in every turn, its ironic counterpart, divisions." 135 He continues his discussion of identification through reasoning for its existence. Burke states:

Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man's very essence. It would not be an ideal as it now is, partly embodied in material conditions; rather, it would be as natural, spontaneous, and total as with those ideal prototypes of communication, the theologian's angel, or "messengers." 136

Continuing, Burke speaks of the need for rhetoric, the purpose of identification. He says:

But put identification and division ambiguously together, so that you cannot know for certain just

134 A Grammar of Motives, p. 57.
135 A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 23.
136 A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 22.
here one ends and another begins, and you have the characteristic invitation to rhetoric.\textsuperscript{137}

With identification and division "ambiguously together," one can draw from the situation terms to bring about his/her social reality ("What things can do for us"\textsuperscript{138}), thus identifying with one's own social strata (values, beliefs, and attitudes) to persuade or as Burke notes, "court" others to one's thinking.

In conveying Burke's ideas on identification, it is important to discuss his meaning of "scapegoatism," a term associated with identification and order. He states:

During a national election, the situation places great stress upon a division between the citizens. But often such divisiveness (or discontinuity) can be healed when the warring factions join in a common cause against an alien enemy (the division elsewhere thus serving to re-establish the principle of continuity at home). It should be apparent how either situation sets up the conditions for its particular kind of scapegoat, as a device that unifies all those who share the same enemy.\textsuperscript{139}

The principle of "scapegoatism" is associated with Burke's analysis of order. Burke believes that if "order, then guilt; if guilt, then need for redemption, but any such

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{137}{A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 25.}
\end{footnotes}
'payment' is victimage," thus the emergence of the scape­
goat. Furthermore, "If action, then drama; if drama, then
conflict; if conflict, then victimage."\textsuperscript{140}

For purposes of simplification, the explanation of
Burke's terms of order given by Jensen, et al., will serve
as the basis for analysis. We may view the terms order,
guilt, victimage, payment, and redemption in this manner:
hierarchy, pollution, guilt, purification, and redemption.
According to Jensen, et al., hierarchy is "the power struc­
ture, the 'rules of the game' which surround or constrain
the protagonist within the rhetorical act."\textsuperscript{141} The term
pollution may be explained as follows:

When rules of the hierarchy are broken or when those
rules impinge on a life in such a way as to make
that life [so] uncomfortable that the hierarchy has
become polluted--something is wrong.\textsuperscript{142}

The third element of the analysis is guilt. Jensen, et al.,
state:

\ldots [W]e are not able to exist comfortably or for
long in a polluted hierarchy--it is necessary that
the polluted state be rectified. The first of the
two steps necessary to accomplish this end is the
assignment of guilt \ldots establishing exactly who

\textsuperscript{140}"Dramatism," The International Encyclopedia of
the Social Sciences, David L. Sills, ed., Vol. 7 (Macmillan

\textsuperscript{141}Jensen, et al., p. 104. See also Burke's Appen­
dix: "On Human Behavior Considered 'Dramatically,'"
Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose (3rd ed.,

\textsuperscript{142}Jensen, et al., p. 104.
or what has caused the hierarchy to become polluted in the first place.\textsuperscript{143}

The second step in fulfilling redemption is purification. "For the restoration to be complete an act of purification must be performed."\textsuperscript{144} Furthermore, the requirements to fulfill the act of purification must be that "the act . . . be equal to the degree of guilt; the act must be sufficient in quality and degree to restore the hierarchy.\textsuperscript{145} Redemption is attained when

the guilty party has, through an act of purification, purged the hierarchy of the pollution. . . . In short everything is functioning at an acceptable level again—things may not be the same, but they are acceptable.\textsuperscript{146}

Application of Burke's Terms of Order. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Burke's concept of order may be viewed similar to Cragan's definition of a conspiracy plot line. In "piecing together the conspiracy," the rhetor examines the hierarchical structure. When the hierarchy becomes polluted he then attempts to discover the guilty party. To assign the guilt of the pollution, the rhetor must participate in "uncovering the secret plans or the secret hideouts of the villains." The final element of a

\textsuperscript{143} Jensen, et al., p. 104.
\textsuperscript{144} Jensen, et al., p. 104.
\textsuperscript{145} Jensen, et al., p. 104.
\textsuperscript{146} Jensen, et al., p. 104.
conspiracy plot line is "punishing the conspirator." In Burkeian terms, the rhetor must seek to purify the hierarchy to bring about redemption.

_Hierarchy and Pollution._ When Rockefeller moved to Arkansas in 1953, he made observations about the socio-economic conditions. To review briefly, some of those conditions which were discussed in Chapter Three were 1) poor racial conditions, 2) poor standards in education, 3) high unemployment, and 4) a steady decrease in population. Rockefeller continued searching for other problems and discovered, for example, bad roads, poor industrial growth, dishonesty and mistrust in government. Such problems were perceived by Rockefeller as pollution in a hierarchy bound by 1) a democratic form of government which provided for a check and balance system to insure competition, 2) a set of moral codes reflecting American traditions and attitudes, and 3) an established code of law.

_Assignment of Guilt._ Rockefeller realized that the problems had persisted for a long period of time, for the General Assembly nor the chief executive had made any move to bring about solutions, except in the area of industry, for which Rockefeller, himself, was to be given credit. A closer examination revealed that the legislators tended to rely on the chief executive to give direction. However, what he discovered was that the legislature was, more or less, a "rubber stamp" to the governor. Likewise, all members of the legislature and the chief executive were of
the same political party, a system of government which had ruled Arkansas since the days of Reconstruction. Although the immediate tendency was for Rockefeller to blame Orval Faubus for the pollution, he did not. Rather, he indicted the one-party rule of which Faubus and the legislature were products.

**Purification.** To purify the hierarchy, Rockefeller's solution had to be "sufficient in quality and degree to restore the hierarchy." To give solutions to the specific problems at hand would not be sufficient to rid the cause of the problems, the existence of the one-party system. Rockefeller was then determined to overthrow the one-party rule. He campaigned for a two-party system which would 1) provide for competition of ideas and 2) serve as a check and balance system. Such a proposal would not only eliminate the cause of the problems, but also would serve as a preemptive measure for future concerns.

The strategy used in his two campaigns was to blame the one-party system for harm done. In so doing, Rockefeller made scapegoats (or villains) of actual practitioners such as Faubus and Johnson. Rockefeller hoped that Arkansans would understand that Johnson and Faubus were representatives of the people. To attack these two men on their questionable ethics, Arkansans would elect to identify with a different group more in line with the constraints of the hierarchy.
Rockefeller was prepared to offer them something in exchange. He provided solutions to their problems based on his visits over the entire state, where he listened to the people talk of their hardships, dreams and hopes. According to Ward, "Assuming that the people voted for candidates on the basis of issues, it seemed critically important to define the public's desires exactly and to map plans for satisfying those desires."\textsuperscript{147}

\textbf{Redemption.} Rockefeller's election in 1966 revealed that Arkansans did identify with his political philosophy. His celebrity status as well was an asset, for according to Allbright, Rockefeller gave to many Arkansans their identity; he represented what they could achieve.\textsuperscript{148} According to Yates, Rockefeller's major support in 1966 election gained its strength from "urban residents, Negroes, and voters with higher-than-average incomes. Most of the voters in these groups had another characteristic: they were disaffected Democrats."\textsuperscript{149}

Rockefeller believed that the two-party system had finally arrived with his victory. Having faith that he

\textsuperscript{147}Ward, p. 52.

\textsuperscript{148}Personal Interview, Allbright, January 12, 1984.

\textsuperscript{149}Yates, p. 281.
overthrew the one-party rule, redemption was achieved and the hierarchy was restored. Thus Rockefeller had punished the conspirators.

Summary

This chapter analyzed Rockefeller's rhetorical vision as it emerged from the political constraints in 1964 through his first year as Arkansas' first Republican governor in 94 years. Analysis revealed Rockefeller as a Moses figure who wanted to lead the people of Arkansas into a "Land of Opportunity" through the establishment of the two-party system. The villains of the drama in which Rockefeller was the super-hero were Orval Faubus and Jim Johnson, power figures of the one-party rule.

Those who participated in the vision did so because of aspirations for progress, excellence, independence, and honesty in government. They feared corruption, tyranny, and digression.

Fantasy themes that chained out to mold the rhetorical vision, "Era of Excellence" were 1) better education, 2) better industry, 3) better jobs, 4) better roads, 5) better prisons, and 6) better government.

