ON VIEWING PRESS RELEASES OF THE TEXAS STATE AFL-CIO AS RHETORICAL GENRE

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the University of North Texas in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Master of Arts

By

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Denton, Texas

May, 1992

Previous scholarship on labor rhetoric has concentrated on the impact of declining union membership and contemporary activist strategies on the part of unions. The press release is a common form of communication that organized labor employs in order to reach its publics. This study explores the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO to determine to what extent this level of labor discourse meets the criteria of a rhetorical genre.

This study employs the methodology for generic criticism laid out by Foss for identifying genres. The study concludes that a genre of labor rhetoric exists and that the genre was used extensively to promote the Texas State AFL-CIO as a socially-conscious and politically-motivated organization.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This researcher would like to thank Jane Boley, Head Archivist, University of Texas at Arlington Library, and George Green, Professor of History, University of Texas at Arlington, History Department, for their help and guidance in acquiring the materials needed to write this thesis.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Previous scholarship on labor rhetoric has concentrated on the impact of declining union membership and contemporary activist strategies on the part of unions. This study will, instead, explore the press releases of a state association, the Texas State AFL-CIO, to determine to what extent this level of labor discourse may meet the criteria of a rhetorical genre.

The press release is a common form of communication that organized labor employs in order to reach its publics. These publics or audiences include union members and officers within the industry or region, potential members, members and officers of other unions, government officials and legislators, the general public, and the AFL-CIO. Communicating to these publics therefore, is seen to be the daunting, yet imperative task for any union whose, "... objective of professionalizing and placing more emphasis on mass media activities..." (Douglas 112) must be prominent on its agenda if it is to be successful in achieving its goals.
It is toward this end that public relations, as a function of organized labor, strives. Events in the workplace, the community and the political scene constitute a kind of rhetorical situation. Labor's response may be seen as a genre. If so, then the rhetorical critic can begin to understand the social reality that arises out of the rhetorical response. And since genres, "... represent conventionalized patterns for thought . . . they can serve as an index to the social reality in which they figure" (Foss 112). Thus, the present study explores an arena that is of considerable practical and theoretical significance.

Labor's awareness of the practical significance is revealed in a survey conducted by the Institute of Labor Studies. The mission of the Institute is to "... enable the AFL-CIO and its affiliates to coordinate their communications programs and to speak with a more consistent voice to a mass audience through the most effective means of all modern media" (Douglas 113). In 1981 the Institute sent a questionnaire to the Public Relations directors of thirty national and international unions whose membership ranged from over 500,000 to just under 100,000. The purpose of this survey was to "... explore further the opinions of labor leaders regarding public relations . . . " (Douglas, Labor's New Voice 110). The survey was warranted
by the fact that labor unions frequently find themselves pictured in a negative light in the media.

A recent study sponsored by the International Association of Machinist's found that "... TV network entertainment and news presented a distorted picture of workers and unions" (Douglas, et al 855).

Additionally, membership in labor unions has fallen from 20.6% of the workforce in 1960 to 16.1% of the workforce in 1990 (U.S. Department of Labor statistics). Some scholars observe that management, in the development of "empowerment," "quality," and "work team" rhetoric, has taken the rhetorical initiative away from organized labor. Drago considers "... quality circles a type of participatory management program since circles involve workers in decision making processes from which they are typically excluded" (336). Fiorito suggests that "... progressive human resource policies tend to reduce union certification election success and union success in organizing new facilities" (114).

To some extent, language wielded by management that emphasizes the intrinsic rewards of work has supplanted the language of organized labor, with its traditional emphasis on compensation and working conditions. Consequently, labor unions in this country have taken positive action by establishing public relations departments and/or functions at the international, national, and local levels.
The survey revealed that approximately half of the responding unions had two or three staff members whose primary duties were those of public relations. Seven unions had staff members performing the public relations function in addition to their other duties, and two unions hired professional consulting firms. Some unions have taken the very pragmatic approach of combining public relations with their publication departments, which produce the union newspaper, pamphlets, bulletins, and newsletters designed to educate and inform their members.

But what is the theoretical significance of the resources that organized labor expends in the rhetoric of the press release?

This study will attempt to answer that question by scrutinizing the efforts of the Texas State AFL-CIO.

Statement of the Problem

This study will add to the previous literature and bring a new dimension to it by answering these three questions: (1) To what extent do the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO constitute a rhetorical genre?; (2) To what extent is the genre supported by the three types of rhetorical discourse evident in these press releases?; and (3) To what extent does the social reality created by the rhetorical discourse of the press releases hold theoretical implications for the field of communication studies?
Public relations serves as a principal means of disseminating knowledge, discovering motives, and engendering cooperation among concerned parties. Through the faculty of the press release these three purposes are served by enabling "... organized labor to communicate its viewpoints ..." (Douglas 115), especially when those viewpoints concern "... issues that are considered to be in the public interest ..." (Douglas 115).

And it is in the context of speaking to the public interest that labor finds itself in a rhetorical situation. Rhetorical theorists have speculated that a rhetorical situation may set the boundaries for discourse. Bitzer defines this situation 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" (6). In fact, Campbell, Jamieson, and others contend that the similar demands of some rhetorical situations provoke a particular type of rhetorical response.

These scholars have classified similar rhetorical responses, such as speeches of inauguration and apologia, as a "genre." Furthermore, they have studied the interrelationships of rhetorical elements and have attempted
to discern both how rhetorical acts influence each other and how rhetoric is shaped by prior rhetoric.

Campbell and Jamieson state that the "... generic perspective seeks to recreate the symbolic context in which the act emerged so that criticism can teach us about the nature of human communicative response..." (342).

Events in the workplace, the community and the political scene constitute a kind of rhetorical situation. Labor's response may be seen as a genre. If so, then the rhetorical critic can begin to understand the social reality that arises out of the rhetorical response. Lipset suggests that the, "... decline in electoral participation... may also be linked to the fall-off in union membership from one-third of the employed labor force at the end of the 1950s down to one-sixth today" (10). Jarley attempted to explain one "... union's intent to utilize non-traditional tactics in an attempt to pressure the firm to change its behavior" (507). Genre criticism has yet to undertake a systematic study of labor rhetoric. This research project adds to knowledge in the field by viewing the discourse and trends noted by Lipset and Jarley from a rhetorical perspective.

Significance of the Study

The necessity for organized labor's use of the press release in reaching its publics and achieving its goals cannot be understated. At the 1955 AFL-CIO Constitutional
Convention a consensus was reached: "'Organized labor is aware of the need for attaining and maintaining good public relations. The enemies of labor . . . have sought to cloak and minimize the constructive achievements of our labor movement in the hope that the public will develop an erroneous and hostile concept of the function, purposes, and accomplishments of trade unions' " (Douglas 17). This consensus was to form the foundation for a serious attempt on the part of organized labor to develop public relations strategies and goals.

In recent years organized labor has suffered some serious blows, from which it may not fully recover. Unions have been "busted" by government (e.g. Reagan Administration-PATCO), and union membership has been declining at an alarming rate. These trends alone would suffice to substantiate the ever increasing need for public relations. However, there are other factors to be considered: industrial plants are closing, placing thousands out of work; the industrial competitiveness level of this country is, in some areas, reaching all-time lows; and a recent Total Quality Management seminar held at LTV Corporation's Missiles Division, Grand Prairie, Texas, indicated many production indices rank the United States not only below its World War II enemies, Japan and Germany, but also behind smaller countries such as The Netherlands.
Fortuna, in his essay entitled, "The Quality Imperative," underscores the urgency of the matter when he reports: "... under Japan's 'voluntary' export quota system (the Voluntary Restraint Agreement) ... Honda and Toyota maintained a sold-out position from 1985 to 1988" (qtd in Huge 6). The role of public relations in industry is seminal; that is to say, public relations can greatly encourage and help to identify the avenues by which recovery begins.

In trying to understand the present and the future, this study takes an historical perspective. The focus is on the early role the press release plays in the public relations efforts of the Texas State AFL-CIO. The benefits of a better understanding of how organized labor communicates itself to its various publics through press releases may serve labor well by increasing its awareness of the need to improve media relations.

Along with improved media relations will, it is hoped, come a heightened sensitivity to the needs of the communities in which organized labor operates. Finally, this study may contribute to the current body of knowledge within the field of communication by exploring the extent to which the paradigm called "socially-constructed reality" fits the case of labor rhetoric.
Scope of the Study

This researcher argues that public relations is the forum from which organized labor's persuasive strategies emanate, and sees the press release as providing the opportunity for the practical implementation of those strategies. Therefore, this study is most concerned with the persuasive dimensions of the press release.

The artifacts selected for study are the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO during the period March 1961 to March 1963. The choice of these materials was in no way arbitrary.

First, these archives constitute a rich and unexplored local resource. Second, the emphasis on Texas studies embodies one of the missions of the University of North Texas. Third, the time period coincides with the Kennedy Administration and the rhetoric of the New Frontier, a legislative program of national significance that the Texas State AFL-CIO supported.

Methodology

Owing to the situational nature of a press release, this researcher agrees with Bitzer's description of the rhetorical situation. According to Bitzer, "Rhetorical works belong to the class of things which obtain their character from the circumstances of the historic context in which they occur" (3). But why rhetorical works? Or better put, what is rhetoric and why study it?
The ancient Greeks, who contributed much to the development of the democratic system we have enjoyed in this country for over two-hundred years, were the primary expositors of rhetoric. Rhetoric, as understood in this study, is not flowery, bombastic, or empty speech. For a full appreciation of what is meant by rhetoric and an insight into the method of this study, one must refer to Aristotle. According to Aristotle, "Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case available means of persuasion" (Aristotle trans Roberts 24).

The implication for this study is that the rhetorical critic must approach an act, artifact, or situation—or any combination thereof—with a broad perspective in order to reveal its intent and to comment upon its effectiveness, or lack thereof. Thus, we see that "... rhetorical discourse comes into existence as a response to situation, in the same sense that an answer comes into existence in response to a question, or a solution in response to a problem ... " (Bitzer 5). Rhetorical criticism, therefore, is seen to be the logical reaction to rhetorical discourse.

Whether we find ourselves listening to a pulpit-pounding preacher, or examining the label of contents on the various groceries we purchase, we must always deal with persuasive symbols. Our daily lives revolve around the "... process of thinking about symbols, discovering how and
why they affect us, assessing that impact, and choosing to live on the basis of the judgments we have made" (Foss 3). Rhetorical criticism is one of the measures of this symbol use, or misuse, as the case may be. Foss defines rhetorical criticism as the, ' . . . investigation and evaluation of rhetorical acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes" (5). However, simply investigating the act or artifact does not criticism make; the critic must attempt to ascertain the framework that constitutes the act or artifact.

Campbell defines criticism as the, " . . . discovery and articulation of the structures that inhere in symbolic acts" (7). Through the work of the rhetorical critic insight is gained into just how it is that symbols facilitate, or constrain human communication, and thus human existence. By taking into consideration the situational nature of a press release, and acknowledging the symbol-dependent nature of human beings in needing to hear certain kinds of speech, this researcher will employ the generic mode of rhetorical criticism in an attempt to discover any recurring symbolism, or patterns of persuasive strategies evident in the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO.

Generic criticism allows that there are constants in rhetorical usage over time, and that these will manifest themselves in a provocation of the audience. Foss explains that generic criticism is " . . . rooted in the assumption
that certain types of situations provoke similar needs and expectations among audiences . . . " (111), and that the, " . . . generic critic seeks to discover commonalities in rhetorical patterns across recurring situations . . . by discerning the similarities in rhetorical situations and the rhetoric constructed in response to them" (111). Genre is translated from French variously to mean type, class, or category.

Generic criticism examines rhetorical acts and/or artifacts by categorization and in relation to those needs or expectations, perceived or otherwise, that the rhetor's audience may have. These expectations are discerned by the rhetor, revealing, in part, the responsive nature of genre. Jamieson provides meaningful insight into this responsive nature by describing genres as being " . . . shaped in response to a rhetor's perception of the expectations of the audience and the demands of the situation" (163).

According to Foss, there are three options available to the rhetorical critic in employing generic criticism: generic description, generic participation and generic application. As it has not been established fully that there is, in fact, a genre of labor rhetoric, this researcher will follow the steps, as laid out by Foss, of generic description in order to verify the generic status of the rhetoric found within the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO. As Foss explains, generic description
involves four steps: (1) the observation by the critic that similar situations seem to generate similar rhetorical responses; (2) the critic then collects rhetorical artifacts that occur in similar situations; (3) close textual analysis is employed to discover if any of the artifacts share similar characteristics, such as substantive and/or stylistic strategies; and, (4) the critic then formulates the organizing principle of the artifacts, which is the essence of the rhetorical strategies found within the artifacts.

If the critic feels that the analysis has revealed a unique genre, then the critic must, according to Foss, ask four insightful questions in order to verify the generic status: (1) Can rules be located with which other critics can concur in identifying characteristics of the genre?; 2) Are the substantive and stylistic strategies clearly rooted in the situations that generated them?; (3) Would the absence of the characteristic alter the nature of the rhetorical artifact?; and (4) Does the characteristic provide insight into a new type of rhetoric, or does it simply develop into a taxonomy? This researcher feels that by employing generic description he can best serve the purpose of the thesis, which is to contribute to rhetorical theory. In doing so, he does not view himself as following some recipe, but rather views generic criticism as a guideline to a critical approach that allows for
individuality. Therefore, by examining the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO from March 1961 to March 1963 this researcher will attempt to verify the generic status of the rhetoric found within the press releases; understand the degree to which the genre is supported by examining the three types of rhetorical discourse evident in the press releases; understand the implications for the field of communication studies that a genre of rhetoric holds by examining the social reality created by the rhetorical discourse of the press releases.

Review of Literature

The literature review will focus on materials directly related to all aspects of labor's rhetorical situation. However, two other types of literature constitute an important resource for this study.

First, the study relies on several works in rhetorical theory, especially recent works (cited above) by Bitzer, Black, Campbell, Foss, Jamieson, and Scott. In addition, the study builds upon research in genre criticism by Ware and Linkugel. In discussing the apologetic mode of generic criticism, Ware and Linkugel write that, "The recurrent theme of accusation followed by apology is so prevalent in our record of public address . . . [sic that] witnesses to such a personal charge seem completely and most easily satisfied only by the most personal of responses by the accused" (qtd in Foss 122).
Second, the historical context of the 1960s is well-documented in such works as William Manchester's, *The Glory and the Dream*, wherein he describes the early 1960s as a time when organized labor was experiencing declining favor. He writes that between, "... 1960 and 1962 unions had lost about a half-million members ..." (1225) due in part to the passage of time and the emergence of the white-collar worker. Despite this decline in union membership, president Kennedy did enjoy blue-collar support (i.e. legislation to increase unemployment compensation), and set to work immediately to enact measures that would address effectively some of the issues concerning organized labor. Halberstam concurs with Manchester when he says that the most important move in regards to labor was Kennedy's appointment of Arthur Goldberg as Secretary of Labor, an excellent labor negotiator having, "... worked for Kennedy when much of labor's hierarchy was anti-Kennedy during the rackets committee investigation" (71).

Kennedy's objective of reducing unemployment through changing taxing policy gave organized labor the opportunity to interact in the political process. In his program to improve the performance of the American economy, Kennedy signalled that there would have to be compromise on both sides of the fence and that, "... there is room to stimulate private demand powerfully by cutting tax rates ..." (The President's Commission 165). Unlike Eisenhower,
Kennedy did not ingratiate himself to big business. Kennedy seemed to be mimicking the union line when he denounced the sudden increase in the price of steel as, "... a wholly unjustifiable and irresponsible defiance of the public interest" by 'a tiny handful of steel executives whose pursuit of private power and profit exceeds their sense of public responsibility" (Schlesinger 636).

Third, reference must be made to two key works on Texas in the twentieth century. While the Texas economy was experiencing difficulty, there was growth and opportunity. According to Texas Industrial Commission statistics, between June of 1958 and December of 1960 Texas attracted 475 new industries and expanded 492 old plants. This growth was attributable to Texas' 'right-to-work' law, a source of contention of Texas labor unions. E.B. Germany, writing in 1961, explained that, "The freedom existing in the Texas labor climate has been one of the greatest incentives to new industry seeking a home in the state" (125). In 1960, Texans were still having to pay a poll tax in order to exercise their constitutional right to vote. Enacted in 1904, it was designed to keep both Negroes and poor whites from voting. Its success was derived, in great part, from the economic hard times of the state. Disposable income was quickly used up in rent to landowners, groceries, and gas; Texas families, 18% of which earned less than $2000 a year, had little or no discretion in spending disposable income.
Clifton McCleskey explains why the poll tax was such a deterrent, "... there is a resistance to payment because of economic hardship ..." sustaining the, "... tendency for the tax to be paid for only one person usually the husband" (qtd in Davidson 56).

Moving to works about labor, the labor-media relationship provides the necessary framework for the study at hand. By seeking out what has been written concerning the multiple facets of how communication is employed, or avails itself, or does not avail itself to organized labor as it reacts to its members and non-members, management, the mass media, and the public-at-large, this researcher intends to include in the study a broad base of information wherewith to further an understanding of organized labor's, "... responsibility to communicate with these publics .. ." (Douglas 111).

A fairly comprehensive examination of the available literature was completed. The review, which was by no means exhaustive, nonetheless suggests the type and quantity of the available literature and should contribute to the overall discussion. The literature dates from 1932 to 1990, and addresses many interrelated topics. A chronological rendering of the pertinent literature will make plain the direction of the field.

It was the ability of the press to bring to the public a powerful narrative that gained the press recognition as a
catalyst for change. In 1932, Dickinson found that, "Mediums of public discussion other than the daily press do not appear to be very important in forming public attitudes in labor matters" (269).

The 1940s may be categorized as the era in which the pronouncement was made that labor is news! Aslakson began the decade by discovering how it was that the press had the ability to compel the reader's interest, and make the reader realize that "When a real labor story breaks . . . it brings action, drama, human interest, fistfighting, teargas, gunplay and dynamiting . . . civil war" (158).

The field of industrial journalism grew out of these dynamic times, and soon lent itself to radio and television. At approximately this point labor realized the danger of a sustained adversarial relationship with the press. Sussman, in her study of labor and radio news, reported that " . . . the presentation of labor in such an unfavorable way in the radio news can have two effects: anti-labor psychology in the listening audience, and the ranks of labor feeling they have no fair chance" (214).

The newspaper, as both a medium and an industry, and its role to labor, was examined in the 1950s. Labor unions began their own publications in order to combat a prejudiced portrayal in the public press and to communicate with their membership. Garver, in a 1958 article, theorized the labor press was a form of hegemony, in that " . . . the primary
function of the union publication is to promote the policies of the incumbent leadership . . . " (324). Some scholars commented on the purpose of the press in covering strikes and determined that a backlash was created. Jones purported the link " . . . between intentions of mass communicators and the content they produce or select for use in a medium . . . " as germinating strike newspapers, those papers run by striking workers.

Libel soon became a necessary issue to address as labor became more deeply involved with the press, the implication being that labor is subject to outside forces other than management. Krahling found that while " . . . labor organizations merit and receive considerable attention. . . what constitutes valid reasons for a bona-fide labor dispute is given to a jury to decide" (349). Halverson reported that labor papers were started in order " . . . to gain more effective communication to counter the anti-labor bias of the commercial press" (261).

The 1960s saw studies directed at ignorance on the part of the worker to the realities of the labor-media relationship. These works highlighted the necessity for good media relations. In a 1969 study on the relationship of labor press and audience, it was determined that " . . . the worker simply does not perceive the union's role in local politics to be important" (Lyons 564). Credibility is perceived as vital to this process. Nelsen sees the
ombudsman as "... a means of restoring credibility and encouraging responsible performance from reporters and editors" (457). The paradoxical implication of a quasi-unified front of student demonstrator and striking laborer was suggested in 1969 as well. The violence of the student protests led Scott (and Smith) to examine the concept of confrontation in "... the sense of standing in front of as a barrier or a threat" (1).

In 1970, the question of the benefits of a moral stance was addressed in the context of how it might further the cause of labor. Black argued for moral arguments in rhetorical criticism by saying that "Moral arguments ... compel ... a manner of apprehending an object" (109). Black's insight seems to denote a moral obligation for criticism, but what is left unclear is the extent to which it would benefit labor. Could labor accept the thesis that labor was floundering because it had forgotten its past and the price that had been paid by other generations? Labor's political strategy was examined in a 1977 study of the 1972 United Mine Workers election which validated the "... concept of the past as performing rhetorical functions ... in the context of organizations or movements that maintain strong ties with their own past" (Jensen 173). Jensen continued in this vein, finding that in order to achieve their goals labor must "... adapt past policies to an
increasingly critical rank and file and at the same time effect a renewal of traditional militancy" (33).

