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ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE UAW CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION SPEECHES OF WALTER PHILIP REUTHER

by Daniel John O'Neill

The purpose of the study was to present a rhetorical analysis of the Constitutional Convention speeches delivered by Walter Philip Reuther at the conventions of the United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America. The study was divided into chapters dealing with the historical growth of unionism in America; a biography of the speaker; the expression of ideas in the speeches; the arrangement of the speaker's ideas; the speaker's oral style of expression; and the speaker's preparation and delivery of his ideas.

It was found that the depression of the nineteen thirties led to the first successful organizational efforts within industrial unions. Walter Reuther emerged as a UAW leader due to his successful organization of several Detroit automobile plants.

Walter Reuther grew up in a family environment which emphasized trade unionism as a means of establishing social justice. Reuther's early speech training included weekly Sunday debates with his brothers. Later while enrolled at Wayne University, Walter Reuther engaged in extracurricular speaking as the leader of the Young Socialists and as a labor union organizer. Reuther's speech training has been entirely the result of practical speech experiences.

The UAW president's constitutional convention speeches contain Reuther's views on collective bargaining issues, national and international economic issues, and social action issues. The speeches reflect Walter Reuther's innovative plans for wage and fringe benefits for automobile workers as well as plans for the economic and social improvement of American society. Walter Reuther's ideas are logically sound. He made good use of evidence and reasoning. He used recent and reliable evidence and his speeches were characterized by an abundance of factual data. Moreover, Reuther argued cogently with the writer noting examples of reasoning from cause, sign, and

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generalization. It was found that Reuther was an excellent refutative speaker when the issue warranted refutation. The psychological appeal of the constitutional convention speeches was primarily characterized by appeals to selflessness and both economic and social dignity with occasional moments of humor and sarcasm. There was also an undercurrent of struggle and conflict between labor and management. Walter Reuther's prior reputation as a clean living and industrious leader and social visionary may have improved the credibility of his speeches. Within the constitutional convention speeches, Reuther improved his credibility by referring to his experiences as an autoworker and as a public figure. He complimented his audience at appropriate times and throughout his speeches spoke with apparent sincerity.

Reuther organized his ideas topically. Coordination and subordination of ideas was not clearly distinguished and there were no transitions or parallel sentences to clarify relationships for the listener. However, the UAW president used humorous anecdotes, compliments, and references to the significance of the occasion

to create rapport with his audience in his introductions. Reuther's conclusions were short and simple appeal conclusions.

Reuther's general style of expression was fairly difficult to read. He used language correctly. Among the factors which contributed to the clarity of Reuther's expression of thought were Reuther's knowledge of the ideas that he expressed, his use of examples, and an adequate use of evidence and argument. However, clarity was hindered by a lack of variety in his choice of words, a tendency to digress from the point he is making, and lack of suitable summaries and transitional materials.

Walter Reuther will spend very little time in specific preparation of his speeches. He invariably speaks from hand written topic notes extemporaneously. General delivery can best be described as highly agitated, energetic, and animated. Reuther appears alert and confident and he gestures effectively.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE UAW
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION SPEECHES
OF WALTER PHILIP REUTHER

By

Daniel John O'Neill

A THESIS

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1969

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to present a rhetorical analysis of the constitutional convention speeches delivered by Walter Philip Reuther at the biannual conventions of the UAW.

Rhetorical analysis and criticism of a speaker and his speeches is a frequently used method of research in public address. Thonssen and Baird define rhetorical criticism as

a comparative study in which standards of judgment deriving from the social interaction of a speech situation are applied to public addresses to determine the immediate or delayed effect of the speeches upon specific audiences, and ultimately, upon society.¹

To these authors, rhetorical criticism is both a process and a declaration of judgment.

¹Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 16.

It involves, first, a process, a process by which unsupported individual preference moves toward rationally defined and systematically determined choice. This movement results from a composite of judgments, not only in rhetoric, but in related fields--particularly philosophy, history, and logic. In the second place, rhetorical criticism a declaration of judgment. It represents an evaluation or appraisal of an oratorical effort with reference to its ultimate effect.²

Thonssen and Baird contend that the ultimate goal of rhetorical criticism is to make valid judgments based upon interpretive analysis. "The careful critic bases his value judgments upon reliable data, meticulously tested and checked."³ The speech critic seeks to evaluate rhetorical effort and to account for effectiveness in the rhetorical situation. He strives to arrive at certain conclusions despite the fact that a totality of information cannot be secured.

The Significance of the Study

The name of Reuther attracts lightning like a Franklin rod. Throwing it into a conversation is like tossing up a baseball bat on a sandlot; people choose up sides over it. Most critics don't want

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 22.

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to see Walter actually assassinated, but plenty would like to see fate lean on him a little. To the Teamsters' Jimmy Hoffa he is an antagonist far more deadly than all anti-Hoffa industrialists combined; to John L. Lewis, "a pseudo-intellectual nitwit"; to George Romney of American Motors, "the most dangerous man in Detroit."⁴

Few men hold a place of higher esteem within the American labor movement than Walter Reuther, president of the nation's second largest union, the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America. He has been variously voted the outstanding labor figure of the twentieth century ahead of such labor titans as Samuel Gompers and John L. Lewis and mentioned in the late nineteen forties as one of the ten most influential men in the world along with Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin. Reuther's reputation is international in character. According to an account of the UAW President's appearance at the Trade Union Congress in England in 1957, "No overseas visitor in living memory has made such an immense impact by his personality and his tempestuous oratory."⁵

Walter Reuther is one of the key figures in labor today. While George Meany may wield greater influence in

⁴William Manchester, "Walter Reuther," Holiday, November, 1959, p. 66.

⁵B. J. Widick, Labor Today (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 184.

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the labor movement, Reuther heads a crucible union, a laboratory union in which the impact of automation will be tested. "How Reuther and his Auto Workers come through this ordeal of industrial change will largely determine how the rest of the labor movement comes through."⁶

Thus far Reuther has proven to be a master of the collective bargaining process. As a young president of an auto union local on the west side of Detroit in the organizing days of the thirties, Reuther conceived of the successful strategy of striking key General Motors plants to win bargaining rights for the UAW. During Reuther's reign as President of the one million six hundred thousand member union, the workers have received numerous basic wage increments plus additional increases tied to the cost of living index, not to mention vacations, medical care, pensions, early retirement clauses, and the long sought guaranteed annual income. Reuther's genius at publicity has made him the focal point of labor news for two decades with contracts which he described as "historic" and

⁶Lester Nelie, Labor U.S.A. (New York: Harper and Brothers Company, 1958), p. 63.

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"precedent-shattering", his plans for "new horizons", and "a fresh challenge to society."⁷

Walter Reuther is more than the traditional old line labor leader concerned with winning a few dollars for his union constituencies. Mr. Reuther is cast in the mold of Daniel DeLeon and Eugene Debs rather than Samuel Gompers and George Meany. Reuther is a labor leader with a social vision. He has argued before Congressional committees for laws to police corporation prices. He has plans for solving inflation, for abolishing unemployment, and for improving the economy. He is in the vanguard of influential persons dedicated to the cause of social justice and harmony among the races. Mr. Reuther has recently withdrawn from the AFL-CIO so that his union can pursue a more active role in promoting social reform within the basic structure of American society.

Moreover, Reuther is an important figure in state and national politics.

. . . twice Presidents have run afoul of Reuther haters. Franklin Roosevelt, greeting him as a member of a labor delegation, extended his hand and said grandly, "Ah, here's our engineer!" Another labor leader, unaware of the Veblenesque meaning of the term, as a social planner, muttered

⁷Widick, p. 189.

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balefully, "Walter's no engineer, he's only a tool-and-die-maker." When Dwight Eisenhower invited him to a stag dinner with a group of businessmen, the evening turned into a verbal free-for-all, with Walter against the field.⁸

He has helped fashion numerous Democratic Party successes in Michigan and has campaigned actively for Presidential Democratic Party standard bearers. Through the UAW Committee On Political Education, the union has provided voter registration drives and contribution campaigns for county, state, and national Democratic candidates.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly for the purposes of this study, Reuther is a stimulating conversationalist and effective platform performer.

Walter once described a company negotiator as "a man with a calculating machine for a heart, pumping ice water," and another time he charged that Jimmy Hoffa, Dave Beck and Joe McCarthy were reactionaries "in bed together, hand in glove." Anybody who uses as many words as he does is bound to be tripped now and then by a stray metaphor. He can talk endlessly, on anything: Murray Kempton of the New York Post called him the only man who could reminisce about the future. Mention milk to him and he will cite figures, in buckets, on the comparative yield of Guernseys, Holsteins and Jerseys. Admire the bird feeder in his back yard and you are lectured on the migratory habits of rare Michigan birds. "Ask Walter the time," said the late Spencer McCulloch, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, "and he tells you how to make a watch."⁹

⁸ Manchester, p. 68.

⁹ Ibid.

Mr. Reuther's argumentative talents have been developed over years of experience as a collective bargainer against the large automobile companies. His rhetoric rings with denunciation of the self interests of the corporate executives.

As a labor leader, Reuther is an involver who tests ideas by getting his subordinates to talk about their ideas and plans. Beyond the bargaining table and into the world of social and economic change, Reuther's words ring with the sound of a messianic reformer. He is a man who translates his social reform ideas into articulate messages of change and improvement of the social order.

Thus a study of the rhetorical theory and practices of Walter Reuther would be a significant contribution to scholarly research.

Questions To Be Answered

1. What was the background to the speeches?
 - a. What were the dominant social trends that influenced the speaker?
 - b. What antecedent conditions in Walter Reuther's life were most influential in shaping Reuther's speaking?

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2. What ideas did the speaker reflect in his speeches?
 - a. What were the collective bargaining ideas expressed in Reuther's constitutional convention speeches?
 - b. What were the broader economic ideas expressed in the speeches?
 - c. What were the social-political ideas expressed in the speeches?
3. How did the speaker logically develop his ideas?
 - a. What kinds of materials of development did the speaker use?
 - b. Did the speaker use his evidence correctly?
 - c. Did the speaker use sound argument?
 - d. Did the speaker refute counter arguments effectively?
4. What other psychological appeals were revealed in the speeches?
 - a. What type of audience and occasion was entailed in the speeches?
 - b. What types of materials of experience did the speaker use?
 - c. Were the psychological components of the speeches effectively handled by the speaker?
5. What factors influenced the credibility of the speaker?
 - a. What antecedent factors influenced the credibility of the speaker?

- b. What factors within the speech contributed to the speaker's credibility?
6. How did the speaker structure his speeches?
- a. What patterns of arrangement, if any, emerged?
 - b. What rhetorical strategy did the speaker employ in his introductions?
 - c. What rhetorical strategy did the speaker employ in his conclusions?
 - d. How did the speaker arrange the body of his speeches?
7. What was characteristic of the speaker's style in the speeches studied?
- a. Did the speaker use language correctly, clearly, and appropriately?
 - b. What embellishments were apparent in the language of the speeches?
8. How did the speaker prepare and deliver his speeches?
- a. How did the speaker prepare his speeches?
 - b. How did the speaker deliver his speeches?
 - 1) What verbal factors characterized the speaker?
 - 2) What non-verbal factors characterized the speaker?

The problem or purpose of the study outlined in this chapter is to determine how effective Walter P. Reuther is as a speaker, utilizing the historical-critical method of research.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to the UAW Constitutional Convention speeches of Walter P. Reuther. The span of time involved is from 1947 to the 1968 convention. During this twenty-one year period, Walter Reuther has delivered the following eleven speeches to UAW Constitutional Conventions:

Sunday, November 9, 1947, Eleventh Convention, Atlantic City, Convention Hall.

Sunday, July 10, 1949, Twelfth Convention, Milwaukee, Milwaukee Auditorium.

Sunday, April 1, 1951, Thirteenth Convention, Cleveland, Cleveland Auditorium.

Sunday, March 22, 1953, Fourteenth Convention, Atlantic City, Convention Hall.

Sunday, March 27, 1955, Fifteenth Convention, Cleveland, Cleveland Auditorium.

Sunday, April 7, 1957, Sixteenth Convention, Atlantic City, Convention Hall.

Sunday, October 9, 1959, Seventeenth Convention, Atlantic City, Convention Hall.

Sunday, May 4, 1962, Eighteenth Convention, Atlantic City, Convention Hall.

Sunday, March 20, 1964, Nineteenth Convention, Atlantic City, Convention Hall.

Monday, May 16, 1966, Twentieth Convention, Long Beach, Long Beach Arena.

Sunday, May 4, 1968, Twenty-first Convention, Atlantic City, Convention Hall.

In large measure, these speeches reflect the position of labor over the past two decades.

This rhetorical study complements a rhetorical study of Walter Reuther's speeches on matters of public policy to non-union audiences by Moyne L. Cabbage. Thonssen and Baird mention the "variability of criticism" and state that the work of the rhetorical critic "must inevitably bear the mark of preliminary inquiry."¹⁰ The authors argue that the critical estimates of the orator will have to be re-examined and rewritten periodically. Nearly a decade has passed since Cabbage's investigation and it can be argued that a fresh analysis of a different genre of a famous speaker's oratory would add much to our understanding of his effectiveness.

Accuracy of Texts

The rhetorical critic of a contemporary speaker has an advantage over the critic who investigates a deceased speaker since accurate texts of the former are more easily obtainable than in the latter case. Modern critics are

¹⁰Thonssen and Baird, p. 16.

concerned mainly as to whether the available texts mirror faithfully the language as originally spoken by the speaker. The critic needs accurate texts in order to make an unbiased appraisal of the speaker's effectiveness.

Important as textual authenticity is in the evaluation of rhetorical invention and disposition, it is even more essential to the study of a speaker's style. Word choice, compositional elements, and ornamental flourishes must be as near the original as possible, if we are to appraise the speaker rather than the editors, who prepared his copy for subsequent publication.¹¹

Walter Reuther's convention speeches are published in the Proceedings of each UAW constitutional convention. According to Ray Martin, of the UAW Public Relations department, the published Proceedings are verbatim stenographic reproductions.¹² Mr. Martin maintained that the verbal utterances were not edited except perhaps to change a glaring grammatical error. The writer was able to validate the accuracy of the convention texts by comparing separate and independent texts. For illustrative purposes the parallel texts of selected sections of Walter Reuther's 1968 convention address were compared to see how widely, if at all, the speech varies from source to source. The first

¹¹ Ibid., p. 308.

¹² Interview with Ray Martin, UAW staff, July 7, 1967.

source is from a tape recording of the speech while it was being delivered; the second source is from the published UAW Proceedings of the 1968 Constitutional Convention.

The taped version reads as follows:¹³

Let me briefly touch upon some of the things we did and try to put um in perspective, because one of the problems of the labor movement is that many times you cannot objectively evaluate what you have done, because you can't see the forest for the trees. I can say, without fear of contradiction, that in 1967 the membership of this Union made much more progress, for more people, on more matters of great significance than our Union ever made at any other contract negotiations. I remember the Chrysler strike of 1939. The Chrysler workers walked the bricks for 56 days and we got a settlement of two and a half cents an hour, and we made it into a great big victory, but we got only two and a half cents an hour after 56 or 59 days on the picket line. In 1967, it was the first time in a major strike with a major corporation that we were able to double the size of the economic package at the end of the strike, as measured against the Company's offer at the beginning of the strike. And in the three year period of our contract, in the automobile and ag implement and parts plants, not counting aerospace, because they are up to bat now, but in those groups alone, in the three years of this contract, the membership of this Union and their families will have an increase in economic gain between four and a half billions of dollars. This is the largest gain that any group of workers has ever made in the history of industrial unionism. And then we need to keep in mind (omission) this is a democratic Union. People can pass our propaganda all they want and

¹³ Underlined words denote differences between oral and written versions of the speech text.

we'll defend their right to do it, but that doesn't change the facts, and the facts are that every penny that we got in our wage and economic package was hard money and there was no cost-of-living catch-up money in the UAW package and very few unions can say that in America today. Very few unions. (omission) The Rubber Workers, which is a fine, fighting union and we are proud of our close bond of solidarity with that Union. They had a rough strike. The industry was ganging up on them. They had exhausted their strike funds and the company thought they could break their back. And we gave them a loan of \$3 million dollars and that turned the tide. And at the end of roughly 80 days, they negotiated an agreement. Their economic package was smaller than ours, but 16 cents of their economic package was catch-up money.¹⁴

The UAW Proceedings segment reads as follows:

Let me briefly touch upon some of the things we did and try to put them in perspective, because one of the problems of the labor movement is that many times you cannot objectively evaluate what you have done, because you can't see the forest for the trees.

I can say without fear of contradiction, that in 1967 the membership of this Union made more progress, for more people, on more matters of great significance than our Union ever made at any other contract negotiation, or any other industrial union in America ever made in one set of contract negotiations.

I remember the Chrysler strike of 1939. The Chrysler workers walked the bricks for 65 days and we got a settlement of two and a half cents an hour after 65 days on the picket line.

In 1967, it was the first time in a major strike with a major corporation that we were able

¹⁴ Tape recording of 1968 Constitutional Convention address by Walter P. Reuther, UAW Public Relations Department.

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to double the size of the economic package at the end of the strike, as measured against the Company's offer at the beginning of the strike. In the three year period of our contract, in the automobile and agricultural implement and parts plants, not counting aerospace, because they are up to bat now, but in those groups alone, in the three years of this contract, the membership of this Union and their families will have an increase in economic gain of between four and a half and five billion dollars. This is the largest gain that any group of workers has ever made in the history of industrial unionism.

Then we need to keep in mind that this is a democratic Union. People can pass out propaganda all they want and we will defend their right to do it, but that doesn't change the facts, and the facts are that every penny that we got in our wage and economic package was hard money and there was no cost-of-living catch-up money in the UAW package and very few unions can say that in America today.

Very few unions. Take the Rubber Workers, which is a fine, fighting Union. We are proud of our close bond of solidarity with that Union. They had a rough strike. The industry was ganging up on them. They had exhausted their strike funds and the company thought they could break their back. We gave them a loan of \$3 million dollars and that turned the tide. At the end of roughly 80 days, they negotiated an agreement. Their economic package was smaller than ours, but 16 cents of their economic package was catch-up money.¹⁵

Thus, the two versions differ very slightly. The UAW Proceedings are quite accurate reports of the original verbal message.

¹⁵United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Proceedings of the UAW Constitutional Convention, 1968, pp. 19-20.

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Sources of Information

Primary sources of information include the published Proceedings of the Constitutional Conventions of the UAW from which the writer obtained texts for this rhetorical analysis. In addition, the writer was able to acquire original information through personal correspondence with UAW officials and through personal interviews with staff members of the UAW and the speaker studied.

Books

Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism, New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948 and Kenneth Hance, David Ralph, and Milton Wiksell, Principles of Speaking, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1962 will serve as critical guides in this study. The writer will also utilize The Rhetoric of Aristotle, Lane Cooper translation, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932 and Winston Brembeck and William Howell, Persuasion: A Means of Social Control, New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1952.

There are numerous books on the labor movement in *the* United States which provide a general introduction into

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the area. Among the best general works are Labor in America, Foster Rhea Dulles, New York: Thomas Crowell, 1958, and Charles A. Madison, American Labor Leaders, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. Other important sources of information on the labor movement include Foster Rhea Dulles, The United States Since 1865, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959; Lewis L. Lorwin, The American Federation of Labor, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1933; Harold Underwood Talkner, American Political and Social History, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957; and Samuel Yellen, American Labor Struggles, New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1936.

Studies dealing with the general organization of workers in unions include Philip Taft, The Structure and Government of Labor Unions, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954; Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955; Arnold Tannenbaum, Social Psychology of the Work Organization, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Co., 1966; Arnold Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn, Participation in Union Locals, New York: Harper and Row Co., 1958.

Works dealing with the organization and growth of unionism in the automobile industry include Ralph C. Epstein,

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The Automobile Industry: Its Economic and Commercial Development, Chicago: 1928 and Sidney Fine, The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963.