Rockefeller's rhetorical vision met the major political constraints which were the people's adherence to the New South Myth, his status as an outsider, and his political affiliation, demonstrated by the victory in 1966. The basis of identification to the rhetorical vision was 1) Rockefeller's conscious attempt to isolate the major
problems perceived by Arkansans, 2) to locate the exact cause of the problems, and 3) to propose solutions which would eliminate the cause of the problems.
WR and Jeanette Campaigning in the 1966 Election. Courtesy of the University of Arkansas - Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
Chapter V

IDENTIFICATION AND POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS:
THE RHETORICAL VISION OF WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER,
1968-1971

This chapter is a continuation of applied theories offered by Ernest Bormann and Kenneth Burke to determine the significance of Winthrop Rockefeller's rhetorical vision as it developed from his second year in office in 1968 through the end of his political career in 1971.

Although Rockefeller was hopeful that the legislature would be more cooperative than it had been in 1967, 1968 would prove to be a trying time for the new governor. As early as January of that year, criticisms were aimed at Rockefeller and his vision. For example, former Governor Orval Faubus called Rockefeller's "Era of Excellence" a "joke, jest and farce." However, the most damaging criticism came from within Rockefeller's administration. Tom Murton, the state's expert in penal reform, denounced Rockefeller's dream, referring to it as the "Error of Excellence." Murton's attack came after Rockefeller fired


him following national publicity of Murton's discovery of three unmarked graves at Cummins prison. Rockefeller opposed the publicity because it presented the Arkansas prison system, as Ferguson notes, "a redneck Auschwitz in deep delta country." Rockefeller's response to the national publicity was, however, optimistic:

> In this unfortunate movement when again Arkansas is being subjected to cruel publicity, we can stand with our heads high and say with conviction what they say may be true, but that is of the past. . . . But growth, prosperity, and a better Arkansas cannot flourish in negative thinking. Let us join together now . . . and in the conviction that the land of opportunity can be more than an idle place.4

Although he acknowledged Murton's good work in penal reform, Rockefeller considered him a political liability to the advancement of the reform movement.

Rockefeller was soon forced to defend attacks on his program, and thus, his hero-image. In so doing, he took the opportunity to reaffirm his belief in the Era of Excellence. He stated in February, "In my inaugural address I spoke of the era of excellence. I have never faltered in my confidence that we in Arkansas can achieve such an era."5 He reflected on the accomplishments made in 1967 but also spoke of the work to be done:

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3 Ferguson, p. 5.

4 Address to the Special Session of the General Assembly, February 5, 1968.

5 Address to the Special Session of the General Assembly, February 5, 1968.
During the tenure of my administration the seeds that have been planted will grow and mature to the benefit of all the people. We're building a solid foundation for the future—a foundation that cannot and will not be weakened or undermined by any political opportunists eager to feather their own nest at the expense of the people.6

Rockefeller projected Arkansas as the leader in the South in reforms, noting that Arkansas was "moving faster than any state in the nation to take advantage of the new benefits. . . . It's wonderful to be able to mention so many areas in which Arkansas is first."7

Fantasy Themes

The 1968 Campaign

The dominant fantasy theme to develop in 1968 was Rockefeller's vision of harmony in working together to achieve progress, a theme which chained out from his two previous campaigns.

Harmonious Working Relationships with the Legislature. As in 1967, Rockefeller faced competition in both houses of the legislature. In his concern for reforms, Rockefeller came before the public pleading, "Let me finish this job--of laying the solid foundation on which we can build a greater Arkansas."8 This plea given in a campaign

8Television Address, WMCT-TV, Memphis, Tennessee, 1968.
speech was a reaction to the negative cooperation he had received from the legislature to his proposals; it became the theme of his 1968 campaign.

Rockefeller asked the public for its support to help him in his fight with the General Assembly, an action reminiscent of 1967. He told Arkansans:

This is not a Republican program; it is not a Rockefeller program. It is a program for the people of Arkansas. . . .
If you like what your legislators have been doing this week, fine. If you don't, I hope you'll get in touch with them this weekend. Try to convince them that our problems cannot be hidden by the petty joke-telling, and rudeness, and personal attacks.
Governors and legislators come and go. But problems persist and have to be solved. The solutions are available to your legislators, if they will act with courage and honesty in representing the sentiment of the people. . . .
I need your help. With your help, and a constructive attitude in our legislature, we can make an important decision about the future now.9

Rockefeller maintained his belief in autonomy for the legislature in its members' decision-making. However, he found it difficult to break the wall established by the influence of the one-party rule. Rockefeller considered the General Assembly's attitude toward his political affiliation ludicrous. In condemning the legislature for their attitudes, Rockefeller stated:

Certainly there has been a different relationship between the Governor's Office and the Legislature from that which was traditional for almost a century. In this, I haven't wanted or sought a rubber-stamp action or the posture of a dictator. But for certain Senators and Representatives this

9 Statement by Governor Rockefeller, May 26, 1968.
has been interpreted as a personal rebuff. Such an attitude has no place in a responsible transaction of your business. I don't want to see bridges burned. I want to see bridges strengthened.10

On an earlier occasion he attempted to illustrate the potential of the state. Such potential was the motivation for his anger toward the assembly. Rockefeller stated:

> Is the future of Arkansas to be controlled by events or will Arkansas itself control those events which will shape our future? . . . . The people are ready and willing to support progress for Arkansas. We elect public officials to do what is right and best for Arkansas [unlike other states]. Don't tell me what Arkansas cannot do. I say to you, Arkansas can do anything. . . . With God's guidance my decisions have been made. May God give you guidance in making yours.11

Rockefeller's battle in the General Assembly forced one newspaper to conclude that Rockefeller is, indeed, much more popular with the people than he is with the Democratic legislature and his latest program for certain improved state services may have the same kind of experience.12

Specific proposals facing criticism by the Assembly were "a mixed drink bill, a 3-cent increase in the cigarette tax and

10 Statement by Governor Rockefeller, May 26, 1968.


$1.8 million in new funds for the penal system." Other bills called for a $500 pay raise for teachers, early funding for unfulfilled spending in higher education, early increases in welfare checks, and a stronger tax structure for education and other services. It was felt that the proposals "had a small chance of passage." Rockefeller never doubted publicly his vision of harmony with the legislators, although he did admit that he presented "more ideas than I was able to achieve, but in two short years we have come a long, long way."  

The vision of harmony was emphasized as well in Rockefeller's campaign speeches. For example, he asserted that the accomplishments made were a result of good relationship with members of the legislature. Likewise, he claimed that the cooperative relationship would continue, assuring his voters that the reforms would be passed:

I know how far we can go in these net two years. I'll guarantee you we can show the world what a great state Arkansas is.
We've come this far by working together. And this is my appeal to you today and to all the people of Arkansas. I'm asking you to stand with me again and to declare with me again state government should and must and will serve all the people of Arkansas now and hereafter.

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I'm asking you, my fellow citizens, to let me finish my job.16

Toward A Better Arkansas. Embedded within his fantasy theme of harmony was a secondary theme which expressed the goal of harmony in the legislature. The expediency of the Assembly to consider such matters desired by the people was crucial to the progress that Arkansas would make. Reflecting on past accomplishments and future hopes, Rockefeller expressed his faith in achieving a better Arkansas through his campaign effort for more taxes, "Arkansas is Worth Paying For."

Today, Arkansas is on the threshold of a greater future, a future that is built upon past accomplishments...people and natural resources.

A better Arkansas is the desire of all of us, a better future for the young, for the old, for each of us. A better Arkansas means better opportunity. Arkansas is worth paying for.17

His faith in the legislature was renewed when it passed his minimum wage bill, an effort Rockefeller fought for in two sessions of the legislature.

Harmony Between the Races. Although it appeared that Rockefeller's vision was faltering, he continued to advance his fantasies. One such opportunity came in 1968.

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17 "Arkansas in Worth Paying For," 1968, on tape in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections, Little Rock.
Rockefeller sympathized with the black man in his plight for equality. As a campaigner for equal rights, Rockefeller actively sought reform in race relations. Because of his concern, he mourned with the blacks when Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated. Rockefeller was the only governor in the South to hold a memorial service in honor of the spokesman for the advancement of the black race. Speaking on the steps of the state capitol, Rockefeller addressed his fellow Arkansans, solidifying his vision of harmony in race relations:

When the day comes that we have achieved equality of opportunity in tangible areas, our task still will not be over. We must continue to bear witness to the equality of men until discrimination has disappeared. . . . Both the enforcement of the law and its interpretation in the courts must be the same for all citizens before the achievement of a true brotherhood of man is attainable.

Rockefeller shared much the same vision as the man he honored. He looked forward to the day when racial strife would be an event of the past:

With rapidly improving education and communications between the races, our present-day problems will become a matter of history, of which neither the Negro nor the white American can be proud.