This appeal attempts to revive the image of the early days of the labor movement. Successfully communicating that past militancy is certainly a rhetorical strategy characteristic of a genre. Rhetorical theorists expanded on the notion that genres create social reality due to the symbolic nature of human communication by arguing that " . . . reality is socially constructed and the products of the process as well as the materials of the process are symbols" (Scott 29).

The decade of the 1980s saw an emphasis on the rhetorical influence of written communication. The suasive effect of communicating the heritage of the labor movement through song seems to validate Jensen's earlier finding concerning the renewal of traditional militancy. In a 1980 study of political rhetoric as manifested in song, Carter writes: " . . . workers were regularly exposed to the ideology present in the lyrics of the songs which . . . made concrete the issues, people and events involved in the worker's clash with the industrialists . . . " (373). Kulhavey found that " . . . attitudes and perceptions about an organization's climate are heavily influenced by the structure and context of written communication produced by management" (17). Bateman further contributed to communication theory by discovering that " . . . messages
concerning business trends, products and fringes . . . are going to be of interest to an overwhelming majority . . . " (10).

In 1983, Rothwell examined written communication and in-house training to ascertain the viability of the training field. He concluded that " . . . writing may well emerge as one subject area for increased cooperation . . . " (43). Articles emanating from the business communication sector dominated 1984.

While some of the communication processes suggested in the articles would be of value to labor in formulating a persuasive strategy, the bulk of the articles are heavily theoretical, and, therefore, not readily applied by practitioners. Waltman observed that an " . . . indirect strategy provides more information needing decoding and thus (ideally) leads the reader to the conclusion the writer intends" (77). Gibson posited " . . . the skillful use of redundancy as central to understanding information processing . . . " (43). Cybernetics were seen to be " . . . useful in an understanding of organizational communication . . . as a part of negotiation" (Duffy 38).

Kallendorf attempted to revive, "Aristotle's systematic approach to public speaking and writing . . . [sic since] arguments are generated most effectively by those who know where to look for them" (12). Chesebro, in writing about media theory and cultural systems says " . . . the
electronic media now function as a social reality . . . equal in power to the kind of understandings produced by science and everyday experiences" (126). Meanwhile, Perloff found that "The cognitive processing model reveals that . . . highly involved individuals will process political information more deeply . . . " (157).

Kallendorf, in a 1985 study, discovered that "The figures [sic of speech] enable a writer . . . to project the image of a . . . person whose ideas deserve to be taken seriously" (43). Garver appeared to be saying that a higher plateau could be reached if organized labor would consider, " . . . writing as a moral act . . . , " and that, " . . . teaching writing teaches virtue by teaching the structure of practical reasoning" (62).

The power of the media to influence perception, and opinion, has once again been acknowledged, as has the difficulty of labor's rhetorical mission. One author contends that positive labor-media relations must be secured and maintained if unions are going to be able to reverse the fact that, " . . . popular presentations of labor history are much more difficult to find" (Rosenzweig 51). Grimes also acknowledged the difficulty of labor's task by saying that the " . . . labor story is more complicated [sic because] it involves dealing with economies . . . " (53).

Some of the first indications that labor was indeed changing with the times were reported by Gustke in a 1988
study that examined the role of communication in the Eastern airlines strike. Forced into a defensive posture at the bargaining table and "Hungry for members, unions increasingly are casting longing eyes at women . . . " (52). And labor seems to be quick to respond to the threat posed them by automation and advancing technology.

Management's interest in replacing people with robots is a reality that labor must face and successfully address. Adkins suggests that " . . . improvements in the quality of the labor force through education and training . . . " can be one avenue of approach (546). Likewise, organized labor can form a strong link with its members and the community by working to " . . . strengthen workers' knowledge of safety and health problems . . . " (Marshall 52).

By actively working to communicate its concern for workers' safety and welfare, labor presents itself as a moral force operating under ethical guidelines. The year 1989 was dominated by articles on ethical considerations and implications of the labor-media relationship. Dahl said, " . . . by serving our customers well we will be able to serve our employees well" (642). Bivings discovered the, " . . . need for an ethical guideline which addresses the lack of delineation of roles, function and purpose" (65). Ethics took centerstage as Michalos expounded on his hope for future strike situations: " . . . the principle of mutual trust . . . that persons will not . . . knowingly inflict
physical harm on one another . . . " (633). Harris examined " . . . the ethical values of . . . the organizational hierarchy of a single firm" (741).

As a result of the economic downturn of recent years many unions are preserving jobs by working with management as opposed to taking the hardline stance that has for so long typified labor negotiation.

Overman observed, " . . . union leadership moving from the single focus of maximizing the economic gain for their membership to helping the general management at Xerox manage the business effectively" (59). Lipset says this level of participation between the unions and management occurred, in part, because the " . . . debate over environmental and energy issues involves important segments of business and organized labor [sic that are] both interested in economic growth . . . " (10).

However, one of the ways in which labor can improve its position is to ingratiate itself with the community in which it operates by donating time and resources to community projects. "Generating public support for union objectives . . . requires that the union demonstrate it can do something valuable for the community that the company cannot or will not do" (Jarley 516). This new awareness has come about, in part, because unions are " . . . beginning to realise [English author] that violent strikes and high wage demands are not a cure-all for their problems" (Clifford 74).
Still the old antagonism continues. Management is now moving towards supplanting the role of the union in providing for the employee. "The idea is to provide an employment package that so effectively addresses employee needs and desires that union dues will appear a needless cost" (Fiorito 114). And even if management and labor were to come together on an issue there remains still a lingering skepticism on the part of labor. Schuster reported, "... union leaders, having historically experienced a seemingly endless series of management proposals to improve a variety of employee and performance difficulties, would more likely be skeptical" (388).

Nevertheless, the need for increased cooperation between labor and management continues to grow. Innovation has been the key to maintaining position at the bargaining table for the union at Cummins Diesel where "... workers in Associate jobs will, by definition, develop skills specific to Cummins and to their individual jobs [sic making them] much more costly and difficult to replace" (217). Though management may seem to have the upperhand with these new innovations, caution is advised. Cooke surmises that "... by displacing employees through capital substitution and subcontracting, and by engaging in concession bargaining aimed at modifying traditional work rules, management runs the risk of being perceived as untrustworthy ..." (305).
The quality circle is another innovation that is seeing increased acceptance, and the role of communication is essential to its success. Some scholars argue that "... program success requires that workers, managers, and unions view quality circles 'as contributing to their separate economic and organizational interests' " (Kochan qtd in Drago 346). Finally, in order for any of these participatory innovations to work, Bradley argues that there must first come a paradigm shift on the part of management regarding the key elements of Western managerial culture. The first element is managerial professionalism, "... which sees managers as the only competent and legitimate decision makers ... " (74), and the second is the "... conception of the firm as the property of the owners of its capital stock ... labor is regarded as a factor of production ... seen as being essentially untrustworthy" (74).

Plan of the Study

Chapter Two will concern itself with employing generic description in order to discover to what extent the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO constitute a rhetorical genre. Chapter Three will explore the degree to which the genre is supported by examining the three types of rhetorical discourse evident in the press releases. Finally, Chapter Four will discuss the implications for the field of communication studies that a genre of rhetoric
holds by examining the social reality created by the rhetorical discourse of the press releases.
CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE GENRE

The first step in generic description is an observation on the part of the critic that similarities exist between certain situations and the rhetorical responses generated by them. These situations may fall within the realm of the critic's interest or experience, but not always. What is important is that the critic may have a hunch that a genre exists and will then pursue that hunch in the context of rhetorical criticism. This researcher took his bachelor's degree in Journalism and is very interested in how the events of the world are reported and commented upon, if not explained, in the pages of the newspapers and the editorials therein. Having worked in the defense industry for almost five years, and having had some degree of experience with labor unions, this researcher concluded that there might be a genre of labor rhetoric. Labor unions are a part of this country's heritage and are a reality for big business.

The fact that Texas has a "right-to-work" law certainly provides a barrier to organized labor's efforts; nevertheless, labor continues to be actively involved in the issues that concern itself and the workers it represents in the workplace.
Part of this concern is manifested in the way that labor communicates itself to its publics (union-members being part of this group) regarding the issues that will have an impact on their lives and livelihood. For decades, labor unions across the country have communicated to their members through newsletters, pamphlets, bulletins and other publications. Some labor unions in the newspaper industry started their own papers in order to combat the ill-effects of alleged biased-reporting by other local newspapers during times of strikes. These "strike-papers" were also intended to present labor's side of the dispute to the public in an attempt to gain public sympathy. Yet, all these were singular in their purpose; whether it be to communicate internally to its membership, or to plead their case during a strike, these publications did not reach out to the general public in a comprehensive manner that would denote a level of political activism bespeaking concern for the public good. The press release is one way in which labor can reach a broad audience in communicating its views on a wide variety of issues. The press release serves not only to report the events that transpire, but, more particularly, it serves to indicate labor's position on these concerns and how labor intends to react to them.

Of course, there is some degree of subjectivity in the content of the press releases that labor sends to the local
newspapers. Newspapers offer limited space for reporting news, the rest goes to advertising and comics.

Labor unions must then communicate the news of events, legislation and issues that directly concern its members and, as will be shown later, the community-at-large.

Acting on the presupposition that there may in fact be a genre of labor rhetoric, and that the best way in which to discover this phenomena is to examine press releases, this researcher commenced a lengthy search in the archives of the Texas State AFL-CIO at the University of Texas at Arlington library. Persons to whom this researcher is in-debted are: Jane Boley, head archivist, Special Collections; and Professor George Green, History Department. Dr. Green is the individual who has worked with the Texas State AFL-CIO in gathering the great volume of artifacts that make up the labor organization's archives at present.

Having decided upon the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO as text, and having determined the time period in which to concentrate, several rhetorical situations began to reveal themselves repeatedly. The situations were similar in that they represented life in early 1960s Texas.

The responses (the press releases) were similar in that they presented factual data in a very interpretive manner--these similarities will be described below in step three--that gave an editorial quality to the press releases. The
press releases, then, provided the Texas State AFL-CIO with the platform from which to reach its audiences.

A total of nine issues that were being addressed (the rhetorical situations) were discovered: unemployment compensation law, general sales tax (vs. ability-to-pay), political integration, minimum wage law, migrant worker/alien labor, right-to-work law, supporting public/higher education, anti-labor tactics and the poll tax. These nine rhetorical situations occurred in the political context of the legislative battles being fought, over the above mentioned issues, in the Texas State Legislature and the Congress of the United States.

According to Manchester, President Kennedy moved quickly to implement his New Frontier administration. Kennedy's Secretary of Labor, Arthur J. Goldberg "... settled a strike in his first twenty-four hours in office which typified a dynamic policy of action" (1093). And a March 4, 1961 press release told Texas readers that "The legislative battle over changes in the unemployment compensation law is underway with AFL-CIO leaders pushing for improvements in the law and Texas Manufacturers Association lobbyists seeking to eliminate many workers from coverage" (Appendix A, pg109, paral). In the press releases covering the period from March 1961 to March 1963, the nine rhetorical situations appeared a total of 252 times: unemployment compensation law, 24; general sales tax, 24; political
integration, 89; minimum wage law, 6; migrant worker/alien labor, 27; right-to-work law, 13; supporting public/higher education, 9; anti-labor tactics, 47; and poll tax, 13.

Having observed that there are similarities between certain rhetorical situations and the rhetoric generated in response to them, and having collected the rhetorical artifacts that reflect these similarities, the next step in generic description is to analyze the press releases for features that highlight the similarities between rhetorical situation and rhetorical response and further indicate the presence of a genre.

Close textual analysis allows the critic to discover external and internal factors that the Texas State AFL-CIO has chosen in formulating its rhetoric. Other critical methods, such as neo-Aristotelian and fantasy-theme criticism, can be employed as well in order to point out certain features of the genre. Finally, Foss suggests four questions that help to determine the distinguishing features of the genre: (1) Can rules be named that consistently identify characteristics of rhetorical practice?; (2) Are the similarities in the substantive and stylistic strategies clearly rooted in the situation which generated them?; (3) Would the absence of the characteristic in question alter the nature of the rhetorical artifact?; and (4) Does the characteristic contribute insight about the type of rhetoric, or simply develop a taxonomy? Each of these
questions will be addressed, in turn, in order to verify the
generic status of the press releases.

The external factors are manifested in three recurring
themes located in the press releases: (1) that big business
and the Texas Employment Commission (TEC) are not only
insensitive, but are antagonistic to the needs of the
people; (2) that the Texas State AFL-CIO is working for the
public good, not just for itself; and (3) that a class
struggle is being waged between the Texas State AFL-CIO and
outside forces.

This researcher considers a situation and the rhetoric
constructed in response to it thematic by virtue of the
number of times it is addressed and the manner in which it
is described. A theme is therefore to be considered
indicative of the presence of a genre. The first theme is
that business and the Texas Employment Commission (TEC) are
not only insensitive, but are antagonistic to the needs of
the people.

In March of 1961, lobbyists representing the Texas
Manufacturers Association are working to reduce the level of
unemployment compensation benefits payable to laid-off
workers. One controversial provision of the business-backed
legislation institutes a one-week waiting period and would
not only "... deprived laid-off workers of their first
week of federal-state compensation but also of supplementary
unemployment benefits won through collective bargaining" (Appendix A, pgl10, para5).

Denying workers of much needed funds for a week? For what? The press release paints business and its lobbyists in the worst possible light. The import of those funds cannot be understated in light of the fact that in 1961 there are over 30,000 unemployed Texas workers who depend on that support. However, in April President Kennedy signs federal legislation that increases the weekly amount and no waiting period is imposed. The Texas State AFL-CIO plays an important part by alerting Texas workers to the fact that twelve additional weeks might be due them because of the extension legislation. Another situation the press releases address in this theme of business and government as uncaring is the general sales tax.

An April 7, 1961 press release warns readers that the sales-tax supporters are trying to deceive the legislature into thinking that the people of Texas want a sales-tax, when they do not. The union succeeds in depicting business as uncaring by telling readers that what the sales-taxers propose is "... nothing less than an attempt at a hundred-million dollar steal from the Texas economy ... by stealing in penny and dime pilfering from the pocket of the wage earner and the little man of Texas." The essence of the theme is that "big" business operates out of self-interest, having no concern for the working, or average man.
In between April 7, 1961 and June 2, 1961 Governor Price Daniel fights alongside the union against the "rich and powerful lobbyists" who are pushing the general sales tax.

A June 2, 1961 press release describes how the "... unscrupulous pressures of the 'Third House' (sales-tax lobby) have cost the people of Texas additional money which in turn must be paid ... by the people least able to pay." The burden of the sales tax will be felt most harshly by the people that the union either represents directly through collective bargaining, or the political process: the over six million Texas families that earn less than $3,000 annually. By picturing business and the Texas Employment Commission as uncaring and antagonistic to working people the union draws support to itself, especially when this depiction is carried out in tandem with the second theme.

The second theme is that the Texas State AFL-CIO works for the good of the public, not just itself. On March 26, 1961, a bill to extend unemployment compensation benefits becomes law, but the minimum wage is cut from $1.25 to $1.15. At this time the Texas State AFL-CIO is actively campaigning for Maury Maverick Jr. in the race for the U.S. Senate. A press release announces an urgent appeal for people to get out and vote for Maverick.

The union informs readers that Maverick supports President Kennedy's New Frontier program "... for getting
In supporting Maverick the union is announcing to the public that it supports the Kennedy Administration (the New Frontier) and is therefore, like President Kennedy, working in the public's best interest. In April, the Texas House of Representatives passes House Bill 113, regulating the transportation of migrant workers. Texas has a sizeable migrant worker population that is not organized. Nevertheless, the Texas State AFL-CIO, in a press release dated April 14, 1961, says, "The conditions under which migrant farm workers must live are among the worst ever endured . . . the Texas labor movement . . . endeavors to call public attention to the problems of domestic farm workers and their families and to press for legislation to improve these conditions" (Appendix A, pg112, para3&5). Thus we see that in situations where the good of the people is not being, what is perceived to be, adequately addressed the response of the Texas State AFL-CIO has been to affirm the right of the people to the good life. The union can be depended upon to be politically active in seeking to improve living conditions for all the people. However, the union must also remain vigilant against myriad attacks upon itself.
The third and final theme revealed in the press releases is that of the Texas State AFL-CIO being engaged in a class struggle between itself and outside forces. In April of 1961 many of Texas' major labor-market cities are experiencing high unemployment.

This class struggle, this sense of "us" versus "them," seems never more apparent than in a press release dated April 7, 1961: "Nine per cent of El Paso's work force is unemployed, and every day a flood of 18,000 aliens crosses the international bridge to go to work in El Paso at jobs that rightfully belong to residents of this country" (Appendix A, pg113, paral).

The "them" referred to in the theme is, in fact, a duality: not only the 18,000 aliens who cross the river each day, but more importantly, the employers who hire them. Hiring these "commuters" is seen to be yet another attempt on management's part to stamp out the labor movement. The union's existence is threatened by people who take their money home, back across the river to Mexico, where its does the Texas economy little good, except for making the employers even wealthier. And, according to labor's ideology, the wealthy class make their money off the backs of poorly paid workers. Near the end of August Governor Daniel rescinds his opposition to the general sales tax and it becomes law.
Unemployment is still a chronic problem, and the class struggle reveals itself in the text of a speech given by H.S. Hank Brown, president of the Texas State AFL-CIO, at a Labor Day Rally-barbeque in Houston. Brown highlights the damaging effects of a double standard in current labor relations legislation saying to the people: "Deplorable conditions exist in the Texas labor-management relationship, because Texas law continues to apply one set of standards to labor--through application of 17 of the most restrictive, one-sided, unfair and totally unwarranted labor statutes of any state in the nation . . . " (Appendix A, pg114, para6).

Brown explains that Labor Day signifies the spirit of the working class; and labor, like any other movement that wishes to sustain itself over time, must periodically remind its members of their heritage in the movement. He reminds the people that management has historically oppressed the worker and this is the legacy that WE have to overcome, and WE will! Yet, management never seems to give up, hence the double-standard in labor-management relations.

The internal factors that are a feature of the genre represent those recurring strategies that the rhetor employs to codify the message in such a way as to make its meaning immediately felt. The substantive strategy, which deals largely with content, used in the press releases is revealed by two different, yet similar metaphors: "war" and "Texas vs. Mexico."
Metaphor can be used to draw a connection with the audience because of the inherent symbolism involved. The two metaphors employed by the rhetor serve to coalesce a sense of nascent nationalism and determined resolve, so symbolic of the frontier spirit of the early Texas settler.

The "war" metaphor serves to draw the battle lines; and the "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor serves as a rallying cry, remindful of the heritage that Texans share, against oppression. The "war" metaphor is employed at the outset, and therefore, sets the tone of the rhetoric which augments the stylistic strategies.

This researcher agrees with the view that rhetoric can and does create social reality. One only has to think in terms of Orson Wells and Martians to concur. March 4, 1961: "The legislative battle . . . " (Appendix B, pg116, paral) to which the press release refers supports the theory of a genre's ability to create social reality and thereby gain persuasion. Speaking in El Paso, a press release dated April 7, 1961 recounts, H.S. Hank Brown, President of the Texas State AFL-CIO calling for a " . . . counter-offensive against a 'close-knit and well-heeled little group of sales taxers . . . " (Appendix B, pg117, paral).

So, Texans are going to war. The context in which Brown speaks creates the sense of urgency, perhaps not unlike another famous battle-cry of Texas history--"Remember the Alamo"--that served as a rallying-call.
In a press release dated September 1, 1961, secretary-treasurer of the Texas State AFL-CIO, Roy R. Evans, says: "It is in the greatest American tradition to organize against tyranny . . . there is a great need for working people to wage the battle for Freedom from the subtle tyranny of the rich vested interests controlling the political events of Texas" (Appendix B, pg118, para2&5).