Some excellent books bear directly on Walter Reuther or tell the events surrounding the birth and rise of the United Automobile Workers. Edward Levinson, Labor on the March, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938, relates with the greatest narrative skill the organizing drives of the late thirties in which Walter Reuther played an important role. Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, The UAW and Walter Reuther, New York: Random House, 1949, is a thoughtful study of Reuther and his union. Murray Kempton, Part of Our Time, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955 has an interesting analysis of Reuther's youthful visit to Russia. Another work consulted was Harry A. Willis and Emily Clarke Brown, The Wagner Act to Taft Hartley, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

Arthur Kornhauser, Harold L. Sheppard, Albert J. Mayer, When Labor Votes, New York: University Books, 1956 is indispensable for understanding the UAW's political power in Wayne County, Michigan. Jack Stieber, Governing the UAW, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962 is the best

analysis of the organizational structure of the UAW. It also contains a valuable chapter on proceedings at the UAW Constitutional Conventions.

Periodicals

There are a great many periodical articles on Reuther. Critical views include: "We're Heading for a Labor Government," Nation's Business, December, 1955, and "What Makes Reuther Big?" by Henry Hazlitt, Newsweek, September 9, 1957. Other pertinent articles include "Labor's New Men of Power," Daniel Bell, Fortune, June, 1953; "The Union that Grew Up," Mary Heaton Vorse, Harper's Magazine, July, 1954; "How Do We Live with Bigness?" Henry Brandon, The New Republic, July 21, 1958; "What Labor Wants Next," Walter P. Reuther, The American Magazine, January, 1956, (has early autobiographical data); and "The Trouble in Detroit," William B. Harris, Fortune, March, 1958.

The changing nature of union member attitudes is reported in "The Union Member: Profile and Attitudes," Alexander Barkan, Federationist, August, 1967. In addition, an article by Sidney Fine, Journal of Economics, provides an excellent account of the formation of the UAW.

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Other articles of note include "Walter Reuther," Brian Herbert, Life, November 26, 1945; "Labor's Undiplomatic Diplomat," Saturday Evening Post, December 18, 1943; "Labor's Bright Young Man," James A. Wechsler, Harper's Magazine, March 1948; and William Manchester, "Walter Reuther," Holiday, November-December, 1959.

Reuther's social and economic positions are revealed through his testimony before Congressional committees so that the Congressional Record is an important source of information as are Reuther's statements contained in various government documents.

Newspapers and Other UAW Publications

Both Reuther and the UAW's history can be traced in daily newspapers. The Detroit News is an excellent source of information since the newspaper library has an extensive file of all UAW news items appearing in the paper. The New York Times is of great value since articles dealing with Reuther and the United Automobile Workers are listed in its index. Finally, The Wall Street Journal contains many articles dealing with the 1.6 million member union.

Solidarity, the official publication of the UAW provides the reader with an insight into the social and economic goals of the auto union. Frequent position papers are published in this newspaper. One should be familiar with Ammunition which is sent to local union leaders, and Washington Report, a weekly newsletter stating the position of the union toward pending congressional legislation.

Unpublished Materials

The material collected for the labor archives at the new Walter Reuther Labor Library at Wayne State University provides an abundance of primary information on the formation and growth of the United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers.

Moreover, the information filed at Solidarity House, international union headquarters, provides original tapes of Reuther's speeches. Electronic tapes of Executive Board meetings are held for inspection at Solidarity House.

George Backwood, "The United Auto Workers, 1935-1951," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951, provides the best treatment of the growth of the UAW *in* the nineteen thirties. Jack W. Skeels, "The Development

of Political Stability Within the United Auto Workers Union," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1957, is a scholarly reconstruction of the rise of Reuther to uncontested power.

Finally, Moyne L. Cabbage, "A Rhetorical Study of the Speeches of Walter Philip Reuther on Matters of Public Policy," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1961, is an important study of Reuther's speeches to non-union audiences.

Plan of Analysis

The study will rhetorically analyze Walter P. Reuther's convention speeches by following the format designated below.

First, the introductory chapter will state the purpose and significance of the study, the questions to be answered by the study, Sources of Information used in the study, limitations of the study, and the plan of analysis.

Chapter two will set the scene for the rhetorical criticism by tracing the rise of trade and industrial unionism

in the United States. The formation and growth of the UAW will also be presented.

Chapter three will present biographical data on Walter Reuther including his ancestry, his early home life, his education, his early development as a speaker, and his rise to the leadership of the UAW.

Chapters four, five, six, and seven will rhetorically analyze and criticize Walter Reuther's invention, arrangement, style, and delivery. Chapter eight will summarize and conclude the study.

It should be acknowledged at the onset that the separate elements of the speeches analyzed are all part of a "process" of communication. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell point out the complex interrelationship of modes of persuasion.

To fragment the listener and the materials of speaking . . . and pretend that one particular sentence in a speech will appeal to one particular element of the listener's personality, is as foolish as to pretend that a painting is a piece of canvas with some oil pigments brushed on it--and nothing more Just as examining the separate systems that make up an automobile--the electrical system, the transmission, the motor, and so on--will help us to understand the automobile as a whole, so will

this analysis of the materials of speaking help us to understand the process of communication as a whole.¹⁶

Rhetorical Concepts

Invention refers to what the speaker chooses to say, his ideas, and how he chooses to say it; his ethical, emotive, and logical appeals to his audience. Invention embraces a survey and forecast of the subject and a search for the arguments suitable to the given rhetorical effect.

Certain writers including Aristotle gave more attention to invention than any of the other parts of rhetoric on the ground that content is the most important part of a speech. Aristotle divided the means of persuasion into three kinds. "The first kind resides in the character of the speaker. . . ."¹⁷ According to Aristotle:

The character (ethos) of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly, about things in general, while on points outside

¹⁶ Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speech (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company), 1962, p. 76.

¹⁷ Lane Cooper (ed.), The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Co., 1932), p. 8.

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the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided, we trust them absolutely. This trust, however, should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man. It is not true, as some writers on the art maintain, that the probity of the speaker contributes nothing to his persuasiveness; on the contrary, we might almost affirm that his character (ethos) is the most potent of all the means to persuasion.¹⁸

Aristotle contended that the second means of persuasion consisted in producing a certain attitude in the listener. "Secondly, persuasion is effected through the audience, when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion; for we give very different decisions under the sway of pain or joy, and liking or hatred."¹⁹

Finally, arguments proper are a means of persuasion. "Thirdly, persuasion is effected by the arguments, when we demonstrate the truth, real or apparent, by such means as inhere in particular cases."²⁰

The writer has utilized more modern terminology when referring to the modes of persuasion. Materials of development, psychological appeals, and personal proof are

¹⁸Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 9.

²⁰Ibid., p. 9.

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the terms used in this study to refer to the means of persuasion.

Arrangement, or disposition as the ancients designated the term, refers to the orderly planning and movement of the whole idea. Thonssen and Baird present the following view with respect to the critic's evaluation of arrangement:

The critic who evaluates a speaker's finished discourse proceeds with two objectives in view: First, he examines the speech as an instance of rhetorical craftsmanship, per se. That is, he considers the speech from the point of view of its basic construction, as an assembly of many parts bound together in an orderly and balanced whole. Secondly, he appraises the total organizational plan with reference to the peculiar audience conditions to which it was presumably accommodated. In other words, the critic recognizes the possibility that a speech may be a masterful combination of discrete elements; that it may be a model of unitary cohesion, considered in vacuo, and yet be ineffective in its adaptation to the audience for which it is intended.²¹

In this study the writer will determine Walter Reuther's methods of division and his ordering of ideas in his speech introduction, body, and conclusion.

What the rhetorician calls "style" is of necessity somewhat arbitrarily determined because "with the possible exception of invention, no part of rhetoric is more

²¹Thonssen and Baird, p. 393.

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complex Its ramifications are elaborate, extending . . . deeply into the fundamentals of invention and disposition and losing themselves in them"22 "Surely no term has been bandied about more freely, or has provoked a fuller measure of controversy."23

Style is the way in which the speaker clothes his ideas with language; his choice and arrangement of words to convey meaning. In this study, the writer has analyzed Walter Reuther's constitutional convention speeches according to the qualities of good style which include appropriateness, correctness, clarity, and impressiveness.

Delivery has received varying measures of emphasis in works on public speaking. Aristotle's Rhetoric, for example, dismissed delivery with a few sentences; in other works, such as those in the elocutionary tradition, delivery is the focal point of attention. "From the beginning of the art of speaking, there has been a full recognition of the need for effective delivery. . . ."24 Thonssen and

²²Ibid., p. 407.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., p. 434.

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Baird state the following critical point of view toward delivery.

A broad conception of delivery is helpful to a fuller understanding of orators and oratory. Here considered, delivery embraces: 1) the orator's methods of preparing his speeches, 2) his method of delivery, 3) the physical factors conducing to his effectiveness as a speaker, 4) his bodily action in delivery, and 5) his use of the voice as an instrument of persuasion. We are interested in more than a simple survey of the way a speaker uses gestures and voice; as critics, we wish to get a faithful portrait of the orator. This can be done only by considering all factors which influence the finished speech.²⁵

The writer will adhere in this study to the critical plan of analysis outlined above. The rhetorical methodology will be stated at the beginning of each chapter.

Conclusion

The primary purpose of this study is to present a rhetorical analysis of the Constitutional Convention speeches delivered by Walter Philip Reuther, President of the UAW. Reuther's speaking is worthy of critical analysis because he is one of the key figures in the American labor movement and an effective speaker.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 435.

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This study is limited to Walter Reuther's UAW convention speeches, a series of eleven speeches which he has given over a span of twenty-one years. Textual comparisons disclosed that the speeches contained in the UAW Proceedings are fairly accurate representations of the verbal message.

Primary sources of information include analysis of UAW Proceedings, correspondence and interviews with the speaker and UAW officials. Secondary sources of books, magazines, newspapers, and unpublished materials were enumerated and evaluated.

Finally, a plan of analysis was presented. This study is divided into chapters including Biography, Social Setting, Invention, Arrangement, Style, and Preparation and Delivery.

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CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL SETTING

Introduction

The chapter which follows will describe the social setting of Walter Reuther's speaking in order to provide a context from which to analyze his speeches to the UAW constitutional conventions. This chapter will discuss the growth of trade unionism in the United States, the rise of the automobile industry, the formation of the auto workers union, and the growth and adjustment of the UAW to modern economic conditions.

Since every judgment of a public speech contains an historical constituent, one is concerned with determining the nature of the setting in which the speaker operated. Rhetoric and history should not be divorced. The rhetorical critic will present an historical narrative with emphasis on those instances which have "rhetorical" significance. The critic's goal in historical narrative is to view a speech in its larger social setting and to reconstruct the social

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milieu of the period, paying careful attention to historical, economic, political, social, and cultural antecedents that impinge upon the ideas expressed in the speech and the examination of details relative to the occasion when the speech was given. "In no other way can the analyst trace the possible effectiveness of a speech than through familiarity with antecedent trends and happenings, knowledge of the hearers, and study of the subsequent events upon which the speaker might have exercised a causal influence."¹

He assembles discrete data, establishes their interrelations, and thus rebuilds, under the limitations imposed by the nature of his investigation, the pattern in which the speechmaking occurred. He does this with full recognition of the need for comprehensiveness in research, impartiality and objectivity in the selection of details, and reliability in the establishment of causal relations among the many facts. He can do no more; he should do no less.²

Growth of Trade Unionism in the 19th Century

It is difficult to relate in proper sequence the events that marked the transformation of the United States

¹ Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948), p. 321.

² Ibid., p. 327.

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from an agrarian society to an advanced industrial society.

The march of science carried us into the machine age. Inventions from electric dynamos to adding machines, together with those technological developments that constantly emphasized mass production and the assembly line, were basically essential factors in building up our manufactures. An ample labor force, continually replenished, provided the necessary manpower that underlay all production. A transportation system furnishing the means to assemble essential raw materials and distribute finished products was also of the utmost importance. Without a continually increasing population, spread over a vast territory completely free of all trade barriers, industry and manufacture would have lacked the constant stimulation of an ever expanding market.³

The years following the Civil War were a period of exploitation of natural resources and labor. Gold, silver, copper were extracted from western mines. Prairie lands were overgrazed for profit and other sources of wealth were drained on a first come, first serve basis. Moreover, labor was considered a commodity to be bought like any other as cheaply as possible, drawing upon the steady stream of Old World immigrants to build up a labor force which was paid a subsistence wage.

During the 1870's immigrants were reaching American shores at the rate of nearly 300,000 annually.

³ Foster Rhea Dulles, The United States Since 1865 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 53.

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In the 1880's the figure rose to 500,000, and after a slight decline in the 1890's it was, in the first decade of the new century, to average nearly 900,000 a year. Of a total population of 76,000,000 in 1900, some 10,000,000 were foreign-born and 26,000,000 were of foreign parentage.⁴

Between 1860 and 1900 some fourteen million persons crossed the Atlantic, most of whom were ignorant, penniless, unskilled workers. Increasingly they came from southeastern Europe and sought jobs in mines, mills, and factories.

The growth of industry after the Civil War created new conditions of work. Skilled craftsmen were not needed to work in industry. More and more unskilled workers tended to lose the greater degree of independence and freedom enjoyed by the skilled craftsman. Thus, they sought to organize in order to have labor and capital meet on more nearly equal terms.

Early Labor Associations

Efforts to organize labor took the form of originating national associations of union members. These included the National Labor Union, Knights of Labor, and

⁴Ibid., pp. 94-95.

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the American Federation of Labor. In the 1860's leaders of unions representing ironworkers, machinists, miners, building trades workers and other groups formed the National Labor Union. Their demands included arbitration instead of strikes, the eight-hour day, regulation of apprenticeships, a national bureau of labor statistics, a federal department of labor, exclusion of oriental immigrants, and the abolition of the contract system of prison labor.⁵

This first labor association failed after a few years because its leadership relied upon political rather than economic action, a strategy which proved to be ineffective.

Nevertheless, it has a very real place in the history of the labor movement. It first emphasized the need for action on a national front, brought together for consideration of their common problems the representatives of an important group of national unions and local trades' assemblies, and created a new popular interest in industrial relations.⁶

In the midst of labor unrest which included numerous strikes and boycotts, the Order of the Knights of Labor was formed in 1878 under the motto "An injury to one is an injury to all." Its program was a mixture of raised wages

⁵Ibid., p. 76.

⁶Ibid., pp. 76-77.

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and shorter working hours and broader political action.

"It also condemned craft and trade unions as too narrow in scope and spirit, and proclaimed the need of a universal organization of all workers skilled and unskilled. . . ." ⁷

Between 1881 and 1885 enrollment rose to over 100,000 and a series of successful strikes then drove it to a peak of 700,000 members by 1889. This sudden increase in membership resulted in workers rushing to join the organization faster than they could be absorbed. A series of unsuccessful strikes shrank the membership to 75,000 by 1893. ⁸ Historians cite a matrix of causal factors which led to the decline of the Knights, but the fundamental reason for its failure was the impracticality, at that moment in history, of trying to draw all the unskilled industrial workers of the nation into a single organization.

The Knights also erred in their estimate of the unskilled workers. Mainly foreign born, the product of recent waves of immigration, unacquainted with the institutions of their new home, working and living under deplorable conditions, the unskilled of America represented an amorphous mass. They had come to America from many lands to better their lives, and they firmly believed what they had been told--that

⁷ Lewis L. Lorwin, The American Federation of Labor (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1933), p. 10.

⁸ Dulles, p. 80.

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America was the land of individual enterprise and opportunity. Their uprising in 1884-86 was the result of their first contact with industrialism in general and with its ugly harshness in the America of the eighties. But after their first shock and violent reaction, they rebounded into the channels of life which presumably led to the expected goal of individual gains, and left the Order to its own fate.⁹

The failure of the unskilled workers to organize effectively is understandable. The American worker in general tended to accept the basic tenets of capitalism. A young advancing country with opportunities for individual advancement symbolized by the frontier forestalled class struggle and hardening class lines. Moreover, the workers' repeated efforts to develop effective labor unions were invariably met by the concerted opposition of management, government, and the courts. It was not until the cataclysmic depression of the 1930's that labor found a change in the hostile attitude of government.

Only the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, developed an enduring organizational structure. Samuel Gompers, the principal architect of the A.F. of L., believed in a program of organization and collective bargaining, backed up by the strike, which strictly limited

⁹ Lorwin, p. 26.

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itself to the practical goals of higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions for union members.

"The principal difference between the A.F. of L. and the Knights of Labor, however, was that the new federation did not try to organize the unskilled workers who lacked the potential bargaining powers of the skilled."¹⁰ In addition, there were no political involvements or flirting with the idea of a labor party. The A.F. of L. asked nothing of government except freedom to organize, freedom to strike, and freedom to boycott in support of labor's rights.

Thus, the nineteenth century saw the growth of industry together with a largely unskilled labor force. Attempts of the unskilled to organize for improved economic conditions were unsuccessful. Only the A.F. of L. whose interests were economic rather than political was able to achieve a viable labor organization based upon a membership of skilled workers.

Labor Unrest

As workers reacted to their economic plight, labor conflicts increased in number and intensity. Between the

¹⁰Dulles, p. 86.

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years 1881 and 1905, there were an estimated 36,757 strikes with over one half occurring between the years 1895 and 1905.¹¹ Historians usually describe the violence of the Haymarket Riot and Pullman Strike as examples of the intensity of the conflict between labor and capital. In the former incident, seven policemen were killed and sixty more were wounded when a bomb was thrown from a crowd gathered to demonstrate support for workers striking for an eight-hour day. As a result public opinion reacted sharply against labor.

A portion of the public fury aroused by the Haymarket bomb was deflected against the eight-hour strike in progress. Confusion arose among the working people and their ranks were split. Using the alleged discoveries of anarchist plots as an excuse, the police attacked gatherings of strikers even more savagely than before. Labor leaders were seized without ceremony. Within a week after May 4 the strikers began to give in and return to their jobs.¹²

Many workers who participated in the eight-hour day strike found that their jobs were occupied by other workers as the issue failed completely.

¹¹ Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Political and Social History (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, inc., 1957), p. 700.

¹² Samuel Yellen, American Labor Struggles (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1936), pp. 65-66.

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In the Pullman Strike of 1894, the railroads successfully avoided negotiation with the American Railway Union led by Eugene Debs. Federal troops were sent to Pullman, Illinois to restore order and the injunction was successfully used as a weapon to break the strike.

With the strike definitely lost, the railroads began to estimate its cost. The loss from incendiarism was less than \$250,000. Another \$400,000 was spent for the hire of deputy marshals. The loss of income was \$4,672,916, and there were, of course, additional losses throughout the country because of the paralysis of transportation. The workers, on the other hand, suffered about 25 persons killed and 60 badly injured. The Pullman strikers lost \$350,000 in wages and the other railroad strikers \$1,389,143. After the conflict was ended, President Cleveland appointed a Strike Commission to study the Pullman strike. It took testimony for 13 days and examined 109 witnesses; and it recommended: 1) that there be compulsory arbitration for disputes between railroads and their workers with a permanent strike commission to judge; 2) that the separate states adopt systems of conciliation and arbitration; and 3) that labor organizations be recognized and dealt with by employers. These recommendations died of neglect.¹³

¹³ Ibid.

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Trends in the Early Twentieth Century

External Hostility Toward Unions

At the turn of the century, labor strove to integrate and consolidate its power in the face of public indifference, antagonism of employers' associations representing the power of capitalism, opposition of the judiciary, and internal friction within labor itself.

The nonunion segment of American society did not easily identify with the labor movement. Individual enterprise and initiative remained the paramount economic virtue in the early twentieth century. Then too, the violence of the increasing number of strikes alienated large segments of American society who saw labor conflict as a threat to social order and stability.