Rockefeller believed, however, that that day would not come until all Arkansans shared his vision and worked earnestly to achieve it. He realized the potential success in equal rights and declared:

18Ward, p. 165.
19Trinity Memorial Service, April 7, 1968.
20Trinity Memorial Service, April 7, 1968.
We must determine now that we are entering into a new growing season, a season in which we shall see nourished, in the minds and hearts of men, a new spirit . . . a spirit that reaffirms--Yes, I AM my brother's keeper . . . but remembering Jesus, I am something more. . . . I am also my brother's brother.

Defense of Hero-Image. To demonstrate his capability as a leader, or super-hero, in working with the legislature, Rockefeller emphasized the power he possessed in destroying the conspirators. In one of his most persuasive speeches, Rockefeller declared:

I look forward to this campaign because the truth is on my side. The facts are on my side.
I told you I'd stop that brutality and corruption in our prisons . . . and I did.
I told you I'd shut down those gyp insurance operators and I did.
I'm on schedule and I'm proud of it.22

Rockefeller's self-projected hero-image was being challenged by his Democratic opponent, Marion Crank of Furman, who conducted a campaign similar to that of Faubus and Johnson's, emphasizing the negative qualities of Rockefeller's personal habits and the like.23 Rockefeller associated Crank with Faubus' political machine and campaigned accordingly.

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21Trinity Memorial Service, April 7, 1968.
221968 Campaign Opener, Winthrop, Arkansas, August 24, 1968.
23"Crank Labels WR a 'Rich Amateur,' 'Not One of Us,'" Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, October 25, 1968. See also from same file, "Fight is Against 'Machine,' WR Tells 400 at Youth Rally," November 3, 1968.
DEBATE TRAINING

"Fine! now you're cooking with—er, I mean now you've got it!"

"hmm... hmmm... (harrumph) if you will"

"How to avoid mis-speaking yourself"

"Public speaking without foot-in-mouth"

Courtesy of the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections. Marion Crank and WR prepare for the 1968 campaign.
Election Results. Rockefeller understood the success of his 1968 election as a mandate from the people of Arkansas to continue with his program of progress. He revealed this thought in his second inaugural address delivered on January 14, 1969: "So whether you call my re-election a mandate or not, it is clear that the majority of people of our great state want progress." In hopes of continuing to work to bring Arkansas into an Era of Excellence, Rockefeller knew he needed the support of the legislature. To gain it, he praised the legislature for its accomplishments made in 1967, saying, "... Arkansas is indebted to the 66th General Assembly for much wise and constructive legislation." With fingers crossed, Rockefeller forecast that "this new legislation is moving us forward toward that Era of Excellence I have spoken about so often."

1969

The major thrust of Rockefeller's rhetoric in 1969 was to push for stronger reform measures in the major areas

24 Inaugural Address, January 14, 1969.
of his initial campaign. The early months of 1969 were devoted to gaining support from the legislature to prevent future battles and delays. In presenting his fantasy themes, Rockefeller reinforced his hero-image, demonstrating his ability to expel the conspirators remaining from the days of Orval Faubus.

**Harmony with the Legislature.** In an address to both houses, Rockefeller expressed his feelings about the role of responsibility each member had to assume to represent the people of Arkansas. He firmly spoke to them warning:

Do not underestimate the intelligence of the people of Arkansas.
Do not underestimate the ability of the people to distinguish between real leadership and pseudo self-serving leadership.
Do not presume that the silent Arkansan evaluates your statesmanship solely—or even primarily—on where you stand with regard to taxes.
Arkansas is going to move forward. The people of Arkansas expect their elected representatives to lead the way.27

He then placed the future of Arkansas into the legislature's hands stating:

Responsibility is the key word here today. Your responsibility is special because your actions will decide, for better or worse, what kind of state we're going to be.28

Rockefeller strove for better than average, acknowledging that his programs might seem "dramatic," but qualifying them

as reforms which would "enable us to meet long overdue obligations in terms of moving our people ahead with the rest of the nation."  

However, getting his tax package approved, which was necessary to bring about his programs, was the biggest battle he faced with the legislature. The leaders of the Assembly promised conformity, but as it happened, conformity was not to be. For example, his tax program was considered "too ambitious to be approved by this General Assembly in its entirety," in spite of Rockefeller's claim that "the people are willing to pay for services."  

Harmony Between the Races. Rockefeller, too, was faced with racial strife in Forrest City, located in the eastern part of the state. Ward explains the significance of Rockefeller's role in the conflict:

It was July 30, 1969, and a racial crisis had been smoldering in Forrest City for months. It threatened to explode at any time. And if it did, the governor's good image in race relations, his efforts


to get blacks into better and more responsible jobs, and the confidence in him held by the people of Arkansas would suffer a real setback.33

The racial differences led to a black boycott of Forrest City merchants. According to one newspaper, "Rockefeller's personal record on racial issues and his position as chief executive give him excellent credentials in the role he has chosen as moderator."34 The blacks wanted more jobs, total integration of the schools, abolition of discriminatory arrests, fair trials by fair judges, and black policemen in more eastern Arkansas communities.

Rockefeller met with the black leader, Reverend Cato Brooks, and using his expertise in negotiation, gave hope to Brooks that things would be worked out. One such concern of Rockefeller's was Brooks' desire to march from Forrest City to Little Rock, a strategy Rockefeller thought dangerous. However, after his meeting with Brooks, it was doubtful that the march would take place. It did, but was disbanded soon after starting because of little support.

The Forrest City incident was crucial to Rockefeller's popularity, especially since his reputation with the blacks had fallen after his second election. They complained that Rockefeller had not appointed a significant


34"The Governor's Role at Forrest City," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, August 9, 1969.
number of blacks to boards and commissions. Additionally, blacks were disturbed by Rockefeller's support of the Riot Control and Segregationist Lawsuit, which surfaced during the Forrest City incident.  

The 1970 Campaign

As 1969 came to an end Rockefeller felt discouraged because his strong persuasive efforts to win support for his programs had failed in the legislature. He decided, therefore, to seek a third term. The possibility of a third term was told to the legislature in 1969 as a cautionary measure to get the proposals passed:

You have heard comment about a possible third term. Let me say for the record here and now that I do not seek a third term as governor, but I do feel a responsibility to press for the reforms for which I sought re-election. I have willingly invested several years of my life in this cause, and if I must seek a third term to finish my job then I will. I have tried hard to make my case with you. To date I have not succeeded. I am still trying and I will keep trying. I believe we can find common ground before it is too late.  

The decision broke a campaign promise set in 1964. However, Rockefeller justified his decision on grounds of naivete:

I spoke in good faith the belief that a governor should not seek more than two terms in office. You have on record my subsequent admission of naivete. Making us truly a two-party state has required an almost fanatical effort to avoid letting our government go back to where it was for so long--into the hands of a few powerful politicians.

35 Ward, pp. 169-175.

This determination remains as alive and healthy with today as every before. It must succeed.\textsuperscript{37}

Thus, the focus of the campaign was a defense of Rockefeller's hero image coupled with offensive attacks on the future projection of return to a one-party rule. In response to Rockefeller's announcement, former Governor Faubus thought it would be damaging to Rockefeller's credibility because of the broken pledges.\textsuperscript{38}

\textbf{Fear in the One-Party Rule.} Rockefeller was assured that a third term would prevent the return of one-party dominance, the strongest fear he possessed. For example, he reminded Arkansans:

\begin{quote}
We have brought our government out of secret rooms where it served as a haven for racketeers, illicit securities and insurance operators, barbaric individuals posing as penal reformers—yes, truly unscrupulous politicians. We have brought this government into the sunlight where, with the best of its resources, it now acts as a true servant of the people, protecting them from those by whom they were so recently oppressed.\textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

He as much as claimed that the "two-party system in Arkansas is seriously threatened unless the Republican Party has at least two more years to consolidate its gains..."\textsuperscript{40}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{37}Third Term Announcement, June 9, 1970.
\item \textsuperscript{38}"WR Pledge Draws Fire from Foes," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, June 11, 1970.
\item \textsuperscript{39}Third Term Announcement, June 9, 1970.
\item \textsuperscript{40}"Defeat Could Hurt Two-Party System, Rockefeller Asserts," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, September 16, 1970.
\end{itemize}
Rockefeller feared the return of one-party domination. Marion Crank (the character knocking at the door) was named by Rockefeller as a member of Faubus' political machine.
The basis of the fear was heightened when Rockefeller learned of Dale Bumpers' (the Democratic nominee) plans to reunite factions within the Democratic Party. Rockefeller spoke out against his opponent after Bumpers sent a telegram to Faubus:

But then right away—with hours—that telegram went out, the word went out, and said to the long-time ruler of the old guard: "Come back. This house is big enough for all of us. Let's work together to unify our party."

I say no!