While the "war" metaphor serves to draw the battle lines, and in doing so alerts the reader to the eminent confrontation, the "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor gives the reader a target, something on which to focus, thereby creating the social reality associated with this genre. On December 7, 1961, the twentieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor, a press release reminds Americans of another invasion that had devastating results. Union president Hank Brown justifies the creation of a new Texas State AFL-CIO district in the Rio Grande Valley saying, "The chief problem . . . is the importation of cheap "commuter" labor from Mexico, which the AFL-CIO maintains displaces American workers and lowers the region's economy" (Appendix B, pg119, para3).

The similarity between the substantive strategies and the stylistic strategies is that their characteristics support each other. In other words, the "war" metaphor supports the stylistic strategy, which is expressed mostly with an aggressive and divisive tone. March 30, 1962: The general sales tax is still an issue drawing fire from
organized labor. In a press release by-lined in Dallas, Secretary-Treasurer Roy R. Evans proposes that the aged, the poor and the sick be exempted from payment of the general sales tax.

The Texas State AFL-CIO feels the major fight in the future will be " ' . . . against attempts on the part of predatory vested interests to make this tax even worse and far more regressive' " (Appendix B, pg121, para8).

The tone of the phrase, "predatory vested interests," is harsh and divisive; it makes of the subject something that is animalistic and, while perhaps to be feared, certainly something to be destroyed. Which then brings into play the rhetorical effect of the "war" metaphor and all its aggressive connotation. These two factors combine to create a framework for persuasion that is constant over time and across situations.

Ambiguous terminology may also be used by the rhetor to call to the reader's mind the differing philosophies that are operating. The issue of "union," or "open" shop presented the opportunity for the rhetor to provide reasons why the Texas State AFL-CIO is good for the economy. September 28, 1962: the Texas State AFL-CIO argues that the " ' . . . so-called 'Right-to-Work' campaign is being financed by the same sources as various other groups on the far right,' " and that the, " 'The whole concept of the union shop was based on two main considerations: one,
through a union shop, workers would be insured the right to
membership in a union from which they might be barred under
closed union and closed shop conditions' " (Appendix B, pp122-123, para5&12). When the rhetor employs ambiguous
terminology such as "Right-to-Work," or "closed shop," or
"open shop" the Texas State AFL-CIO has the opportunity to
discuss its philosophy.

The benefit of ambiguity is that it serves to reinforce
the philosophy of the union, namely, that through the union
shop the worker is guaranteed the opportunity to join in the
collective whose purpose is to protect the individual. In
short, organized labor guarantees fair treatment of the
worker. So, it is seen that substantive and stylistic
strategies may be employed where the emphasis is mostly on
content or form. The critic may also employ other methods
of rhetorical criticism at this stage of generic criticism, such as neo-Aristotelian and fantasy-theme.

In using neo-Aristotelian criticism, the critic is
looking for similarities in the use of emotional appeals on
the part of the rhetor to influence an audience toward a
certain way of viewing the opposition. A press release
dated March 28, 1963, answers the question, "Why Unions?,":
" 'I worked for him 1 year 10 months. I got hurt on his job
Feb. 12. . . . My wife and baby were very sick. He cut off
light and water and forced me out of his house on the 27
Feb.' " (Appendix B, pg124, para3&4).
February 21, 1963: the Texas State AFL-CIO tells readers that some 25,000 American citizens are being driven off their jobs by "commuters," and that they are living on food handouts from the federal government. So, the analysis to this point indicates how emotional appeals can be used in such a manner as to ignite the earlier mentioned substantive strategies based on metaphor.

When using fantasy-theme criticism, Foss explains that the critic searches for commonalities in the depiction of characters, settings and actions in order to construct a theme with which the audience can merge. One fantasy-theme construction is centered around the lobbyists for the general sales tax. They tried to influence the Texas State Legislature to force a sales tax on the people of Texas that, according to the union, the people did not want. The theme that emerges from this construction is one of a government that no longer works for the people. March 7, 1961: the union expresses its outrage concerning, "... the action of a majority of the House of Representatives in refusing to face up to the deficit problem of the state. The sales-taxers are out in force, and this action by the House plays right into the hands of the big money sales tax lobby which now has high hopes of forcing a sales tax on the people of Texas' " (Appendix B, pg125, para2).

Finally, Foss suggests four questions that help the critic to determine the distinguishing features of a genre.
The first asks the critic to name rules that consistently identify characteristics of rhetorical practice. This researcher has named two rules: (1) The genre must identify both actor and acted upon. This rule emphasizes those features located in the external environment, features such as: business/government (TEC) AND worker/citizen; union AND public (State of Texas); and class struggle ("us" vs. "them"). (2) The genre must manifest and sustain the necessary tension. The tension serves to validate the union's existence and to justify the union's actions.

The second question asks: Are the similarities in substantive and stylistic strategies clearly rooted in the situations which generated them? The critic should work toward an understanding of the nature of the genre: Is it the purpose of the rhetor to persuade OR to merely report the facts?

The third question asks: Would the absence of the characteristic in question alter the nature of the rhetorical artifact? Foss suggests that a genre exists only if each element is so fused to the others that its absence alters the organizing principle. So, the critic needs to determine to what degree the organizing principle reflects the value of the characteristic as the characteristic supports the organizing principle.

The fourth question asks: Does the characteristic contribute to insight about the type of rhetoric, OR does it
simply develop a taxonomy? Insight is the goal of the critic in generic criticism, therefore, the critic must determine where the insight, if it exists, leads. Does the analysis provide insight into the philosophy of the union by providing answers to the question of "Why Unions?"

The press releases are informative as to actor and acted upon by addressing situations such as the decision of members of the Texas Employment Commission, using public money, to fly to Washington D.C. to lobby against extension of unemployment compensation benefits, or to send out quasi-Gestapo units to the houses of unemployed workers claiming benefits to, supposedly, verify their unemployable status.

The rhetoric in the press releases does manifest and sustain the necessary tension in situations such as the strike at the Shell refinery in Pasadena, Texas. The local union had struck for unresolved grievances, so management decided to operate the plant with staff personnel, who had no training in the jobs they would be asked to perform. Shell's position was that there was no danger posed to personnel, the plant or the community. The end result was many accidents and at least one fatality.

The substantive and stylistic strategies are rooted in the situations that generated them. If the rhetoric which creates the "war" metaphor, for example, were removed then the press releases would tend to be a sterile reporting of facts.
The feature that supports the claim that the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO constitute a genre is their heavily interpretive nature. This interpretive dimension is something that the members expect when their union is addressing an issue of such import to their lives as certain insurance companies in south Texas reneging on the flood policies after Hurricane Carla devastated much of the coastal plains towns. Many of the policyholders were union members.

The final step in the process of generic description is for the critic to formulate the organizing principle, which, according to Foss, when accomplished will validate the presence of a genre. The organizing principle of the genre of labor union rhetoric as discovered in the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO claims that the Texas State AFL-CIO is a socially-conscious and politically-motivated body whose efforts are directed toward benefitting society and championing the cause of the working person.

In summary, this researcher has concluded that there is indeed a genre of labor union rhetoric. The rhetoric is embodied in the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO and is employed to deal with nine rhetorical situations (see Chapter Two, page 27) that concern, not only union members, but the people of the state of Texas as well. Generic criticism has revealed that these recurring situations, and the rhetoric used to respond to them, are consistent over
time and place. Furthermore, the analysis has illuminated three recurring themes (see Chapter Two, page 28) found within the rhetoric of the press releases. These recurring themes are also consistent in time and place, ultimately serving to reinforce the organizing principle of the genre: that the AFL-CIO is a socially-conscious and politically-motivated body working toward benefitting society and championing the cause of the working man.

Finally, the work of Campbell, Foss, and Jamieson indicates that the critic may also discover sub-genres located within the genre. Reflecting the substance of the genre, these sub-genres will represent further classification of the genre in their use of rhetorical style, content, and strategy; each lending credence to the genre, but exhibiting a different approach to the rhetorical situation through a unique perspective on the socially-constructed reality from which it derives.
CHAPTER III

IDENTIFICATION OF SUB-GENRES

Chapter Three will constitute continued exploration into the genre of labor rhetoric by identifying the three sub-genres located within the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO. This researcher will argue that the three sub-genres are representative of the three types of rhetoric identified by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*. Furthermore, the analysis reveals that the sub-genres support the organizing principle of the genre by addressing in a consistent manner the nine rhetorical situations and the three recurring themes located within the press releases.

Rhetoric, as alluded to earlier in the study, is defined by Aristotle not only as persuasive language but also as the power to perceive in any given situation the available means of persuasion (*Rhetoric*, Book 1, Chapter 2). The press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO are tools of persuasion which serve to adapt language to the life-situations of the union member and non-member alike. The rhetoric found within the press releases is intended to persuade the audience by building identifications on critical emotional issues with all the parties in the rhetorical situations.
The press releases serve as a platform for presenting the message that the labor movement in Texas is concerned with the welfare of the people of the state of Texas. In this socially-created reality, the press releases tell the reader that the people have a right to know the intentions of their government officials, and the purpose behind the actions of big business, and what effect these actions will have upon them. Accordingly, the Texas State AFL-CIO subsumes the role of truth-seeker, using the press releases to reveal the truth of the rhetorical situation, for Aristotle writes, "Rhetoric is useful because things that are true and things that are just have a natural tendency to prevail over their opposites . . . " (Aristotle trans. Roberts 22).

Aristotle has identified three types of rhetorical discourse--deliberative (political), forensic (legal), and epideictic (ceremonial)--each with distinctive strategies and aims. Political speaking urges us to do, or not to do something; it is concerned with the future; and it establishes the expediency, or harmfulness of an action, or proposed action. Legal speaking attacks, or defends an individual or action; it is concerned with the past; and it establishes the justice, or injustice of some action or proposed action. And lastly, ceremonial speaking praises, or censures some individual, or action; it is concerned with
the present; and it aims at proving a man, or action worthy of honor, or dishonor.

The deliberative effort of the Texas State AFL-CIO is evident, for example, in those press releases which urge the people to "get out the vote" and thus take some measure of control of their lives. Legal speaking is embodied in those press releases which condemn the action of the Texas Employment Commission in sending its representatives to Congress to lobby against extension of unemployment compensation benefits. Ceremonial speaking manifests itself in those press releases praising, for example, the bravery of a Catholic priest who takes a stand against the practice of American businessmen hiring illegal aliens from Mexico at greatly reduced wages. These three types of rhetorical discourse represent the three sub-genres of the genre of labor rhetoric. They address in a consistent manner the recurring situations according to the corresponding themes previously established. What follows is an explication, in roughly chronological order, of the three types of sub-genres found within the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO. In this survey, this researcher will develop the issues, seek answers to the questions that arise, and demonstrate the degree to which the sub-genres are related to the genre.
Deliberative Sub-Genre

The key to the success of the Texas State AFL-CIO's suasive appeal is its knowledge of the structure and function of government, and its ability to frame the issues within those constraints. Aristotle, in discussing the deliberative approach, says that the "... most important and effective qualification for ... speaking well on public affairs is to understand all the forms of government and to discriminate their respective customs, institutions, and interests" (Aristotle trans. Roberts 54). The knowledge derived from such insight was used by the Texas State AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) in an effort to educate its membership so as to become a more effective force in Texas politics. The press releases were a practical application of that knowledge.

Aristotle explains that the forms of government—democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, and monarchy—represent how the supreme right to rule will be accomplished. By asserting that the form of government more closely representing the actions of big business towards the Texas State AFL-CIO is that of oligarchy (by virtue of its WEALTH qualification) three questions present themselves: (1) Which particular customs, institutions, and interests tend to maintain management's wealth and power?; (2) What are the moral inequalities of management?; and (3) How is it that the labor movement is able to articulate the goals and
philosophy to which it is committed? The answer to these questions lies in the deliberative mode of speaking found within the press releases, the sub-genre of political speaking.

The hegemonic customs of big business as presented by the press releases are: (1) operating purely from greed, without consideration for the welfare of the worker; (2) the use of "scabs," or strikebreakers (U.S., or imported from Mexico) to negate a strike; (3) the issue of "commuters" and braceros; (4) the general sales tax; (5) unemployment compensation; and (6) "right-to-work" laws.

Due, in part, to a depressed economy, the issue of unemployment compensation was frequently addressed. By August of 1961, 155,779 of the 337,757 applications for benefits had been either partially or wholly denied. In a press release dated January 19, 1962, while reaffirming the recurring theme of big business/government as uncaring the Texas State AFL-CIO urges "... the Commission to work to reduce the high percentage of disqualifications of unemployed workers seeking unemployment compensation ... by adopting a policy of not litigating contested disqualifications to appellate courts where lower courts held against the Commission" (Appendix C, pg127, paral&4[b]). The harmfulness of high rates of unemployment throughout Texas was exacerbated by the practice of Texas farmers hiring Mexican nationals, or "braceros," to work in
the fields, supplanting the traditional role of the American (or Mexican-American) migrant fieldworker. The issue is framed so as to, not only reinforce the fantasy-theme of "us vs. them," but also derives great force from the "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor that pulls heavily on emotional heartstrings. On February 23, 1962 the Texas State AFL-CIO announces that President Hank Brown and Secretary-Treasurer Roy Evans will testify at two U.S. Labor Department public hearings on braceros, "... to determine whether the employment of Mexican nationals in Texas may have an adverse effect on domestic workers in the state" (Appendix C, pg128, para4).

The necessary tension required to sustain the genre—the second rule cited above in identifying characteristics of a genre—is evident in the manner in which the union divides the parties involved. A rhetorical line has been drawn that reminds Texans of their heritage: We (the Texas State AFL-CIO) are fighting for your freedom (to work and earn a living wage). Will you join us?

One of the many anti-labor tactics employed by management to gain the upperhand in its negotiations with unions was to hire non-union outsiders, strikebreakers or "scabs," to replace the striking union workers. Depending on the area and the situation, these "scabs" could be either U.S. citizens or Mexican-nationals. Showing support to striking workers is essential to maintaining a viable labor
movement, and the call for solidarity is evident in Texas State AFL-CIO's urging all Texas union members to support the striking members of Rice Mill Workers Local 247. On March 9, 1962 a press release announced: Comet Rice hires strikebreakers to replace striking union members even though, "... the company freely admits it is in a strong financial position and is not claiming inability to pay..." so the Texas State AFL-CIO responds by urging all union members and families not to buy, "... products of Comet Rice Mills, as long as the strike continues and the company persists in its anti-union actions" (Appendix C, pg129, para3&4).

By asking its members to boycott Comet, the union is asking its members to sacrifice some measure of comfort and to demonstrate solidarity. Herein can be seen a successful use of the "war" metaphor, as in sacrificing during time of war.

The government is pictured as an oligarchy, as well, through the manner in which it has handled the general sales tax. Government is equated to management in that they both are pictured as oppressively manipulating the people through either lower wages or higher taxes. And these taxes are--according to the union--levied on the people with the least ability to pay. In response to this regressive sales tax, the Texas State AFL-CIO proposed, in a press release dated March 30, 1962, that all persons on Social Security, all
persons past the age of sixty, and all persons more than fifty percent disabled be exempted from the general sales tax.

In urging the Texas State Legislature to remove the burden of a regressive sales tax on those least able to pay, the Texas State AFL-CIO gives credence to the theme of "us vs. them." The labor organization proposes its own tax plan of a graduated corporation tax, calling it a just tax and the easiest tax to enforce. The Texas State AFL-CIO's response to the general sales tax has consistently been the corporation tax. Management, of course, opposes a graduated corporation tax because it would cut into their profits and dilute control of the wealth that sustains its role as oligarchy. In describing this issue in terms of "... the major fight of the future ..." and "... on the part of predatory vested interests ..." the union promotes the "war" metaphor to its advantage in combating this particular custom of management/government. In addition, the labor rhetoric tends to cast the war image in terms of the "little guy" versus "Goliath."

Another strategy that is effectively employed in the press releases is the image of the Texas State AFL-CIO working on behalf of the people of Texas in the sphere of state politics. By calling for the withdrawal of Judge Woodrow Bean as a candidate for Congress at large--someone who, according to the state organization, has taken the law
into his own hands--the Texas State AFL-CIO is saying that it believes in equal justice for all. In an April 26, 1962 press release, the Texas State AFL-CIO equates itself with the cornerstone of American jurisprudence. The press release asserts that labor is promoting that basic tenet of the American legal system: "We believe that every American is innocent of any charge leveled against him--until he has been judged guilty by due process of law."

Again, the Texas State AFL-CIO is seen to be working for the public good, not just its own purposes. Additionally, labor support is something to be valued as it serves as a public-watchdog. Regarding Judge Bean's behavior, the labor movement cannot "... in good conscience continue to support a candidate who admits taking the law of the land into his own hands... since he has publicly admitted he believes he is bigger than the law..." (press release dated May 1, 1962). This strategy of the Texas State AFL-CIO points to one important factor in state politics: the recommendation for support of a political candidate by the union's Committee on Political Education (COPE) is not given lightly; rather, it is something which the candidate must earn by virtue of his stance on the issues and his character.

The Texas State AFL-CIO made extensive use of public service spots on radio and television in an effort to further the connection between itself and the public. The
labor organization demonstrated its concern for the safety and welfare of the citizens of Texas by reminding people to not let "... highway death or injury spoil your Labor Day holiday... Texas labor... asks please drive safely today, Labor Day 1962" (press release dated August 1, 1962). These spots also served as a platform for the Texas State AFL-CIO to advocate industrial safety laws and regulations. Texas, according to labor, needs industrial safety laws because nearly 200,000 men and women were killed or injured in industrial accidents, many more than "... were the victims of highway accidents" (press release dated August 27, 1962).

The value of the political support that labor can provide to a particular candidate is evidenced by the members of the Texas State AFL-CIO, and their families, numbering approximately 1.5 million strong. On September 17, 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO speaks "... for the nearly four million Texans who make up this state's work force, most of whom, except for us, have no one to speak for them," reminding the candidates that just because the union has been a leader in the Democratic party does not guarantee labor's support for the party. The Texas State AFL-CIO is working for the welfare of the people of Texas, not for the Democratic party of the state.

However, in deliberating for fair treatment for labor and management, the Texas State AFL-CIO brought upon itself
the critical eye of the press, highlighting the fact that labor continually needs to strive for its rhetorical advantage and political survival. By seeking to influence the platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties of the state of Texas "... several daily newspapers editorialize that ... the union somehow wants special privilege from the Governor" (dated September 21, 1962).

The Texas AFL-CIO recognized the need for a unified labor movement, if the movement was to survive politically. The issue of survival-via-unity is raised through the theme of political integration, and is consistently addressed. For example, on October 12, 1962, at a meeting of the Executive Board of Texas State AFL-CIO in Houston, the Texas State AFL-CIO urges "... the uniting of all Texas union members into a single amicable Texas Labor Movement ... favoring the reuniting of the Texas Teamsters, and other unaffiliated labor organizations in this state ... " This rhetorical stance is necessary in part to counter the internal difficulties that the Texas labor movement suffers by the "raiding" of any union organization by another, and in part to counter the anti-union rhetorical strategies of management.

The rhetorical situation of lobbies working against unemployment compensation extension legislation, which supports the theme of big business/government as uncaring, arose again in March of 1963. The Texas Manufacturer's
Association, the Texas Employment Commission, and other pro-
employer, anti-worker groups submitted legislation which
would deny much needed benefits to as many as seventy-five
percent of all applicants, especially those low-income
workers most in need of such benefits. The Texas State AFL-
CIO points out the injustice of such action on the part of
the Texas Employment Commission, the governmental agency
chartered with the responsibility of representing the
worker, as well as the employer. The union urges that the
Texas Legislature and the Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare should investigate obvious connections between
legislators, the Texas Employment Commission, and pro-
employer lobbies to determine whether these connections " .
.. may amount to conspiracy against the working people of
this state . . . " (dated March 14, 1963).

The Texas AFL-CIO was constantly involved in educating
the public regarding the anti-labor tactics of management.
The role of public-educator fits in well with the theme of
the labor movement working for the welfare of all the people
of the state of Texas, not just union members. The tactics
reportedly used by management serve only to further the
image that management is greedy and unsympathetic to the
needs of the common person.