Moreover, powerful business associations opposed the interests of labor. The National Association of Manufacturers, founded in 1895, and the American Anti-Boycott Association, founded in 1902, led the opposition to organized labor. The latter organization financed a court action against labor known as the Danbury Hatter's case which dragged through the courts for fourteen years and eventually ruled that unions could not boycott products

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through interstate commerce. The union boycott was attacked as a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act which was a piece of legislation originally intended to curtail monopolies in businesses. In 1914 Congress, in the Clayton Antitrust Act, tried to exempt labor unions from prosecution under the antitrust laws, but this effort was largely negated in later years by the Supreme Court.¹⁴

In the Buck Stove and Range Case the company received an injunction to forbid officers and members of the American Federation of Labor from listing the plaintiff's products in the union's "We Don't Patronize" list of their official publication. The case eventually was outlawed, but the test of the injunction against constitutional guarantees of a free press was avoided by the Courts.¹⁵

In addition, the courts were generally unsympathetic to the labor movement. In 1905 the United States Supreme Court nullified a ten-hour labor law for backers in New York. In 1907 a New York court nullified a law prohibiting night work for women. From 1905 until the

¹⁴Faulkner, p. 701.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 702.

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First World War a more liberal trend swept the courts and the constitutionality of such laws was reversed. But during the First World War and the years afterward the courts became more reactionary, invalidating the labor provisions of the Clayton Act narrowly restricting picketing, upholding the "yellow-dog" contract (a contract by which an employee agrees not to join a union during his term of service), holding minimum wage laws for women unconstitutional, and continuing to break strikes by the use of injunctions.¹⁶

Intra Union Frictions

Similarly, there was internal friction within labor itself. Against the conservative "bread and butter" demands of the A.F. of L., some members of organized labor sought to form a labor party. "The latter group represented the left wing, and, when they found themselves unsuccessful, some turned their backs on organized labor and affiliated with the Socialist Labor Party."¹⁷ A more

¹⁶Ibid., p. 702.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 703.

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serious clash occurred over the theory of organization. One faction in the labor movement, the dominant one, subscribed to a policy of craft unionism. Another favored organization along industrial union lines.

Revival of industrial unionism took definite shape in 1905, when representatives of various industrial unions, led by Eugene V. Debs, the popular leader of the socialist labor group, William D. Haywood, and others organized the Industrial Workers of the World. Their purpose was "one great industrial union, embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and wage class unity generally." "It must be founded on the class struggle," said their manifesto, "and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class."¹⁸

Although the I.W.W. probably never exceeded 75,000 members, it gave the conservative unions a lesson in labor militancy, spurred the organization of the unskilled workers and kept alive the idea of industrial unionism. The I.W.W. failed to attract many members and its revolutionary propaganda gave its opponents an opportunity to crush it during the war years.

Union membership gradually rose to three million by 1917. However, ninety percent of the labor force,

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 702.

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largely unskilled, immigrant labor, was wholly outside the organized labor movement. Public apathy, employers' associations, blacklists, injunctions, lockouts, judicial opposition, and internal frictions within labor were some of the factors which led to this unhappy situation.

Rise of the Automobile Industry

Early Development

Against the background of the unskilled workers' inability to organize, a revolution in transportation took place. The "horseless carriages" of the 1890's became the motor cars of the 1900's. For a century inventors had experimented with the "horseless carriage," and as early as 1877 George B. Sheldon had designed a vehicle propelled by a gasoline engine. Not until the turn of the century were automobiles marketed for general sale. Early experimenters powered their machines with steam, electricity, carbonic acid gas, and alcohol, but eventually concentrated upon gasoline. At first a rich man's plaything, the price range soon came within the range of the upper middle class.

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By 1914 the sales of automobiles reached 573,000 units and 1,711,000 vehicles registered.¹⁹

By the end of the 1920's the automobile was the leading manufacturing industry in the United States in terms of the value of its product.

. . . in the last year of prosperity before the great depression an industry that in 1900 had turned out 4,192 passenger cars with a whole-sale value of \$4,899,000 produced 5,337,087 passenger cars, motor trucks, and buses with a wholesale value of \$3,413,148,000. The combined motor vehicle industries (motor vehicle manufacturing and motor vehicle bodies and parts) employed an average of 12,049 wage earners in 1904, but this number had increased to an average of 447,448 in 1929. Of this total, 226,116 were employed in the motor vehicle branch of the industry and 221,332 in the bodies and parts branch.²⁰

During the first decade of the twentieth century, automobile manufacturers were largely engaged in the assembling of parts into finished vehicles which were then sold to franchise distributors and dealers.

In the second and third decades of the twentieth century the automobile manufacturers were able to extend the market for their product to the manufacture of automobiles and the subsequent reduction in the price of passenger cars,

¹⁹ Dulles, pp. 228-229.

²⁰ Ralph C. Epstein, The Automobile Industry: Its Economic and Commercial Development (Chicago: A. W. Shaw Company, 1928), p. 3.

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the invention of the self-starter, the advent of the closed car, and the use of the installment plan in the purchase of automobiles all helped to make the motor car a possession of the "great multitude" rather than a luxury vehicle of the rich.²¹

In 1914 Henry Ford inaugurated the high wage era in the industry when he announced that the Ford Motor Company would pay its factory employees a basic wage of \$5.00 for an eight-hour day, almost double the minimum wage then prevailing in the industry for common labor. Ford's competitors eventually raised their wages to the Ford level and the industry became famous for its high hourly wages.

Throughout the 1920's the automobile industry, enjoying high profits and faced with an "almost chronic condition of labor scarcity," continued its high-wage policy. The average hourly wage for workers in the combined motor vehicle industries was 65.7 cents in 1922 as compared to 48.7 cents for production workers in manufacturing as a whole. By 1928 the average hourly wage of automobile workers had risen 75 cents as compared to 56.2 cents for production workers in manufacturing as a whole.²²

In addition to high wages, Ford instituted the eight-hour day, sick leave allowances, an employee savings

²¹Sidney Fine, The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 2.

²²Ibid., p. 8.

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and loan association, an English school for immigrants, removal from foremen of the power to discharge workers, and the establishment of a Sociological Department to guarantee that the high wages would be put to good use. The policy of benevolent paternalism lasted until 1923 when Ford became just like any other factory. While none of the other manufacturers sought to imitate the paternalism of the Sociology Department at Ford, some did provide recreational facilities, and group insurance plans.²³

The automobile manufacturers were unanimous in their view that employer-employee relations should be determined without unionism. Through membership in the Employers' Association of Detroit and the National Metal Trades Association, the automobile companies joined organizations which supported the open shop.

Despite relatively high wages several factors contributed to the automobile worker's sense of insecurity, including seasonal employment, the wage incentive systems, speedups in production, and the lack of any guaranteed job tenure.

²³George D. Blackwood, "The United Auto Workers, 1935-1951" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951), p. 4.

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The Auto Industry in the 1920's

Work in the automobile industry in the 1920's was relatively irregular, which meant that the high hourly wages of automobile workers were reduced when calculating the average annual wage. Workers were laid off in winter because of less demand for automobiles and in summer because of the change-over in models.

Thus a motor vehicle worker who in 1925 earned the average hourly rate of 72.3 cents and worked the industry full-time average of 50.3 hours per week would have earned an annual wage of \$1891. The average annual wage of workers in the combined motor vehicle industries in 1925 was, however, \$1675, which indicates that the average automobile worker in the prosperous year for the industry worked about forty-six weeks.²⁴

A few plants employed a so-called premium system of wage payments by which a standard time was set for completion of a task and the worker would be paid for the hours he worked and also for each hour that he saved from the estimated time. Other plants used individual or group bonus plans to motivate greater productivity. Still other employers used a piecework method of wage payment by which workers were paid according to the quantity of the work

²⁴Fine, p. 16.

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they produced. All such methods were criticized by workers who were less productive than their fellow workers.

As the result of such incentive methods as the above, together with improved mechanical methods and a greater demand for automobiles, output per man hour rose during the 1920's, increasing a total of 63 percent between 1922 and 1929.

It must be remembered, however, that assembly-line workers were not mechanical men stamped from a single mold, and a tempo of work that was entirely satisfactory for the average worker might be too fast for some workers. The assembly line did not allow for individual differences.²⁵

Finally, the worker was threatened by a lack of guaranteed job tenure. In some plants there was no contract to assure the worker that his seniority with the company would be recognized. Favoritism in layoffs and rehiring was an acknowledged practice. Older and less productive workers were known to be bypassed when the company rehired. The control of jobs was entirely the prerogative of management. "In the Ford plants at least, employees who were laid off were commonly re-engaged at

²⁵Ibid., p. 14.

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the hiring-in rate even though they had been receiving a higher rate before their work had ceased."²⁶

The Depression and the Organization
of the Automobile Union

The Depression completely deflated the automobile worker. The city of Detroit had the worst relief crisis of any major city and the highest jobless rate in the United States. Not only did automobile employment drop between 1929 and 1932, but those who remained on the payroll found themselves working fewer hours. In 1932 the automobile workers worked an average of 32 hours per week.²⁷

Workers also worked far more irregularly during the depression. The annual lay-off rate between 1930 and 1932 per one hundred employees in automobile plants and body shops increased by 75 percent and the total annual separation rate for the same years increased by 40 percent.²⁸

²⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

²⁷ Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 616, p. 982.

²⁸ Herman B. Byer and John Anker, "A Review of Factory Labor Turnover, 1930 to 1936," Monthly Labor Review, (July, 1937), pp. 157-158.

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In an attempt to improve the plight of the industrial worker, the Roosevelt administration enacted the National Recovery Act which stated in Section 7 (a) that employees were to have "the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing" and were to be free from employer "interference, restraint, or coercion" in choosing representatives or in organization or "other activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." Thus, for the first time in the history of the American labor movement, government sanctioned the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively.²⁹

A.F. of L. Organizing Campaign

Immediately the A.F. of L. began an organizing drive within the automobile industry.

Efforts were made to reach workers through general meeting and plant meetings, and the union message was also spread by handbills, radio, and, in Detroit at least, by sound truck. The workers were told that the higher wages and shorter hours intended by the N.I.R.A. would come to them only through organization and that employers were now

²⁹Fine, p. 33.

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forbidden to interfere with the right of their employees to join a union.³⁰

During the next two years efforts by the A. F. of L. to campaign for members within the industry were unsuccessful. Auto workers were given little control within the unions organized by the A. F. of L. Skilled workers could be and were siphoned off to existing trade unions, thus weakening the newly formed federal unions of automobile workers.³¹ Unemployed auto union members were dropped from the membership rolls if they were three months in arrears with their dues. Moreover, the A. F. of L. was defective in leadership in its organizing campaign within the industry. "'We had Organizers that came into our plant,' the president of one of the UAW locals declared, 'who did not know what the hell the automobile industry was, they didn't know one thing about it.'" ³²

Finally, the A. F. of L. campaigning lacked militancy; its excessive caution limited its effectiveness and appeal to the auto worker. There were some strikes in the

³⁰ Ibid., p. 39.

³¹ Federal unions were union locals in the automobile industry which were directly controlled by the A. F. of L.

³² Fine, p. 147.

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auto industry during this period, but they were called by the federal labor unions themselves, often without the knowledge and generally with or without the advance approval of the A. F. of L. The Federation hesitated to risk a showdown with the employers and it was reluctant to actually support strikes initiated by the federal labor unions.

The UAW Emerges

As the conservative approach of the A. F. of L. to organizing and collective bargaining proved to be frustrating and ineffective to the auto union locals, the pressure to break with the Federation became unbearable. Finally, a UAW convention was called in 1936 which led to the formation of a more militant international union of United Automobile Workers. A slate of officers was elected by the delegates to the convention and leadership proceeded to disaffiliate with the A. F. of L. and join the more militant Congress of Industrial Organizations headed by United Mine Workers' President, John L. Lewis.³³

³³Ibid., pp. 383-409.

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Immediately membership began to mushroom from 30,000 in 1936 to over 300,000 in 1937. The UAW achieved success by using the sit-down strike as a weapon in a series of small strikes against minor companies in the auto industry. Then the UAW shut down the General Motors Corporation with sit-down strikes at the GM "mother" plants at Flint, Michigan and Cleveland, Ohio. The strike spread to 17 other plants and production was brought to a halt. John L. Lewis entered the contract negotiations and on February 11, 1937 obtained a written agreement from General Motors.

The major gain for the union was the company's recognition of the union's right to bargain for its members on a corporation-wide level. Also it was the first time in the history of organized labor that a union had struck a major corporation and as a result had been able to obtain a signed contract.³⁴

No sooner had the UAW won recognition from General Motors than factional disputes arose within the union. Home Martin's Progressive faction was eventually

³⁴ Jack William Skeels, "The Development of Political Stability within the United Auto Workers Union" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1957), p. 25.

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replaced in 1939 by the Unity faction which elected R. J. Thomas to head the union.

Martin and his faction went over to the American Federation of Labor and sought in vain to win the automobile workers to their paper union. Again and again Martin demanded factory elections, but each time he failed miserably. His last contact with the union came during the final drive against Ford in 1941, when he labored with Harry Bennett to defeat the union he had once headed.³⁵

With the UAW reunited under one leader, the leadership decided to strike General Motors in order to gain sole representation as the bargaining agent with GM. Instead of calling all workers out on a long strike, the leadership followed Walter Reuther's advice of limiting the strike to the tool and die makers then engaged on the 1940 models. Two weeks after this strike was begun GM laid off the mass of production workers so that they became eligible for unemployment relief. In August 1939 a settlement was reached which gave the union exclusive bargaining rights in 42 plants, the first such company-wide agreement. Chrysler soon followed GM in recognizing the union. Ford, the heart of anti-unionism finally capitulated and recognized the UAW as the workers' bargaining

³⁵ Charles A. Madison, American Labor Leaders (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1950), p. 384.

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agent in 1941. Ford's recognition of the UAW meant that the United Auto Workers had achieved the crucial goal of representing the auto workers throughout the industry.

That same spring General Motors, Chrysler, and smaller companies granted a wage increase averaging 10 cents an hour. Thus in the brief span of four years the UAW had not only grown from a feeble fringe union to one of the largest and strongest in the country but won for its hundreds of thousands of members greatly improved wages and working conditions.³⁶

The UAW During World War II

The coming of World War II led to the UAW's full endorsement of the United States' war effort.

Several days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the UAW executive board unanimously went on record in support of its country in fighting the war. Like other labor unions, the UAW pledged itself to abstain from striking and to promote all-out war production.³⁷

However, as the war progressed, union leaders and members believed that management had taken a vacation from collective bargaining and that the War Labor Board took too long in settling grievances. An increase in the

³⁶ Ibid., p. 388.

³⁷ Skeels, p. 158.

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number and duration of wildcat strikes was a positive indication of the unrest among union membership.

Despite statements of harmony within the UAW leadership family during the war, factional animosities grew between the so-called Addes-Frankenstein clique and the Reuther supporters. Both groups jockeyed for a position which would win the support of the rank-and-file with neither group gaining a clear advantage over the other. "Though the Addes-Frankenstein group lost the fight over incentive wages, its pre-election support for a Negro board member probably won votes."³⁸

A group of Communists within the UAW further increased the disunity of the UAW leadership by taking positions in opposition to both the Addes-Frankenstein supporters and the Reuther supporters. For example, the Communists took the view that an all-out war effort was a minimum effort and they castigated the Reuther group for lagging slightly behind. Since the Communists were our allies during the war, Reuther did not raise the Communism issue within the union until after the war.³⁹

³⁸Ibid., p. 182.

³⁹Ibid., p. 176.

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As a result of the factional hostilities among groups, the 1944 convention resulted in a series of sharply contested campaigns for election to the top international offices. While the officeholders remained the same, the margin for victory was narrowed. Not once did the victor poll over 53 percent of the total vote.⁴⁰

The UAW and Organized Labor
Since World War II

Collective Bargaining

The long uninterrupted successes of Walter Reuther's presidency brought the UAW to the limelight of the American labor movement during the 1950's and 1960's. Not only did the United Automobile Workers win higher wage benefits and greater fringe benefits, but the UAW settlements set the pace for other unions.

Reuther's basic tactic was to concentrate on one company at a time and pit it against the others by threatening to strike. Using this method, the UAW won a pension plan agreement from Ford in 1949, followed by a wage increase

⁴⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1944.

and pension from Chrysler in January, 1950. Then in May, 1950 General Motors signed a monumental five year contract that gave workers a pension system, insurance benefits, and wages adjusted to the cost of living.⁴¹ The cost-of-living adjustment meant that increased wages would not be cancelled out by higher prices and the idea spread to the other mass production industries.

After obtaining a five year contract with the major companies, Walter Reuther proposed a guaranteed annual wage for workers in the automobile industry where work was seasonal and where the change-over and recession closed down factories. In 1951 he selected twelve prominent economists to work out a plan acceptable to the public and management. The Guaranteed Annual Wage Plan was published in 1954, a year before negotiations were to start.⁴²

When the contract with Ford was negotiated in 1955, the UAW temporarily compromised its demand for a guaranteed annual wage when Walter Reuther realized that companies were not yet prepared to yield on this issue. However, the UAW achieved a beachhead on the principle of

⁴¹Madison, p. 455.

⁴²Ibid., p. 456.

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a fixed wage by establishing a provision for employer paid supplements to state unemployment benefits. Significantly, the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit committed the auto industry to the principle of employer responsibility for laid-off workers.

In 1955 we pioneered in another basic area of collective bargaining. We went in demanding a guaranteed annual wage and we got the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit plan. This was an historic breakthrough. It was the first time in the history of collective bargaining in the world where great corporations agreed to begin to accept responsibility for the economic welfare of a wage earner's family during periods of unemployment.⁴³

The auto workers in the UAW also received higher wages and improved fringe benefits as a result of the 1955 round of collective bargaining.⁴⁴

The contract negotiations in 1958 occurred during a time of recession. With the companies united against the UAW for the first time and nearly one million unsold automobiles, a strike would have proven suicidal. Instead, the UAW leadership approved a plan by which the membership worked without a contract for three months until the companies were ready to produce new model cars. Then a

⁴³UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 24.

⁴⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1968.

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strike against Ford was authorized and an agreement was reached before the strike deadline when Ford realized that a strike would give its competitors a great advantage in the production and sale of automobiles. Thus, the decision to delay a strike and work without a contract until a more opportune time resulted in increased wages, improved conditions, improved pensions, and other fringe improvements.

The 1961 contract negotiations began with Walter Reuther proposing radical new programs, but settling for much less. In a collective bargaining conference called for the spring of 1961, he suggested a program aimed at reducing the economic hardships of unemployment. He called for full pay regardless of number of hours worked. Reuther also castigated Henry Ford II for arguing that because prices should not be raised a wage increase was out of the question. The UAW president pointed out that the executives of the Big Three were given fantastic bonuses out of profits.

Since the economy was emerging from the effects of two recessions, Reuther did not press for any unique program. Instead, he settled for a modest wage increase

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and improved fringe benefits. Given the economic conditions of the times, the UAW received the best terms possible.

With flush economic conditions returning and the UAW strike fund coffers filled, the UAW contract negotiations in 1964 sought higher wages and a unique early retirement program. Despite a united front on the part of the Big Three, the UAW negotiated an enormous wage package.

That '64 agreement will give GM, Ford and Chrysler workers and their families more than \$2 billion increase in income, not with the wooden nickels of inflation, but \$2 billion in real wages during the three years of the contract.⁴⁵

In addition, the contract called for establishment of an early retirement program.

As you know, we made early retirement a major goal in '64. We said that we wanted the older people to get off the line and we wanted the younger unemployed people to get off the street onto the line. And we won the \$400 early retirement benefit, as you know.⁴⁶

Finally, in 1967 the UAW successfully negotiated a modified guaranteed annual wage tied to Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, using the strategy of negotiating with

⁴⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 25.

⁴⁶Ibid.