Twice the people of Arkansas have said no!
Either we believe in something, or we don't.
Either we believe enough to fight, or we don't.
We haven't come this far by making deals. I will not—in the name of unity, or anything else—seek the support, or accept the support of anyone who preaches hatred and the past.42

Rockefeller sought the type of government which served its people honestly and fairly. He expressed this idea in these words:

That honestly serving the people transcends partisan politics.

We are here solely to serve people, to the best of our ability.
I am speaking of the great body of people who have no lobby group; who have no special voices speaking for them; people whose hopes are entrusted entirely to the elected leadership assembled here. My first allegiance—our first allegiance—is to these people.43

Thus, in serving Arkansas, Rockefeller campaigned for his visionary program on the basis of "how far we have come; how

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43 Address to the Special Session of the General Assembly, March 2, 1970.
far we can go, with the intent to again invite all those who shared his vision, regardless of political affiliation, to participate in building a better Arkansas:

In a time of turmoil throughout the nation Arkansas can hold its head high. That so many of our people have been working together, making sense and not noise, is inseparable from the many good things that are happening to us. . . . The future holds so much for Arkansas. The only limitations upon it will be those we accept ourselves.

In a later speech the invitation was more pronounced: "But I earnestly do seek the support of everyone who loves this state as I do--white, black, young, old, Republican, Democrat, Independent." Rockefeller expressed pride in the government he had built because of its honesty and because of the "measure of aid and respect" given to the people of Arkansas.

Rockefeller had relied on support from the Independents, and especially the "Democrats for Rockefeller" in the last two campaigns. However, because of the dramatic change which had taken place within the Democratic Party, it was believed by some "that many Democrats who had supported Governor Rockefeller in the last two elections would return to the Democratic fold," because the new Democratic candidate was considered to be an "honest, dedicated young

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44 Third Term Announcement, June 9, 1970.
45 Third Term Announcement, June 9, 1970.
Ordell Pollard, Chairman of the State Republican Committee, thought that "the GOP was the party responsible for Bumper's nomination because it had 'educated' the voters of the evils of the Democratic 'Old Guard' and machine politics."49

Rockefeller's main conviction was that the two-party system provided a renewed faith and trust in government, two elements he wanted kept permanently. The confirmation was expressed in these words:

I told you we could rid ourselves of fear, both for employees of the state, and for those doing business with the state. . . . This we have done. . . . The age-old political intimidation and collusion are gone.50

Harmony with the Legislature. Rockefeller was aware that the reality of his vision rested upon the money granted him through the legislature. It was this issue on which Rockefeller campaigned most exclusively in 1970 to seek validation for his progressive programs. One example is as follows:

. . . [T]o achieve these needed penal reforms, to help our retarded children, to better compensate our state employees--to meet so many areas of need--the state needs more money.51


50 Election Eve Address, November 2, 1970.

51 Address to the Special Session of the General Assembly, March 2, 1970.
"Techniques That Won Votes To Be Used on Tax Increase," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, January 4, 1969.
Because the legislature failed to fully cooperate with him, Rockefeller blamed the members for potential harm to Arkansas:

This General Assembly has not only the opportunity but the duty, to support and implement its own actions.

Our rapid progress has out-stripped state government's capacity to keep up. Now we are beginning to damage our own progress. You can create the conditions for great advance in Arkansas. I am only doing the job the people elected me to do. The sole issue before us, here and now, is meeting our obligations.52

Arkansas, The Past and the Future. On several occasions Rockefeller recalled the past accomplishments of his administration in hopes of providing motivation to move forward. For example, he told one audience:

When you look around Arkansas today... it's almost impossible to believe some of the conditions that existed just forty-two months ago. Arkansas was the operating grounds for casino gambling racketers, for crooked insurance and securities dealers, for brutal and individuals who inflicted atrocities on the people behind prison bars, all operating freely within the domain of a long standing political structure. I know you're as proud as I am that we've stopped these things, that in the name of honesty and decency and humanity itself, Arkansas permits these outrages no more.53

The impact of such accomplishments was futuristic, for as Rockefeller believed, "In our midst, we still have those

52 Address to the Special Session of the General Assembly, March 2, 1970.
53 Television Address, July 14, 1970.
skills and pride in a job well done, and done with feeling."  

Better Prisons. As Rockefeller searched for other campaign issues to be addressed, he concentrated on recurring themes: better education, better industry, and better prisons. Of these three, the most significant was his hope for even stronger prison reform. Following the bad publicity in 1968, the future for such change looked dismal. Rockefeller addressed the legislature on the needs which were not met:

I noted with pride by your actions in the 1967 General Assembly you had committed us to bringing our penal system into an age of enlightenment and decency . . . but then we fell back. The budget was cut. We let most of our free world guards go, and along with them the gains and commitments to a better system.

Anybody who seeks now to stall even further ignores the cost of unspeakable human suffering, even while knowing what the ultimate answer must be. We all know what the answer must be.  

Prison Reform and Education. Of course, Rockefeller sought to correlate better prison reform with education—the solution, he thought, to all of the state's problems. For example, in the area of juvenile training, he stated, "Experience dictates that the juvenile misfit—without education—is a candidate for more violent crime." 

54 Election Eve Address, November 2, 1970.  
56 Address to the Special Session of the General Assembly, March 2, 1970.
Rockefeller hoped that his campaign, "Arkansas is Worth Paying For," would be a motivating factor to pass his tax reform.
Also associated with education was improved industrial growth:

With industry becoming increasingly more sophisticated we must have new programs to prepare our people for these higher paying jobs. An expanded industrial training program is among the priorities requested. This would supplement the vocational-technical schools by setting up temporary training near the sights of new plants or plant expansions.57

Higher Education. Rockefeller did not limit his dream of education to vo-tech schools, however, but encompassed higher education as well. Noting the increase in numbers attending the colleges and universities in the state, he said:

Enrollments are now climbing. Student fees and federal funds cannot finance enough construction to handle this growth--to say nothing of maintaining standards of education. Our colleges and universities will have to limit enrollment unless these needs are met.58

Election Results. Rockefeller did not win a third term; in fact, he lost to Dale Bumpers by a substantial margin. Yates described the loss:

It left the party in the shambles of widespread defeat . . . . While restoring the Democrats to executive power, the electorate staunchly resisted further innovations. . . . The Arkansas voters, it appears, yearned for the good old days.59

Ward cites the main reasons for Rockefeller's loss:

57 Address to the Special Session of the General Assembly, March 2, 1970.
59 Yates, p. 293.
-But unbowed

-orniest dern mule in creation!
His very presence as a Republican had forced the revitalization of the Democratic Party. He compelled the party to clean house and convert to a legitimate party. And when the Democrats did this, they nominated Dale Bumpers, who sounded the political death knoll for Rockefeller. It is ironic that the very reforms he forced on the Democratic party served to defeat him, and doubly ironic that the reforms he instituted would be carried on in large measure by the man who defeated him.60

Bass gives other reasons for Rockefeller's defeat, some of which include a loss of popularity due to his conflicts with the legislature and the public awareness of his drinking problems.61

1971

Although Rockefeller was frustrated by his loss, he did not give up faith in the people of Arkansas to continue working toward the Era of Excellence. In his farewell address, given on January 12, 1971, Rockefeller spoke of the foundation of the new era:

They were not extraordinary goals, to be achieved overnight or without extraordinary effort. . . . I believe that as the years roll by we will see that, indeed, the cornerstone for an Era of Excellence has been laid in Arkansas.62

After proudly presenting his accomplishments as governor, Rockefeller encouraged Arkansans to continue the precedent set four years earlier:

60 Ward, p. 193.
61 Bass, p. 94. See also, "WR Had the Ammo, but for the Wrong Target," Clipping, Rockefeller File, Arkansas Gazette Library, November 1, 1970.
62 Farewell Address to the General Assembly, January 12, 1971.
In my view the most compelling challenge before us today is that we recognize, understand, and share a common vision of the future of Arkansas, and then work for it together.

We do not all have the same aspirations. We are not all the same, but our concern for the future is individually and/or mutually the same. . . .

I do not imply for one moment that the burden rests solely upon specific shoulders. Every citizen has the duty to be informed, to be thoughtfully concerned, and to participate in the search for solutions. Only by working together can we make the contribution necessary for building the world we all yearn for.63

Rockefeller had always known that not everyone would share his vision, especially members in the General Assembly. He realized, too, that he would face problems when he entered politics. However, he always had hope to accomplish what he set out to do. As he stated:

It has been said by some that I asked too much. Perhaps so.

You tell me—what quality of leadership would ask too little? What sort of leadership would be content merely to maintain a standard of living that for so long has been so meager for so many?