On September 13, 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO reports
on management tactics at the Shell Oil refinery in Pasadena,
Texas, which " . . . range from attempts to abolish contract
seniority requirements through forced reduction of premium pay to tries at even refusing cooperation on insurance contributions—all measures so long accepted as to have become traditional." Fantasy-theme analysis is a helpful supplement to generic criticism here when one considers the dramatic structure of this conflict. Given the high rate of unemployment then experienced in Texas, attempts in the legislature by pro-employer lobbies to reduce unemployment compensation benefits seemed cruel. In a version of the give-them-an-inch-and-lose-a-mile theme, labor portrayed management as so unfeeling and greedy that management even wanted to renege on the time-honored contribution to medical benefits. The conclusion suggested by labor was that the average worker cannot afford to trust that the employer is interested in the worker's well-being. The desired outcome of this rhetorical campaign is to affirm the worker's suspicion of management and to instill confidence in the labor movement.

Finally, the Texas State AFL-CIO urges on its members and the public alike the importance of paying the poll tax one more time. The upcoming election in November of 1963 represents the opportunity for Texans to tell the legislature to submit another Constitutional Amendment to repeal the poll tax. In a November 8, 1962 press release, the Texas State AFL-CIO urges "... all Texans to plan their poll taxes in their budgets before the poll tax paying
deadline—Jan. 31—has passed." The urgency of this matter is highlighted by the fact that thousands of Texas families had incomes of thirty to forty dollars a week. It would be difficult for a family at this standard of living to pay $1.50 for the mother and $1.50 for the father, so that the parents could be eligible to vote.

In late 1962, the National Association of Manufacturers announced a program to study the detrimental effects of the so-called "union-monopoly." The explicit purpose of the program being to prepare the way for anti-union legislation. On November 1, 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO urges maximum participation in the upcoming November election, warning that the intent of this action on management's part was to "... whip up support for Federal legislation that would in effect destroy the freedom of union activity in the labor movement" (Appendix C, pg131, para14).

The strategy of the management/government oligarchy is to include the labor movement under the prohibitions set forth in the nation's anti-trust laws. If this move is successful, the labor movement is delivered a crushing blow, and labor's conception of 'right-to-work' is permanently reversed. Again, the theme of the class struggle is manifested in the actions of the management/government oligarchy in seeking to outlaw labor by placing it under the criminal jurisdiction of anti-trust laws. The Texas State AFL-CIO's response is to build upon its already established
ETHOS of championing the cause of the worker by fighting for that very freedom which the oligarchy is attempting to take away.

The Texas AFL-CIO identifies itself with the heritage of the nation, because in the not too distant past the United States was fighting for freedom in Europe and the Far East, something that many union workers remember well, perhaps even from personal experience. Pro-labor rhetoric, then, takes on a trace of patriotism.

The final charge which labor makes against the management/government oligarchy is that the oligarchy maintains its power with no consideration for the safety and welfare of the worker. Texas' "full crew" statutes were being attacked by railroad lobbyists in late 1962 as management continued to accuse labor of "feather bedding." Management wished to cut down the crew size on all train runs in order to become more cost effective. The Texas State AFL-CIO countered by describing the hazardous nature of railroad work even with a standard-size crew in terms of "... 62 railroad operating employees lost their lives and 10,410 were injured ... Cutting the crew size, as management now demands, would mean even more men killed and injured" (press release dated September 8, 1962).

Having examined some of the characterizations of management/government which color the rhetoric of the Texas State AFL-CIO, the study now considers the institutional
support of the alleged oligarchy. One institution that supported the role of management/government as oligarchy was the Texas Education Agency's book-selection committee.

The power to choose which textbooks, and therefore to which knowledge Texas school children would be exposed, rested in the hands of a small group. On April 2, 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO advocates changes that would require all complaints about textbooks and rebuttals from the publishers be " . . . made public, through the press, from the beginning . . . , " and that, " . . . a couple of university teachers on the selection committee might contribute to a fresh and wiser perspective" (Appendix C, pg132, para4[a]&[d]).

Institutions bespeak something large and powerful; a perhaps unreachable, if unaccountable, entity that wields its power from a position beyond the reach of the common person. And this is, in part, the allegation that labor makes against the Texas Education Agency. The agency, as characterized by labor, was an embodiment of power residing in the hands of the few, the wealthy few. If the oligarchy can control the textbooks that influence the minds of children, then the oligarchy can maintain its social control.

State government, as has already been mentioned, is one part of the oligarchic form of government that Aristotle describes. The poll-tax already has been discussed in
another context above. Yet, it is reconsidered here as one of the bastions of maintaining the status-quo in the institution of state government.

By instituting a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, the oligarchy can limit the expression of dissent and can maintain its power and wealth. Labor charged that the intent of the poll tax was to prevent blacks and poor whites from becoming involved in the political process. The Texas State AFL-CIO had worked for abolition of the poll tax since 1900, and was actively working to have it repealed in early 1963.

The Texas State AFL-CIO announces on February 8, 1963 that they "... believe that the amendment for Constitutional repeal [of the poll tax] should be on the presidential ballot of 1964 ... " (Appendix C, pg133, para4).

By actively and openly working for the abolition of the poll tax, the Texas State AFL-CIO is rhetorically demonstrating that it is not selfish, but rather that it works for all the people of Texas. More importantly, this stance places labor in full opposition of the institutional barriers that the oligarchy has placed between itself and the people. Labor portrays itself as seeking to return state government to the people.

In the eyes of labor, the Chamber of Commerce is another institutional pillar of the management/government
oligarchy. The big business half of the oligarchy is most effectively attacked in those press releases that inform the audience of the actions and intentions of particular Chambers of Commerce. The context in which we find the institution described is once again the attempt to make the anti-trust laws applicable to labor unions. In doing so, the institution likens union workers to inanimate commodities, not human beings. On January 4, 1963, the Texas State AFL-CIO uncovers the plans of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce to form a "Labor Relations" committee which will "... pressure Texas congressmen into voting to put labor unions under anti-trust laws ..." by making, "... thorough preparation for the presentation of convincing evidence to the Congressional committee ..." (Appendix C, pg134, para5&8).

Labor argues that the interests of the management/government oligarchy are maintained by powerful groups actively lobbying for their own purposes. The success of the lobbies comes from the vast resources of the monied crowd that backs them, and in this manner they work to promote themselves. The lobbies generally are individual groups representing private industry, but not always. The Texas Employment Commission's practice of flying representatives of the three member panel up to Washington D.C. to lobby against extension of unemployment compensation benefits constituted a flagrant misuse of tax payers' money.
The Texas State AFL-CIO revealed the practice to the public as an example of government working AGAINST the people instead of FOR the people.

The deliberative mode of rhetorical discourse urges its listeners to do, or not do something. Deliberative discourse is policy debate. However, in order to perform this function the discourse must have established the expediency, or harmfulness of some action or proposed action. By exposing the moral inequalities of the management/government oligarchy, the Texas State AFL-CIO can more effectively persuade. Aristotle provides some insight into the issue of moral inequality when he writes: "... liberal people let their money go instead of fighting for it, whereas other people care more for money than for anything else" (trans. Roberts 57).

Greed is the moral inequality that the deliberative discourse of the Texas State AFL-CIO addresses within the press releases. This strategy so effectively delineates the immoral position of the parties concerned that the management/government oligarchy cannot--according to the union--assume any other role but that of an immoral entity operating solely from greed. Again, the Texas State AFL-CIO directs attention to the incident at the Shell Oil refinery in Pasadena, Texas, wherein management forced white-collar and supervisory personnel to operate the plant.
This staffing was dangerous primarily because of the lack of training and experience of the replacements who were expected to perform the work of the striking union workers. In a December 20, 1962 press release, the audience is informed of the greedy nature of the business/government oligarchy. Negotiations on a new contract had broken down. The issues to be resolved, the reader is told, were job security, the laying off of more than 300 employees, and the downgrading of job classifications of other workers. Those issues became secondary when the "... Company forced supervisory personnel to become strikebreakers in their attempt to bust the union."

The press release goes on to describe the resultant carnage. An engineer and father of four is fatally injured in an accident. Staff employees lost fingers, suffered broken legs, heart attacks, and received serious chemical burns.

The success of this deliberative discourse is its appeal to the emotions of its audience. What Aristotle calls PATHOS is nothing more than a description that naturally elicits the emotions of the audience. The deliberative sub-genre is built on the sharp image of the immorality of the oligarchy and the undeserved suffering of the employees caused by management's greed.

The final characteristic of the deliberative sub-genre is exhibited in the manner in which the press releases
articulate the philosophy and goals of labor. The press releases are descriptive, yet not to the point of being overly dramatic, even in the case of the Shell refinery. Although the facts of the situation are often presented in a highly interpretive fashion, the press releases avoid sensationalism. The press releases successfully combine reporting and intense commentary on the issues being examined.

In the rhetorical genre of the press release, the Texas State AFL-CIO contends that it works for the people of Texas, that it is concerned for the safety and welfare of ALL workers. The unstated argument is made that labor's concern is manifest in the agitation for the establishment of industrial safety codes in Texas. An October 5, 1962 press release informs readers that Texas is the "... only industrial state with no industrial safety law."

Clarity is enhanced by the reporting that Texas ranks "... fiftieth in its vocational rehabilitation program and thirty-ninth in aid to permanently disabled ..."

The Texas AFL-CIO is able to define its position by consistently defining the opposite position, namely, that management is set against the worker, and the government is set against the people. By actively working for the abolition of the poll tax, the Texas State AFL-CIO is suggesting that traditional labor issues are not the only goals that it pursues. Labor is portrayed as taking the
side of the people of Texas, not just union members. Therefore, by reporting on the perceived intentions of the management/government oligarchy as they relate to, and effect, the people of Texas, the Texas State AFL-CIO is able to represent its goals and philosophy.

Forensic Sub-Genre

The second sub-genre is the forensic, or legal mode of rhetorical discourse. Forensic speaking attacks or defends somebody; it concerns itself with the past; and establishes the justice or injustice of some action or proposed action. The forensic discourse employed by the Texas State AFL-CIO in its press releases is directed at attacking the maintenance of the established order. And, as has already been shown, labor rhetoric typically alleges that big business has a vested interest in maintaining the established order for "... all men are persuaded by considerations of their interest, and their interest lies in the maintenance of the established order" (Aristotle trans. Roberts 55).

Accordingly, there are three things to ascertain in considering how the press releases attack the injustice(s) of big business: (1) To what extent do the press releases indicate the nature and number of the incentives to wrongdoing? (These will be related to the moral inequalities discussed previously.); (2) To what extent do the press releases allege to reveal the state of mind of the
wrongdoers?; and (3) To what extent do the press releases promote sympathy for the condition of the person who is wronged? In examining the forensic discourse of the press releases one must "Consider what sorts of things people are trying to get or avoid when they set about doing wrong to others" (Aristotle trans. Roberts 64).

In its fight against the injustices of big business, the Texas State AFL-CIO simultaneously seems to maintain a defensive posture against attacks on its credibility. As was indicated in the Review of Literature, the relationship between labor and the press has not always been cordial. Hank Brown, President of the Texas AFL-CIO, was aware of this history in early 1962 when he had to refute what were termed misrepresentations in press coverage of the Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations (PASO) convention in El Paso.

Misrepresentation arising from the adversarial nature of the press towards the labor movement can serve to weaken labor's persona as the champion of the worker. Such attacks on labor must be addressed immediately. On February 13, 1962, President Hank Brown responds to allegations that the Texas State AFL-CIO is trying to sway the political support of PASO: "This is to set the record straight .... Whether reporters who said I did had any malicious or devious interest in making these misrepresentations--I do not know--but it does seem they would have checked this matter out
with me or some other responsible person" (Appendix D, pg136, para3[c]).

The implication is that the press is the irresponsible party, not the Texas State AFL-CIO. Therefore, the press is not to be trusted, whereas, labor is trustworthy. Brown contends that the Texas State AFL-CIO is pleased to see that Latin-Americans desire to be politically active and identifies PASO with the state labor organization by encouraging PASO to make recommendations on the basis of the group's needs. By standing alongside the Latin-Americans in this way, labor demonstrates that it is desirous of the support that PASO could give. And thus the groundwork for a mutually beneficial relationship has been laid.

The "war" metaphor is prominently placed within the context of the rhetorical situations requiring forensic discourse. The governmental opponents of labor, whether in office or out, never cease in their efforts to destroy Texas labor. In a March 7, 1962 press release, the Texas State AFL-CIO responds to former governor Allen Shivers. Shivers now played the role of general chairman of the "Aircade for Citizenship Action" held in Austin. He alleged that labor has no quarrels with the goals of the Aircade—to create greater understanding of national legislative and economic issues, and of the role the individual citizen can play in resolving these issues and problems in the public interest—however, the Texas AFL-CIO attacks Shivers' position as
nothing more than a "... phony facade behind which Shivers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce ... will launch bitter attacks on organized labor, liberals, and the Democratic party ..." (Appendix D, pg137, para3). By aligning itself with other political groups who are the intended victims of right-wing politics, labor integrates itself into Texas politics and demonstrates a broader base of issue-related goals.

Still, the Texas State AFL-CIO did not neglect totally those issues thought traditionally to be labor's. In March of 1962, construction of the Manned Space Center in Houston was underway and Congressman Olin Teague was attempting to cut wage scales already established by the U.S. Department of Labor. In arguing against the intended cuts, a press release underscores the benefit that labor adds to the economy: "Low wages attract workmen of lesser skills; the work of such men is slower, less efficient and, usually, means costly delays, repairs, and ... actually means higher costs" (Appendix D, pg138, para4). The Texas AFL-CIO argues that its patriotism is not to be measured in terms of lower wages--it fully supports President Kennedy's desire to get the space program rolling--but not at the cost of the inefficiency of unskilled workers.

Another Kennedy program which the Texas State AFL-CIO supports is medical care for the aged under Social Security. A press release quotes four physicians who have helped form
a "Physicians Committee for Health Care for the Aged Through Social Security." Dr. Benjamin Spock is quoted as saying that the "... The King-Anderson bill is not socialized medicine, and it does not effect the doctors. It is simply a method of paying for old age hospitalization insurance during the working years. I am all for it." (dated April 14, 1962). The Texas AFL-CIO has enhanced its ETHOS in the eyes of the elderly, and others who are concerned with this issue. In addition, by supporting the programs of President Kennedy, the Texas State AFL-CIO again demonstrates that it actively works for legislation that is good for all Americans.

The anti-union tactic of labor-baiting was employed often by Republican candidates for state office. When Republican candidate for lieutenant-governor Kellis Dribell charged that "labor bosses" dominate the Democratic party, the Texas State AFL-CIO responded, "It's the same old tired line . . . that extremists and petty demagogues always seem to come up with when their idea-bankrupt campaigns fall flat." (dated April 18, 1962). By raising the issue of demagoguery, which pictures the Republicans in a quasi-dictatorial frame, the Texas State AFL-CIO has taken sides with "the people" and integrated itself into the political battle for its survival.

In early 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO reported that the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen ended a
three-year and fifty-one day strike against the Peyton Packing Company of El Paso. The length of the strike serves to highlight the dedication of labor to its beliefs. However, the Texas State AFL-CIO attacked management for using foreigners, not U.S. citizens, as replacements for the striking workers. The "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor is used to impress upon the minds of the readers the greedy nature of management. For example, on April 30, 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO recounted that as soon as the Peyton workers went on strike (March 2, 1959) "Strikebreakers were immediately imported across the International Bridge from Juarez, Mexico." Two years later labor was successful in winning a precedent-setting court decision which ordered the U.S. Immigration Service to prevent strikebreakers from being imported across the border. The theme of "us vs. them" is metaphorically constructed out of the reality that foreigners were earning American dollars and taking them back to Mexico, pointing out that this practice is unfair to U.S. workers and harmful to the U.S. economy.

In July of 1962, Texas State AFL-CIO President Hank Brown charged Texas Department of Public Safety Director Homer P. Garrison with the use of "demagogic and smearing tactics" in an effort to get a budget increase from the next Legislature. Brown demanded that Garrison "... produce the name of a single Texas AFL-CIO union dominated by either
Communists, Fascists, or any other subversive group . . . " (Appendix D, pg139, para4).

Brown's counterattack may stem from the perceived need of labor to defend itself continually. The implication of Brown's comments is that government owes labor an apology for its continually oppressive behavior. Further, Brown's remarks seek to emphasize the extreme lengths to which anti-labor rhetoric is taken. In a rhetorical battle, it often is helpful to have a strongly defined enemy. Garrison's charges, thus, became an appropriate target for a labor counterattack.

In another portrayal of big business as uncaring, the Texas State AFL-CIO condemns the refusal on the part of railroad management to negotiate in good faith. An August 13, 1962 press release states: The union argues that the railroad employees are " . . . fully justified in their position against the wanton destruction of jobs by railroad management" which in its essence says, " . . . the public be damned" (Appendix D, pg140, para2&5). Here the Texas State AFL-CIO shows support for an unaffiliated labor organization, demonstrates the need for a unified labor movement, and evokes a sense of anger in the public psyche towards the callous attitude of management toward working people.

The issue of the Texas Employment Commission's actions toward working people is commonly addressed in the press
releases. The three member panel--consisting of an employer representative, employee representative, and a community representative--has influence over policy decisions concerning unemployment in the state. The relationship between labor and the Texas Employment Commission is strained at best, and many times adversarial, because of the failure, according to labor, of the employee representative to work in the best interest of the working person. Fantasy-theme criticism is illuminating at this juncture as it identifies commonalities in character, setting, and action in order to depict a theme with which the audience can merge.

The press releases seek to evoke the frustration that comes from believing that the person who is charged with the responsibility of advocating the rights of the working person is, in fact, often times working in a silent, consensual manner to reduce benefits for the working person. The Texas State AFL-CIO had long considered J.E. Lyles, labor representative of the Texas Employment Commission, to be so ineffective as to represent a real threat to the interests of the working person, especially the union member. The fantasy-theme that evolves supports the class struggle by picturing a collusion between J.E. Lyles and the Texas Employment Commission--between government and the working man's representative--that culminates in a public denouncing of Lyles.
In a press release dated August 18, 1962, Secretary-Treasurer of Texas State AFL-CIO Roy Evans says regarding the reappointment of Lyles to a six-year term that it is "... a sad thing for working people that they could not have a member of the commission who would stand up for them just as strongly as the employer member does for his side."

Another fantasy-theme that is illustrative of the dynamic tension necessary to maintain the genre revolves around the issue of "commuter" labor. Commuters were Mexican-nationals who crossed the border illegally for day labor in businesses, factories, and homes. In a August 23, 1962 press release, it was reported that the Webb County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, charged the Texas Employment Commission with wrongdoing by allowing the new TEC building in Laredo to be built partially with commuter labor. The Texas Employment Commission reneges on assurances that no commuter labor would be used. The contractor, Henry Kahn Construction Company has broken a verbal agreement not to use commuter labor as well. Hank Brown, President of Texas State AFL-CIO explains the situation: "Here we have the State of Texas employing ... citizens of another country at the expense of its own citizens" (Appendix D, pg141, para6). Again, the theme manifest in the rhetoric of the press release is that of the government working AGAINST the people, not for the people.
The implications found within the theme are enlarged by use of the "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor that immediately sets at odds old enemies. Texans are encouraged to remember a proud, yet painful heritage. In the 1960s, the story continues--here Texans have a situation where high unemployment is prolonging suffering, and the governmental agency charged with the responsibility of caring for the unemployed worker does not put Texans back to work. Instead, the Texas Employment Commission gives badly needed jobs to Mexicans who illegally cross into this country.

The aggressive response of the Texas State AFL-CIO to this injustice was for union President Hank Brown to meet with President Kennedy's new Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz. The discussion centered around Texas' Mexican border commuter problem. Brown assailed the "...nearly 90,000 commuters who cross the Rio Grande into Texas each day adversely affecting the wages and working conditions of U.S. citizens in the border cities" (dated September 27, 1992). Notice that Brown is speaking about working conditions of U.S. citizens, not just union members! Labor is actively promoting the perception that it is interested in preserving the freedom of employment and a living wage that a Texan is supposed to enjoy as a citizen of the U.S.A. Furthermore, the press release suggests that labor will not stand idly by as criminal activity--Mexican-nationals illegally crossing.
the border and Texas businessmen illegally hiring them at low wages—endangers this freedom.

In October of 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO went on the offensive against Texas' so-called "right-to-work" laws. The union attacked the inability of the State Legislature to take an amiable position on the most serious problem facing Texas working people at the time. An October 14, 1992 press release states that the Texas State AFL-CIO decries the fact that both political parties supported the so-called 'right-to-work' laws, whose aim is the "... destruction of lawfully and democratically organized labor unions" (Appendix D, pg142, para6). Labor gains ETHOS by informing the reader that the last four Presidents of the United States, including the current resident of the White House, John F. Kennedy, all condemned such laws as anti-labor.