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one company at a time. However, Reuther did not succeed in satisfying the skilled workers in his massive union and the 1970 contract round will probably place a high priority on getting special gains for the skilled worker.⁴⁷

Taft-Hartley

Walter Reuther came to power in the UAW at a time when all of Labor was on the defensive. In 1946 a conservative Congress was elected which reflected the anti-labor philosophy of the business community. As a result of the 1946 congressional elections the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 was passed over President Truman's veto. The Taft-Hartley act, as the law was popularly called, outlawed the closed shop contract under section 14(b) of the law. In assessing the effects of Taft-Hartley, Millis and Brown state the following:

Moreover, the emphasis upon protecting the interests of those who prefer individual bargaining, as against the desires of those who see concerted activity as the means to effective protection of the rights of

⁴⁷ "The Pressures on Reuther and Ford," Newsweek (September 18, 1967), p. 74.

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individuals, threw the weight of the law at critical points against collective bargaining. Despite the fine words of faith in collective bargaining for the resolution of disputes, many of the new provisions inevitably had the effect of weakening unions and collective bargaining indiscriminately, weakening the power of organized labor as against employers rather than accepting collective bargaining as in the main to the desired as essential in a healthy society and then dealing with specific problems where they arise. They tended to create uncooperativeness and conflict, to undermine morale and spread bad behavior. In other words, Taft-Hartley tended to place industrial relation on the wrong road. Taft-Hartley failed to meet the need of its times, to build on the Wagner Act, fill in its gaps, eliminate abuses, but at the same time strengthen the trends toward democratic and responsible self-government in industry. . . .⁴⁸

Labor leaders sought to repeal the law at the earliest possible date and for this reason, political action groups in both the CIO and AFL waged an intensive "get out the vote campaign." While Truman was elected, together with new Senators and Representatives pledged to the repeal of Taft-Hartley, a conservative coalition effectively blocked the repeal of the 1947 labor law. Not even the liberal 88th Congress of 1964-65 was able to revoke or amend Taft-Hartley.

⁴⁸ Harry A. Millis and Emily Clarke Brown, The Wagner Act to Taft Hartley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), pp. 664-665.

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Political Action

The 1948 political campaign marked the beginning of the UAW's strong influence on the politics of the state of Michigan. The UAW Committee on Political Education provided the Democratic Party of Michigan with a powerfully capable of supplying additional manpower and money to the existing party organization. A Democratic ticket was elected for fourteen consecutive years to state offices due mainly to this alliance.⁴⁹ In the 1960's the UAW's influence was less significant than in earlier years mainly because the proportion of automobile workers has declined in relationship to the total number of voters in the state (an interesting side effect of automation).

In addition to federal legislation in the field of collective bargaining, some states have enacted "right to work" laws. The laws, as James P. Mitchell (former Secretary of Labor) pointed out, limit the right of working men to bargain collectively and threaten the security of unions.⁵⁰ Labor's limited involvement in politics is in

⁴⁹ Daniel J. O'Neill, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Speeches of G. Mennen Williams" (unpublished Master's thesis, Bowling Green State University, 1962), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁰ Madison, p. 453.

fact an attempt to protect its interests against erosion by politicians who are hostile to organized labor.

The Landrum-Griffin Act

The labor movement was placed on the defensive when in 1957 Senator McClellan headed an investigation into improper activities in the labor field. The committee uncovered corrupt practices of some union officers. The hearings were front page news and adversely reflected on all of organized labor. When Dave Beck, President of the Teamsters, was convicted for tax evasion, the AFL-CIO expelled the Teamsters, along with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers and the Laundry Workers, from the labor organization for racketeering.⁵¹

As a direct result of the McClellan committee investigation, the Landrum-Griffin Act was passed in 1959. The law attempted to provide the union member with a greater guarantee of freedom and democracy. In actuality it does little more than hobble the understaffed local

⁵¹AFL-CIO, Proceedings, 1957, p. 80.

union with the submitting of reports to government agencies.⁵² Also as a result of the labor racketeering probe, the UAW in 1957 established a Public Review Board which assured the union member within the UAW a kind of "due process."⁵³ The Board members are men of public distinction and are not responsible to the union. A member can appeal any decision of the Executive Board whenever the rights of the individual member are involved. The aim of the Public Review Board is to make UAW officials more sensitive to the rights of their members.

CIO Merger with the AFL

It was during Reuther's presidency in the 1950's that the two great labor organizations, the AFL and the CIO were merged into one labor association representing sixteen million union members. In 1952 Philip Murray, President of the CIO, died and Walter Reuther succeeded Murray in a close election against a candidate supported by David McDonald, who was a Reuther foe. Likewise,

⁵²Madison, p. 454.

⁵³UAW, Proceedings, 1957, p. 99.

William Green, President of the AFL, died and he was succeeded by George Meany, the leader of the Plumbers union and secretary-treasurer of the AFL. With both Reuther and Meany free from factional disputes, with the old craft versus industrial unionism a relatively dead issue, and with the Republican victory of 1952 having ominous overtones for labor, the time seemed to be ripe for a merger.

A conference called between the two groups

began to explore the lines of agreement without prior commitments. CIO members urged the elimination of racketeering in unions, the acceptance of the principle of industrial unionism, and an end to jurisdictional strife and racial discrimination. These demands met with little objection from the AFL delegates.⁵⁴

In July, 1954 the ratification of a nonraiding agreement between the two labor organizations brought the groups to the point where merger seemed imminent. Finally, in early 1955 the decision to merge was announced. A constitution was drafted which contained the conventional principles of previous AFL constitutions, the major features of which were its opposition to communism and racketeering within union. All AFL departments were retained with a new Department of Industrial Unions,

⁵⁴Madison, p. 448.

headed by Reuther and James B. Carey. George Meany was elected President of the massive organization.⁵⁵

One of the first actions of the AFL-CIO was the formation of a Committee on Political Education whose aims were to solicit campaign funds, register voters, and work on behalf of AFL-CIO endorsed candidates.

The aging John L. Lewis predicted that the merger would be a rope of sand and the years may yet prove the ancient patriarch to be a prophet.

It took little more than a decade for Walter Reuther to become disenchanted with George Meany's conservative attitudes toward social action. Meany is quite similar to Samuel Gompers in his approach to unionism, believing as Gompers did in limited improvements within the basic framework of the private enterprise system. In contrast, Walter Reuther has a much broader vision of the role of unions as a force in American society. He believes that the labor movement should go beyond narrow economic interests and influence the shaping of the future social, political, and economic order.

Reuther repeatedly failed in his attempts to get the AFL-CIO more actively involved in civil rights and

⁵⁵ AFL-CIO, Proceedings, 1955.

other social problems. Tension between Meany and Reuther mounted until the latter threatened to withhold AFL-CIO membership dues until Meany agreed to press forward for social change.⁵⁶ Finally, Reuther broke away from the AFL-CIO at the 1968 UAW convention. Reuther told the delegates that the Meany-led group lacked the social vision, the dynamic thrust, the crusading spirit that should characterize the progressive labor movement. He contended that labor would take steps to break barriers of discrimination and that within the AFL-CIO this hope had failed to materialize. Since the decision to withdraw from the AFL-CIO, the UAW has joined the Teamsters Union in a loose federation whose sole purpose is to chart a plan for social reform.

Conclusion

Early attempts to organize into associations of labor unions were unsuccessful in the nineteenth century until the founding of the American Federation of Labor. The AFL continued to grow into the twentieth century by

⁵⁶The Youngstown Vindicator, April 10, 1968.

following a policy of craft unionism and limited economic gains within the capitalist system. Attempts by unskilled workers to organize into unions led to increased violence without much success at organization until the depression of the thirties.

Hostile public, employer, and government attitudes toward unionization mitigated against the formation of an industrial union in the automobile field until the enactment of the National Recovery Act in 1933. But by the onset of World War II the automobile industry was completely organized as an industrial union associated with the CIO.

The UAW has established a reputation as one of the most progressive unions within the American labor movement. It has insured member rights through the Public Review Board. The UAW has actively supported liberal candidates for public office and molded effective political action campaigns on the local, state, and national level. Under Reuther's leadership, the UAW is committed to a program of social action and reform and it is in the limelight of the labor movement.

CHAPTER III

BIOGRAPHY OF THE SPEAKER

In this chapter the writer will set forth a narrative of Walter Reuther's life with special attention to his development as a public speaker. The chapter will focus on Walter Reuther's ancestry, his home environment, his education and travels, his development as a speaker, and his rise to leadership in the UAW.

Early Life

Walter Reuther's ancestors were of German descent.

Jacob Reuther, Walter's paternal grandfather was a well known Socialist, pacifist, and labor leader in Germany. Both sets of grandparents emigrated from Germany in 1892. The Jacob Reuthers left Germany to flee from military conscription and for political reasons.¹

¹Eldorous L. Dayton, Walter Reuther (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1958), p. 12.

Valentine Reuther, Walter's father, was raised as a Lutheran. He grew up, married, and raised a family of four sons and a daughter to believe in the Lutheran religious doctrine and the humanistic doctrines of the German Democratic Socialists.

It was an age that saw the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies, attack capital with the weapon of industrial unionism. It was the age of the labor leader, of Samuel Gompers, Daniel DeLeon, and the Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. They took on the vested interests, Wall Street, and United States Steel.

Teddy Roosevelt was smashing the trusts. The states were ratifying the Federal income tax, never suspecting that it was a tool which Marx had advocated to weaken capitalism. Everybody was dedicating himself to the proposition that all men are created equal, and feminists were handcuffing themselves to the iron fence outside the White House.²

Valentine Reuther moved to Wheeling, West Virginia as a young man and worked as a brewery worker and union organizer. At the age of twenty-three, he was elected to the presidency of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly and later in life he ran for Congress on the Socialist ticket.

Walter was born on September 1, 1907, one of four sons born to Valentine and Anna Stoker Reuther.³ Walter

² Ibid., pp. 13-14.

³ Current Biography, 1941, p. 703.

Reuther's parents taught him a philosophy of social democracy and practical Christianity which cherished freedom, justice, and the right of men to speak freely on current affairs. Thus, Walter grew up in an atmosphere of concern for the ethical implications of economic problems. The home atmosphere was best described in the following passage:

[The Reuther home] was a place of children, German immigrant cleanliness, respect for labor unions, and faith in Lutheran doctrine. Childhood was in the wonderful American tradition. The Reuthers attended Ritchie Grammar School. Walter delivered the Wheeling Register. His father organized hikes into the wooded uplands. And there were union picnics on Wheeling Island and socials at Duecker Hall. Valentine Reuther was long an official of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly and the boys remember him as a fiery orator.⁴

Valentine Reuther played a significant role in the development of his sons' public speaking abilities. Walter's father spent many hours supervising the education of his sons. Each Sunday afternoon following church and after dinner, Valentine Reuther would pair his four sons into debate teams in order to develop their talents for thinking quickly, clearly, and with conviction. The boys

⁴"Reuther f.o.b. Detroit," Fortune (December, 1945), p. 280.

argued the issues of the day including such topics as prohibition, women's suffrage, child labor, capital punishment, world peace, and the right of labor to organize. Occasionally, the minister's sermon provided the topic for debate.

In the debates the four boys, Ted and Walter, Roy and Victor, all redheaded and blue-eyed were tense and eager participants. As a matter of hard fact, Walter, second oldest, was considered the least eloquent in the furious contests which Papa Reuther refereed sitting on the bed in the back bedroom. The three others shouted and gesticulated in the accepted forensic fashion, but Walter remained calm and analytical and usually wore a confident smile as he quietly told off his points. Usually, but not always. Sometimes his blue eyes narrowed to slits, a sign that he was angry and hurt inside at the extent of man's inhumanity to man and longed to right the wrongs in the general scheme of things.⁵

Valentine Reuther served as timekeeper and critic judge, offering advice as to how an argument might be stated more logically or more persuasively. Valentine guaranteed preparation for these debates by assigning books to be read from the public library. In addition, he would often bring home trade newspapers and periodicals to supplement the books from the library.

⁵Dayton, p. 16.

These debates extended over three years, occurring two or three times each month. Years later, Victor Reuther testified that the debates were the most important type of speech training Walter ever received.

Walter was raised in a kind of trade union atmosphere. Except for a short time when he thought of being a farmer, there never was a time he thought of being anything else but a union leader. The simplest pleasures of the Reuther family were tied to the labor movement. "When they went on a picnic, it was a union picnic on Wheeling Island. When they went to a social, it was to a social at the union hall."⁶ When Eugene Debs, the Socialist union leader, landed in the Federal Penitentiary at Moundsville, West Virginia for sedition, Valentine took his son Walter to see Debs in his cell. The impression of that visit would remain with Walter Reuther through the years.

As a boy, Walter and his brothers played pranks and loved to play basketball. Walter organized a team which won the championship of its class in a three state tournament. Walter was only an average student in school. In fact, he failed his Algebra and English in his first year of high school.

⁶Ibid., p. 17.

At the age of sixteen, Walter decided to quit school and take a job at Wheeling Steel where his brother Ted already had an office job.

Walter worked long days at forty cents an hour. It was hard work for small pay, and he gagged at some plant conditions. For one thing, the men were unorganized, and Walter, already dedicated to the future he had charted for himself, in his boyish way tried for three years to organize it. Remembering the debates, the folksongs, the picnics, and other family customs, he especially rebelled against work on Sundays and holidays. And when Columbus Day fell on a Sunday, he organized a sit-at-home strike, a forerunner of the sitdown strike of which he would one day make a fearsome union weapon. On Monday, when he returned to work, he was called on the carpet and fired.⁷

Jobless, without any visible economic future in Wheeling, Walter left for Detroit where he had heard that jobs were plentiful in the automobile factories. In 1930 his younger brother, Victor joined him and later Roy, the third Reuther to become active in the UAW, came to Detroit.

When Walter first came to Detroit he worked at Briggs Motor Company until he could find a better position. He talked his way into a job at Ford as a skilled toolmaker as the following incident will relate:

The man at the entrance told him to run along.
The guard was the first representative to tangle

⁷Ibid., p. 37.

with the redhead, and he lost. Walter just kept talking for two and a half hours, and in the end the gate was wearily opened. Inside there was another scene. The hiring clerk was about to have him pitched out when Ford's master mechanic walked by with a roll of complicated blueprints. Walter accosted him. Just for laughs, the master mechanic handed him the prints and was astonished to find that Walter could read them all.⁸

As soon as Walter was settled in Detroit he resumed his education, working nights and going to school by day. He completed his high school education and enrolled at Wayne University. At Wayne, Walter took a leading role in the radical activities of the student body. He headed a Social Problems Club and a campus branch of the League for Industrial Democracy. He took members of his organizations to strike workers and had them march in the picket lines. Norman Thomas addressed the Social Problems Club at Reuther's invitation.

He specialized in labor and industrial problems at Wayne. As an extracurricular activity he joined the Social Problems Club and was elected its president. When an attempt was made to organize an ROTC unit, the Reuthers mounted soapboxes on the campus and spoke out against it with all the vehement military pacifism of Grandpa Jacob Reuther. They rushed to the defense of a professor suspended for his outspoken criticism of the ROTC, and at a rally

⁸ William Manchester, "Walter Reuther," Holiday (November, 1959), p. 106.

for him Victor made the opening speech, and Walter, the closing. The professor was reinstated.⁹

Walter Reuther never received any formal training in public speaking at Wayne University or elsewhere. It seems that he developed his speaking skill by engaging in activities which provided practical experience in addressing audiences. Walter's student days at Wayne provided many extracurricular opportunities to develop his speaking skill. He also spoke on street corners, agitating for the organization of workers into unions. He even built a platform in the rumble seat of his Ford from which to give speeches. Walter also spoke in support of Norman Thomas for President during the election of 1932.¹⁰ Thus, even before Walter Reuther became a local union leader, he had developed his speaking ability thanks to his father's instruction and his own practical efforts during his days as a young college student and union agitator. Ford, Walter's employer, took note of Reuther's agitation efforts and released him from his job as foreman in 1932.

⁹Dayton, p. 39.

¹⁰Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, The UAW and Walter Reuther (New York: Random House), 1949, p. 190.

Unable to find work because of the Depression, Walter and his brother, Victor, used their \$800 in savings, to finance a tour of the world. They bicycled through Germany, visiting their grandparents' former home. Then they proceeded to Soviet Russia in order to see communism at work. At the Gorki automobile factory Walter trained young workers in tool and die making.¹¹ After their experience in Russia, the brothers made their way eastward to observe life in India, Japan, and other countries, before returning to the United States.¹²

No one could have asked for a more direct education in modern realities, and no one was to need it more than these young men soon to lead the largest union in America. They saw every social tendency of our time, and if in the future they might prove inadequate to their responsibilities, they could hardly plead ignorance. History had been thrust into their faces, its lessons scrawled in blood before their eyes.¹³

¹¹Ibid., pp. 191-192.

¹²Jack William Skeels, "The Development of Political Stability within the United Auto Workers Union" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1957), p. 25.

¹³Howe and Widick, p. 193.

Labor's Bright Young Man

When after two years the brothers returned to the United States, Walter found a job in the Ternstedt plant of General Motors. He devoted his free time to union organization and became the head of a struggling local on Detroit's west side, Local 174.

In those days the UAW was a pretty ineffectual organization. When Reuther joined West Side Local No. 174, it consisted of a handful of members. For instance, when a meeting was called to elect a delegate to the UAW national convention in South Bend, Indiana, Walter and only seven others put in an appearance. Walter Reuther was by far the most enthusiastic one present, so he was named delegate. . . . That South Bend convention was a landmark for Walter Reuther--and the UAW. Reuther, with his socialistic dialectic, had only to make a single speech to get himself elected to the UAW's international executive council. . . .¹⁴

Upon returning from the South Bend convention, he set up an office in Detroit. He bought a second hand desk, rented a battered typewriter and a mimeograph machine, and began making strong speeches, running off handbills and distributing them at factory gates. Since workers were slow to join the union for fear of reprisal, Walter Reuther succeeded in provoking a successful sitdown strike. The

¹⁴Dayton, pp. 67-68.

following anecdote described how Reuther achieved UAW recognition at the Kelsey-Hayes plant with only a handful of UAW members.

Reuther found his dramatic incident. He tells of it in these words: "We had a big Polish gal at the meeting who had fainted on the assembly line once before. We assigned her to 'faint' again, and showed her how to do it. That was to be the signal. When she 'fainted', someone else was to shut down the assembly line. We trained a couple of men in pulling the right switches."

Victor Reuther had obtained a job on the floor below the brake-assembly line. Next day, when the Polish gal fainted, two men pulled the switches and stopped the assembly line, and those in on the plot shouted, "Strike! Strike!" Victor ran upstairs, leaped onto a packing crate and harangued the workers with an organizing speech.

Attracted by the uproar, workmen streamed in from other sections of the factory. The personnel manager stormed in, tugged at Victor's pants leg and told him to order the men back to work.

"Walter Reuther's the only one can get them to go back to work," Victor said.

"Who is Walter Reuther?" asked the personnel manager.

Victor identified his brother, and the personnel manager called him on the phone. Walter was waiting for the call, and when it came, he told the personnel manager he would try to get the men to go back to work, but could undertake it only if permitted to enter the plant.

This seemed to the personnel manager a small concession. He sent a company car for Reuther, who found the brake division jammed with wondering workers, for by this time the entire plant was idle in the excitement and confusion.

Walter took Victor's place on the packing box and told the workers the advantages of joining the union.

All the time he was talking the personnel manager pulled his leg. "Can't you get them to go back to work?" he asked.

"Can't get them back till they're organized," Reuther replied, and all the time Victor and the others were passing out hundreds of application blanks and getting them signed.