The shame upon me and my administration would have been in not struggling for something better. Today I am not ashamed.64

Rockefeller was "grateful for having been accepted as an Arkansan by the people. . . ."65 In his graciousness, however, he hoped that

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63Farewell Address to the General Assembly, January 12, 1971.

64Farewell Address to the General Assembly, January 12, 1971.

65Farewell Address to the General Assembly, January 12, 1971.
Rockefeller closed his speech with the most emotional use of language and thought ever incorporated into his speeches. He reflected on his days as governor and the contribution made to Arkansas:

In many ways we were like a beautiful antebellum home; the doors and windows bolted, as though to deny the coming of Change; the curtains drawn in fear, somehow, of discovering what change might bring with it. . . .

Since then a generation has passed and we are constructively a different Arkansas. . . . There is much to do, but now the fresh winds of new and exciting change are blowing across our beautiful state. . . . I am proud and happy to have been a part in helping to open the doors and windows, bolted too long, to allow these fresh winds to penetrate our homes, and yes, even our minds.67

Collier and Horowitz describe that day in Arkansas history:

It was more than the usual political valedictory. Those who had followed Winthrop's career and knew his background realized it was a deeper appeal—not merely for applause, but for understanding and even forgiveness. It was clear to everyone that the brief rebirth he had enjoyed in Arkansas was over now; much had happened in his seventeen years in the state, yet it all seemed a fairy tale. That tale had ended, leaving him in the condition in which he had arrived in Arkansas; defeated, divorced, revealed as an

66Farewell Address to the General Assembly, January 12, 1971.

67Farewell Address to the General Assembly, January 12, 1971.
alcoholic, and hoping that those who judged him (surrogate of the father who withheld approval on into eternity) would weigh his human qualities in the balance and not be too severe.68

Rockefeller, like the Moses persona dramatized in his rhetoric, was not allowed to lead his people to the promised land, but rather the honor was given to a new leader emerging from a new party and who shared the same vision as he, a better Arkansas. According to Allbright, Rockefeller never did realize the impact of his vision, for he died just over two years after he left office.69

Identification and the Rhetorical Vision

Although Rockefeller thought his two terms brought an end to one-party rule, they did not. As forementioned, in his effort to establish the two-party system, he forced the Democratic Party to change and conform to the boundaries of the hierarchy, or "rules of the game." It appeared that Rockefeller did not bring about redemption, i.e., kill the conspirators, based on his many battles with the legislature. The Faubus influence did not end with the defeat of Jim Johnson in 1966, but continued throughout Rockefeller's two terms.

68 Collier and Horowitz, p. 436.
69 Personal Interview, Charles Allbright, January 12, 1984.
Ironically, a conflict in the assignment of guilt persisted. Rockefeller confronted the leaders of one-party domination in the legislature who were the guilty ones responsible for the poor conditions in the state. However, it was the legislature which possessed the power to cure the problems, or restore the hierarchy. Perhaps that is why Rockefeller faced so many defeats in the legislature. It was in acknowledging its own guilt, and also slow in accepting Rockefeller's measures as justifiable terms to absolve its guilt.

Indirectly, Rockefeller did restore the hierarchy. His influence led the way for the legislature to adopt his reforms under a new administration. Thus, it can be concluded that not only Arkansans but also the legislature shared his vision; however, his vision only had hope to survive under a Democratic label. Arkansans, therefore, only sought to support Rockefeller on the basis of his ideas, not his party affiliation.

Rockefeller was a super-hero who killed the conspirators of bad government. The basis of such reform was the identification of Arkansans to Rockefeller's rhetorical vision.

Summary

Criticisms aimed in early 1968 toward Rockefeller's rhetorical vision, the "Era of Excellence," were predictable accounts of what he would encounter in the legislature.
Rockefeller attempted to strengthen his relationship with the members of the General Assembly from 1968-1971; however, it weakened with time. Frustrated with the General Assembly after two terms, he tried for a third-term bid but was defeated by a new leader of the Democratic Party, Dale Bumpers, who emerged from a reformed organization as a result of Rockefeller's efforts to bring change into government.

Although Rockefeller's vision of excellence was shared by the majority of Arkansans, as proven with the passage of his reforms under Bumpers, the people grew weary of his conflicts with the legislature.

Rockefeller's fantasy themes remained virtually the same from 1968-1971. He emphasized harmony with the legislature, harmony with the races, and better prisons. Additional fantasy themes to chain out from his first term were better education, better industry, and a better Arkansas.

The participants in the vision strove most for continued progress and fear of a return to one-party government. However, Bumper's presence rid the fear associated with the Democratic Party.
WR Campaign Speaking. Courtesy of the University of Arkansas - Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.
Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes Winthrop Rockefeller's political speaking and his effectiveness as a speaker, 1964-1971.

Summary

William Cash wrote in 1940:

But of the future [of the South] I shall venture no definite prophesies. It would be a brave man who would be a mad man who would venture them in the face of the forces sweeping over the world in the fateful year of 1940.\(^1\)

Perhaps Cash was justified in his hesitation, for who would have expected the successor to Orval Faubus to be a liberal Republican who had served on the Urban League's national board and who had addressed an NAACP convention, a Northerner, an advocate of teaching evolution in the public schools, and a divorced man who will take a drink.\(^2\)

Rockefeller did attempt to reform Arkansas in spite of his disabilities. Coming to the state in 1953 under the haze of bad publicity following his well-publicized divorce from Bobo Sears, and bringing with him his name, wealth, a

\(^1\)Cash, p. 440.

"playboy" image, and severe personality problems, Rockefeller settled in the state on top of Petit Jean Mountain near Morrillton, Arkansas. He established for himself a new home and a new identity far from his original habitat in New York.

The more Rockefeller involved himself financially and personally in the community and the state, the more he realized that Arkansas suffered severely from the control of the one-party rule which promoted corruption, racial prejudice, and poor socio-economic development that reinforced the inferiority complex prevalent in many Southern states.

Driven by his compulsion to serve, a motive learned from his parents, Rockefeller was determined to establish a two-party system of government in the early 1960's. However, he soon felt compelled to run for governor to establish permanently the two-party system which would bring many needed reforms to Arkansas.

Lacking experience and knowledge in public speaking, campaigning, and politics, Rockefeller ran against incumbent Orval Faubus in 1964 but lost. However, in 1966 he gained entry into the governor's office, defeating segregationist Justice Jim Johnson. Rockefeller became the state's and the South's first Republican governor since Reconstruction.

Because Rockefeller was not a native Arkansan, nor since he could not identify directly with Arkansans because of his name and wealth, he sought to understand their
problems by visiting all 75 counties in the state. The data
gathered from his visits comprised his rhetorical vision,
the Era of Excellence, which contained fantasy themes such
as better education, better roads, better jobs, better
industry, and better prisons. Because the vision was a
reflection of what the people already knew or wanted to
hear, it was accepted by a majority of Arkansans, although
not by members of the General Assembly.

Success With the Legislature. Rockefeller's battles
with the legislature became the center of controversy for
him. According to Ferguson,

[the] wonder is that he [Rockefeller] accomplished
anything at all. . . . He had been unable to bring
any substantial legislative support into office with
him.3

Although Rockefeller envisioned harmony in his working
relationship with the General Assembly, the reality of the
situation was not as hopeful. In fact, "voters were fearful
that he might never be able to bring harmony between the
executive and legislative branches of government."4 Rocke­
feller's major communication barrier with the legislature
was that he could not relate to the problems faced by a
rural legislator.5

3Ferguson, pp. 3-5.
4Ward, p. 143.
5Bass, p. 93.
Rockefeller hoped his programs would succeed and when often denied approval from the assembly members, he would wait in vain "for an upsurge of popular support which would change their minds."\(^6\) However, despite his many confrontations with the legislature, "Winthrop helped move the state of Arkansas into the future, economically, socially and politically."\(^7\)

Effectiveness

Was Rockefeller an effective speaker? Was his response to the rhetorical situation a fitting response? To answer these questions, it is necessary to examine the reforms brought to Arkansas under his administration.