Aristotle, in describing the forensic mode of rhetorical discourse, explains that the wrongs that a person does to others will correspond to the bad qualities that the perpetrator possesses. The theme that big business/government is uncaring and unsympathetic is prominently displayed within the sub-genre of forensic discourse. The press releases characterize the oligarchy as driven by base greed and also as being insensitive to the "worker" (a socially-constructed reality painted by labor rhetoric). In this view, the "worker" is at the mercy of the employer, but for the intervention of the labor
movement. Labor is shown as consistently combatting the injustices propagated upon the worker. This activist role is effectively demonstrated by ample use of the "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor and the residual effects of the class struggle theme.

Epideictic Sub-Genre

The third sub-genre of the genre of labor union rhetoric is represented by the epideictic, or ceremonial mode of rhetorical discourse. Aristotle describes ceremonial speaking as speaking that either praises or censures somebody; speaking that concerns itself with the present; and speaking that aims to prove a person, or an action worthy of honor or dishonor. The essence of the epideictic mode of rhetorical discourse is located in its attention to behavior that is virtuous. As Aristotle explains, "Virtue is . . . a faculty of providing and preserving good things . . . " (Aristotle trans. Roberts 57).

That much of Aristotle's work is concerned with "the good" is no surprise. However, what is reflected in the third sub-genre is that the Texas State AFL-CIO is also concerned with "the good." So, it will be seen that the Texas State AFL-CIO is concerned with virtue and virtuous behavior.

Contained within the sub-genre of epideictic discourse are the five virtues that Aristotle addresses in his
Rhetoric: (1) JUSTICE--the virtue through which everyone enjoys his/her own possessions in accordance with the law; (2) COURAGE--the virtue that disposes persons to do noble deeds in situations of danger; (3) TEMPERANCE--the virtue that disposes one to obey the law when physical pleasures are concerned; (4) LIBERALITY--the virtue that disposes one to spend money for the good of others; and (5) PRUDENCE--the virtue of the understanding, enabling one to make wise decisions about the relation to happiness of goods and evils.

In order to determine if, in fact, the Texas State AFL-CIO does represent itself as embracing virtuous behavior as it seeks to represent the working person, this researcher will attempt to ascertain to what extent the press releases address the various forms of virtue. For example, on February 2, 1962 a press release noted that the Third Court of Civil Appeals rejects a Texas Employment Commission refusal to pay an Austin high school student unemployment benefits. Maintaining the virtuous theme of representing the best interest of all working people, the Texas State AFL-CIO praises the justice of the courts action commenting that it's "... a sad thing when working people have to spend badly needed money and time they could use working to feed and clothe and educate their families trying to win in a court what is rightfully theirs by law" (Appendix E, pg144, para7[b]).
Implicit in this press release is the notion that the working class truly is oppressed and set upon by an uncaring government that does not recognize the harshness of the economy and the impact that economic hardship brings upon the family. In other words, families, like the labor movement, are having to fight for what is rightfully theirs. An unnecessary struggle and burden has been placed upon them and yet continue to struggle they must.

The Texas State AFL-CIO did not simply preach "getting out the vote" and do nothing more. Rather, the labor organization was actively campaigning for monetary contributions for its 1962 "Get Out the Vote" campaign. This effort was directed at the practical and comprehensive implementation of making democracy work through the ballot box. The quick response of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in turning in their share of the budget "... points the way for the rest of the Texas labor movement" (qtg union President Hank Brown, March 2, 1962).

In July of 1962, Texas farm workers were not organized and had no union representation from which to bargain with their employers. In presenting their solutions to the plight of the Texas migrant farm worker before the Migrant Study Committee of the Texas House of Representatives, the Texas State AFL-CIO argued that their proposal was prudent. The proposal focussed on the issue of union organization, explaining that, "Farm workers are not the only migrant
workers in Texas. I'm an aircraft worker. Thousands of my fellow workers migrate to other states every year . . . if they are to find gainful employment in their profession or trade . . . " (dated July 28 1962). Labor herein portrays itself as working for the public good by agitating for the right to organize all areas of labor in the communal effort of keeping good jobs in Texas.

The implied message is that labor supports the family. By struggling to keep high-income jobs in Texas, the Texas State AFL-CIO casts itself as the protector of families who might be rent asunder if a wage earner had to leave the state. Thus, the entire argument is that supporting traditional family values is the prudent choice in improving the economy of Texas in the early 1960s.

At times, the Texas State AFL-CIO had to step to the forefront in reporting the news that concerned the people of Texas. United States Senator Ralph Yarborough, D-Texas, is involved in the fight to prevent AT&T from gaining monopoly rights to a huge telecommunications satellite. In reporting Senator Yarborough's involvement, not apparently a labor story, the labor organization is praising a courageous man for taking great political risk in withstanding a huge corporation. In an August 6, 1962 press release, the Texas State AFL-CIO reports that Senator Yarborough " . . . has been in the forefront in a fight to prevent a grab of the taxpayer-financed space satellite communications program . .
that is the biggest proposed giveaway of tax dollars in American History" (Appendix E, pg145, para2&3). By reporting Senator Yarborough's effort's the Texas State AFL-CIO politically integrates itself with the future. While technology is expanding and changing, the greedy nature of big business/government remains ever the threat. Though ceremonial in its content, the press release carries the larger theme of labor working for the welfare of all the people.

In its public relations campaign that it was working for the public good, the Texas State AFL-CIO developed goals with far-reaching implications for education in Texas. The Texas AFL-CIO supports public and higher education by providing scholarships and grants. The Texas State AFL-CIO also demonstrates its support for educating the children of Texas by hailing the Texas Supreme Court's decision to uphold the ad valorem taxing power of junior college districts. On December 31, 1962, a press release cited President Hank Brown as saying that the labor organization filed its amicus curiae ("friend of the court") brief because "Texas organized labor believes in . . . the broadest possible educational opportunities for all" (Appendix E, pg146, para3).

By supporting education in Texas, the State AFL-CIO acknowledges the long-term benefits of education, the least of which is a capable and competent workforce. Yet, in the
early 1960s Texas was experiencing tremendous difficulty in providing that education to the people. Labor, sensing an opportunity to integrate itself with the ideals and aspirations of many Texas families, established scholarships, some of which were awarded through essay contests.

The following statistics will illuminate the prudent nature of labor's support of education in early 1960s Texas. This is how Texas is ranked among other states: (1) 40th in percent of population fourteen and over unable to read and write; (2) 30th in average school years completed by persons twenty-five and over; (3) 38th in percent of population twenty-five and over with less than five years of formal schooling; and (4) 33rd in public school enrollment as percent of school population (dated October 5, 1962).

Not only does the Texas State AFL-CIO allege that it is working for the common good, but individuals connected with the labor movement do as well. On January 16, 1963, the labor movement lost a dedicated and loyal friend. In praising the life that E.L. McCommas had lived in promoting the cause of Texas Labor, a press release related how "...most of his time was spent in a dedicated attempt to move people to be better than they, themselves, thought possible: to be better and more responsible parents, citizens and trade union members" (Appendix E, pg147, paral[c]). Thus, the Texas State AFL-CIO espouses the liberal spirit that was
E.L. McCommas. The implied message within the press release is that the government does not empower the people—it seems to condescend to defeatism through attempts at decreasing the unemployment compensation benefits so necessary in hard economic times—so labor must. The Texas State AFL-CIO does so by promoting family values and good citizenship within the concept of the Texas labor movement. In promoting family values the labor organization is courageous enough to file a law suit against the Texas Employment Commission, the government agency charged with the responsibility to represent the interests of the working people of Texas.

By addressing the rhetorical situation of the anti-labor tactics of government with epideictic discourse, the Texas State AFL-CIO censures the wrongful behavior. A press release dated February 7, 1963 reports that the Texas State AFL-CIO seeks to enjoin the Texas Employment Commission from its practice of pro-employer lobbying by stating the intention of revealing "... how really unfair they [sic TEC] are to the working people of this state ... our law suit does not include or reflect on any member of the House or Senate but is an action directed against the TEC."

The irony hidden within the framework of the press release is not lost to even the casual reader. A government agency is spending government tax dollars to lobby against the very people it is to be helping. Or, in other words, the working people of Texas are paying—taxes—to have their
best interests misrepresented. The irony is something which serves to perpetuate the theme of big business/government as uncaring and unsympathetic. Labor continues in this epideictic mode of discourse by censuring the Senate [sic State] confirmation of J.E. Lyles as employee representative of the Texas Employment Commission. The Texas State AFL-CIO and the working people of Texas have long had reason to consider Lyles as an enemy, and not a friend, by virtue of the fact that he has often given implied consent to the pro-employer lobbying efforts of the employer representative.

State AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Roy Evans announces, "... we are disappointed that the Senate did not agree with our fully-documented contention that Mr. Lyles' record disqualified him to be TEC labor commissioner ... the loss is not the loss of organized labor--it is the loss of every Texas man and woman who works for a living" (dated March 20, 1963).

Championing the cause of the working person has been a union goal consistently portrayed throughout the years within the press releases. Another recurring rhetorical situation has been the Texas State AFL-CIO's fight for the abolition of the poll tax. Abolition of the poll tax was one of the original planks on the platform of the founding convention of the Texas Federation of Labor in Cleburne, Texas, in 1900. And this continues to be the case in the 1960s. On August 3, 1962 a press release from the Texas
State AFL-CIO decries the dishonorable actions of the state legislature in only paying lip-service to representing the good of the people by "... working to replace the poll tax with a scheme that would do, under another name, just what the poll tax has always done, namely, keep down the voting strength of the people" (Appendix E, pg148, para7).

One question that arises from this context centers on the issue of honor in government service. In other words, "Where is honor?" President Kennedy has said that serving one's government is and should be an honorable thing when he admonished the people of America to "... ask what I can do for my country..." He carried this notion one step farther by creating the Peace Corps. By agitating against the poll tax and the dishonorable intentions of the Texas State Legislature, the Texas State AFL-CIO is identifying itself with the young, vibrant President. The early 1960s was an exciting time to be an American, considering the space program, the Cold War, the Civil Rights movement. The Texas State AFL-CIO gains ETHOS, or credibility, by espousing the spirit of the Kennedy Administration in working diligently to "... relive every burden..." (Kennedy Inaugural speech) from the people of the state of Texas.

Still the economy suffers and conditions have not been improved by Texas farmers and businessmen hiring "braceros, " earlier "wetbacks," to harvest crops in the fields. The
Texas State AFL-CIO has long contended that this practice is harmful and counter-productive to revitalizing the economy of Texas. A major campaign, evoking the honorable position of organized labor, is directed at convincing the businessmen and farmers of the Lower Rio Grande Valley to cease this damaging practice.

Consequently, the newspapers report that the Lower Rio Grande Valley Chamber of Commerce's Agricultural Committee has announced that retail sales are improving and that both bank and savings and loan deposits are at record highs. In an August 24, 1962 press release the reader is reminded that the Texas State AFL-CIO can truthfully say 'we told you so!' in response to the Chamber of Commerce's announcement that "... things were booming because, for the first time, very little outside labor (meaning braceros) had been used to harvest Valley crops--especially cotton ... "

The justice evident in the epideictic response to the findings of the Chamber of Commerce is no small comfort to the Texas State AFL-CIO due to the fact that gratitude from the business sector for the campaigning efforts of labor is hard to come by. The real rhetorical danger is that business will appropriate some of labor's rhetorical strategies and take credit for progress in the Valley.

One final, yet interesting point needs to be made concerning the sub-genre of epideictic discourse as it relates to the events of the early 1960s in Texas. The
perceived connection between the virtues of justice and courage deserve emphasis in this rhetorical analysis. The press releases seem to indicate a pattern of behavior which suggests that justice is a derived benefit of courageous acts. If this is so, then the discourse of the press releases has revealed another sub-genre. This sub-genre suggests that the constraints of a rhetorical situation, when met with discourse evincing a courageous stance on the issues, can serve to modify the exigency to a point that the justice of the rhetor's actions toward the acted upon will be manifested in a demonstrable concern for their well-being.

An example of this sub-genre is a February 21, 1963 press release praising the efforts of Father Joseph O'Brien in condemning the practice of Lower Rio Grande Valley business leaders in hiring illegal commuters to work at jobs that should be filled by Texans. The Texas State AFL-CIO notes that Father O'Brien has "... ripped aside the mask of hypocrisy worn by Lower Rio Grande Valley employers of alien 'commuters' ... causing some 25,000 American citizens [sic to live] ... on food handouts from the federal government ... " (Appendix E, pg149, paral&2).

Of the many rhetorical devices at work in this press release, perhaps the most poignant is the rhetor's use of the pathetic (Aristotle's PATHOS) appeal to the emotions of the audience. Likewise, there are many realities created by
the discourse in an attempt to stir the emotions of the audience to react with zeal to the virtuous actions of the lone Catholic priest. The discourse pictures big business as an amoral entity, concerned only with profit margin and not with the suffering placed upon fellow Texans by their greedy policy of hiring cheap foreign labor. The "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor creates tension which sustains the genre by once again delineating the people involved in this 'life and death' struggle for economic justice. And finally, the 'right-to-work' phrase is successfully turned back on the employers who advocate it, as Father O'Brien argues for the justice of American citizens having the "... right to work, the right to a living wage when they work, the right to their own productivity and to the fruits of that productivity" (dated February 21, 1963).

In Chapter Three, the study explored the degree to which the genre of labor rhetoric is supported by examining the three types of rhetorical discourse evident in the press releases. The three types of discourse located in the press releases are representative of the three modes of rhetorical discourse--the deliberative, forensic, and epideictic--as described by Aristotle in his Rhetoric.

Three sub-genres were subsequently identified as supporting the genre in style and strategy, but differing in approach to the rhetorical situation. In concluding the study, Chapter Four will discuss the implications for the
field of communication studies that a genre of labor rhetoric holds by examining the social reality created by the rhetorical discourse of the press releases.
CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNICATION STUDIES

Summary

Campbell and Jamieson have described genres as representing conventionalized patterns for thought, or structures for meaning, which serve as an index to the social reality in which they figure. Genres, then, can be seen to reflect beliefs, attitudes, and values. Gronbeck provides further elucidation as to the impact of this rhetorical framework when he describes rhetorical artifacts, or genres, as, "'... quasi-linguistic cells for cerebration provided by cultures for their members...', " or, "'... culturally imposed criteria for thinking' " (qtd in Foss 112).

So, it is seen that discourse can be presented in such a manner as to perpetuate tradition or, in the case of the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO, create a social or perceived reality. This final chapter of the study will explore the extent to which the press releases about the labor movement in Texas provided readers with patterns of thinking about labor.

The social reality created by the rhetoric within the press releases supports the genre by perpetuating the previously identified recurring themes: (1) Big
business/government is uncaring and unsympathetic to the needs of the people; (2) Labor works for the good of all the people and is not selfishly promoting itself; and (3) Workers and management are engaged in a class struggle.

The study has benefitted from the use of fantasy-theme analysis, at key junctures, when this method is appropriate for the identification of themes which characterize the social reality created by the discourse. By seeking commonalities in the depiction of characters, settings, and actions within the discourse, a theme emerges with which the audience can identify. This researcher has identified five elements of this socially-constructed reality located within the rhetorical discourse of the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO: (1) The people of Texas are besieged by enemies; (2) The labor movement is benevolent; (3) The labor movement is good for the economy of Texas; (4) The labor movement is progressive and politically active; and (5) The labor movement is a Texas heritage.

These elements of the socially-constructed reality of the press releases are expressed as fantasy-themes. In addition, these elements constitute a portion of a dramatic narrative in which labor responds to the exigencies which it faced in early 1961 to late 1962. What follows is a brief, chronological summary of representative press releases that illustrate how the reader is encouraged to think about labor. Following this analysis will be some conclusions on
the implications of this study for the field of communication studies, as well as suggestions for further research.

The issue of the sales tax has risen to the forefront in early 1961, and the Texas State AFL-CIO wastes no time in addressing the shortcomings of the State Legislature in representing the best interest of all the people. A March 7, 1961 press release reported that the State House of Representatives has failed to come to grips with the budget deficit, and the sales-tax lobbies are out in force. The Texas State AFL-CIO criticizes this inaction on the part of the legislators, claiming that it furthers the goal of "... the big money sales tax lobby which now has high hopes of forcing a sales tax on the people of Texas."

What the taxpayers of Texas are presented with is the notion of an ineffective legislative body, possibly controlled by lobbyists who do not have good intentions towards the working class. The grossest injustice is that a general sales tax would hit heaviest those with the least ability to pay. Herein one sees the dramatic device of portraying the people of Texas as being besieged by, and at war with, enemies at home and abroad.

In this case, the characters are the members of the State House of Representatives, the sales tax lobby, and the Texas State AFL-CIO. The setting is the ongoing legislative session. The actions of the sales tax lobby are
predictable. They promote a regressive tax that will unfairly burden the people—many of whom are laid-off union members—with the least ability to pay. The representatives are pictured as either incompetent, unconcerned, or in the pocket of the big money sales tax lobby. However, the Texas State AFL-CIO has conducted a poll and determined that most of the people of Texas do not want this tax. Labor is urging its members and the public to get on the phones and make their displeasure known. In other words, Texas AFL-CIO is exhorting the people to take some control of their lives through participation in the political process. In urging the people to act, the labor organization is aligning itself with democracy and the American way. Therefore, the Texas State AFL-CIO, unlike the hapless representatives, can be trusted to do the right thing for the people.

Like the sales tax, another recurring situation that the Texas State AFL-CIO found itself responding to was the issue of Texas farmers employing braceros, Mexican-nationals, at the expense of domestic field workers. Federal law, the Agricultural Act of 1949, prohibited such employment unless it could be demonstrated that American workers could not be located; the employment of braceros would not adversely affect similarly employed domestic workers; and that reasonable efforts had been made to offer comparable pay and conditions to domestic workers that were being offered to foreigners. On February 23, 1962 a press
release was circulated in which the Texas State AFL-CIO announces that it will attend hearings given by the U.S. Department of Labor concerning braceros. The hearings are "... to help determine whether the employment of Mexican nationals in Texas may have an adverse effect on domestic workers in the state."

The pattern of thought encouraged in this press release reinforces the theme of the class struggle, which is in turn accentuated by the "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphor. Texas workers are besieged, they are at war and have to fight for their very economic existence. As if conditions were not tough enough, the farmers of south and central Texas are employing foreigners—at cheaper wages—to the detriment of domestic workers. The enemies have been identified, the rhetorical battle lines drawn, and the labor movement is again portrayed as championing the cause of the worker.

The bracero wage rate is currently averaging fifty-cents an hour, whereas the U.S. Department of Labor has established that in order for bracero employment to not be a detriment to domestic workers the wage should be set at seventy-cents an hour. The Texas AFL-CIO concurs somewhat haltingly, stating that it feels the wage should be set at ninety-nine cents an hour in order for the domestic worker to be protected. "Employment of braceros does affect wages ... does affect agricultural conditions. There are no reasonable efforts being made to attract domestic workers.
Texas citizens who work in the migratory farm worker flow have a poor standard of living" (dated February 23, 1962).

While accepting some migrant workers as a necessity, the Texas AFL-CIO nonetheless argues that Texans are entitled to a higher standard of living. The idea that the viability of domestic farm workers in Texas is threatened by the use of braceros serves to communicate the image that the people of Texas are besieged by enemies. However, other ethical implications of these attitudes, values, and beliefs about Texas workers include these questions: (1) Who will provide the financial resources to pay workers a higher wage? and (2) Is it really fair to discriminate between citizens of the U.S.A. and Mexico? This latter question again came into public debate in the 1990s.

In another social drama, in a press release dated August 18, 1962, the Texas State AFL-CIO warns that the Texas Employment Commission intends to reappoint J.E. Lyles as labor member of its administrative panel. Certain individuals and government agencies are consistently portrayed as not only anti-labor, but also as working against the people they are representing. The Texas State AFL-CIO has fought the practice of using taxpayers' money to conduct pro-employer lobbying by the Texas Employment Commission for several years, and J.E. Lyles has demonstrated that he will, "... not stand up for them
[working people] just as strongly as the employer member does for his side." Again, the Texas State AFL-CIO demonstrates to the readers that neither business nor the government can be totally entrusted with the public's best interest. However, the labor movement can and does so in an active manner.