Next morning, workers reporting at the gate found the plant closed. Reuther had anticipated this. He told the workers to follow him, picked out a window that had been purposely left unlocked, and climbed in. The workers climbed in behind him and sat down. Then Reuther climbed out and organized a food supply system. It took but five days to break the back of management opposition. Faced with something new, which it could not fight, management gave in, recognized the UAW as bargaining agent, and granted a pay hike.¹⁵

The local grew from a handful of members to nearly 30,000 in a short time after his successful engineering of a sit-down strike of Bendix and Goodyear rubber workers.¹⁶

The years between 1937 and 1940 were full of terror and violence between the UAW and the automobile companies. Walter Reuther was severely beaten in May, 1937 while attempting to distribute leaflets at the Ford Company Rouge plant located in Dearborn, Michigan. According to an account of the incident, when sixty union distributors,

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

¹⁶ Skeels, p. 213.

mostly women, came to the plant, they were set upon and severely beaten by Ford Servicemen. Two of the union's officials, Walter Reuther and Richard Frankenstein were knocked down, lifted up and knocked down again. One unionist had his skull fractured, another was sent to the hospital for two weeks. The incident has been remembered since as the "battle of the overpass".

[A photograph] showed Frankenstein's coat and vest pulled over his head and his body being beaten by the attackers. In subsequent government hearings some of the assailants were identified as professional boxers and thugs.¹⁷

In the UAW's early history, Walter Reuther successfully joined forces with other leaders within the union in deposing Homer Martin for R. J. Thomas as the president of the automobile worker's union. Reuther's influence grew still further when his recommendation to shut down key tool and die plants within the General Motors complex led to company-wide recognition of the UAW as the representative of all GM workers, without great loss of wages for the mass of General Motors workers.

Walter Reuther initially gained public attention due to an article written by a young socialist journalist,

¹⁷ Howe and Widick, p. 96.

Eddy Levinson which appeared in Fortune magazine in 1941.¹⁸ Levinson, who greatly admired Reuther's ability to organize the workers in the automobile industry, helped to label Reuther "Labor's bright young man."

Reuther During the War

It was during World War II that Walter Reuther gained a national reputation as a man to watch in the American labor movement. Reuther established the image of an imaginative labor leader through a series of proposals which were publicized throughout the nation. He won national attention for such proposals as: a plan to produce five hundred planes a day by utilizing excess automobile capacity and unemployed auto workers; giving union members a short period of army training to increase their motivation in the war effort at home; and a plan to convert government plants after the war to cut unemployment caused by industrial change.¹⁹

¹⁸ "Gas Engine Union," Fortune (November, 1941).

¹⁹ Skeels, pp. 213-214.

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At first Reuther's [airplane] proposal was warmly received in Washington, being noted by President Roosevelt as an example of needed ingenuity. But soon it became clear that the Office of Production Management, headed by former GM president William Knudsen, would not seriously consider it. As Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, bitingly remarked: "There is only one thing wrong with the program, it comes from the wrong source." The industry stubbornly resisted any proposals that labor participate in planning. "If you are interested in production," said C. E. Wilson, GM president, to Reuther, "I'll give you a job with us."²⁰

Also, Reuther became more influential within the international union hierarchy. He was part of the UAW's leadership team from the first convention in 1936 by virtue of his election to the executive board. Then in 1942 Walter Reuther was elected to the position of vice-president of the automobile union.²¹

Immediately after the war, Walter Reuther led a strike against General Motors which revealed him as an astute union strategist and molder of public opinion. As soon as President Truman announced that the government would permit wage increases when prices remained stable,

²⁰ Howe and Widick, p. 109.

²¹ UAW Proceedings, 1946.

Reuther presented General Motors with a demand for a thirty percent increase in wages. He argued in his letter to GM that the company could grant this increase out of profits rather than increased prices. "Reuther's share-the-profits plan extended to the consumer, who would have lower prices on Chevrolets, and to the investor, who would gain a larger return than he received before the war."²²

Reuther waged a skillful publicity campaign. First he opened the bargaining sessions to the press without GM's consent which resulted in their walking out. Then he proposed arbitration under conditions favorable to the union, which GM refused. He then issued press releases calling for "a look at the books" so that the issues could be determined on facts rather than strength, offering to reduce the union's demands if the corporation could establish an inability to pay the wage increase.

Reuther's contract demands were not met after a lengthy 113 day strike. Instead, an 18-1/2 cent pattern was established in the steel industry which quickly spread to other industries. The United Electrical Workers and the United Rubber Workers settled for 18-1/2 cents as did Ford

²²Skeels, p. 218.

and Chrysler.²³ However, the publicity generated by the UAW-GM strike carried over to Reuther. At times it seemed as though Reuther rather than Thomas was the president of the UAW.

Reuther's Election

As the 1946 Constitutional Convention approached, Walter Reuther challenged R. J. Thomas for the presidency of the UAW. He had the advantage of being a well known union leader. He was an intelligent, ambitious, and imaginative leader. Most importantly, he had the backing of a number of executive board members and local union leaders. In March 1946, a few weeks before the union's convention, a group of 17 union presidents, supposedly representing over 235,000 union members, met with Reuther and announced their support for his candidacy.²⁴ A mudslinging campaign ensued with Reuther branding Thomas as a tool of the communists and Thomas charging that Reuther meant to lead the UAW into the A.F. of L.

²³ Charles A. Madison, American Labor Leaders (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.), 1950, p. 232.

²⁴ Skeels, p. 226.

Despite the many maneuvers and public statements of victory, there remained a strong doubt about who the victor would be in the Reuther-Thomas contest.

In the last few hours before the election and during the voting, campaigning reached an all-time high. On the day before the election both Reuther and Thomas refrained from holding caucuses and instead urged their supporters to go out and convince just one more delegate apiece to vote for them. According to one reporter, "No delegate was safe from the roving lieutenants of the principal candidates."²⁵

The final tally showed Reuther to be the new UAW president by the very slight margin of 128 votes out of nearly 8,765 votes cast.²⁶ Walter Reuther's leadership has never been seriously challenged since that election.

Walter Reuther achieved only a partial victory with his election to the presidency since the delegates to the 1946 convention then proceeded to elect an executive board of men opposed to Reuther's leadership. He began a systematic campaign toward gaining full control of the union at the 1947 convention.

Taking advantage of the general anticommunist agitation, he hammered away at their presumed alliance with the leftists in the union. In reports, speeches, and articles he magnified

²⁵ Ibid., p. 232.

²⁶ UAW, Proceedings, 1946.

the dangers of communism in the labor movement and attacked its adherents by means of insinuation and vilification.²⁷

He continually demonstrated his concern for the membership's welfare while exposing the weaknesses of his opponents. He succeeded in negotiating an industry-wide contract giving the UAW members a 15 cent an hour wage increase.

Reuther's opponents followed an obstructionist policy toward him. At meetings of the executive board, the Reuther opponents continually voted down his policies. When Reuther urged compliance with the anticommunist provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, Reuther's opponents urged noncompliance. The UAW leader seized upon the communism issue to condemn his opponents as communist sympathizers. By the time of the UAW convention, Walter Reuther won an overwhelming victory for his leadership. "When the votes were counted, he carried 20 out of the 24 members of the executive board."²⁸

²⁷Madison, p. 395.

²⁸Ibid., p. 397.

Reuther as UAW President

Since assuming the Presidency of the UAW, Walter Reuther's character has taken on more of a management type with his preoccupation with efficiency. As he has consolidated his power in the UAW, he has unwittingly taken on habits of dress, conversation, and an almost frightening emphasis on efficiency which suggest the management type of personality. Irving Howe and B. J. Widick suggest that Walter Reuther's personality remains unfinished. When comparing Reuther to other American labor leaders, the authors make the following observation:

The comparison is striking and in many ways disadvantageous to Reuther. Whatever one may think of the ideas of Debs and Haywood, few would deny that there was a certain uncompromising wholeness to their personalities, a wholeness that Reuther lacks. Even their political opponents were moved to admiration because of their commitment, their unwillingness to compromise ideas in order to gain power. By comparison with Debs' profound compassion, or Haywood's robust vitality, is there not something undeveloped and contrived in Reuther's personality?

There has always been a fatal split in American character between the "idealist" and the "realist," which only a few Americans have ever succeeded in transcending; and Walter Reuther, still tied by a lax string of recollection to Debs after having abandoned most of his ideas, is but the latest in a long line of public leaders to be trapped in that opposite of character types. . . . Reuther's unique importance, we would suggest, stems from the

fact that in his career, as in few others, it is possible to find so many representative strands of recent American experience. . . . In Walter Reuther's career one can thus see a reflection of the experience of a generation of American radicals and liberals whose work and thought betray an irksome split between a commanding urge to power and a weakened but still restive commitment to a social vision.²⁹

Conclusion

Walter Reuther's boyhood was spent in a family which taught strict religious principles together with a philosophy of social humanitarianism. The home environment was tied closely to local union politics since Walter's father was a union official. Often on Sunday afternoons, the Reuther brothers debated on a broad range of social issues. Those debates were said to be an important influence upon the speech training of the Reuther brothers.

Walter Reuther migrated to Detroit as a young man. He worked in automobile factories at night and attended Wayne University by day. While attending Wayne, Walter engaged in extracurricular speech activities as the leader

²⁹ Howe and Widick, pp. 202-204.

of the Young Socialists and as a labor union agitator. When the Depression came, Walter and Victor Reuther used their savings to finance an extensive trip around the world. Upon his return to the United States after nearly two years of travel, Walter became a local union official for a small Detroit auto worker's union. Walter's leadership ability and the tempo of the times brought many new members into the local and Walter's success led to his rise to power within the leadership of the UAW.

Reuther became president of the UAW shortly after World War II. Since then he has won recognition for his practical collective bargaining successes and his social ideas.

CHAPTER IV

INVENTION

The concept of invention refers to the speaker's discovery of the ideas he will use in his speech. Also, this concept includes the speaker's stock of ideas and how the speaker develops his ideas logically, how he appeals to the psychological nature of his audience, and his personal appeal to the audience.

The speaker's ideas and his rhetorical appeals will be analyzed in this section of the study. This chapter will be divided into four parts, corresponding to the following questions: 1) What ideas does the speaker characteristically express in his speeches? 2) How does the speaker logically develop his ideas? 3) How does the speaker appeal to the psychological nature of his audience? 4) What factors influenced the credibility of the speaker?

The Speaker's Ideas

Upon analysis of Walter Reuther's convention addresses to UAW delegates, the writer could define three broad areas which occurred with regularity in each speech. These topics included (1) specific UAW collective bargaining demands, (2) more general national economic issues, and (3) political action considerations. These areas were found to overlap somewhat and are not to be thought of as mutually discrete categories.

The area of collective bargaining demands was perhaps of most interest to the convention delegates and this topic can be broken down into sub-areas of wage demands, and employment creating demands. Through the years Walter Reuther has advocated a wide range of specific programs in the latter two areas.

Reuther's wage demands were always premised upon the need for negotiating for a contract which provided the worker with an increase in real wages or purchasing power.

All of the basic wage policies of the UAW are directed toward the solution of getting into balance--our ability to create wealth--our productive power--with our ability to consume the wealth we create through a balance of purchasing power.¹

¹UAW Proceedings, 1951, p. 11.

The UAW president also suggested ways in which the job security of the total membership could be strengthened. These provisions included improved pensions, supplemental unemployment benefits, medical care, and the guaranteed annual wage. Speaking of the UAW pension program and the SUB program, Reuther stated in his 1964 convention address:

In 1949 and '50 we had a great struggle and in the middle of that struggle the Chrysler workers walked the picket line for 104 days to lay the foundation of our pension programs, so we could provide our workers with a greater measure of security and dignity in the autumn of their lives.

A hundred and seventy thousand members of our Union have retired under our pension program.

In '55 we broke through on the SUB program and then we added later on the short work week benefits.²

Reuther has argued at times for medical benefits out of social security funds and he has advocated that the employer should be responsible for the payment of private medical insurance plan premiums.

Walter Reuther has also suggested ways of increasing employment within the UAW ranks. Increased vacation time and holidays were a means of creating more jobs. Reuther has suggested a reduction in hours worked to stimulate

²UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 48.

more balanced distribution of overtime and even a reduction in overtime to encourage more jobs in the automobile industry.

Finally, through the years Walter Reuther has consistently advocated a guaranteed annual wage as a means of guarding the worker against periods of economic difficulty.

If you make \$300,000 they pay you by the year, and you eat by the day, but if you make a buck forty an hour they pay you by the hour and you eat by the year. It is all cock-eyed, the whole thing is cock-eyed.³

As the years progressed, the guaranteed annual wage became fixed in Walter Reuther's mind as a means toward full employment. According to Reuther not only will a guaranteed wage reduce the effects of unemployment, but it will also make the employer plan for full employment. Reuther argued that under-production throughout the entire economy results in an enormous economic loss. He argued that the guaranteed annual wage would be insignificant compared to that economic loss.

In 1955 if you take the most optimistic projections of the little men of big business of the Republican Administration, we will under-produce

³UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 15.

\$50 billion in 1955 compared to what we could do if we used our economy fully.

What does that mean? It means that every American family could have thousand dollars more income.

When you lay that economic loss next to the cost of the Guaranteed Wage and higher pensions and medical care--the costs of these things are insignificant compared to the cost of the economic losses.⁴

A second topic that Walter Reuther develops in his UAW convention speeches is his broad economic philosophy. Reuther argued that the wealth of the nation is not distributed fairly, thus creating an unstable economy:

you cannot sustain a full employment dynamic economy unless you distribute the wealth that economy makes possible so that there will be a market for the things that we can create.⁵

Reuther took great delight in pointing out the enormous profits of the automobile industry whose leaders refused to grant pay increases to the automobile workers.

Now, just so our Ford brothers don't feel slighted, the Ford Motor Company is not exactly living in poverty. The Ford Company, in 1965, made a profit before taxes of \$1,305,000,000 the highest in the history of that Company.

And the Chrysler Corporation broke records and made \$448 million.

And the farm machinery industry broke records. The Caterpillar Company for example,

⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 13.

⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 47.

made a profit of \$228 million, a return on its investment of 29 per cent after taxes. That's one percent better than General Motors made.

The aerospace industry is obviously not qualified to be recipients of the government's anti-poverty program. Its profits in 1964 were \$395 million and in 1965 they went up 32 per cent.⁶

One of Walter Reuther's most interesting economic arguments was that a corporation can cut prices, raise wages substantially, and still realize moderate profits.

And General Motors--and I defy the General Motors Corporation to explode these figures--General Motors in the second quarter of 1947 could have reduced the price of every car they sold by \$250 and they still would have had enough in the \$142 million profits left over to have a return of 8 per cent on their investment during that quarter. And yet they blame us for the high price of cars!⁷

Thus Walter Reuther's economic philosophy was not premised on the inflation-deflation dichotomy, but rather on the notion of a greater distribution of wealth as a means of expanding consumer purchasing power.

Third, he set aside a large portion of each convention address to state the union's position on legislative proposals. The UAW leader engages in political action because he believes that is a way of insuring that

⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 8.

⁷UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 11.

collective bargaining gains will not be curbed by state and federal legislatures which are hostile to labor.

We are in politics not as a matter of choice; we are in politics as a matter of necessity. When we made the fight for SUB in '55 and we had millions of dollars in SUB funds, tens of thousands of members of our Union, of the Steelworkers Union, of the IUE and other unions who had SUB contracts were denied SUB benefits even though the money was there to pay them because in Ohio and Indiana the legislators, the reactionaries in those states passed laws saying you couldn't get unemployment insurance and SUB.⁸

But the UAW political action program has never been limited to a few programs of self interest. The Reuther-led union has supported the broad spectrum of social welfare programs such as the poverty program, medicare, aid to education, and civil rights legislation, to mention only a few. Walter Reuther pointed out to his membership that "We can only solve these problems as we join forces with men and women of good will in the whole of our community and our nation, and seek solutions to the problems of all the people."⁹

Thus, the writer noted three major topics in the convention speeches of Walter Reuther. He spoke about

⁸UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 53.

⁹UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 49.

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collective bargaining issues, broader economic issues, and political action issues.

The Speaker's Development of Ideas

In order to evaluate the logical content of ideas the critic must test the argumentative development of ideas in the speech.

The able speaker should be able to discriminate between essential and nonessential facts or ideas. The speaker's powers of observation, alertness, and analysis of issues should be carefully appraised by the critic. A speaker should recognize the pressing problems of the time. He should direct his intellectual energy to the urgencies of the moment. Thus, the speaker's knowledge and experience figure importantly in any critical estimation of his merit. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell present the following definitions of materials of development which may be helpful in tracing how the speaker develops his ideas:

Examples (instances and illustrations). Instances are references to specific cases. Illustrations are fully developed cases.

Narratives. A set of real or fictional details usually arranged in chronological order and used for clarifying or proving a point.

Statistics. Sets of figures compiled to represent data concerning phenomena, trends, or activities or people.

Quotations. 'A passage referred to, repeated, or adduced.'

Repetition. Saying in the same words, something that has just been said.

Restatement. Repetition in different words.

Comparison. Setting forth points of similarity between two or more persons, events, or things.

Contrast. Setting forth points of difference between two or more persons, events, or things.

Opinions. Points of view held by persons other than the person doing the reasoning.

Facts. Phenomena that are observed, described, classified, and reported.

Reasoning from Example. The process of inferring conclusions from specific instances.

Reasoning by Analogy. The process of making a comparison between two cases that are similar in many respects and inferring that they are similar in further respects.

Reasoning from Cause. The process of inferring that a certain phenomenon has produced another phenomenon.

Reasoning from Sign. The process of inferring associations between two phenomena that are not causally related.¹⁰

The able speaker should enforce his point with sound evidence and argument. A critic will test the speaker's evidence to determine whether it serves as an adequate and valid substructure of reasoning. If the speaker uses statistics, the critic will determine the speaker's wisdom in choosing a certain body of figures and judge the accuracy of the inferences from the facts set forth, using some or all of the following criteria:

The tests applied to the statistics will accordingly fall into the following categories: 1) Are the instances from which the inference is developed sufficiently numerous to be significant? 2) Are the units included in the investigation properly and carefully defined? 3) Is there comparability between the things compared? 4) Are the instances of such a character as to provide a systematically typical sample of the field as a whole? 5) Are the facts reported and classified accurately? 6) Do the statistics furnish an index to the information desired, i.e., is the relationship clear between the conclusion derived from the figures and the conclusion sought in the subject of the discourse?¹¹

¹⁰ Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph, and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 50-70.

¹¹ Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948), p. 343.

Throughout the speech, the evidence used by a speaker should not contradict an earlier point. In order to determine the speaker's consistency in the use of evidence, the critic should use some or all of the following tests:

(1) Is the testimony or evidence consistent with itself and with the known laws of logical argument? (2) Is the particular authority whose testimony is used to support a contention reliable? (3) Has the authority had an opportunity to examine and observe the data from which he speaks? (4) Does he entertain any prejudices which might influence his judgment on the matter at issue? (5) Is he generally recognized as able and competent in the given field? (6) Are the facts in the testimony causally related one to the other? (7) Is the source citation or the authority specific? That is, does it indicate exactly where the testimony comes from, and whether it is first- or second-hand? (8) Does other evidence corroborate what is introduced? (9) Is the evidence recent? (10) Does the evidence satisfy the listeners?¹²

The arguments that a speaker uses must make certain ideas clear before fixation of attitudes can occur. Thonsen and Baird suggest testing the clarity of a piece of exposition through the following tests:

(1) Do the remarks designed to elucidate points through definition emphasize the distinguishing characteristics of the subject? (2) Do they cover the items properly included in the subject? (3) Do they exclude everything not

¹²Ibid., p. 344.

properly included in them? (4) Do they make clear the meaning of concepts without relying upon the terms themselves or derivatives of them? (5) Do they have instant intelligibility value?¹³

These authors also give tests for arguments used to proceed from premises to conclusions. Questions such as the following may be asked of the speaker's thinking:

(1) Does the speaker deal with an adequate and reliably established body of facts? (2) Does he proceed from assumptions and hypotheses which are neither biased nor gratuitous? (3) Does his verbalization of ideas reveal the true significance of his claims clearly, unequivocally? (4) Does his analysis of the idea reveal unity of intention, internal consistency, and a full recognition of the important as against the unimportant elements in the discourse? (5) Does his reasoning meet the tests of validity appropriate to the various forms of argumentative development? (6) Does he substitute emotional excitation of the hearers for logical proof?¹⁴

Finally, the critic is concerned with determining how effectively a speaker meets objections and defends his case.