Two-Party System. Rockefeller began his campaign in 1964 on the premise that the two-party system was a better form of government. However, records indicate that the number of Republicans registered in the 1960's remained virtually the same in 1971 when Rockefeller left office. According to Ward, Rockefeller never did establish a two-party system.\(^8\) What Rockefeller did do was to force reform within the Democratic Party. Bass describes the new

\(^6\)Ferguson, pp. 3-5.
\(^7\)Moscow, p. 292.
\(^8\)Ward, p. 193.
Democratic Party that emerged:

. . . [T]he Democratic Party in ten years had moved from a conservative, closed, tightly-knit operation to a moderate decentralized, fragmented, independent, and open organization.9

In so doing, Rockefeller hurt his own party. Bass continues:

Despite a $10 million investment by Rockefeller to develop his own and the Republican Party's political fortune, one-party Democratic dominance has returned to Arkansas, but with dominant figures who are moderate, young, and progressive.10

Bass concludes that there is no future in the rise of the Republican Party "unless another strong personality develops."11

Conclusions

Reform

Generally, Rockefeller was able to accomplish a great deal. For example, some of his major reforms were stronger regulation of insurance and securities companies, the passage of the Freedom of Information Act, and his new Department of Administration which was helpful in establishing a stronger budget control and security for state employees. Rockefeller attempted to consolidate departments and establish his tax reforms, but was defeated. However,

9Bass, p. 94.
10Bass, p. 89.
11Bass, p. 105.
both measures were passed under Bumper's administration, which in turn, helped strengthen educational standards and improve industrial growth.\textsuperscript{12} Other contributions made to Arkansas included his alcoholic beverage control, game and fish management, and stock investment regulation. In addition, Rockefeller "was able to restrict political contributions with strings (more like heavy chains) attached and to drive away party leaders and functionaries with their hands near or in the till."\textsuperscript{13} Of social significance, Rockefeller was also successful in bringing about much needed reform in the prison system and race relations.

**Prison Reform.** Although the nation perceived Arkansas as the epitome of barbarism in prison conditions, Rockefeller was able to get significant changes made to bring the state's penal system up to modern standards. Such changes included the abolition of the strap in punishment, and the abolition of torture and beatings. He replaced these methods with disciplinary barracks and the revocation of good behavior time. An additional change was the establishment of civilian guards "to control crews, isolation units, yards and barracks."\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] Ferguson, pp. 3-5.
\item[14] Ward, p. 113.
\end{footnotes}
Racial Reform. Because blacks played a significant role in Rockefeller's successful two elections, it was apparent that they shared his vision, especially when it encompassed their vital concerns. The vision in part became reality. For example, Rockefeller appointed blacks to numerous state boards and commissions and aided them in employment in state jobs. According to Dillard, through Rockefeller's efforts, approximately 767 blacks found jobs in state government, and "during the first three years of Rockefeller's tenure, black employment in the state government rose an astounding 126 percent." Ferguson notes that not "since Powell Clayton had a governor so sincerely advocated the entrance of blacks into the benefits of full and equal citizenship." Dillard concludes, however, that Rockefeller's vision may have been too much for the times because the racial climate was vastly different from today. In that year [1966] we were less than a decade removed from the Central High School Crisis, we still had segregated schools throughout the state, and the Democratic party was opened to blacks only a few years earlier. The State Capitol cafeteria was not integrated until 1965, little more than a year before Rockefeller took the oath of office. So, it was a different time, and that makes Rockefeller's race relations policies all the more remarkable.

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16 Ferguson, pp. 5-6.

17 Dillard, July 9, 1983.
Rockefeller's Role in Arkansas Politics

Although the state ranks 49th in education and economic growth as it did in 1955, Rockefeller's vision established a climate conducive to significant progress. He is regarded as the "key transitional role in turning Arkansas around, politically and economically. . . . " Ferguson concludes, however, that Rockefeller was an unusual governor rather than a great one . . . . As governor he accomplished little that could not have been done by someone else who was willing to accept and act upon ideas whose time had come.19

The point is that Rockefeller did take the opportunity into his hands and instilled into Arkansans the great potential which lay before them.

Rockefeller's contributions to Arkansas have been recognized by many local, state, and national leaders. For example, President Ronald Reagan wrote of Rockefeller:

Winthrop Rockefeller did much to change Arkansas. Largely because of his efforts the state became even more the land of opportunity it is today. He was a dedicated servant of the people always willing to give of his time, talent and resources on behalf of others. He helped bring better government to Arkansas, introduced and promoted economic development, job training, equal opportunities, and voting rights. He was especially concerned about the issue of education and he worked diligently to improve its

18 Bass, p. 89.

19 Ferguson, pp. 6-7.
quality on all levels. Today, thousands of young people benefit from his programs.20

Rockefeller's rhetorical vision, which was a fitting response, represents a case study in the "Rhetoric of Optimism," a period defined by John Saxon as a rhetoric which is hopeful; it is optimistic, even visionary. . . With this rhetoric of optimism, those who espouse it are saying that rather than viewing the future negatively, as an inevitability, they welcome it, that they want to help shape it rather than avoid it.21

Usefulness of the Three Theoretical Approaches

Necessity. Kenneth Burke maintains that critics should use all that there is to use in evaluating rhetorical acts.22 In keeping within this philosophy, the study of Winthrop Rockefeller's political speeches demonstrates the need to utilize the three theories of Bitzer, Bormann and Burke.

Just as Cragan and Shields note about Bormann's fantasy theme analysis, that it is "best considered not as a method for doing fantasy theme analysis but as a metatheory

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20 President Ronald Reagan, letter presented at the Winthrop Rockefeller Tribute, July 9, 1983. On tape in the University of Arkansas-Little Rock Archives and Special Collections.


for constructing rhetorical visions,"²³ likewise, the same can be said for the theories of Bitzer and Burke in constructing the elements of the situation.

The three theories, chosen for their indepth approach of particular components comprising the rhetorical situation, served as metatheories, i.e., subsystems, which as a whole, interrelated to give full understanding of Rockefeller's phenomenal rise in Arkansas politics.

Although Bormann's fantasy theme analysis was the seminal vessel of the study, its usefulness alone would not have provided sufficient data to answer the two major questions confronting the critic: How was he able to win election to the highest position in the state when he did not possess a common identity with the state's citizenry?, and Did Winthrop Rockefeller's unique identity exemplified through his rhetorical vision make him consubstantial with Arkansans, and thus serve as a means for gaining political strength?

It is true that examination of Rockefeller's hero image as portrayed in the rhetorical vision revealed his motive to identify with Arkansans on the basis of service to the state since his arrival in 1953, his love for Arkansas and its people, and his sincere drive to give Arkansas the best that they deserved. However, the sole use of fantasy theme analysis would not have explored the attitudes of the

²³Cragan and Shields, p. 31.
Southerner (constraints of the situation) which were prevalent prior to Rockefeller's emergence as the Republican Party's leader. For example, Bormann's theory reveals little of the importance of Arkansans' attitudes toward outsiders, especially northern Republicans. It does reveal their attitudes toward government, education and the economy in their desire to make improvements. However, the significance of Rockefeller only becomes apparent when attention is given not only to the message, but also to the situation. To explore the situation, i.e., audience, exigence, and constraints, Bitzer's situational theory served well. Although a Burkeian approach of the scenic conditions (ratios) could have been implemented, Bitzer's approach was utilized for its conciseness and simplification. Bitzer's theory established the reality of the situation which Rockefeller faced in his campaign, and it also aided in the understanding of Rockefeller's effectiveness as a speaker through means of an established criterion for a fitting response. Bormann is not concerned with situation nor reality, but rather the social reality conveyed through the message. In this case study, the effectiveness was an important criterion because of the uniqueness of Rockefeller to Arkansas.

It was also important to view the development of the rhetorical vision from a mass societal perspective. In a descriptive analysis which helped explain the relationship of the vision within the hierarchical structure expressed by
Rockefeller, Burke's terms of order considered dramatistically enabled the critic to understand how Rockefeller's identity was cause for his vision to be accepted. It only demonstrated how the vision worked to cast out the political machine and to bring in a change in government. Although Rockefeller's unique identity cannot be discarded entirely, it is only through conjecture that his uniqueness was paramount to acceptance of the vision as previously noted by Ferguson. The utilization of the three theories demonstrate that Rockefeller's consubstantiality was developed through means of his ideas, or rhetorical vision.

Implications. This study demonstrates the need to utilize more than a single theory for purposes of providing an exhaustive analysis. To limit the study to one theory places limitations on the results which might obscure the best interpretation. The three theories used in the study of Winthrop Rockefeller's political speeches served not only to amplify conclusions, but also to serve as a check and balance system.
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Election Eve Address, November 7, 1966.


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Address, March 6, 1967.

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Address to the Campaign Management Seminar, University of Oklahoma, Norman, July 15, 1967.


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Address to the 1968 Republican National Convention, August 8, 1968.

1968 Campaign Opener, Winthrop, August 24, 1968.
Inaugural Address, January 14, 1969.

Address to the Joint Session of the Legislature, February 19, 1969.

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Elective Eve Address, November 2, 1970.