The rhetorical framework that constrains the audience to be receptive and, it is hoped, persuaded is constructed in such a fashion as to limit the possibility of disbelief. For example, when the Texas Employment Commission was building its new local office in Laredo, "commuters" were employed by the contractor, Henry Kahn Construction Company, at the expense of local unemployed Texans. At issue is not the fact that American citizens remain on unemployment with all its attendant problems. Rather, the narrative emphasizes that the government agency charged with the responsibility to employ the people of Texas is giving implicit, if not explicit, consent to the hiring of foreigners (Mexican-nationals), who cross the border illegally to work in the United States and then take their pay back home to Mexico. The Texas State AFL-CIO frames the issue in such a manner as to accentuate the emotional dimensions of the issue (Aristotle's PATHOS). Again, the values, attitudes, and beliefs promoted by the labor organization are built on the assumption that the labor
movement is good for Texas because of the tradition of championing the cause of the working person.

The Texas State AFL-CIO is also good for the Texas economy because of its efforts in agitating for extension of unemployment benefits and an increase in the minimum wage. The labor movement demonstrated that it was progressive by supporting the goals of President Kennedy's New Frontier, including women's rights, desegregation and the abolition of the death penalty. And finally, the Texas State AFL-CIO framed itself as being a Texas heritage, as having a history of fighting for the good of the people, much as other Texas heroes have fought for the state. This pattern of thought is encouraged when the audience reads how ever since 1900, at the founding convention of the old Texas Federation of Labor at Cleburne, the labor movement has fought for the abolition of the poll tax.

The purpose of the creators of the poll tax was, of course, to maintain hegemony as regards Texas politics by keeping blacks and poor whites from voting. Labor rhetoric creates the impression that labor is fighting oppression at the polls. Labor rhetoric also paints the picture that labor fights for children and young adults.

The Texas State AFL-CIO supported public education in a number of ways that told the people of Texas that labor was interested, not in the short-term, but rather was acting with a view to the future. The labor movement advocated in
court for the ad valorem tax power of the junior college system in Texas. Labor provided a variety of scholarships and grants to colleges and universities. Labor also advocated pay raises for teachers.

The examination of the rhetoric found within the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO reveals a very aggressive and attacking kind of discourse that almost immediately delineates protagonist and antagonist. Having acknowledged the nature of the rhetoric that encourages a pattern of though about labor (a social reality), the question arises as to the nature of the motivation of the rhetor.

Having indicated early in the study that union membership was on the decline in the time period studied, this researcher has little difficulty in realizing that perhaps the Texas State AFL-CIO saw itself as having its back against the wall and in need of a rejuvenating strategy. The most advantageous way in which to reverse its fortunes was to do, in fact, just what it did. By championing the cause of the working person, by being socially-conscious, by being politically-motivated, by demonstrating concern for the welfare of all working people (not just union members), and by subscribing to the ideals behind President Kennedy's New Frontier, the Texas State AFL-CIO encouraged a particularly positive way of thinking about the labor movement.
Implications

Having devoted some time to exploring the social reality encouraged by the discourse of the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO, the study now moves to a discussion of the implications for the field of communication studies that a genre of labor rhetoric holds.

The fact that, according to scholars in the field, genres represent conventionalized patterns of thought and culturally imposed criteria for thinking, certainly lends credence to the notion that the study of genres is a worthwhile endeavor. If rhetoric is epistemic as Robert Scott and others contend, then the study of the foundations of social truths is critical.

But the study has been concerned with more than the foundations of perceived reality. The present study is a rhetorical study. The focus is on language in the public sphere. As such, it asks the question: What are the mechanisms by which public discourse encourages values, attitudes, and beliefs?

The implication for communication studies is that a study of rhetorical genres will contribute to theory-building. In the beginning, this researcher had no strong evidence that there was a genre of labor rhetoric, only a hunch that perhaps there might be. Following this hunch, which was based on some knowledge about the labor movement in the U.S.A. and personal experience, the researcher
followed the accepted pattern of qualitative research in testing the hypothesis.

The research project led the investigator into the labor archives at the University of Texas at Arlington. Here evidence—words—was sifted. The hypothesis was tested and some middle-range theory was constructed.

This model of research has implications for communication studies. The observation of the presence of a genre of labor rhetoric in Texas is a small but hopeful contribution in the field of communication studies. A discovery has been made and documented, namely, that a press release is more than a literary genre, a type of literature. A press release also is a rhetorical genre.

The genre of labor rhetoric contributes to communication theory by supporting the view that any group who, through discourse employed to address those exigencies which it might encounter, encourages a pattern of thinking. Through encouraging values, attitudes, and beliefs, a group's discourse can influence perceptions of the group. In the case of the Texas State AFL-CIO, the press releases encouraged the public to view labor as socially-conscious and politically-motivated, not out of selfish reasons but to protect the working person.

A debate rages in communication studies about the causal dimension of language. Everyone agrees that screaming the word "Fire!" in a crowded theater is immoral,
because of the harmful, causal effects of the word. But on a theoretical level, causality is a contested concept. It is not the intent of the study to say that the content and force of the rhetoric located within the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO served to benefit the union in a practical manner, such as an increase in membership, or the acquiescence of management to union demands. These kinds of data are beyond the scope of the study.

Rather, the benefit of study of the genre of labor rhetoric is principally conceived to be in a better understanding of the creation of patterns of thought that do have consequences. For example, the Texas State AFL-CIO's press releases were rarely venomous attacks on management concerning the terrible working conditions at certain plants. Nor did the press releases constantly complain about the low wages that management paid the workers in specific work sites.

The press releases had a wider social perspective. The Texas State AFL-CIO attempted to show that labor was a true champion of the entire state of Texas. For example, when Hurricane Carla hit the Texas coast the Texas State AFL-CIO was among the first to send aid to the devastated area by providing food, clothes, and the use of its facilities.

Secondly, the Texas State AFL-CIO integrated itself into the life of the larger community (i.e. the state of Texas) by being politically active on a broad range of
issues designed to relieve suffering and to enhance the integrity of the working man during difficult economic times. Thirdly, the Texas State AFL-CIO demonstrated that it was committed to Texas for the present and the future by the strong support it gave to Texas education. By providing scholarships and grants to needy students the labor movement recognized the benefit to, not only itself, but society.

This study, then, suggests that the particular genre of the labor rhetoric of the Texas State AFL-CIO is best seen in a broad frame. Communication scholars may wish to compare other genres that have a narrower scope and vision.

A negative implication that the genre of labor rhetoric holds for the field of communication studies seems to be that the genre performs well in encouraging general patterns of thought, diffuse images, and loose beliefs. It remains to be tested whether these ways of thinking about labor are deeply-seeded. Furthermore, the individuals who accept the perception of labor expressed in the press releases may be self-selected and few in number.

What, then, is the extrinsic worth of the genre? One avenue of further research is for scholars to explore the extent to which images used by labor ("us" vs. "them"; "war"; and "little guy vs. "Goliath") are more universal.

In conclusion, this researcher finds the Texas State AFL-CIO of the early 1960s to have espoused a quasi-socialistic philosophy by virtue of the emphasis in the
press releases on the theme of the class struggle. The effect of this philosophy on the audience is somewhat mitigated by the manner in which labor wraps itself in the flag of patriotism (i.e. the use of the "war" and "Texas vs. Mexico" metaphors). This pathetic (Aristotle's PATHOS) appeal to the emotions of the audience is designed to promote the idea that all workers should be employed and making a living wage. Further, labor's rhetoric associates worker rights with basic constitutional rights in the United States, even though the Constitution does not address terms and conditions of employment. This researcher concludes that the concept of "guaranteed, worthwhile, gainful employment," is a not so subtle attempt to shape values, attitudes, and beliefs about citizens' rights in the U.S.A.

Finally, at the advent of the 21st century as labor and management contend in the public sphere, scholars may wish to examine how both camps compete for possession of the same rhetorical resources. For example, management also asserts that it is concerned for the worker. How are competing claims phrased and how do audiences respond to competing social realities?

Labor rhetoric is a genre well worth further examination by scholars. The current project on the press releases of the Texas State AFL-CIO indicates that an apparently uncomplicated literary genre may be a rather complex rhetorical genre.
APPENDIX A

EXTERNAL FACTORS OF THE GENRE
AUSTIN--The legislative battle over changes in the unemployment compensation law is underway with AFL-CIC leaders pushing for improvements in the law and Texas Manufacturers Assn. lobbyists seeking to eliminate many workers from coverage.

The principal bills involved are SB 13 by Sen. Gulp Krueger of El Campo, SB 150 by Rep. Bob Johnson of Dallas, and HB 28 by Rep. Tony Korioth of Sherman. The Krueger and Johnson bills are being pushed by TMA and opposed in large part by AFL-CIC, while the Korioth bill is backed by labor and opposed by the business group.

SB 13 has been voted out of Senate committee, while the House bills are both in sub-committee.

In hearings last week, Sam Houston Clinton, Jr., AFL-CIC attorney, UAW Rep. H. A. Moon of Dallas, State AFL-CIC Sec-Treas., Fred Schmidt and Legislative and Political Director Sherman Miles testified on the various bills.

While SB 13 and HB 150 both contain numerous provisions considered by labor as damaging to the unemployment insurance program, the most controversial provision is the one which would restore the one-week waiting period to the law. The labor witnesses testified that this provision, which was removed from the law in 1955 in a compromise bill, drastically curtail the benefits of unemployment insurance. Moon, in particular, attacked the proposal not only because it would deprive laid-off workers of their first week of federal-state compensation but also of supplementary unemployment benefits won through collective bargaining.

In addition to the one-week waiting period, the bill would raise the maximum weekly benefit from the present $28 to $33, but, as pointed out in testimony, this increase is wholly inadequate. Moreover, the bill in other sections would deprive so many workers of benefits that the overall increase would be negligible.

Included in the bill are provisions to deny benefits to students, workers who have received lump sum compromise settlements under workmen's compensation, and workers who "are eligible for" social security benefits regardless of whether they are drawing such benefits.

The Korioth bill would increase the maximum weekly benefit to $40 and extend the number of weeks during which the insurance would be paid to 35 weeks.
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The Korioth bill would increase the maximum weekly benefit to $40 and extend the number of weeks during which the insurance would be paid to 35 weeks.
AUSTIN--Get out and vote--and vote for Maverick, the Roosevelt-Yarborough-Kennedy Democrat in the race for the U.S. Senate.

That was the urgent appeal this week from Texas State AFL-CIO Pres. H.S. Hank Brown and Sec.-Treas. Fred Schmidt on the eve of the Apr. 4 special Senate election. Maury Maverick, Jr. of San Antonio, has been recommended to union members by Texas State COPE, Railway Labor's Political League and the Texas Machinists' Non-Partisan League.

"The close votes on vital sections of the Kennedy New Frontier program for getting this country moving again dramatically emphasize the tremendous importance in sending to Washington a Senator from Texas who will work and vote with President Kennedy, Vice President Johnson, Speaker Rayburn and Sen. Yarborough," the two union officials declared.

"Maury Maverick, Jr. is the only candidate in the race who has pledged his full support for the Kennedy five-point program which includes the aid to depressed areas bill, federal aid to education for teachers' pay and school construction, increase in the minimum wage to $1.25 and extension of coverage to many workers, medical care for the aged through social security, and lower interest rates to promote more home-building."

"On these and many other issues of vital concern to working people, Maverick will support the President and vote in the interests of the people instead of the interests of the privileged few."

Since his announcement for the Senate seat more than three months ago, Maverick has criss-crossed the state many times, explaining to the people of Texas his beliefs and emphasizing his support for the Kennedy program.

Maverick has made no secret of his labor support. He has spoken to thousands of union members during the campaign and has told them that he is "proud to have labor's support." Organized labor, he declared, has fully demonstrated its desire to improve the lot of all people and has promoted programs for the good of all, not just for union members. In this connection, he has emphasized labor's support of farm-to-market roads, better teachers' pay, improved old age assistance, and many other programs.

Maverick is scheduled to spend the closing days of the campaign in Houston, Dallas and San Antonio, the biggest population centers of the state.
April 24, 1961
Texas State AFL-CIO
600 Gems 15th Street
Austin 1, Texas
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ANNOUNCING, ___ The Texas State AFL-CIO today praised the Texas House of Representatives for its speedy action in passing House Bill 113, regulating the transportation of migrant workers.

House Bill 113 is by Representative Mauro Rios of El Paso.

"We urge the state Senate to give this bill the same attention accorded it by the House and to pass it as quickly," said R. J. "Hank" Brown, Texas State AFL-CIO president.

"The conditions under which migrant farm workers must live are among the worst ever endured in this country. This bill regulating the transportation of these workers is a desperately needed measure to improve at least one aspect of these deplorable conditions," Brown said.

The bill establishes standards for vehicles transporting migrant workers, conditions under which they may be transported, and sets standards for drivers of such vehicles.

Betterment of the lot of migrant farm workers is a major concern of the Texas labor movement, Brown pointed out. The state AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, Fred H. Schmidt, is a founding member of the Texas Committee on Migrant Farm Workers, a statewide committee of citizens which endeavors to call public attention to the problems of domestic farm workers and their families and to press for legislation to improve these conditions.

\[ 30 \]
Texas State AFL-CIO
402 West 13th Street
Austin 1, Texas

April 7, 1961

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"Nine per cent of El Paso's work force is unemployed, and every day a flood of 18,000 aliens crosses the international bridge to go to work in El Paso at jobs that rightfully belong to residents of this country," said Sam Twedell, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

Twedell's remarks were made at a mass meeting of organized labor, business people and plain citizens who filled Liberty Hall in El Paso April 6 to discuss ways to stabilize the economy and fight the critical unemployment problem in the El Paso area. A thousand people attended the conference.

"There must be immediate action taken to dam this flood of cheap labor that threatens the entire foundation of the economy here," Twedell said.

He called for government action, if necessary, to insure an absolute minimum wage scale of $1 per hour in El Paso.

Texas State AFL-CIO president H. S. "Hank" Brown urged an immediate investigation of the cheap alien labor situation and called for the organization of a citizen's program for a minimum wage in El Paso.

Other keynote speakers were the Meat Cutters international union president T. J. Lloyd; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the international El Paso union; Lester Graham, AFL-CIO regional director; and County Judge Woodrow Bean.

Distinguished guests at the mass meeting included Bishop S. M. Metzger of the El Paso Catholic Archdiocese; James Price, president of the New Mexico Federation of Labor; Tom Robles, secretary, New Mexico Federation of Labor; and fifteen international union representatives and directors.
The following are excerpts from a speech by H. S. Hank Brown, president of the Texas State AFL-CIO, to be made at a Labor Day Rally-Barbecue, Houston, Monday:

"We are celebrating Labor Day, 1961 --- the holiday of the spirit of working people --- and we have reason for thanks. We can be thankful that we live in peace, shaky as that peace may be. Since January, employment has been on the upgrade, not fast enough, to be sure, but moving upward.

Still, we have much to be concerned about. We must be concerned, for example, about chronic unemployment --- some seven per cent of our national work force. As Texas expands industrially we must concern ourselves with that.

"If Texas is to achieve the kind of industrial future we all hope for, it is time for all Texans, including our lawmakers, to think long and hard about the double standard of conduct demanded of the two most important ingredients of that future --- labor and management.

"The double standard of morality in our personal lives was outlawed long ago --- by unwritten ethical standards agreed upon by decent and responsible men, and by written law.

"Deplorable conditions exist in the Texas labor-management relationship, because Texas law continues to apply one set of standards to labor --- through application of 17 of the most restrictive, one-sided, unfair and totally unwarranted labor statutes of any state in the nation --- and another set of standards for management.

"We in the leadership of the labor movement propose that the second half of the 20th Century in Texas shall be a model of decent and responsible labor-management relations. We propose the enactment of a State Labor-Management Relations Act, under which a single set of standards shall be applied equally to labor and management. And we propose, in the belief that no fair-minded citizen or legislator can responsibly do otherwise, the repeal of Texas' biased anti-labor statutes.

"For our part, organized labor in Texas is dedicated to an orderly, peaceful, good-for-every-Texan industrial tomorrow. Such a tomorrow is within our grasp.

"All labor seeks the opportunity to do its part in the industrial and economic scheme of things --- no more and certainly no less. But our per capita income ranks 32nd in the nation, while Texas ranks sixth among the industrial states. A continued increase in the per capita income through the organization of workers will raise our standard of living and is essential to the continued industrial growth of the state."
APPENDIX B

INTERNAL FACTORS OF THE GENRE
AUSTIN--The legislative battle over changes in the unemployment compensation law is underway with AFL-CIC leaders pushing for improvements in the law and Texas Manufacturers Assn. lobbyists seeking to eliminate many workers from coverage.

The principal bills involved are SB 13 by Sen. Culp Krueger of El Campo, HB 150 by Rep. Bob Johnson of Dallas, and HB 28 by Rep. Tony Korioth of Sherman. The Krueger and Johnson bills are being pushed by TMA and opposed in large part by AFL-CIC, while the Korioth bill is backed by labor and opposed by the business group.

SB 13 has been voted out of Senate committee, while the House bills are both in sub-committees.

In hearings last week, Sam Houston Clinton, Jr., AFL-CIC attorney, UA rep. H. A. Moon of Dallas, State AFL-CIC Sec-Treas., Fred Schmidt and Legislative and Political Director Sherman Miles testified on the various bills.

While SB 13 and HB 150 both contain numerous provisions considered by labor as damaging to the unemployment insurance program, the most controversial provision is the one which would restore the one-week waiting period to the law. The labor witnesses testified that this provision, which was removed from the law in 1955 in a compromise bill, drastically curtail the benefits of unemployment insurance. Moon, in particular, attacked the proposal not only because it would deprive laid-off workers of their first week of federal-state compensation but also of supplementary unemployment benefits won through collective bargaining.

In addition to the one-week waiting period, the bill would raise the maximum weekly benefit from the present $28 to $33, but, as pointed out in testimony, this increase is wholly inadequate. Moreover, the bill in other sections would deprive so many workers of benefits that the overall increase would be negligible.

Included in the bill are provisions to deny benefits to students, workers who have received lump sum compromise settlements under workmen's compensation, and workers who "are eligible for" social security benefits regardless of whether they are drawing such benefits.

The Korioth bill would increase the maximum weekly benefit to $40 and extend the number of weeks during which the insurance would be paid to 35 weeks.
Speaking to the El Paso Central Labor Union in El Paso April 6, H. B. "Hank" Brown, President of the Texas State AFL-CIO, called for a counter-offensive against a "close-knit and well-herded little group of sales taxers" who are "swamping the legislature with an artificially contrived flood of mail, telephone calls, lobbyists and propaganda."

"They're trying to deceive the legislators into thinking that the people of Texas, who are unalterably opposed to a sales tax, are actually for it," Brown warned.

"We need to counterattack with a flood of mail that will express our own views on this matter, and by getting down to the legislature to talk to them and give them our personal assurances that we are behind them in their resistance to a sales tax."

"What these sales-taxers are proposing is nothing less than an attempt at a hundred-million dollar steal from the Texas economy which would in total be crippling to Texas progress. They hope to get away with it by doing the stealing in penny and dime pilfering from the pocket of the wage earner and the little man of Texas in such a wholesale campaign that no individual instance of the pilfering will arouse his ire. That's the sales tax strategy. But I don't think we'll swallow it."

"Even standing off and looking at it from the national standpoint the sales tax is vicious -- and at this time above all times. We've got a
Following are excerpts from a speech to be made Monday afternoon to the Labor Day Celebration of the Webb County Central Labor Council at Laredo by Roy R. Evans, secretary-treasurer of the Texas State AFL-CIO:

1. "We in organized labor get what we deserve -- whether we be Americans of Irish, African or Mexican descent. As Americans we have a right to assemble and organize so that we may better ourselves. It is in the greatest American tradition to organize against tyranny. It is not enough though just to organize, just to assemble, just to talk -- it is necessary that we sacrifice our time, energy and what little money we have to succeed in our cause.

2. "Tom Paine, whose words and whose sacrifices made American liberty possible, said, 'Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated.'

3. "Today, American workers are drinking from the well others have dug, and we seldom appreciate the work of those who came before us.

4. "Here in Laredo and in the Valley and all along the Rio Grande, and in great areas of Texas, there is a great need for working people to wage the battle for Freedom from the subtle tyranny of the rich vested interests controlling the political events of Texas."
AUSTIN,____ A new Texas State AFL-CIO district has been formed in the Rio Grande Valley and a new state vice-president, A. A. (Gus) Gianfala of Brownsville, has been elected to service the area.