Among the factors accounting for competency in this department of argumentative development--and hence serving the critic as general standards for analysis--are the speaker's ability (1) to pick out the relevant and significant points of clash; (2) to resolve the contested issues to their lowest logical denominators;

¹³ Ibid., p. 345.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 349.

(3) to reveal clearly the relation of the opponent's claims to his own; (4) to meet and overcome the salient contentions with adequate argument and evidence; and (5) through it all, to preserve the structural wholeness of the speech as a constructive enforcement of an idea.¹⁵

With these critical guidelines in mind, the writer will proceed to an analysis of the logical development of the speaker's ideas.

Materials of Development

Walter Reuther favored the use of statistical examples, comparative statistics, illustrations and specific instances as developing materials. Reuther also utilized quotation, and repetition and restatement to develop a point.

Examples

The convention addresses contained an abundance of statistical examples. The heavy use of statistical information is perhaps the hallmark of a Reuther speech

¹⁵Ibid., p. 351.

at a UAW convention. Usually, the statistics deal with profits made by industry in a given year and they are not restricted solely to the automobile industry. Reuther usually began by citing profits of nonautomotive industries: "Continental Baking Company, which is the biggest in the baking goods industry, made in 1946 a rate of return on their investment of 24.9 per cent."¹⁶

Take the steel industry. They broke the doors in at the White House and they opened the flood gates of the inflationary spiral. They got the \$5 a ton price increase and they went on from there, and they are still going on.

In 1940, forty-seven steel companies made \$278 million in profits. In 1946, the same forty-seven steel companies made \$450 millions in profits.¹⁷

Then Reuther will proceed to enumerate the profits made by automobile companies:

And let us look at General Motors--good old General Motors. In the second quarter of 1947--this is not ancient history--the second quarter of 1947 the General Motors Corporation made \$142 million in profits before taxes in those three months.¹⁸

Although all three examples were taken from Reuther's 1947 speech it is noteworthy that Reuther's formula for

¹⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 10.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 11.

the presentation of statistics has not changed significantly over the years.¹⁹

Reuther will use statistical information comparatively to refute an argument or to illustrate economic growth:

We don't understand what kind of mental and moral gymnastics they are going to go through to say that if you are a corporation executive and you make \$400,000 a year and you have the drive and the incentive to get \$500,000 that that is economically sound and morally right, but if you happen to be a wage earner and you are only getting \$4,000 a year and you want \$5,000 a year that is economically and morally wrong.²⁰

When you look at what happened in the period of 1953 to 1963--and this disputes all the NAM propaganda about how wages have gone up faster than anything else--what happened to wages in those 10 years? Wages and salaries went up 94 per cent. Interest payments. . .went up 142 per cent. The reserves held in cash by the corporations--this is after they pay out big dividends. . .went up 91 per cent.²¹

The writer learned in an interview with one of Walter Reuther's staff members that the UAW will send a memorandum to the research department and it will prepare statistical note cards on any subject Reuther wishes to

¹⁹Read Reuther's 1966 convention address and one will observe the same method of presentation of statistics.

²⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 15.

²¹UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 47.

discuss. Thus, the evidence was always relevant to a specific topic and the most recent information obtainable.

When one applies the tests of statistical evidence to Reuther's speeches, one discovers that the UAW president made excellent use of statistical evidence. Reuther provided a sufficient number of statistical instances, usually two or three examples, to substantiate his point. The examples were, in all cases examined, accurate representations of the information reported. Thus, Reuther's use of statistics did meet the tests of statistic enumerated by Thonssen and Baird.

In addition to his abundant use of statistical data, Walter Reuther utilized many case examples in each of his UAW convention addresses. Illustrations were drawn from personal experiences and historical facts with an occasional humorous anecdote to illustrate a point.

Many of Reuther's personal examples reflect past experiences as a worker:

I remember the first job that I had in Detroit back in 1927. I worked at the Briggs Waterloo Plant on the night shift, and I worked 13 hours every night for 21 nights in a row, Sundays and holidays, and not one penny overtime. We did not have holiday pay, and we did not have

night-shift premiums in those days, and we did not have pension plans, and we did not have hospital-medical plans.²²

Reuther often referred to historical events of significance in the evolution of the UAW. For example, at the 1951 convention he stated:

In 1936, when we met in South Bend when the workers had none of these benefits that we have today, the Union said to these workers: "We are going out and call upon the tens of thousands of unorganized workers, and ask them to join our Union and ask them to pay two hours' pay per month," because many workers were getting less than 50 cents an hour. When we went out, the workers joined our Union by the hundreds of thousands and agreed to pay two hours' pay per month in dues even though we offered them only the opportunity of building a union, and there were no tangible gains in contracts available at that time.

I say that just as the workers in 1936 and 1937 were willing to pay two hours' pay per month to get this Union started, the workers in 1951 are prepared to provide this Union with the tools necessary to finish the job that lies ahead. There is no question about that.²³

Sometimes Walter Reuther illustrated a point through the use of a humorous anecdote:

So I told (Marvin Wagner) this story--some of you people have heard me tell it before--I said a couple of months ago when Congress was in session and it was debating the Taft-Hartley Act I flew down to Washington in a big DC-4, a

²²UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 8.

²³Ibid.

60-passenger plane that our boys make out in Douglas, and we flew right over the dome of the Capitol Building.

As we got up about 500 feet above the dome the plane bounced about 500 feet in the air, and then we settled down and landed, and I asked the pilot what had happened; and he said, "I should have known better. Every pilot has been warned not to fly over the Capitol Dome when the 80th Congress was in session, because the political hot air and gas comes rushing up," and I said to Martin Wagner: "Your Union has jurisdiction over gas plants; you ought to go down there and organize them; it is the biggest political gas plant in America, the 80th Congress."²⁴

In addition to lengthy illustrations, Reuther made ample use of specific instances in his speeches, such as:

When we fight in Washington for social legislation, the big insurance companies, who are tied in with America's corporations, are down there fighting to block our legislative program and all progressive legislation. These great insurance companies--Metropolitan, Prudential and John Hancock--are all tied in with General Motors and Ford and Chrysler, and I say they are getting hundreds of millions of dollars in profits out of the workers of America.²⁵

²⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 13.

²⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 10.

Quotations

The writer noted that Walter Reuther seldom quoted a source verbatim. Instead, he usually paraphrased an article or summarized what some famous person was quoted as saying. For example, in paraphrasing an article from Fortune Magazine, Reuther stated:

This is not a CIO propaganda organ. We don't own Fortune Magazine. But they analyze the basic causes of the depression in 1929 and the dark years that followed. What do they say? They said the economic depression in the early 20's was born during a period when the people who had too little got less and less, and the people who had too much got more and more. Now the same thing is happening again. If you take the fourth quarter of 1953 and take the fourth quarter of 1954, and make a comparison between those two quarters twelve months apart, then you will see that the same things that Fortune Magazine said happened that gave birth to the depression are happening today.²⁶

Note that Walter Reuther liked to quote articles appearing in sources hostile to the labor movement. He liked to paraphrase quotations from Fortune, Nations Business, and the Wall Street Journal. In fact, Reuther sometimes quotes statements made by the automobile executives

²⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 11.

and then refutes their position.²⁷ This technique of using hostile sources was a common characteristic in Reuther's speeches.

Repetition and Restatement

The UAW Constitutional Convention addresses were strikingly similar in form and content, characteristics which will be noted later in this study. Thus, Reuther did not make great use of repetition and restatement in any given speech. However, words, phrases, and examples which have occurred in earlier speeches tended to be repeated in later speeches. Reuther's argument that the automobile industry could cut prices, raise wages and still realize substantial profits is perhaps the best example of an often repeated idea. The argument was first used in 1947 and the UAW leader still uses it today. Moreover, certain phrases such as "fruits of our expanding technology" and "dynamic economy" are used repeatedly from speech to speech.

²⁷ Reuther attacked a speech made by Henry Ford, for example, when Reuther spoke at the 1964 UAW convention.

A vivid illustration of the restatement of the same idea in separate speeches may be found by comparing Reuther's 1951 convention address to his 1959 speech.

And I am equally proud of the fact, if you read the Wall Street Journal, the organ of Wall Street, they give me the same treatment. I have said many, many times that as long as the Communists are blasting me and the reactionaries in Wall Street are blasting me, then I know I must be going right down the middle where this Union ought to be going.²⁸

You know, that wasn't the first time. I didn't get agitated about it. I just said to him, "That is nothing new. The communists have been saying for years that I was the chief agent of Wall Street in America, and the National Association of Manufacturers and Wall Street were saying I was the chief agent of the Kremlin."

And I said, "As long as you think I am a capitalist stooge and Wall Street thinks I am an agent of Moscow, then the UAW must be doing the right thing, fighting to go right down the middle between reaction on both extremes."²⁹

Thus, if an idea is relevant to his argument, Walter Reuther will use it over and over again.

Reasoning

The pattern of reasoning as described in the chapter on arrangement is usually a deductive process in which

²⁸UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 15.

²⁹UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 57.

the speaker states his argument or contention and then attempts to establish his point through the use of specific example. Walter Reuther's convention speeches to the UAW delegates are characterized by three kinds of reasoning--from example, cause, and sign. While the writer did not note any analogical reasoning, many of the examples Reuther used were comparisons of statistical information, thus suggesting an analogical process. There is no evidence that Mr. Reuther is conscious of the different uses of sign, causal, and example reasoning.

Reasoning from Example

Reasoning from example was by far the most characteristic method of inference used by the speaker. Walter Reuther will usually argue by stating a generalization and then supporting it through the use of example. An excerpt from Reuther's 1964 convention address illustrates the UAW president's use of reasoning from example. It begins with the statement of the need to participate in political action to guarantee economic gains at the bargaining table. Several state laws eliminating unemployment insurance and Supplemental Unemployment Benefits are given to support this point.

Therefore, what we do at the bargaining table is inseparably tied with what we do on the political front because we have learned the hard way that the bread box and the ballot box are inseparably tied together.

We are in politics not as a matter of choice; we are in politics as a matter of necessity. When we made the fight for SUB in '55 and we had millions of dollars in SUB funds, tens of thousands of members of our Union, of the Steelworkers Union, of the IUE and other unions who had SUB contracts were denied SUB benefits even though the money was there to pay them because in Ohio and Indiana the legislators, the reactionaries in those states passed laws saying you couldn't get unemployment insurance and SUB.³⁰

Causal Reasoning

A segment of several of Walter Reuther's convention speeches argued that the American economy was in trouble because business dominates the economic and political decisions:

We are in trouble in the United States and we are in trouble in Canada for essentially the same basic reason. We are in trouble because the forces of big business and economic monopoly dominate the economic and political decisions of our respective countries. And big business continues to struggle against the labor movement and the people to deny the worker his fair share of the fruits of our developing technology.³¹

³⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 53.

³¹UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 51.

Reuther's argument that business' self interest was detrimental to the economy appeared to be sound to this writer. The UAW president would disperse profits more widely in the form of higher wages. Reuther argued that in this way consumer purchasing power will increase and will stimulate greater economic consumption.

When Walter Reuther argued causally, he generally argued from effect to cause rather than from cause to effect as the following example illustrates:

Why are the Steelworkers on strike? [effect]
 They are on strike because the giant steel industry is attempting to deny the workers in that productive industry their fair share of the fruits of technology. The steel industry has said to the workers "We will give you your share with an eye dropper" while they back up a fleet of big trucks to haul away their profits made possible by our developing technology.³²

When critically evaluating Walter Reuther's causal arguments, the writer concluded that his arguments were sound, i.e., they did not contain any apparent contradictions--although some businessmen would surely dispute his inferences. The causes were usually sufficient to produce the effects he speaks of in his addresses. Whenever Reuther anticipated a mediating cause or circumstance in his

³²Ibid., p. 52.

causal link, he refuted the argument in his speech. Perhaps the best example of Reuther's refutative skills was found in his 1955 speech in which he anticipated rebuttal to the guaranteed annual wage and refuted each possible argument. Excerpts of the lengthy analysis of this skillful piece of rebuttal is provided for the reader's analysis:

Our Union--I guess I can say this not boastfully but in all good conscience--no organization in America has worked more consistently, more courageously, more constructively in the practical fight for full employment and full production in peacetime than our Union.

The Guaranteed Annual Wage is an important move in achieving full production and full employment in peacetime.

.....

Last year if we had utilized our economic resources and our manpower resources, the United States could have produced \$40 billion more wealth.

Forty billion dollars means that every American family from Mr. Curtice of General Motors to the lowest paid sharecropper, every family could have had \$850 more income.

In 1955 if you take the most optimistic projections of the little men of big business of the Republican Administration, we will underproduce \$50 billion in 1955 compared to what we could do if we used our economy fully.

What does that mean? It means that every American family could have a thousand dollars more income.

When you lay that economic loss next to the cost of the Guaranteed Wage and higher pensions and medical care--the costs of these things are insignificant compared to the cost of the economic losses.

.....

.....

.....

Now, when we talk about the Guaranteed Annual Wage, we don't claim it is a cure-all. We don't say it is a panacea. We do say it is one of the basic economic tools that free people need to use to bring about this dynamic balance between greater productive power and greater purchasing power. Nothing breeds unemployment like unemployment.

.....
 They say to us, "Is the Guaranteed Annual Wage morally right?" I say that no demand in the history of collective bargaining has ever been more morally right than the Guaranteed Annual Wage. Just look at industry. They meet the cost of every element of production by the year. They pay their taxes by the year. They pay the interest on their loans by the year. They pay their executives by the year. If they rent a building, they pay the rent by the year. If they have six months' production, they don't call the landlord and say, "Well, we just shut the plant down, we won't pay the rent for the rest of the year." They pay the rent twelve months every year. The only element of production that gets paid by the hour or by the piece and not by the year is the human equation--the most important equation in production.

If it is morally right to meet the cost of modern industry, pay your taxes by the year and your interest on these investments by the year, your executive salaries by the year, then we say it is morally right to pay the workers by the year, and in 1955 we intend to make it possible in our industry.

Where did this idea of paying workers by the piece or by the hour come from? Is this a sacred cow that we can't change? It came out of the early industrial revolution, and based upon the needs of our complex mass production economy, it is no longer adequate to meet our basic needs. That is why we need to change it.

.....
 We don't begrudge one penny that these corporation executives are paid. We know that

when corporation management makes a contribution to the economic well-being of the country and to the economic progress of our country they are entitled to a just reward for their economic contribution. But we say that when workers make their contribution they, too, are entitled to just compensation for their contribution.

We are going to hear a lot about incentives, how the free enterprise system goes forward because management has these great incentives to make millions of dollars. We believe in free enterprise. We believe in individual incentives, but what we can't understand is the fact that management has a one-way street on this idea of economic individual incentives, and we said to them many times, and we are going to ask them this question again, we don't understand what kind of mental and moral gymnastics they are going to go through to say that if you are a corporation executive and you are making \$400,000 a year and you have the drive and the incentive to get \$500,000 that that is economically sound and morally right, but if you happen to be a wage earner and you are only getting \$4,000 a year and you want \$5,000 a year that is economically and morally wrong.

I say it is more economically sound, it is more morally right for a worker making \$4,000 to get \$5,000 a year than for a corporation executive getting \$400,000 to get \$500,000.

That is the thing we are trying to do.³³

The above passage illustrates that Reuther can be a skillful debater, refuting opposing arguments with evidence and logic when the occasion demands such skills.

³³UAW, Proceedings, 1955, pp. 12-15.

Sign Reasoning

Walter Reuther also used sign reasoning in his speeches as a form of argument. For example, in his 1947 speech he used a number of sign examples to suggest that big business was robbing the public through high prices and profits. He used Continental Baking, the steel industry, the automobile industry, tavern owners, the textile industry, and the shoe industry as signs of reaping high profits while holding down wages, and in some instances cutting production.³⁴ Reuther's selection of examples was large and probably gave the impression of being a representative sample of sign examples. The use of so many examples tightened the probability of safely inferring that big business is in fact robbing the public.

Thus, Walter Reuther employed three basic kinds of reasoning in his speeches: 1) reasoning from example, 2) reasoning from cause, and 3) reasoning from sign. The writer applied critical tests to each form of reasoning and found that the union president did argue judiciously. In addition, the writer found that Walter Reuther has

³⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1947.

excellent refutative skill and that he utilized this talent when the occasion demanded.

Psychological Appeals

Psychological proof includes all those materials and devices calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of the speaker's ideas. Hance, Ralph and Wiksell present the following list of materials of experience which may be helpful in tracing the speaker's use of emotional proof:

Narration. Including stories, example, anecdotes, and fables.

Description. Words and sentences which create a mood in the mind of the listener.

Figures of Speech. Language rich with imagery.

Massing of Detail.

Audio-Visual Aids.

Motive Appeals.

- A. Preservation
- B. Pride
- C. Altruism
- D. Conformity and Change
- E. Sex

Attention Devices.

- A. Showing relationship of what you say to what you have said.

- B. Quotation
- C. Repetition
- D. Emphasis
- E. A barrage of facts or questions
- F. Narrative materials
- G. Attention-getting delivery³⁵

An analysis of emotional proof should include (1) the principle of audience adaptation, (2) the practical applications of the principle.

First, the critic is interested in determining the extent of the speaker's adaptation to his audience. The speaker should analyze the group prior to the delivery of a speech, and make audience adjustments during the presentation of the address. The critic will try to determine how fully the speaker took some of the following audience characteristics into consideration:

(1) age level; (2) sex; (3) intellectual and informational status with regard to the subject; (4) the political, social, religious, and other affiliations; (5) the economic status; (7) known or anticipated attitude toward the subject; (8) occupational status; (9) known interest in the subject; (10) considerations of self-interest in the subject; and (11) temper and tone of the occasion. The general objective, it will be seen, is to find out how completely the speaker adapts his remarks within the limitations imposed by the particular audience situation.³⁶

³⁵Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, pp. 70-90.

³⁶Thonssen and Baird, pp. 361-362.

Second, does the speaker reveal a penetrating insight into the emotions of his audience? Are his emotional appeals appropriate to his audience's mood and strategically placed to elicit the proper response? Does the speaker adequately conceal the fact that he is playing to the emotions of his audience? What types of appeals are most characteristic of a particular speaker? With these critical criteria as aids, the writer will analyze the psychological nature of the speeches.

The Occasion

The international convention, which is held once every two years, is the highest tribunal of the international union. It is at these conclaves that issues are debated before delegates representing more than one and one half million UAW members. The union goes on record on almost every subject affecting its members, including social, political, and economic issues.

According to the UAW Constitution, each local is entitled to one delegate for 200 members or less, another delegate for the next 300 members or major fraction thereof, and one additional delegate for each additional 800 members

or major fraction thereof. Amalgamated locals with more than 200 members can elect their own delegates while those with less are grouped together to elect a delegate. At the convention each local has one vote for each 100 members or each major fraction thereof, with a maximum of eight votes for any one delegate. However, according to Stieber:

Delegate strength is more significant than voting strength at UAW conventions, since practically all questions are decided by voice, hand or standing votes. Roll-call votes are required only for election of international officers, regional directors, and international trustees, and on any issue when requested by about 30 per cent of all delegates.³⁷

Over 2,500 delegates assemble at each convention.

A composite of the average delegate to the 1959 UAW convention showed that he was a male, forty-two years of age, semi-skilled, some high school education, a member since World War II or shortly thereafter, an officer in the local, and a participant in union educational programs, who believes the convention fulfills its most important function as a policy-making body.³⁸

³⁷ Jack Stieber, Governing the UAW (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 20.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

Convention committee appointments are made by the International Executive Board from delegates recommended by board members. Committees are limited to a maximum of eleven members. Each committee submits a report to the convention for its approval. These committees include (1) Competitive Shop, (2) Constitution, (3) Credentials, (4) Education, (5) Grievance, (6) Officers' Reports, (7) Resolutions, (8) Rules, and (9) Union Label.