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"Face the State," KTHV-TV, December 27, 1966.
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2. Reference Books


3. Essays


WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER'S ACTIVITIES

1912
   May 1   Born, New York City

1931
   June   Graduated from Loomis School
   1931-1933   Attended Yale University
   1934-1937   Employed with Humble Oil and Refinery Company
   1937-1938   Employed with Chase National Bank
   1939-1942   Employed with Socony Vacuum Oil Company, Foreign Production Department

1941
   Entered the Army

1942
   August 26   Assigned to 77th Division and given command of Company H

1943
   December 22   Promoted to Major

1944
   Retired as Trustee of Bayway Community Center having served since 1937. This center was established by his mother to provide a place for workers and their families to enjoy their leisure time.

1945
   January   Elected to Board of Trustees, Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., NYC. Resigned: June 30, 1970.
   April 2   Kamikaze attack on Henrico. Hospitalized on Guam.
   May   Returned to active service in Okinawa
   May 26   Appointed to General Staff, Corps G-1
   September 1   Left Pacific Theatre for USA
Decorations: Bronze Star-Landing at Leyte, 1/1/45-2/7/45
Purple Heart-Wounded in Kamikaze attack near Kinawa, 4/2/45
Oak Leaf Cluster-5/28/45-7/26/45
Bronze Service Arrowhead-Leyte, 10/19/45

Ribbons: American Defense Ribbon,
American Theatre Ribbon,
Asiatic Pacific Theatre Ribbon,
Philippine Liberation Ribbon,
Victory Ribbon

1946
February 9 Appointed Lt. Colonel
September 19 Resumed duties in Producing Department of Socony-Vacuum
October 10 Separated from Army of US
November Founding Trustee, Rockefeller Brothers, Inc. De-activated: December 22, 1965

1947
April Member, New York City Council of the State Commission Against Discrimination, Vice Chairman of Employment Committee. Resigned: October 18, 1948
May 20 Trustee, Public Education Association, NYC. Resigned: June, 1953

New York University-Bellevue Medical Center, Founder and member of the Board of Trustees. Resigned: June, 1953

Chairman of Corporation Division of National Urban League Service Fund

1948
February 14 Marriage to Bobo Sears
December Elected to Board of Trustees, New England Society. Served on the board until October, 1951.
December  

CHICAGO DEFENDER (Black newspaper) Honor Roll of Democracy, 1948. Rockefeller was one of 17 individuals (9 whites and 8 blacks) named to the Honor Roll. He was chosen "for his work in the National Urban League which has fostered the spirit of fair employment practices in American industry."

Public Education Association, NYC-Chairman of Committee on Legislation and Administration. Served until December, 1952

Vice-Chairman, National Urban League Service Fund Campaign

September 17  

Birth of Win Paul Rockefeller

1949

January 11  

Elected Chairman, Board of Trustees, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center. Resigned: June 15, 1953.

March 7  

Member of Committee to Save the State University, Public Education Association, NYC

April  

Trustee, National Fund for Medical Education

1950  

Trustee of Yale University Associates in Fine Arts, Declined re-appointment in 1957 and again in 1972.

1951

June 5  

Resigned from Foreign Producing Department of Socony-Vacuum Oil Company

October  

Elected Life Trustee of the Loomis Institute


Chairman of Commerce and Industry Council, National Urban League.
Elected Director, Rockefeller Center, Inc.

1952

February 1

Elected to Board of Directors of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

April

Member, Governing Council, New York University. Resigned: July, 1953

April 20

Elected Chairman of Williamsburg Restoration, Inc. having served as a Director since 1937. Elected Chairman of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. having served as Director since February 1, 1952.

1953

June

Moved to Arkansas

July

Member, Urban League of Greater Little Rock

Initial purchase of Petit Jean property from Walter C. Hudson of Pine Bluff

December

Established student aid funds ($25,000 each) at the University of Arkansas, Little Rock Junior College (now University of Arkansas-Little Rock), Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College (now University of Arkansas-Pine Bluff), and Philander Smith College

1954

April

Appointed by President Eisenhower as member of Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, 1607-1957

August 3

Divorce granted

November 8-10

Official host at Williamsburg for Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth of England and the Queen Mother

Charter member, Delta Santa Gertrudis Breeders Association
1955

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<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Re-elected Chairman of the Board, IBEC Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1</td>
<td>Appointed Chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission by Governor Orval E. Gaubus. Resigned: March 28, 1964 to run for governor</td>
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<td>May</td>
<td>Elected as honorary member, Advisory Board, Urban League of Greater Little Rock</td>
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<td>November 16</td>
<td>Official host, Williamsburg, Prince Albert of Belgium</td>
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<td>December 7</td>
<td>Williamsburg Award Presentation to Sir Winston Churchill, London</td>
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<td>December 16</td>
<td>Founder and Chairman of the Board, Winrock Enterprises, Inc.</td>
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<td>Board of the Directors, Little Rock Junior College Foundation</td>
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1956

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<td>February</td>
<td>Rockwin Fund, Founder and Chairman</td>
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<td>ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT, Arkansas Man-of-the-Year Award for 1955, voted by poll of readers of the DEMOCRAT in February, 1956.</td>
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<td>June 11</td>
<td>Marriage to Mrs. Jeannette Edris</td>
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<td>September</td>
<td>Received Certificate of Merit from the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, Inc., Akron, Ohio, after having been designated by his Soil Conservation District, Governing Body as outstanding in the farmer-rancher category in his district</td>
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<td>Arkansas Opportunity Fund, Founder and Chairman</td>
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<td>First Contribution to Arkansas Foundation of Associated Colleges</td>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>May 16</td>
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<td>June 17-19</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>March 28-29</td>
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<td>May 31</td>
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Served on National Committee to Liberalize the Tariff Laws for Art. His brother David was also on the committee. The Senate passed the bill on August 25, 1959, and the House passed it on September 3, 1959. It was signed by President Eisenhower on September 14, 1959.

November
Serviced on Fund Raising Campaign Committee, Yale University

Member-at-large, Committee on Vocational Education, State of Arkansas

Crusade for Freedom, Chairman, Arkansas State Fund Raising

1960

April
Re-appointed Chairman of the AIDC

May

June 2-4
Official host, Williamsburg, to King and Queen of Thailand, King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit

October 17
Party for Two Parties-gala at Winrock Farms

October
Elected to a four-year term as Trustee, Vanderbilt University

November
Elected to a one-year term as President of the Delta Santa Gertrudis Breeders Association

Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., Director. Served until 1964.

Committee for the Two Parties organized

1961

March 1-4
Opening of Winrock Center, Alburquerque, New Mexico

April
Elected to Board of Directors, Santa Gertrudis Breeders International Association
May 25  Elected member for Arkansas, Republican National Committee

June 11  Awarded Doctor of Laws Degree, The College of William and Mary

September 18-19  Official host, Williamsburg, President Prado of Peru

November 1  Re-elected to second one-year term as President of the Santa Gertrudis Breeders Association

1962

April 12  Television appearance announcing he would not be a candidate for governor

"Take Two" animated color cartoon film narrated by Jimmy Driftwood, issued by the Committee for the Two Party System

1963

March 27  SELF-PORTRAIT with Harry Reasoner, filmed at Winrock

May  Purchased 10,000-acre Turner Ranch, Sulphur, Oklahoma, from Governor Roy Turner

June 2-3  Official host, Williamsburg, to President Radhakrishnan of India

Summer  Bought Palm Springs home

July 16  Cited by Editors of "Who's Who in the South and Southwest" for record as Chairman of the AIDC

August  Tenth Anniversary in Arkansas

September 22-25  Chairman, National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment

Opening of the Arkansas Arts Center

1964

March 28  Resigned from the AIDC
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 4</td>
<td>Announced his candidacy for governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 3</td>
<td>Appeared on MEET THE PRESS, with Lawrence Spivak, Panel Moderator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Delegate to the Republican National Convention, San Francisco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Retired from the Board, National Urban League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Re-elected to second four-year term as Trustee of Vanderbilt University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 3</td>
<td>General Election. He received 44 percent of the vote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11</td>
<td>Inducted as an honorary member of Kappa Delta Pi, Alpha Xi Chapter of the College of William and Mary. Walter Cronkite was inducted in the same ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 11</td>
<td>Filed for governor's race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>LHD, honorary degree, University of San Francis Xavier, Sucre, Bolivia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 22</td>
<td>Inducted into the United States Army Infantry School Officer Candidate Hall of Fame, Ft. Benning, Georgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 18</td>
<td>Ouachita Baptist University's new gymnasium dedicated to Winthrop Rockefeller &quot;in appreciation of his generous and continuing support of education at Ouachita.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 8</td>
<td>Elected governor of Arkansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 9</td>
<td>Re-elected for a second three-year term to the Board of Directors, Graduate Research Center of the Southwest in Dallas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 10</td>
<td>Inaugurated as the 37th Governor of Arkansas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
February
Appointed by President Johnson to the National Civil Defense Advisory Council

May 15
Member of the Republican National Committee's Coordinating Committee's task force on job opportunities and welfare

July 1
Joined Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Arkansas (by right from William Brewster)

August 1
Charter member, The Governors Club of the American Society for Friendship with Switzerland

November 28
Jointly with his four brothers, 1967 Gold Medal Award by the National Institute of Social Sciences

December 13
Founding Trustee, Rockefeller Family Fund
Re-elected for a three year term to fill the vacancy on the Board, Vanderbilt University

1968
January
Elected to the Board of Trustees, People to People International

May
Appointed honorary member of the National Council, Boy Scouts of America

June 19
Awarded National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution gold Good Citizenship Medal (their highest honor). Presented at Williamsburg

August
Delegate to GOP National Convention, Miami, Florida

August 7
Republican National Convention, Miami, Florida. Nominated as the "Favorite Son" candidate for the Presidency of the United States

November 5
Re-elected for a second term as Governor Honorary Trustee, Ground Water Resources Institute, Chicago
Chairman, Committee on Natural Resources, Southern Governors Conference

1969

January 25
Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller received the first annual "Mrs. D. D. Terry Award" for their contribution of time and resources "for the betterment of mankind."