The district brings to 14 the number of AFL-CIO districts in the state and includes the following counties: Webb, Duval, Zapata, Jim Hogg, Brooks, Kennedy, Starr, Hidalgo, Willacy and Cameron.

H. S. Hank Brown, Texas AFL-CIO president, said the district was formed because the Valley and South Texas border areas have unique regional problems which require close attention. The chief problem, the labor leader said, is the importation of cheap "commuter" labor from Mexico, which the AFL-CIO maintains displaces American workers and lowers the region's economy.

The Texas AFL-CIO and a group of border residents recently filed suit against Attorney-General Robert Kennedy and Commissioner Joseph Swing of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to order the defendants to enforce the law and keep non-resident aliens from commuting daily to jobs in the U.S.

Gianfala, elected by the state AFL-CIO executive board, is president of the Lower Rio Grande Valley Central Labor Council and of the Plumbers and Pipefitters Local Number 523.

He and his wife live at 2534 Boca Chica Boulevard in Brownsville. They have maintained their residence in that city since 1948, when they moved from Baton Rouge, Louisiana. They have no children.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DALLAS - The Texas State AFL-CIO has proposed that three classes of Texans - "the aged, the poor and the sick - be excused from payment of the general sales tax."

The proposal, made by Secretary-Treasurer Roy R. Evans to the Friday meeting of the state Commission on State and Local Tax Policy here, called for exemptions for:

(a) 1. All persons on Social Security.

(b) 2. All persons past 60 years of age - "just as they are excused from poll tax payments."

(c) 3. All persons more than 50 per cent physically disabled.

Evans said "the Commission should propose exemptions for these people . . . at the very bottom of the income totem pole, the aged, the poor and the sick."

The labor organization also called for, as it has in the past, the adoption of a graduated corporation income tax. Evans said this kind of tax levy is "a just tax, the easiest tax to enforce, the easiest tax to administer and the tax on which the yield is greatest."

He said such a tax would "make possible the repeal of the grossly unfair corporation franchise tax."

Evans also proposed the creation of a state public utilities commission "to regulate rates of utilities . . . and with power to force utility companies to absorb their taxes instead of passing them on to the customer," and the setting up of an ad valorem tax board with authority to standardize and equalize tax evaluations on property.

Evans said his organization also "favors retention of a reasonable portion of state ad valorem tax revenue by county and city governments."

Evans said the Texas State AFL-CIO backs "a substantial and constitutional tax on dedicated reserves of natural gas." Failure to impose this kind of levy, he said, would find Texas with its "natural gas reserves completely depleted without having brought a reasonable amount of tax income to the state."

The AFL-CIO would like to see the sales tax repealed, Evans said,
but "we know the strength of those who favor regressive taxation in this state, and consequently we feel that the major fight in the future will not be repeal, but rather against attempts on the part of predatory vested interests to make this tax even worse and far more regressive."

"Neither the AFL-CIO nor its members," said Evans, "are desirous of escaping their fair share of taxes. We do not believe in the free riders on our government any more than we do in free riders on the union.

"We do believe that taxation should be levied on the basis of ability to pay."

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session. The meeting will be called to order at 10 a.m., Rice Hotel, Crystal

Since this is a reconvening of the Convention COPE Meeting, voting
strength will remain the same. The roll call will remain the same unless
the respective affiliates wish to change their delegates.

Re-registration will be from 7 to 9 p.m., Friday night and from 8 to
10 a.m., Saturday morning. Please fill in the enclosed credential blanks
in duplicate. The original should be returned to this office no later than
Monday, October 8, 1962 -- "5 days prior to the convening of the convention."
The duplicate copy listing your delegation should be presented to the Cre-
dentials committee by your delegation at the time of registration.

The schedule of regular and special meetings are listed below:

Thursday, Oct. 11 - 8 p.m.  5-Man COPE Administrative Committee
Meeting (Brazel, Brown, Evans, Forrester, Loftis)

Friday, Oct. 12 - 9:30 a.m. Executive Board and Advisory Council

Friday, Oct. 12 - 2 p.m. COPE Executive Board and Operating
Committee

Saturday, Oct. 13 - 9:30 a.m. SPECIAL SESSION - Convention COPE
meeting.

(SPECIAL NOTE: THE RICS HOTEL IS HOLDING A BLOCK OF ROOMS IN RESERVE.
EACH LOCAL SHOULD MAKE ITS OWN RESERVATIONS DIRECT.)

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AUSTIN -- Attorney General Will Wilson has ruled that a person drawing
Old Age and Survivors Insurance benefits under the Social Security program
may not be disqualified by the Texas Employment Commission from drawing unem-
ployment compensation payments.

It had been TEC practice to disqualify such persons and to force
persons who began drawing Social Security benefits after having received
unemployment compensation payments to pay back the unemployment compensation.

The Attorney General's ruling resulted, in part, from a brief filed
with his office on the point by the Texas State AFL-CIO.

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WASHINGTON--A leading union attorney charged last week that the so-
called "Right-to-Work" campaign is being financed by "the same sources as
various other groups on the far right."

Thomas E. Harris, associate general counsel of the AFL-CIO, made the
comment in an interview on "Labor News Conference," the public affairs radio
(more)
program presented weekly by the AFL-CIO over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Harris declared that there is "a good deal of identity of personnel between groups like the compulsory open shop groups and the John Birch Society."

Under questioning by Norman Walker of the Associated Press, Alexander Uhl of Press Associates, Inc., and Harry W. Flannery, program moderator, Harris made these other points:

Employers generally have found that the agitation over the open shop simply keeps the plant stirred up, prevents good relations between unions and employers and prevents the union from assuming the responsibility that employers are the first to say they should assume.

The aerospace industry is about the last organized industry that has not accepted some sort of union shop clause. Very few major employers who deal with unions still consider the union shop a real issue.

AUSTIN--National columnist John Herling last week wrote that "the legislative godfather of the union shop" was none other than the late Senator Robert A. Taft, the Ohioan who became known as "Mr. Conservative."

Said Herling:

"The whole concept of the union shop was based on two main considerations: one, through a union shop, workers would be insured the right to membership in a union from which they might be barred under closed union and closed shop conditions.

"The second argument offered by Senator Taft was that through a union shop, all employees would, in effect, be paying the union for collective bargaining services rendered to the individual worker. Since, under the Taft-Hartley law, the union must bargain for all employees in the bargaining unit, it would be manifestly unfair, said Sen. Taft, for "free riders" -- those who do not pay dues or their equivalent -- to gain the advantages of improved wages and working conditions gained by the union."

WASHINGTON--US Senator Ralph Yarborough has -- in his own words -- "nailed a big 'coon skin on the legislative barn door."

The trophy: Final passage of a bill to create a National Seashore Recreational Area on Padre Island -- the crescent-shaped narrow island that follows the natural curve of Texas Gulf Coast from Corpus Christi to Browns--
Suggested Editorial

1. The question, "Why Unions?" seems to answer itself in the letter reprinted below, received by Texas State AFL-CIO recently. Names have been changed.

2. "I am inquiring (for) this information. This is my complaint against J. J. Smith.

3. I worked for him 1 year 10 months. I got hurt on his job Feb. 12. I was hired to work straight time and he wouldn't pay my time until the 1st (of) March.

4. "My wife and baby was very sick. He cut off light and water and forced me out of his house on the 27 Feb.

5. "I will thank you kindly to let me know can I force him to pay me the $77.10 balance..."

6. "I was hired straight time. $175 wages a month. And he didn't pay it, only paid $160.

7. "For 22 month back time Mr. J. J. Smith owe me $407.10.

8. "p.s. is this state got justice for a man?"

(30)
FOR P.M. RELEASE, TUESDAY, March 7, 1961

The following letter today was sent by H. S. Hank Brown, president of the Texas State AFL-CIO to central labor bodies and other union organizations in Texas:

"We were shocked, just as you undoubtedly were, by the action of a majority of the House of Representatives in refusing to face up to the deficit problem of the state. The sales-taxers are out in force, and this action by the House plays right into the hands of the big money sales tax lobby which now has high hopes of forcing a sales tax on the people of Texas.

"I have covered most of the State of Texas these past two weeks, and I know that the people of Texas do not want a general sales tax. But they are unaware of the effective work being done by the fat cat sales tax lobby. It is up to you to tell the people in your area what is happening—that this refusal to adopt the deficit-financing plan is but the first step toward a general sales tax for Texas.

"You are urgently requested to get as many people as possible to contact their legislators now—by phone, telegram or letter—to seek their support for the governor's deficit-financing two-formula franchise tax bill and abandoned property bill. If these bills fail, then the sales taxers will be one step nearer their goal of a general sales tax for Texas.

"It is amazing to me that legislators who pledged to the people of Texas during their campaigns last summer to oppose a general sales tax are now willing to fall into the trap laid for them by Tom Sealy and his sales tax committee by opposing these sound measures to solve the state's deficit problem. Once this problem is erased, we can settle down to a calm, realistic approach to the state's over-all financial problems; each day that it remains unsolved, a general sales tax becomes more threatening.

"Go to work now and see that your legislators know how the people in your area feel about this matter."
APPENDIX C

SUB-GENRE: DELIBERATIVE
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

1. Labor members of the Texas Employment Commission's Advisory Council have recommended that the Commission work "to reduce the high percentage of disqualifications" of unemployed workers seeking unemployment compensation.

The Commission recently reported that in its fiscal year ending last August 31 it received 337,757 applications for unemployment compensation, but disqualified, wholly or partially, 155,779 of these.

2. Texas AFL-CIO President Hank Brown, a member of the advisory body, has publicly criticized the qualification policies of the Commission.

The labor advisors made three additional recommendations to the Commission, in a meeting with Commissioner J. E. Lyles. These were:

(a) 1. Expand and step up the pace of the Commission's education program for workers "through the cooperation of TEC's labor representatives."

(b) 2. Adopt a policy of not litigating contested disqualifications to appellate courts where lower courts held against the Commission.

(c) 3. Re-interpret the new unemployment compensation law so as to allow unemployed persons whose past earnings were sufficiently high to be paid the maximum allowable under the new law. Brown said the Commission's current interpretation runs contrary to the Legislature's intent in passing the new law. The Legislature, he said, clearly intended for qualified unemployed workers to begin drawing higher benefits for a longer period, as of January 1, 1962.

Labor members of the Advisory Council, in addition to Brown, are N. E. Coward, state AFL-CIO vice-president, Houston; Ivan Halter, president, OCAW Local 4-23, Fort Arthur; L. V. McCarthy, business agent, Operating Engineers Local 351, Borger; and Charles Sanders, president, UAW Local 870, Mesquite.

Present at the advisory meeting, in addition to council members, were Texas State AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Roy Evans, who serves as Brown's alternate, and Austin attorney Sam Houston Clinton.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 23, 1962

AUSTIN President Hank Brown and Secretary-Treasurer Roy Evans of the Texas State AFL-CIO will testify late this month at two U. S. Labor Department public hearings on braceros.

The first meeting is scheduled for February 26 at McAllen's Municipal Auditorium. The second will be held February 28 at Midland, in the National Guard Armory.

Evans will appear at the McAllen hearing, Brown at the Midland hearing. Appearing with Brown will be Ed Coffey, Dallas, regional citizenship director for the United Auto Workers.

The hearings, two in a series being held in February and March in several Southwestern and Western states, according to Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, are "to help determine whether the employment of Mexican nationals in Texas may have an adverse effect on domestic workers in the state."

Goldberg said all interested persons are invited to participate and may present their views in person or in writing. Written statements should be filed with Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry Holleman in Washington before March 6. Goldberg said also:

The Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, prohibits making Mexican nationals available for employment in any area unless the Secretary of Labor has determined and certified that (1) domestic workers are not available, (2) the employment of Mexican nationals will not adversely affect domestic agricultural workers similarly employed, and (3) reasonable efforts have been made to attract domestic workers at wages and working conditions comparable to those offered to foreign workers.

Bureau of Employment Security Director Tracy C. Murrell said information now available to the Secretary of Labor raises the question as to whether he can determine and certify that the employment of Mexican nationals in Texas will not adversely affect domestic agricultural workers similarly employed unless the Mexican workers are paid not less than 70 cents an hour, or at piece rates which make earnings equivalent to that hourly figure.
AUSTIN -- All Texas union members have been asked to lend their support to Rice Mill Workers Local 247 -- on strike against Comet Rice Milling Co., Houston.

The strike was precipitated by anti-labor efforts to destroy the union and aggravated by the company's hiring of scabs to replace union members, according to C. H. Lindberg, regional director of the Brewery Workers, with headquarters in San Antonio.

Lindberg said that the company caused the strike by adopting a hard-boiled anti-union attitude in negotiations and insisting on withdrawing working conditions and vacation benefits which have been in effect for Comet Rice Mills employees for a number of years. He said the company "freely admits it is in a strong financial position and is not claiming inability to pay."

Many local unions already have advised members that union families are not buying Comet Rice, Adolphus Rice, Peacock Rice and Wonder Rice, all products of Comet Rice Mills, as long as the strike continues and the company persists in its anti-union actions.

AUSTIN -- Five-dollar-a-plate area COPE Dinners are scheduled for March as follows (all are 7 p.m., unless otherwise noted):

El Paso, March 13
Odessa, March 14
Abilene, March 15
Lubbock, March 27
Wichita Falls, March 28
Fort Worth, March 29
Port Arthur, March 30
Waco, March 31 - at noon

Top statewide candidates and Texas State AFL-CIO leaders will attend the dinners, part of COPE's 1962 fund-raising operations.

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"Many of them have company-wide agreements with the home union whereby wage rates are standardized in all plants, wherever located. Running away from unions had little to do with the location of these plants."

Likewise, Pollitt reported, the 'material oriented' plants "had no concern with avoiding unions."

"The most common reaction of the plant executives was that they accepted the principle of collective bargaining," he wrote. "One company selected a union town over an anti-union community because the company expected the new plant to be organized and did not want to be caught in a battle between union and anti-union forces."

AUSTIN--President Hank Brown of Texas State AFL-CIO has hailed the State Bar of Texas endorsement of the proposed "trial de novo" constitutional amendment as a "major step toward the amendment's passage on Nov. 6th."

Texas State AFL-CIO previously had endorsed passage of the amendment -- No. 14 on the Nov. 6th ballot -- at its October 13 COPE meeting in Houston.

"We are extremely pleased," Brown said, "to see that the state's lawyers -- those who know best the need for this vital amendment -- have endorsed its passage."

Brown said also that he was concerned over "what seems to be almost a deliberate effort to confuse this issue. Passage of this amendment would not, as has been charged, automatically push every state administrative agency finding into the courthouse.

"It would simply allow the Legislature to provide -- where it sees fit to do so -- for such appeals."

Such an amendment would not have been necessary, Brown said, "had not many an agency acquired and then abused judicial functions it was never intended for it to have."

A SUGGESTED EDITORIAL:

What if the Organized Labor Movement of the United States came out with a long-range program to cripple the private enterprise system? The uproar would be deafening.

Of course, Organized Labor has no such idea. But a segment of industry has announced such a program aimed at unions. And, of course, there has been no uproar.
The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) has announced the establishment of a program for a study of so-called "union monopoly." The purpose is to lay the groundwork for anti-labor legislation.

The NAM's program was outlined in a paper written by Charles A. Kothe, the association's vice president for industrial relations. Text of the document was inserted in the Congressional Record by Rep. Roland V. Libonati (D. Ill.)

Rep. Libonati said the NAM was launching a campaign to "brainwash" the public in an effort to whip up support for Federal legislation that would "in effect destroy the freedom of union activity in the labor movement."

The NAM program was front-page news in the New York Times which also noted that the NAM plan has been given "widespread publicity by labor newspapers in the last month."

"As the (NAM) campaign gathers strength," the Times state, "it may provoke a battle as fierce as the one that already rages over so-called 'right-to-work' laws."

The NAM plan is right up the alley of Sen. Barry Goldwater who has announced he will introduce the kind of legislation the NAM is seeking. Goldwater said the bill would include provisions to impose special taxes on union dues, outlaw the union shop, outlaw the use of union funds for legislative activities and limit the right to strike in certain instances.

If one more reason was needed to emphasize the importance of electing the right candidates on November 6th, this is it!

As the Industrial Union Department of the national AFL-CIO has warned, "we may find ourselves on the defensive against the most vicious open shop anti-union drive of our era."

"There is still enough time," Texas State COPE Chairman Hank Brown said this week, "to greatly increase the number of people going to the polls on Nov. 6."

"There is still time," he said, "To canvass votes in the precincts -- the place, after all, where elections are always won. This can be done by:

(a) "1. Putting telephone committees to work -- right now!

(b) "2. Putting legmen -- and women -- to work from door-to-door.

"And there is still time enough to set up baby sitting committees, and for arranging for cars to get folks to the polls."

"Every Texas working man and woman," Brown said, "should do all you can..."
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SAN ANTONIO - The Texas State AFL-CIO said Monday that right wing critics of Texas public school textbooks are motivated by "fear", that too much "secrecy" surrounds the textbook selection process and that sole power of appointment to the Texas Education Agency's book-selection committee should not rest in a single man.

The statements came from Texas AFL-CIO President Hank Brown in an appearance here before a hearing of the House Textbook Investigating Committee.

Brown said "groups like Texans for America and the DAR, and their allies of the far-out right" are motivated "by fear - fear of our democratic institutions and fear of the lessons of our history."

Brown said also he thought it was time the House Committee - "which I understood was set up to receive actual suggestions for improving the method of selecting textbooks" - heard some such suggestions. He recommended that:

(a) All complaints about textbooks and all rebuttal from publishers be made available to the public, through the press, "from the beginning. Let the public know what the arguments are all about. Don't wait until selections have been made and it is too late, as was done this time."

(b) A complete record of all changes made in textbooks should be made public - before books are adopted, "not wait until now, when public protests, if any, are moot and useless."

(c) Change the process of debate about books before the textbook selection committee. "As the law stands now, the textbook choosers can hear charges against a book from anybody, but the committee can hear a defense from the publishers only."

(c1) Brown said he would not recommend that the textbook committee have to hear a defense of a book, but added, "I think it should be allowed to hear scholarly defense by anyone - particularly by scholars - of particular passages which are being attacked."

(d) The textbook selection committee should include university level educators. "The law now requires that the textbook committee be composed solely of teachers, and it apparently means by that, teachers below the university level. . . . a couple of university teachers on the selection committee might contribute to a fresh and wiser perspective."
AUSTIN -- Texas organized labor wants voters to have a chance to abolish the poll tax by the presidential election of 1964 -- "if at all possible."

That's what Texas AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Roy Evans told a Senate Committee on Constitutional Amendments last week. It was one of three Senate Committee appearances Evans made, two before Constitutional Amendments and one before the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Evans said Texas labor has worked for poll tax abolition since 1900, saw a vote on abolition fail in 1949 because "the Texas Legislature set the vote on Constitutional repeal at a time when many of those opposing the poll tax could not vote."

Because it is likely that there will be: "a million more voters next year than this," said Evans, "we believe that the amendment for Constitutional repeal should be on the presidential ballot of 1964, if at all possible."

Evans was the only witness appearing for SJR 1 -- poll tax repeal by Sen. Abraham Kazen of Laredo.

In response to a question, Evans said the poll tax brings revenue amounting to but two-tenths of one per cent of the total tax take and that this could be replaced by levy of the corporate profits tax long sought by Texas labor.

Evans appeared for a move to abolish intangible property taxes, but called this "putting a band aid on a compound fracture" and asked again that a corporate profits tax measure be passed before abolition of the intangible property levy.

He asked that any corporate profits levy be made "uniform and equal."

In an appearance before the Senate Committee on Elections, Evans said Texas labor generally agrees with reforms suggested in the so-called Omnibus Election Law bill by Sen. Tom Creighton of Mineral Wells. However, he said, there is objection to a proposal that poll watchers must live in the precinct where they are assigned poll-watching duty. He said this would "make it impossible to police some precincts."

He said Texas labor also objects to laws governing poll watchers stricter than the requirements for precinct clerks.

Also opposed by labor, said Evans, is a proposal "that would give the Democratic and Republican parties virtual monopoly." This referred to a measure requiring third parties to have garnered 5 per cent of all votes cast in the general election.
AUSTIN—Over in East Texas where wages are low, hours are long, working conditions are lousy—where the 20th Century has not yet arrived—employers are terribly, terribly concerned lest unions should gain enough strength to force decency upon them.