The convention follows a rigid order of business as outlined in the union constitution:

1. Call to order
2. Report on Credentials
3. Reading of Convention Rules
4. Appointing Committees
5. Communications and Bills
6. Resolutions
7. Reports of Committees
8. Officers' Reports
9. Election of Officers
10. Unfinished Business
11. New Business
12. Adjournment³⁹

Stieber contends that the role of delegates is to approve or disapprove union policies rather than make policy.

Most important of the above rules is the ban on amendments or substitutions from the floor until a committee recommendation has been

³⁹ UAW Constitution, 1966, p. 10.

voted down. Taken together with the absence of any voice by the convention in the selection of committee members, this prohibition tends to make the delegates' function one of approving or disapproving administration policies, rather than determining policy (which is the role in which the delegates see themselves).⁴⁰

The author goes on to point out that the great debates of the "old days" no longer take place over issues removed from traditional union objectives. Political and social action resolutions are approved without discussion. He concludes:

To the perennial convention-goer, UAW conventions may seem less exciting, more predictable, and, some say, less democratic than they were during the early 1940's when factionalism was at its height. However, to this observer of only one UAW convention--the 1959 gathering--it was an exciting and stimulating experience. It was impressive to see the excellent attendance at convention sessions, the close attention to seemingly routine and dull constitutional amendments, the small groups getting together both on and off the convention floor to plot strategy or just talk, the eloquence of unknown delegates in debate, the "politicizing" that goes on at all hours and in all places, the uninhibited criticism of the administration and its policies by rank-and-file delegates, and the national press coverage given to this national convention. There is considerable evidence that UAW conventions, like most gatherings of large-scale organizations, are more "well-managed affairs" than demonstrations of "democracy in action."

⁴⁰Stieber, pp. 24-25.

Nonetheless, taken as a whole, UAW biennial conventions must be adjudged a worthwhile exercise in union self government, a valuable educational experience, and an important aspect of our democratic society.⁴¹

Speeches play a major role at the six-day convention. Many famous guests have been invited to address the convention over the years, including union leaders, social reformers, celebrities, and political leaders. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson addressed the UAW convention. In fact, the convention averages two major speeches per day.

Walter Reuther's international convention address is the first highlight of each convention. Reuther addresses the delegates at the first session and according to Frank Winn, UAW staff member, Reuther views the occasion as the most important means of informing his union of the programs and policies of the UAW. Mr. Winn also stated that Reuther does adjust "the speech" to accommodate different audiences.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 57-58.

Materials of Experience

Walter Reuther's constitutional convention speeches to the UAW delegates were primarily characterized by appeals to selflessness and dignity with occasional moments of humor and sarcasm, and with an undercurrent of struggle and conflict between labor and management.

Invariably, the UAW president began each address by relating the goal of improved economic gain to the more lofty goal of translating democratic principles into realities:

We have a practical job in America of not giving lip service to those noble principles, but taking the fancy promises and translating those things into the practical things of life, into bread and butter, into decent houses, into economic security for the great mass of our people.

Our fight is essentially a fight to make democracy work. Democracy is not something that is going to be made to work in the abstract in America. We have the practical job as organized labor, as the vanguard of the democratic progressive forces of this nation, of forging the weapons with which we are going to fight and the tools with which we are going to build. Nobody else in America is going to do the job that must be done unless we in the CIO and we in the American Labor movement give leadership and direction in that struggle.⁴²

⁴²UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 8.

According to Reuther, the goal of the UAW was to maintain fulltime employment without resorting to the pump-priming effects of war. In Reuther's 1955 convention address he stated that collective bargaining was one phase in the struggle for peace and security.⁴³ At the 1955 convention Reuther stated this altruistic appeal this way:

We will not go to the bargaining table just as a routine matter of another bargaining session. We are going there knowing that this is a crusade to gear economic abundance to human needs.⁴⁴

However, Walter Reuther also made direct appeals to his listeners' economic motives. He usually recited the wage improvements under his leadership and also the many fringe benefits shared by the membership.

In 1948 we developed the cost-of-living escalator clause and the annual wage improvement which automatically gave a worker a right to share in the fruits of our developing technology.

In 1949 and '50 we had a great struggle and in the middle of that struggle the Chrysler workers walked the picket line for 104 days to lay the foundation of our pension programs, so we could provide our workers with a greater measure of security and dignity in the autumn of their lives.

⁴³UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 11.

⁴⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 12.

A hundred and seventy thousand members of our Union have retired under our pension program.

In '55 we broke through on the SUB program and then we added later on the short work week benefits.⁴⁵

Walter Reuther also appealed to the group pride of the UAW delegates. He pointed out programs pioneered by the auto union. For example, in his 1951 speech he said with pride that no other union in America fought for pensions paid out of company funds.⁴⁶ Moreover, the UAW president often referred to the victories of the past with great pride:

We had faith in the workers, and we had faith in the cause of unionism, and we believed that if we found a way to get the message of unionism to hundreds of thousands of workers in those great mass-production industries, that we could build a union, and we did reach those workers.⁴⁷

In addition to appeals to altruistic, economic, and group pride, Walter Reuther made ample use of appeals to fear. Reuther often suggested that the world is threatened by nuclear annihilation. This was particularly true of the speeches of the 1950's:

⁴⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 48.

⁴⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 9.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 8.

When you read, as we read a year or so ago, that a bomb dropped on Chicago could destroy Milwaukee, we thought that that was the end of the world in man's inhumanity against man. Now, we learn that with the new H-bomb, the radio-active fall-out is such that a bomb dropped in Cleveland can destroy Pittsburgh or Detroit and Cincinnati, yes, maybe even Chicago. That's why we need to realize that while we go to the bargaining table, while we fight for more of the good things of life, we must realize that as citizens, as free people in these two great countries of ours, the United States and Canada, that we have a right and responsibility to make a contribution to try to help find the answers to these basic problems of how we preserve peace and freedom in the world.⁴⁸

In the same speech, Reuther quoted General Guenther as saying that neither side could expect to win a hydrogen bomb war.

Reuther also played upon the fears of his audience when he suggested that the United States was threatened with economic collapse unless solutions were found for the nation's economic problems:

We are heading for trouble in America. This phony prosperity the newspaper editorials talk about is going to explode one of these days and we are going to wind up in another depression with mass unemployment and all of the other evils and human insecurity and suffering that came out of that.⁴⁹

⁴⁸UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 8.

⁴⁹UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 9.

Walter Reuther also made strong use of appealing to patriotism. He has always been strongly anticommunist and he argued in his speeches of the 1950's that the United States should wage an economic war, a war of productivity with the Soviet Union:

As one American, I share the view that our system of freedom is equal to this challenge; that our system of freedom built around the values of the worth and the dignity of each human person can more effectively harness man's creative capability and harness the products of that creative capability to the basic needs of the human family.⁵⁰

Well, fundamentally the cold war reflects a contest of negative values. We need to find a way to shift the center of balance so that instead of having a negative contest which no one can win, as General Guenther has so well stated, we need to find a way to shift from a contest of negative values between the free world and the Communist world to a contest of positive values, to a contest as to who can do the most toward advancing the cause of human betterment.⁵¹

Finally, through the years Walter Reuther has increasingly appealed to the human instincts of his UAW delegates to work for social justice in America. Reuther has devoted much time in his international convention speeches of the 1960's to urging the delegates to support social action programs:

⁵⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 9.

⁵¹UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 43.

When President Johnson came out with his anti-poverty declaration of war I sent him a telegram on your behalf, I said to him: "Mr. President: We respond to your call to action, and the members of the UAW enlist in the war against poverty for the duration of that war."

I know that you will support that.⁵²

Reuther's social justice appeal seemed to be the least effective of all those studied. There is an increasing amount of evidence to suggest that rank-and-file union members are concerned about "bread and butter" issues, but are not enthusiastic about participating in social action projects. Industrial sociologists have long known that the union is most persuasive among the membership in the area of collective bargaining issues and least influential in shaping attitudes of peripheral importance to union activities.⁵³

Maintaining Attention

Walter Reuther maintained the attention and interest of his auditors in a wide variety of ways. Struggle and conflict was a continually occurring theme in all of

⁵²Ibid., p. 44.

⁵³See for example the survey of AFL-CIO worker attitudes reported in the Wall Street Journal, July 7, 1967.

Reuther's speech. Indeed, it was at the very heart of the emotive dimension in Walter's speeches. He also used long narrative passages to maintain interest. Pugnacity and sarcasm abound. Walter Reuther also massed an impressive amount of statistical data which he will vivify by translating the statistics into concrete terms for his audience. Reuther also kept interest in his message alive through frequent use of rhetorical questions.

Vivifying Materials of Development

As it was reported earlier, Walter Reuther bombarded his audience with a mass of data. Ordinarily, this rhetorical strategy would be frowned upon since facts tend to be dull and uninteresting. But Walter Reuther vivified his information by personalizing his data. Thus, not only did he cite statistics about retirement benefits, but he personalized the data by saying that a worker from Sicily can retire, thanks to the UAW, on an income of \$7,000.⁵⁴ He vivified the enormous profits and bonuses of executives by pointing out that Ford and other executives earn hundreds of times the amount of the average worker. Or

⁵⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 19.

he recited the loss in dollars due to underproduction over the years and applied that national loss in income to the loss in income to each family:

We lost more than \$200 billion in the last five years, and if we continue to limp along we will lose \$400 billion in the seven years through 1964.

How much is that? That is \$8,000 per family in those seven years, and this the margin of progress. . .⁵⁵

Conflict as an Attention Device

The tone of all Walter Reuther's speeches was one of struggle and conflict. Labor was pitted against big business in an unending struggle for economic equity. In Reuther's 1966 speech he spoke of daring to work together for over thirty years against powerful corporations who "if they had their way, this Union never would have been born."⁵⁶

I believe that when the history of the UAW is written we will be considered among the vanguard of those forces who are engaged in man's eternal struggle to raise the banner of human rights over the welfare of property rights. I believe that history will record that no other organization fought with such

⁵⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 49.

⁵⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 19.

deep conviction to make it clear that people have priority over profits.⁵⁷

Reuther's speeches were innundated with taunts and barbs directed at the large automobile corporations and the executives who command positions of leadership. In speaking of the successful fight of the 1955 negotiations, which established Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, Reuther said, "When it was all over, one of my brothers said to me: 'It was a hard fight but we made the SOB's give us the SUB.' That's exactly what we did in 1955."⁵⁸ Moreover, Reuther's rancor against Henry Ford was illustrative of the numerous times the union president has chided the corporation executives:

Now I know he spent a quarter of a million dollars in one coming-out party in one night, and I know that that's costly. I know he spent a half a million dollars for his newest yacht, and maybe he has some other expensive habits. This could be why he has trouble making ends meet. But I want to say this: In '62, in salary and in bonus and in dividends from his Ford stocks, which he did not earn--his great choice was he picked the right grandfather--what did he get? From salary, bonus, dividends from the Ford Motor Company, not counting his income from any other stock holdings in other corporations, he got \$4,895,779.00.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

If you take what the average Ford worker earned in that year, it would take the average Ford worker 729 years to earn as much as Henry got in one year. I say to Henry, as an old Ford worker:

"You aren't worth 729 times the people that we represent at the bargaining table in this Union."⁵⁹

Not even a President of the United States was beyond Reuther's scorn. In the excerpt that follows, Walter Reuther stated his contempt for President Eisenhower's economic views:

We ought to ask him as we have asked management, what type of moral and mental gymnastics does the President go through to conclude that when his golfing cronies--who make \$1 million a year--get in there and work and exploit the stock option racket, and then get a couple of more million, how he figures that is economically sound, how that is morally right, and how non-inflationary. But when a worker gets \$40 a week, and can't feed his kids, and says, "I would like to have \$50 a week," the President says, "That is inflationary and dangerous and will upset the economy. It is morally wrong and therefore I am against it."⁶⁰

Indeed, Reuther can become very sarcastic toward his foes. In the 1959 convention speech he suggested installing courses in mathematics at West Point because Eisenhower did not seem to know that two and two are four.⁶¹

⁵⁹UAW, Proceedings, 1964, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 55.

⁶¹Ibid.

To delegates who have had to punch time clocks and tolerate the criticisms of foremen and bosses, Reuther's hostility toward authority figures may have triggered a strong emotional reaction. The convention audiences probably listened enthusiastically as President Reuther articulated their innermost hostilities.

Other Psychological Devices

In the speeches analyzed, the writer also noted that Walter P. Reuther maintained the attention of his audience through the use of visual aids, barrage of facts, and the rhetorical question.

At each convention the auditorium was decorated with mottoes and slogans and occasionally Reuther referred to a particular sign near the rostrum. For example, at the 1966 convention the UAW president made reference to the background slogan of thirty years of progress noting that the union had seen thirty years of progress.⁶² At the 1955 convention Walter Reuther demonstrated a model of a housing project that the UAW-CIO built in Chicago.⁶³

⁶²UAW, Proceedings, 1966.

⁶³UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 16.

As already indicated, Walter Reuther also maintained the interest of his audience through the use of a barrage of factual data. He characteristically overwhelmed his audience with an avalanche of up-to-date economic information. He cited data on profits before and after taxes; he compared the economic growth of the nation over the years; he cited the growth in wages as compared to profits; he told about the loss in billions of dollars of underproduction. Walter Reuther was a veritable statistical dynamo who never tired of educating his union to the economic facts of life.

In 1947--just listen to these figures, then you will know what is happening in industry after industry throughout the American economy--in 1947 there were 626,400 workers in the basic automobile and truck industries. Those 626,000 workers produced 4,792,800 cars and trucks.

In 1965 there were 667,700 workers and they produced 11,114,100 cars and trucks.

So, put very simply, an increase of 6.6 per cent in the number of workers made possible an increase of 131.9 per cent in production.

Forty-one thousand more workers turned out more than six million more automobiles and trucks.⁶⁴

Finally, Reuther made extensive use of the rhetorical question as an attention device. In his 1964 address,

⁶⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 27.

the union leader made particularly effective use of this device by using a series of questions to maintain interest.

If Henry Ford gets another million dollars on top of his \$4,800,000, does anyone think that he's going to buy another pair of shoes? Does anybody think that he'll call the doctor one more time when somebody is sick in his family? Obviously, not. But you give that million dollars to a lot of Ford workers and it will become high velocity purchasing power.⁶⁵

In summary, Walter Reuther addressed over two thousand delegates representing the one million six hundred thousand workers who assemble biannually to approve policies and programs of the UAW.

Walter Reuther appealed to economic gain, to altruistic motive, to group pride, to fear, to patriotism, and to social justice. Significantly, Reuther vivified his factual and statistical information through the use of specific illustration. Throughout each address this writer noted an underlying theme of conflict and struggle which added interest to each speech. Attention devices used in the speeches included the use of visual aids, a barrage of facts, and the use of rhetorical questions.

⁶⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 47.

Personal Proof

The Character of the Speaker

Like so many concepts, ethical proof received its first specific statement from Aristotle, who held that there were three sources of personal credibility: intelligence, high character, and good will. Aristotle believed that a person who commanded these three qualities would be deserving of credit in the eyes of his audience. Both what an audience thinks of a speaker before he speaks (his reputation) and what the speaker does during his speech are prime factors for analysis. While the ways that a speaker may give credibility to his message are countless, the following ethical attributes are helpful guidelines for the rhetorical critic.

In general, a speaker focuses attention upon the probity of his character if he (1) associates either himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) bestows, with propriety, tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) links the opponent or the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous; (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent; (5) relies upon authority derived from his personal experience; and (6) creates the impression of being completely sincere in his undertaking.

With certain qualifications varying with the circumstances, it may be said that a

speaker helps to establish the impression of sagacity if he (1) uses what is popularly called common sense; (2) acts with tact and moderation; (3) displays a sense of good taste; (4) reveals a broad familiarity with the interests of the day; and (5) shows through the way in which he handles speech materials that he is possessed of intellectual integrity and wisdom.

Finally, a speaker's good will generally is revealed through his ability (1) to capture the proper balance between too much and too little praise of his audience; (2) to identify himself properly with the hearers and their problems; (3) to proceed with candor and straightforwardness; (4) to offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration; (5) to offset any personal reasons he may have for giving the speech; and (6) to reveal, without guile or exhibitionism, his personable qualities as a messenger of the truth.⁶⁶

External Sources of Personal Proof

Walter Reuther's personal life is essentially frugal and abstemious. Indeed, some critics believe that Reuther is so engaged in programs and principles that he is indifferent to people. The UAW president has long been noted for his sobriety, which he will humorously refer to from time to time in his convention speeches: "Do not ask me where you can get a 10-ounce glass of beer for 10 cents,

⁶⁶Thonssen and Baird, p. 387.

because frankly I do not know."⁶⁷ Edwin Lahey described Reuther's moral straightness quite well when he wrote:

Most labor men are pretty good drinkers, and make friends and keep them in bar-rooms during convention time. If Reuther was ever in a gin mill, the incident has been overlooked by recorded history. Union politicians--even the supposed "highbrows" in the clothing unions in New York--play poker and shoot craps. If Reuther even knows that the opposite sides of the dice total seven, he must have picked up the information in a study of permutations and combinations. Reuther has none of the charm of fallible men who go through life committing indiscretions and deviating from the path of moral righteousness. He lacks human warmth.⁶⁸

Reuther is also noted for his industry and indefatigable energy. He immerses himself in union activity, working sixteen to eighteen hours a day. Cabbage mentioned that some writers have noted that Reuther eats, sleeps, and talks union. He has forgotten how to relax and how to play; by his own admission, he becomes bored when he tries to taper off by reading a mystery novel. Walter Reuther's complete devotion to the UAW is stated by the speaker himself in one of his early convention addresses:

Everybody must make up his mind where he thinks he can serve best and make the greatest contribution. I have made my decision and I can tell you now that I am not interested in being in the

⁶⁷ UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Edwin A. Lahey, "Reuther Takes Over," New Republic (April 8, 1946), p. 469.

United States Senate. My heart belongs in the UAW, and this is where I am going to stay.⁶⁹

Another facet of the Reuther personality is his inclination to develop a blueprint for a wide range of human social problems. Charles Madison contends that Reuther has sought "to gain a mastery of social and economic questions with which few union leaders would have concerned themselves."⁷⁰

Kermit Eby described Walter Reuther's personality as "verbal and imaginative." Reuther enjoys the clash of argument over the important problems of life and he argues with confidence in his own intellectual resources.⁷¹

Walter Reuther is a man of impeccable integrity. His salary is down around the \$25,000 mark per year, which is a fraction of the average salary of most union leaders who receive \$50,000 to \$65,000 per year.

Walter Reuther stands 5'8-1/2". He weighs about 160 pounds and he is strong and trim. He usually wears

⁶⁹UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 23.

⁷⁰Charles A. Madison, American Labor Leaders (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1950), p. 278.

⁷¹Kermit Eby, "A. F. L.--Uneasy Union--C. I. O.," Christian Century (May 13, 1959), p. 582. Like all dedicated men Walter Reuther has little sympathy with men of lesser integrity. To him union leadership is a kind of calling, and using one's office for private gain is a betrayal of that calling.

moderately priced suits, white shirts, quiet ties, and he will wear a dark suit and bow tie. Walter Reuther's most striking features are his red hair and athletic build.

Walter Reuther's social philosophy (as mentioned in Chapter II) was significantly influenced by his father's humanitarian and social ideals. Reuther is politically a liberal democrat. He supported Norman Thomas for the President of the United States in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, 1940, and 1944; Harry S. Truman in 1948; Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956; John F. Kennedy in 1960; Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964; and Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968. While socialism was a formative influence upon Reuther's life, he left the Socialist Party around the mid-nineteen thirties and has remained a staunch supporter of Democratic Party candidates since that time. Cabbage noted that Reuther's office contains busts of four men of passion and power--Abraham Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Albert Schweitzer, and Mohandas Ghandi.

As a prominent citizen, Walter Reuther is a member of the executive board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He has received numerous

honorary degrees from colleges and universities in the United States and Canada.