April 7
Appointed to General. The Confederate Air Corps, Montgomery, Alabama

April 19
Awarded Doctor of Laws Degree, College of the Ozarks

October 29
Frontier Airlines Frontiersman Award. Given "in appreciation of consistent support in the development of air transportation."

November 13
Arkansas Wildlife Federation "Arkansas Conservationist of the Year" award. Cited for interest in stream Preservation, water conservation and pollution control

American Academy of Achievement, Dallas, Texas. Member of the Honorary Board of Trustees

Member, Board of Governors, American Council of Young Political Leaders

Board of Directors, Southwest Center for Advanced Studies

1970

Spring
Guest appearance on "The Governor and JJ"

May
Led delegation of US Governors to France, a ten-day trip at the invitation of the French government

June
Elected to Honorary Life Membership (along with all Gold Medal honorees) in the National Institute of Social Sciences
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event/Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 9</td>
<td>Announced candidacy for a third term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 3</td>
<td>Defeated in third term bid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 4</td>
<td>Re-elected to the Board of People to People, International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Member, Advisory Council, Radio of Free Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Winthrop Rockefeller Scholarship Fund for Winthrop Rockefeller Chair in Political Science, Guy Newcomb, Chairman (later changed to Governor Winthrop Rockefeller Distinguished Lecture Series), University of Arkansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 29</td>
<td>Appointed to the Executive Committee of the Republican National Finance Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24</td>
<td>Presented a plaque in appreciation for his contribution to the black people of Arkansas by the State Organization for Minority Evolvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29</td>
<td>Divorce from Jeannette Edris Rockefeller granted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 22</td>
<td>Arkansas Jaycees awarded Rockefeller Honorary Life Membership, the first ever awarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 29-</td>
<td>Served as member of the US delegation to Seoul, Korea, for inauguration of President Park Chung-hee. Carried the rank of Special Ambassador with title Representative of the President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Republican National Committee, ad hoc committee to recommend utilization of former GOP Governors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 23</td>
<td>Loomis Founders Day featured by announcement that the new quadrangle south of the William H. Loomis Dining Room will be called The Winthrop Rockefeller Quadrangle. On a bas-relief that will stand in the center of the quadrangle will appear the words:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A dedicated leader whose concern for the youth of our country and for the special mission of his school is continuing inspiration to all generations of Loomis boys and Chaffee girls.

Re-elected to a four year term as Trustee, Vanderbilt University

1972

February Chairman, Executive Committee, Coalition for Rural America
August Delegate to the Republican National Convention
December Made 17th annual consecutive contribution to the Arkansas Foundation of Associated Colleges

1973

February Died, Palm Springs, California
STATEMENT OF BELIEFS

I believe in the supreme worth of the individual, their [sic] every right implies a responsibility, every opportunity an obligation, every possession a duty. I believe that law was made for man and not man for the law, the government is the servant of the people and not their master. I believe in the dignity of labor and that thrift is essential to well-ordered living. I believe that truth and justice are fundamental to an enduring social order. I believe in the sacredness of a promise, that a man’s word should be as good as his bond. I believe in an all-wise and all-loving God, and that the individual’s highest fulfillment, greatest happiness and widest usefulness are to be found in living in harmony with His will.

These values are the foundation for the following general principles and programs which I believe will benefit every citizen of Arkansas:

1. I believe that no governor of Arkansas should serve more than two consecutive two-year terms. When I am elected, I will not accept a third consecutive term under any circumstances.

2. I believe that honest elections are essential to the preservation of a democratic society, and that conduct which interferes with this process should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. I will do
all in my power to eliminate election frauds and abuses in Arkansas, so that the true "will of the people" shall govern our state in the best tradition of democracy.

3. I believe our youth need and deserve the best education possible. We must make a careful study of our entire educational system and then boldly implement the findings of this study to develop a vital, thorough school system, coordinated throughout to create the opportunities for intellectual advancement that are the rights of all our youth. With emphasis on training its young people, Arkansas can fully develop its most precious and productive resource.

4. I believe in law enforcement, and I would not permit the opening flaunting of the law, as has been the case in Hot Springs with gambling and illegal sale of liquor. I am morally opposed to organized gambling, and therefore would not support its legalization.

5. I believe that all people should have the right of equal opportunity, but that with this right there is responsibility. I believe that we must solve human relations problems on the local level, and that we can make greater permanent progress by voluntary action through faith, integrity, understanding and good will rather than through litigation and legislation. I oppose violence and recognize that it is not an appropriate means to reach these ends.
Educational and economic short-comings are at the base of most of our human relations problems.

6. I believe that fiscal integrity is the heart of efficient state government, and that we need businesslike accounting and reporting procedures so that the citizen may easily inform himself about the use of his tax dollar. I believe that public records should be truly public and available to all citizens.

7. I believe that employees of government should not be intimidated by political pressures. We should base such employment on merit, and establish protection from unwarranted pressures to insure job security.

8. I believe that the success of our form of government depends on having two effective political parties; that one-party control frequently leads to corruption, political arrogance, cynicism, disrespect for free institutions and mediocrity in elected and appointed officials. One-party control offers little opportunity to bring about needed changes.

9. I believe that it is a necessary function of government, as well as a moral and religious obligation, to care for and assist those unable to care for themselves. I will support programs that will lead the sick and handicapped into full, decent and happy lives. I believe that we must take all health and welfare programs out of politics. When recipients are sure of their rights they can maintain their
self-respect. Society owes a debt to its older citizens, and I will support programs designed to meet their needs.

10. I believe that the state must come to realize that punishment for crime, without rehabilitation for those who could benefit from it, is immoral and wasteful of human resources and public funds. We must make the protection of society and the salvaging of human lives the chief goals of our penal system.

11. I believe that man does not live by bread alone, and that the highest values in life are not material ones. I will support and help develop a program of cultural and intellectual activities directed toward the enrichment of our lives as complete human beings.

12. I believe that the state is obligated to its future citizens to conserve and manage the abundant and magnificent natural resources with which it has been blessed. The unspoiled areas of natural beauty must be respected and preserved.

13. I believe that the office of governor is the highest honor and responsibility the people of this state can confer. It is a sacred trust, to be administered and used for the general good of all citizens and not to benefit the special interests of a few. I believe that all relationships between private citizens and business on the one hand, and state government on the other, should be cordial, above-board and fair.
14. I believe government is best when it is closest to the people, so that the people can control it and give it direction. I believe in States Rights, and that such rights can best be preserved and protected through the exercise of states Responsibilities.

15. I believe that it is the responsibility of the state to insure the creation of full and rewarding jobs for all. The goals of labor can be attained through accelerated industrial expansion and the intelligent development of our natural, agricultural and human resources.

16. I believe that positive leadership and broad vision in these changing times can move Arkansas into an era of unprecedented economic and cultural growth.
VITA

Merrill Anway Jones was born on January 30, 1955 in San Bernardino, California. He was educated in public and private schools in California, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Florida, and Mississippi, where he graduated from Picayune Memorial High School in 1972. Anway holds an Associate of Arts degree from Pearl River Junior College in Poplarville, Mississippi, and a Bachelor of Science degree in General Studies from Delta State University in Cleveland, Mississippi. He received his Master of Arts degree from Northeast Louisiana University in Monroe.

Anway served as Instructor of Speech and Debate at the University of Central Arkansas in Conway, 1979-1982. He entered the Ph.D. generalist program in Rhetoric and Public Address in June, 1980. In August, 1984 he will assume the position of Director of Forensics at Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Merrill Anway Jones

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Study of Winthrop Rockefeller's Political Speeches, 1964-1971

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

May 2, 1984