Their principal anti-union propaganda tool is the East Texas Chamber of Commerce.

Recently something called the "Labor Relations" committee of the chamber met at Henderson. The committee was told, by Chamber Manager Fred Pool that:

"This meeting was called today, gentlemen, to decide what action we should take with reference to making the antitrust laws applicable to certain activities of labor unions. The (chamber's) board of directors, at our last convention, at Orange, passed a resolution favoring this action. Now, we must perfect a plan."

In other words, the East Texas Chamber of Commerce will pressure Texas Congressmen into voting to put labor unions under anti-trust laws—should the opportunity present itself in the next Congress.

And the opportunity will occur. Both Senator John McClellan (D-Ark.) and Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) have already prepared such legislation—legislation which must, to accomplish its purpose, equate human beings with inanimate commodities.

(Not that such convolutions of the truth are difficult for the corporate mind; it is now almost a hundred years since the anti-people forces convinced the US Supreme Court that a corporation is a person and that its rights could be upheld under the 14th Amendment.)

And so, says Mr. Pool, East Texas employers must be ready. They must, he said, "make thorough preparation for the presentation of convincing evidence in support of... (anti-trust for unions) ... to the Congressional committee to which the bill is referred."

The "Labor Relations" committee wound up its Henderson meeting by reaching a consensus that none of the proposed anti-trust legislation is far reaching enough, harsh enough in its union-baiting aims.

The committee voted to ask Sen. McClellan to send them copies of (more)
APPENDIX D

SUB-GENRE: FORENSIC
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUSTIN -- Hank Brown, President of Texas State AFL-CIO, refuted today what he termed misrepresentations in the press coverage of the recent PASO convention in San Antonio.

"Certain statements about me making recommendations to the PASO (Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations) convention in San Antonio have been made in the press.

This is to set the record straight:

(a) "At this time, the Texas State AFL-CIO is not for or against any candidate running for any office.

(b) "I did not recommend, suggest or intimate that PASO should support any candidate.

(c) "Whether reporters who said I did had any malicious or devious interest in making these misrepresentations -- I do not know -- but it does seem they would have checked this matter out with me or some other responsible person.

(d) "My visit to the PASO convention was the result of a courtesy extended to me as President of the Texas State AFL-CIO.

(e) "We are pleased to see the Latin-American citizens organize into an independent political action group. As in the past, we shall work closely with the Latin-Americans for the raising of living standards for all those who labor, regardless of whether they are organized or unorganized.

(f) "I encouraged PASO to make recommendations on the basis of their needs, as we will do inside the labor movement. Our recommendations will be agreed upon by nearly 300 delegates from all over the state on Saturday, February 17, in Dallas, at the State COPE meeting."

# 30 #
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Texas State AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Roy Evans said Wednesday that former Governor Allan Shivers' role in the "Aircade for Citizenship Action" being held in Austin Thursday "makes the expressed goals of the Aircade suspect."

"As advertised," said Evans, "the Aircade seeks 'to create greater understanding of national legislative and economic issues, and of the role the individual citizen can play in resolving these issues and problems in the public interest.'

"We have no quarrel with these goals -- as expressed. But the fact that former Governor Shivers is general chairman of the affair makes it more than likely that the pretty words in which the goals are described are a phony facade behind which Shivers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce -- whose political positions are nearly identical -- will launch bitter attacks on organized labor, liberals, the Democratic Party, the Kennedy Administration and its legislative program.

"We will probably see attacks on the income tax, Social Security, medical care for the aged -- on virtually everything more progressive than the economic notions of Herbert Hoover.

"The positions of both Shivers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on all these matters are well known.

"They are kind of like the Irishman who was told his country was neutral in World War II, and who inquired: 'Who are we neutral against?'

"We wonder who Shivers and the Aircade are non-partisan against.

"We hope we are surprised Thursday -- that the Aircade won't have to be re-titled 'Hot Aircade.'

"We also find it interesting that Allan Shivers, a well-known battler against 'out-of-state interests,' should suddenly find it necessary to import industrialists from all over the country into Texas to tell Texans to take more public interest in citizenship.

"We trust Texans will remember, while listening to Thursday's speeches, that Texas voted for John Kennedy -- and dismissed the candidate and platform of Shivers' choice: Richard Nixon."
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUSTIN—The Texas State AFL-CIO and the Texas State Building and Construction Trades Council Wednesday strongly protested "the efforts of Congressman Olin Teague" to cut wage scales announced by the U. S. Department of Labor for construction of the Manned Spacecraft Center at Houston.

The protest was made in a series of telegrams sent to Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, U. S. Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, Senators Ralph Yarborough and John Tower, Congressmen Bob Casey of Houston and George P. Miller of California, chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, and to Teague.

AFL-CIO President Hank Brown and Building Trades Executive Secretary Leslie G. Burnett said Teague had indicated, in a Tuesday interview with a Texas newspaper (Houston Post) that he would seek to cut wage scales set by Goldberg, after two public hearings in Houston and meetings with the Associated General Contractors in Houston and Washington.

Full text of the wires, signed by Brown and Burnett:

The Texas State AFL-CIO and the Texas State Building and Construction Trades Council most strongly protest the efforts of Congressman Olin Teague of Texas, and others, to force the setting of wage rates for construction workers on the national space agency facility at Houston, Texas, at figures below the rates set by the U. S. Department of Labor after public hearings in the Houston area. Congressman Teague's argument that lowered wage rates would result in lower construction costs simply will not hold water. Low wages attract workmen of lesser skills; the work of such men is slower, less efficient and, usually, means costly delays, repairs, the necessity for doing work over -- and actually means higher costs. Texas labor is as patriotic as any body of people anywhere, and as cognizant of the vital necessity for getting the space facility moving, but the setting of low wages will be a penny-wise, pound-foolish decision. We urge in the strongest possible terms that the findings of the Department of Labor on wage rates for this project be upheld.

# 30 #
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUSTIN -- Texas State AFL-CIO President Hank Brown Tuesday charged Texas Department of Public Safety Director Homer P. Garrison with the use of "demagogic and smearing tactics" in an effort to get a DPS budget increase from the next session of the Legislature.

Brown said Garrison was quoted Tuesday in the press as having told a Monday meeting of the Legislative Budget Board that:

"There has been a noted increase in the Communist Party's efforts toward domination of . . . labor groups."

"We challenge Garrison," Brown said, "to produce the name of a single Texas AFL-CIO union dominated by either Communists, Facists, or any other subversive group, as his statement, slyly worded as it is, is clearly meant to imply.

"We are shocked that a high official of the State of Texas should descend to such a level as this.

"This is pandering to the lowest common denominator of extremist thinking -- obviously in a hope that the Legislature will be stampeded into granting the DPS the nearly $4 million increase that it seeks.

"This is demagoguery, to put it as politely as possible, and we believe Texans are entitled to a higher and more responsible level of conduct by the highest-placed police officer in the state.

"An increase in the DPS budget based on facts -- on an honestly demonstrated need -- is one thing. The smearing of decent, free and militantly anti-Communist Texas labor is another, and a despicable, thing.

"If Garrison was correctly quoted, his remarks raise serious questions about his fitness to head the DPS. If he was incorrectly quoted, he owes Texas labor -- and all Texans -- a clarification and an apology.

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OEIU # 298
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUSTIN -- The Texas State AFL-CIO said Tuesday that it fully supports the position of railroad operating employee unions in their current controversy with railroad management.

Texas AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Roy R. Evans said "it is the position of the Texas State AFL-CIO that the railroad operating employees are fully justified in their position against the wanton destruction of jobs by railroad management.

"We fully support that position -- as a matter of principle, and not only because our members will be affected. The great majority of Texas railroad employees, an estimated 40,000 workers, are not affiliated with the state central body of labor."

Evans said railroad management has twice walked out of work rule negotiating sessions and has since refused to bargain collectively with railroad workers.

"It is perfectly clear," he said, "to anybody who will look deeper than the clever advertisements against working people that railroad management is saying again, as it has so often in the past, 'the public be damned'."

Evans said responsible negotiation is the best way out of the controversy and that "railroad employees have demonstrated their willingness so to negotiate."

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OEIU #293
LAREDO -- The Webb County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Friday charged that the Texas Employment Commission's new local office building here is being built partially with so-called "commuter" workmen from Mexico.

A "commuter" is a Mexican national who "commutes" daily from his home in Mexico to a job in the United States. The Texas State AFL-CIO has filed a mandamus action in a U.S. district court seeking to keep the U.S. Immigration Service from allowing commuters entrance into the country.

Officials of the Webb County labor body, President Jose Vasquez and Secretary Martiniano Bazan, said the contractor for the building -- Henry Kahn Construction Co. of Laredo -- had employed commuters on the construction job for some time, although he had verbally agreed not to do so. They said also they had assurances from the Texas Employment Commission that no commuters would be allowed to work on the job.

"However, they said, "our investigations have produced irrefutable evidence that commuters are working on this construction job." They said "workers on this job have been traced directly to domiciles in Nuevo Laredo."

Texas State AFL-CIO President Hank Brown called the Vasquez-Bazan revelations "shocking: and "a first-class example of why we have filed our commuter lawsuit.

"Here we have the State of Texas employing -- through its agent, Kahn Construction Co. -- citizens of another country at the expense of its own citizens.
HOUSTON-- The following is the full text of the resolution by the Texas State Committee on Political Education at its October 13 meeting here:

REPORT OF THE COPE EXECUTIVE BOARD

At the July San Antonio COPE meeting delegates passed a resolution which, with reference to the gubernatorial race, said these things:

(a) "Since Connally and Cox will be the chief architects of their party platforms in September, we will watch closely to see the views expressed before this convention take definite shape in the party platforms."

(b) "Your committee recommends that, should the subsequent attitudes, speeches, platforms and records warrant it, another meeting of Texas State COPE will be called for a date after the holding of the Republican and Democratic State Conventions."

At El Paso, on September 18 and at Fort Worth two days earlier, both the Democratic and Republican State Conventions met and adopted platforms.

So---we must now examine, under the authority of the San Antonio COPE Resolution and in the light of subsequent events, our present political posture.

We must frankly face the fact that both parties refused to take a position on some of the most serious problems affecting the working people of Texas. Their platforms are completely silent on such problems as minimum wage laws, migrant workers, unemployment compensation, workman's compensation, and a state Labor Management Relations Act.

Further, both parties stated their support of the so-called "right-to-work" laws, which are in fact punitive class legislation aimed not at the achievement of legitimate public aims, but at destruction of lawfully and democratically organized labor unions, and at making it impossible for Texas working men and women to lawfully and democratically organize themselves into labor unions. Even the title "right-to-work" is completely false, misleading, deceptive, and a propaganda term - meant to appeal to the emotions rather than the intellect--- and is additionally so corruptive of the English language as to pre- prejudice any reasoned consideration of labor-management problems. Such laws have been condemned as fraudulent, phony, con-game attempt to hide anti-labor, union-busting drives behind a coating of whitewash by every major national association of clergymen, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish; and most nationally recognized economists; by most historians of national stature; and by the last four Presidents of the United States or by their Administrations: Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy.

For more than a year now, an average 200,000 Texans have been out of work. Where is their "right-to-work"?---if such right exists outside the imagination of those forces who despise human beings, and who would, if they could, repeal this century?

Your committee wishes to note at this point that even the late Senator Robert Taft--father of the Taft-Hartley Act--wished, and tried in every legislative way at his command, to include the right to a union shop--where employees freely agreed--in the Taft-Hartley Act.

Senator Taft said, rightly, that no union should be forced by "right-to-work" laws to carry a crippling load of "free riders" on its back. Such an approach, said Taft, is "manifestly unfair." While both parties took cognizance of the majority vote to eliminate the poll tax we find the language of both platforms vague and meaningless; clearly not responsive to the clearly demonstrated will of the people.

We wish to make perfectly clear that no action taken at this meeting shall in any way deter the Texas AFL-CIO from pursuing in every
APPENDIX E

SUB-GENRE: EPIDEICTIC
AUSTIN -- The Third Court of Civil Appeals has rejected a Texas Employment Commission refusal to pay unemployment compensation to an Austin high school student.

The decision upholds the earlier decision of a district court -- from which it was appealed by the Commission -- and means payment of $144 plus interest and court costs to the student.

The student worked parttime in a supermarket from June of 1958 to the fall of 1959 when his job was terminated through no fault of his own. He applied for unemployment compensation, was found qualified but declared ineligible for benefits because, the Commission claimed, he declined to accept employment offered him.

The youth had specified that he must have a job which would not interfere with his school hours and that it must be located near his school. He refused to take a full time job offered by the Commission because he did not want to leave school.

The trial court held, and the appellate court affirmed, that he was willing to take exactly the kind of job under which he had qualified for compensation benefits and was, therefore, eligible.

The decision follows by two weeks a recommendation to the Commission from Texas State AFL-CIO President Hank Brown and other labor members of the TEC Advisory Council asking that the Commission work "to reduce the high percentage of disqualifications and ineligibility findings" and to "adopt a policy of not litigating contested disqualifications and ineligibility findings to appellate courts where lower courts have held against the Commission."

Brown's comment on the appeals court action:

(a) "This is the kind of thing we had in mind when we recommended that the Commission stop appealing cases like this when the lower courts hold against them.

(b) "It's a sad thing when working people have to spend badly-needed money and time they could use working to feed and educate their families trying to win in a court what is rightfully theirs by law.

(c) "It's time the Texas Employment Commission put an end to this kind of nonsense."
EDITORS: As you know, the role of Senator Yarborough in the fight to keep AT&T from being given absolute monopoly rights of the proposed communications satellite has been virtually blacked out of the Texas press. Here is a special story on Yarborough's part in this battle.

L. J.

Texas' Senior U. S. Senator, Ralph W. Yarborough, has been in the forefront in a fight to prevent a grab of the taxpayer-financed space satellite communications program. The space satellite will be used for relaying instant television, radio, wireless telegraph and phone communications to points all over the globe, when fully developed and put into use.

Senator Yarborough is one of a group of key Democrats opposing a bill determined senators describe as "a private monopoly ownership plan that is the biggest proposed giveaway of tax dollars in American History.

The Texas Democrat was among the first three senators to sign as co-sponsor of an alternate bill, calling for government ownership of the space communications satellites.

Their proposal would provide a plan similar to that used for the government-owned Panama Canal Company and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The senators proposing government ownership advocate a plan whereby the government would rent uses of the satellite to competing private companies, assuring that no single corporation would dominate. Competitive private contracting for construction and equipment would also be assured. They have said that AT&T, because of its size, would dominate the corporate setup proposed in a private monopoly bill which they oppose.

"This monopoly giveaway bill," Senator Yarborough said, "goes on the theory that what's good for AT&T is good for the country. This goes on the Republican doctrine that what's good for General Motors is good for the country.

"Will the communications satellites in space fly the flag of the United States of America? Or will they fly the company flag of private monopoly? Will one company be chartered a monopoly by Congress to collect for all time from the people and the government for space telephone, wireless telegraph, television and radio messages, weather
Texas State AFL-CIO
402 West 13th Street
Austin, Texas

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUSTIN - Texas State AFL-CIO President Hank Brown Thursday hailed the Texas Supreme Court's recent decision to uphold the ad valorem taxing power of junior college districts as a "fine Christmas present for Texas boys and girls seeking an education." The decision came in an attack on the taxing authority of San Jacinto Junior College District, Pasadena.

Texas AFL-CIO filed an amicus curiae brief in the case on the side of the junior college district, arguing that, despite the fact that junior colleges were unknown at the time of the framing of the Texas Constitution, there is "ample expressed constitutional authority" for the taxing power.

Brown said the state labor organization filed its brief because "Texas organized labor believes in - and traditionally has believed in and fought for - the broadest possible educational opportunities for all."

He said also: "The State of Texas could have given its children no more fitting Christmas present than this decision."

- 30 -
Following is a statement from President Hank Brown and Secretary-Treasurer Roy Evans of Texas State AFL-CIO on the death of E. L. McCommas:

(a) The tragic and sudden death of E. L. McCommas shocked the entire Texas Labor Movement.

(b) But it should be pointed out that McCommas died in the line of duty -- exactly as he had lived since he joined the Labor Movement many years ago.

(c) In these years most of his time was spent in a dedicated attempt to move people to be better than they, themselves, thought possible: to be better and more responsible parents, citizens and trade union members.

(d) His life, though tragically short, was a life of accomplishment. He crammed into his short span more service to his fellow man than many are able to achieve in three score and ten, or more.

(e) More than the Labor Movement will miss him. All Texas misses this kind of dedicated citizen. As Governor John Connally said of his passing:

"He was a wonderful man and a good friend."

NOTE: Funeral services are set for Thursday at 2 p.m. in Shannon Memorial Chapel, Fort Worth. Burial will be in Dido Cemetery.
August 3, 1962

EDITORS: The following is the first in a series of regular weekly columns we'll be sending you, as recommended by the San Antonio Convention. It's been suggested we use the old title "Man Behind the Scenes" and that, since the column will be heavily interpretive, it be by-lined. If you like these notions and want a matted standing head, let us know. And of course we solicit your criticisms of the copy. And what else can we do for you? L.J.

Man Behind the Scenes
By LYMAN JONES

One thing you can say about the anti-people, anti-labor (same thing) fat-cat forces, the haters and the baiters: They're consistent; they never die; they don't even fade away.

Let a small pro-people victory be won through the front door and you'd better be standing outside the back door with a baseball bat - because it's eight to five the anti-people types will be there trying to take the victory away, and more besides.

Take the poll tax. Texas organized labor has been fighting for abolition of the poll tax for at least 62 years. Poll tax abolition, as Hank Brown pointed out at the San Antonio Convention, was one of the original planks in the platform of the founding convention of the Texas Federation of Labor at Cleburne in 1900.

Finally, this year, in the primaries of both the Democratic and Republicans, the people of Texas said, overwhelmingly, "abolish the poll tax." Their votes direct the next session of the Legislature to submit a Constitutional Amendment to the voters so that, at long last, the poll tax can be done away with.

On the surface things look smooth enough, but it's a different story behind the scenes.

Backstage the fat cats are, right now, fixing to go through the motions of abolishing the poll tax - - but in name only! They are working to replace the poll tax with a scheme that would do, under another name, just what the poll tax has always done, namely, keep down the voting strength of the people.

The press missed it, but there have been at least two tip-offs of the fat cat plan.

One of these came in the report, recently, of a legislative study group.

The other came during the July 17 COPE meeting in San Antonio.

The legislative group has reported that it approves abolition of the poll tax - - since the people have spoken - - but that it should be replaced with an annual registration system, with a fee, to forestall "evils." What kind of "evils" would result from the fullest possible participation in voting, made

-more-
BROWNSVILLE -- A courageous Catholic priest -- Father Joseph O'Brien -- has ripped aside the mask of hypocrisy worn by Lower Rio Grande Valley employers of alien "commuters."

Up and down the Lower Valley, from Laredo to Brownsville --- as you read these words --- some 25,000 American citizens driven off their jobs by commuters -- are living on food handouts from the federal government. In Webb County (Laredo) alone last month, according to county officials, 12,000 people were given surplus food -- about 3,000 more than received surplus commodities during the worst days of the drought of the 1950's.

It is against this background, and with a federal district court decision expected this month on Texas State AFL-CIO's lawsuit against the federal government's practice of allowing commuters easy access to jobs north of the border, that Father O'Brien spoke out.

He challenged employers of aliens to search their consciences to see if they are not betraying their own communities by employing commuters.

Father O'Brien said the "economic plight" of the displaced American workers is "forced poverty . . . resulting from the practice of the business community of hiring alien labor who hold resident papers but live in Matamoros where the cost of living is considerably lower than it is here."

He said also: "Many of those who do have jobs here (and he meant aliens and US citizens alike) are paid below minimum wages. I know of many family men who are paid as little as $15 weekly.

"If people knew that on the national level, we'd be scoffed at. Our big purpose should be to develop a moral consciousness among our businessmen to induce them to give the job opportunities to American citizens."

Father O'Brien turned the "right to work" phrase back on employers who advocate it. He said American citizens "have a right to work, a right to a living wage when they work, a right to their own productivity and to the fruits of that productivity."

The solution to the economic problems of the border is a two-step process, Father O'Brien said:

"Stopping the practice of hiring commuter labor, and paying a (more)
WORKS CITED