Internal Sources of Personal Proof

An analysis of the international convention speeches of Walter Reuther disclosed that the UAW leader, perhaps unconsciously, created strong ethical appeal.

First, Walter Reuther focused attention on the probity of his character by associating his message with what is virtuous; by tempered praise of the UAW; by condemning the selfish economic motives of the corporation executives; by minimizing unfavorable impressions of himself; by interjecting personal experiences about union and public affairs; and by the impression of being completely sincere.

As was mentioned earlier in this study, Walter Reuther appealed to the altruistic and patriotic motives of his audience. Reuther's appeals were appeals for fairness and honesty rather than mere economic gain. He spoke of the union movement as a means, an instrument by which to make abstract principles be realized in America. "Our

fight is essentially a fight to make democracy work."⁷²

The UAW leader maintained that a nickel-in-the-pay-envelope kind of labor philosophy is too narrow a view. He argued in all his convention speeches for a labor movement which participates as workers, consumers, and citizens in the building of a better America.

However, the probity of the speaker was increased when he lauded the accomplishments of the union over the years. "The UAW-CIO can be proud of its history We meet today as the largest, most militant and, I think the most democratic free trade union in the world. We have made good since South Bend."⁷³ Occasionally, Reuther acknowledged the help and cooperation of the members of his audience:

Before I get into my report I should like to thank my fellow officers, members of the International Executive Board, the local officers, and the local leadership for the cooperation and the support that each of you has given me since the last Convention in carrying on the work of the UAW.⁷⁴

⁷²UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 8.

⁷³UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 7.

⁷⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 41.

Walter Reuther also spent a substantial portion of each convention speech verbally spanking the captains of industry for their greed and avarice:

The chairman of the board of the General Motors Corporation received in salary and bonus in 1965 a sum 99 times as great as the average General Motors worker--not counting his (the chairman's) stock option bonus.

The chairman of the board of the Ford Company's salary and bonus, was 78 times greater than the average wage for the Ford workers, not counting \$4 million that he got in dividends.

And the chairman of the Chrysler Corporation's salary and bonus, not counting his stock option, was 65 times greater than the average wage and salary of the Chrysler worker.

And I say to you that we ought to say to them that nobody in America is 99 times better than another worker working for the same corporation.⁷⁵

No doubt Reuther's castigation of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler executives helped to increase the respect and esteem of the UAW convention delegates.

It was also quite common for Reuther to build his personal ethos by referring to his own experiences as a worker or as world famous labor leader. In his 1951 convention speech Reuther mentioned working long hours for twenty-one nights in a row.⁷⁶ In his 1959 speech he

⁷⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 22.

⁷⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 8.

referred to serving his apprenticeship in a steel plant.⁷⁷ And in the 1964 speech he mentioned that he had represented the Union for twenty-seven years at the bargaining table.⁷⁸ Reuther also suggested that he is a man of influence whenever he referred to conversations with famous labor leaders, social reformers, governors, congressmen, scholars, leaders in foreign nations, and Presidents of the United States. Each speech contained several such references. Reuther especially liked to refer to conversations with the presidents of the large automobile companies which were usually heated verbal battles. Then too, the writer noted that Reuther also seemed to like to refer to his many testimonies before various congressional committees. I would suggest that all these references helped to improve the ethical appeal of the speaker in the mind of his audience.

Finally, Reuther increased his ethos by giving the impression of being sincere. Walter Reuther's tone was always serious. He took great pains to analyze the problems of his union and his nation. He provided his listeners with an impressive array of arguments and evidence

⁷⁷UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 52.

⁷⁸UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 52.

to support his conclusions. Reuther's basic philosophy has not shifted in the slightest over the years as president of the nation's second largest union. Walter Reuther's rhetoric compares favorably with his actions. Thus, to the automobile worker he has the reputation of being sincere and impeccably honest.

Second, Walter Reuther helped to establish his intellectual credentials by common sense economic statements and through revealing a broad familiarity with the interests of the day.

In the 1951 speech Reuther related the bitter experience of learning that wage increases were eaten up in higher prices. Over a period of ten years the purchasing power of the union only increased by six cents. So in 1950 the union decided to negotiate a cost-of-living clause. "We felt the inflationary pressures were going to drive the cost of living up, and we were right."⁷⁹ This common sense decision benefited the entire union membership. Reuther also displayed a common sense approach to collective bargaining when he pointed out that automobile executives earn tens of times what the average worker made.

⁷⁹UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 11.

Now I maintain no one will argue that each General Motors worker ought to get as much as Mr. Curtice. No one will argue that the GM worker, even in the skilled trades classification, ought to get as much as Mr. Sloan.

But I say, based upon the standards of human decency and human morality, no one can say that any man is worth 150 times another man working for the same company. No one is that much better than the other fellow. And no one needs that much more.⁸⁰

Reuther's common sense argument was to distribute wages more equitably in order to stimulate greater consumption of goods.

Walter Reuther's wide-ranging interests in politics and social affairs also suggested keenness of mind. Reuther spoke in each international convention address about the pressing problems of the times: peace, poverty, civil rights. Moreover, he, together with the other leaders of the UAW drafted proposals and programs on wide-ranging topics for the membership's approval. Reuther's many-faceted interests probably left a favorable impression with the convention delegates.

Walter Reuther tended to speak bluntly. Many of the excerpts from this study suggest that he is not always moderate in the ideas that he expressed or the tone of his

⁸⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 16.

language. However, the trait of bluntness and candidness may add to Reuther's ethos since it has been this writer's observation that many industrial workers do not tend to be overly temperate. Perhaps many workers can identify with Reuther's frankness.

Third, Walter Reuther created good will by praising the convention delegates, joking with them and revealing his personal qualities of leadership.

Reuther's praise of his delegates was always subtle and never overdone. Usually, Reuther suggested to his delegates that they were involved in the struggle for economic and social justice. "The whole world looks to us We are building the kind of labor movement that will remake the world where the working people will get the benefits of their labor."⁸¹ In the 1951 speech, Walter Reuther praised the union for its militancy and its democracy. After the difficult 1958 collective bargaining round, Reuther made a special point to praise the loyalty of the entire union.

I want to salute and pay undying respect and gratitude to the local union leadership and the rank and file of our Union for the loyalty and the solidarity that they demonstrated

⁸¹UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 8.

during our 1958 bargaining difficulties. It was that loyalty and solidarity that made it possible for us to come out of that situation as we did, despite the recession. It was not easy.⁸²

Moreover, while Reuther has gained a reputation as a sober and hard working union leader, he occasionally attempted to relax his audience with some humorous anecdotes. He has referred to Congress as being full of hot air; he joked about Chrysler acquiring a dental school building; and he humorously referred to the automobile executives as "SOB's." The writer also noted several anecdotes about the tendency of the delegates to consume large quantities of beer at each convention.

Finally, Reuther won the good will of his audience by citing the many economic advances under his leadership. From the beginning of his administration Walter Reuther has developed a lengthy narrative of the UAW's many collective bargaining successes. The 1966 speech contained nearly three pages of text (25% of the entire speech) devoted to a recitation of the wages and fringe benefits gained over the years. Characteristically, Reuther never suggested that he was to be credited with these successes.

⁸² UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 51.

He referred to "our" successes and what "we" have done together. And characteristically, he suggested new goals for the next round of contract negotiations. Thus, Reuther implied his leadership abilities, but he did not openly boast about his success.

In summary, Walter Reuther's ethos, which he brought to each speaking situation, included a reputation as a sober and industrious leader who was wholly dedicated to the UAW. Reuther's personal proof included a reputation for impeccable honesty. He is a liberal Democrat who believes in social justice for all citizens.

Within the convention speeches, the writer noted that Reuther made an effort to increase his personal proof by associating his message with what was virtuous; by praising the UAW delegates; by condemning the economic motives of the corporation executives; by relating personal experiences as a worker; and by attempting to impress his audience with his sincerity. He tried to establish his intellectual credentials through common sense economic statements and revealing a broad familiarity with the interests of the day. Finally, Walter Reuther tried to win good will by citing the many economic advantages under his leadership.

Conclusion

Walter Reuther spoke about collective bargaining ideas, broad economic issues, and social-political issues. In the speeches studied, Reuther argued for higher wages, improved fringe benefits, and job-creating programs. He argued for a greater distribution of wealth as a means for stimulating productivity. He also argued for a broad program of social action in such areas as civil rights, medicine, poverty, and education.

Reuther developed his ideas logically with statistical examples, comparative statistics, illustrations, and specific instances. He also employed quotations, repetition and restatement, and the rhetorical question. He used his evidence well according to the tests of evidence. The UAW president also used argument from example, cause, and sign in his speeches. It was found that Walter Reuther's arguments were soundly presented. Also, it was found that Walter Reuther has excellent refutative skills.

At each convention Reuther addressed over two thousand delegates, who assembled to approve policies and programs of the UAW.

He appealed to motives for economic gain, altruism, pride, patriotism, fear and social justice. He maintained the attention of his audience by vivifying his factual information through the use of interesting examples. He appealed to the interests of his audience for conflict and struggle. He used visual aids, a barrage of facts, and rhetorical questions as interest devices.

External factors of personal proof included a reputation as a sober and industrious leader who is committed to the cause of unionism. He is known to be impeccably honest and deeply concerned about the social welfare of all people.

Within Reuther's convention speeches, the UAW president built his personal ethos by associating his message with virtuous goals, praising his delegates, condemning his opponents, relating his experiences as a worker, and by impressing his audience with his sincerity. He spoke with common sense about the economic issues he dealt with and he disclosed a broad familiarity with public issues. Finally, Walter Reuther suggested to his audience that it had made many economic gains under his leadership.

CHAPTER V

ARRANGEMENT

Introduction

Arrangement is primarily concerned with the manner in which the speaker organizes his speech, with the basic construction and assembly of the parts of a discourse. This part of the rhetorical analysis will answer the following questions: 1) What patterns of arrangement, if any, emerge? 2) What rhetorical strategy does the speaker employ in his introductions? 3) What rhetorical strategy does the speaker employ in his conclusions? 4) How does the speaker arrange the body of his speeches?

The study of the convention speeches of Walter Reuther to UAW delegates will be divided into three sections: the introduction, the conclusion, and the body of the speeches and the reader will be reminded of the methodology within each of these sections.

The Speech Introduction

The major purpose of the introduction is to establish rapport between speaker and audience, to make the audience feel at ease and to establish confidence in what he is about to say. Another basic purpose of the introduction is to reveal the subject of the speech.

The speaker may go about his task in a variety of ways. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell suggest a number of methods including: 1) gaining attention by telling a series of unrelated jokes or stories, 2) acknowledging the chairman's speech and complimenting the audience, 3) beginning with a story or quotation, 4) stating the purpose directly.¹

An analysis of Walter Reuther's UAW convention speeches disclosed that the union president attempted to create rapport with his audience in a variety of ways. He sometimes related humorous anecdotes; sometimes he complimented his audience; and occasionally he referred to the significance of the occasion.

The writer noted several instances where Reuther began his speeches by humorously referring to his reputation

¹Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph, and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 244-245.

as a verbose speaker. As one example, he stated at the twenty-first Constitutional Convention:

Now, I have taken a lot of abuse and ribbing and a lot of good fun over the years about the length of my speeches and I want to tell some of the newer delegates who are perhaps unfamiliar with my bad habits that I am capable of making a short speech. But I find it so painful I do it only in extreme emergencies. I do not consider today such an emergency. So relax.²

At the 1949 Constitutional Convention, Walter Reuther humorously referred to the beer drinking abilities of the delegates assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

When he [the mayor] learned that 2,400 thirsty Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers were going to convene in the hot days of July, he called an emergency conference over at the City Hall, and who do you think he invited? Mr. Pabst, Mr. Blatz, and Mr. Schlitz, and he said, "You don't know these guys in the UAW; they have capacities that are unlimited." And Mr. Schlitz, Mr. Blatz and Mr. Pabst put on a third shift in every plant in Milwaukee, and we thank the good Mayor for that special service, because we will need it before the Convention is over. I speak as a guy who knows.³

Another means Reuther used for gaining the good will of his audience was to compliment his listeners. At the 1964 convention Reuther complimented all UAW officials:

²UAW, Proceedings, 1968, pp. 16-17.

³UAW, Proceedings, 1949, p. 9.

Before I get into my report I should like to thank my fellow officers, members of the International Executive Board, the local officers, and the local leadership for the cooperation and the support that each of you has given me since the last Convention in carrying on the work of the UAW.⁴

Walter Reuther also complimented the audience on the number of wives attending several conventions.

Still another way in which Reuther created interest in several of his speeches was to refer to the significance of the occasion, as the 1966 convention will illustrate:

As Brother Schrade has indicated, this 20th Constitutional Convention coincides with the 30th anniversary of our Union. In the last week of April and the first part of May, 1936, a handful of delegates met in South Bend, Indiana, representing less than ten thousand workers throughout the United States and Canada, and at that Convention they laid the groundwork for the building of this great Union.

I believe that as we look back we can say these have been 30 years of progress for people. During those 30 years we have written, I believe, some of the most glorious chapters in the history of the American and Canadian labor movements. We dared to join together. We dared to march together, and when needed we dared to fight and to struggle together. Because we did we have been able to translate many of the dreams that were just dreams 30 years ago into practical and tangible reality.⁵

⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 41.

⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 19.

At still another convention, Reuther stated that the convention delegates met as the most democratic free trade union in the world.⁶

The writer did not note any introductions not falling in to Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell's suggested methods of introduction. A customary Walter Reuther introduction began by an acknowledgment of the chairman and guests followed by one of the several means for creating rapport discussed above. Then Walter Reuther followed with a statement about the major problems that the world was facing. While the words may vary from version to version the essential idea remained the same. Reuther expressed this characteristic point somewhat as follows:

We meet today in perhaps the most difficult period in the history of human civilization. Everywhere in the world there is fear and uncertainty in the hearts and minds of people. They are worrying about what is going to happen tomorrow. Everywhere, like the people in our Union, the people in the United States and Canada, people are worrying about the peace. The question of peace transcends every question that we face as free people.⁷

⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 7.

⁷UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 8.

Thus, the introductions of Walter Reuther exhibited a variety of means to win the good will of the audience, including humorous anecdotes, compliments to his audience, and references to the significance of the occasion.

The Speech Conclusion

The constitutional convention addresses of Walter Reuther were short, sometimes almost abrupt in nature. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell list four possible types of conclusions: 1) purpose sentence, 2) summary, 3) appeal, 4) illustration quotation.⁸ Of these four kinds of conclusions, Walter Reuther characteristically used the appeal conclusion:

In this form of conclusion the speaker directly asks his hearers to agree with him or to take a certain action, or he pictures to them the possibility of a brighter future if they think and act as he suggests. The appeal ending is a useful way of concluding a persuasive talk.⁹

Here are two examples of the way Reuther uses the appeal conclusion:

⁸Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, pp. 242-243.

⁹Ibid., p. 243.

I raise a slogan which I think appropriate for this Convention. We need teamwork in the leadership and we need solidarity in the ranks. If we get that out of this Convention there is no power in the world that can stop the kind of a movement that we have. The irresistible power that we will have can overcome all of the obstacles. Let us demonstrate in this Convention the power, the good sense, to pound out that kind of a program, to put our house in order so when we leave here we can leave with banners flying high, and I am confident that together we can work and fight and we can make our contribution in America and in the world in the building of that better tomorrow, that brave new world based upon peace, plenty, freedom, and the brotherhood of man all over the world.¹⁰

I say let us work together in this Convention. Let us build together in this Convention. Let us go back home, let us work at the bargaining table together. If we work together and build together and march together, yes indeed, if we fight together, I say no power can stop us from willing together in 1955.

Thank you and God bless all of you.¹¹

One phrase which seemed characteristic of the speaker's conclusions was "I am confident this convention will pound out" The writer noted this phrase occurring in most of the conclusions analyzed in this study.

Thus, Walter Reuther's conclusions were short and simple appeal endings.

¹⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1947, pp. 18-19.

¹¹UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 17.

The Speech Body

According to Thonssen and Baird, a critical analysis of speech structure should proceed from an awareness on the part of the critic that an effective speech adjusts its arrangement pattern to achieve some advantage from the audience. Many effective speeches stand as refutation to the belief that a particular way of organizing materials should be followed. The careful critic will avoid imposing a predetermined structural scheme upon speeches for analysis. Instead, he will carefully evaluate a speech until he can designate the emergence of a central theme. Next, he will determine how the speaker divided and arranged his ideas.¹²

The authors describe three ways that a speaker might present his ideas.¹³ The speaker may arrange his speech following an historical or chronological order. If this method is followed then ideas may be divided into time units. Arrangement may be from past to present to future, or any other reasonable derivative of that pattern. The speaker may use the distributive or topical pattern of

¹²Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948), p. 397.

¹³Ibid., pp. 395-397.

arrangement. When he uses this method a series of topics are analyzed with the parts adding up to a complete analysis of the subject. The division of the material may be capital and labor, for example; or Northerners and Southerners; or economic, political, and social. The speaker may also divide his subject according to proof requirements implicit in the problem-solving technique, or the issues involved. This method the authors designate as the logical pattern.

Thonssen and Baird point out that these representations are not meant to suggest that a speaker will use a single method of division. In fact, a speaker may well use a combination of patterns of arrangement within a given speech.

Patterns of Arrangement

As a result of following Thonssen and Baird's procedures for discovering the organization of a speech described above, the writer could detect no apparent central theme. Moreover, the one predominant pattern of arrangement which the writer found in Reuther's convention speeches was the distributive pattern. Walter Reuther talked about topics related to economic issues and then political action

issues or vice versa. The sample speech outline included below will illustrate Reuther's topical pattern of arrangement. In addition, all of Reuther's addresses studied imply a problem-solution approach to the economic and political issues discussed in each speech. Reuther's collective bargaining and action proposals can be looked upon as "plans" to remedy "needs." It should be stated, however, that the logical pattern of a problem-solution speech was not explicitly observable. It was an implied and almost unconscious organizational scheme.

Whenever Walter Reuther discussed the collective bargaining gains of the past, he reverted to an historical pattern of development such as the following:

- II. In 1945 and 1946 we struck for a price increase without a wage increase.
- III. In 1948 we pioneered two new concepts.
 - A. Cost of living allowance.
 - B. Annual wage improvement.
- IV. In 1949 we nailed down pensions at Ford.
- V. In 1955 we got the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit plan.
- VI. In 1964 we won greater wage and fringe benefits.¹⁴

¹⁴From the writer's outline of a speech from UAW, Proceedings, 1966.

Thus, Walter Reuther's patterns of arrangement tended to be predominantly distributive or topical patterns. However, the writer noted implied problem-solution patterns in all speeches. Occasionally within some texts of Reuther's speeches, an historical pattern was also noted.

The Speech Outline

The writer found that each speech followed a similar outlining pattern. Thus, the sample outline which follows is not only a resume of that particular speech but also an example of many of the main points of the other selected addresses used in this study. The outline which follows shows that Reuther's speeches were not tightly organized structures; they were more a series of related, sometimes loosely related, topics with no particular over-all logical order of arrangement.

19TH CONVENTION--1964

Introduction

- I. We have come to discuss programs and policies.
- II. This is important because it affects people.
- III. Before I begin let me thank all the officers of this union for their help.
- IV. We live at a time of revolutionary change in the world.
- V. We have learned that our union does not live in a vacuum and that the total environment needs improvement.
- VI. 1964 will be a year of great opportunity at the bargaining table.

Body

- I. The UAW lost a great friend in John Kennedy.
 - A. We will present the social justice award to his brother, Robert.
 - B. Lyndon Johnson, who will address this convention, will carry on the programs of John Kennedy.
 - C. President Kennedy's greatest contribution was his attempts to guarantee peace in the world.
 - D. What good is a new contract if the world is destroyed?
 - E. We spent 120 billion dollars on nuclear weapons we dare not use.
 - F. I recall Kennedy's plea to end the arms race at the U.N.

- II. We don't need a nuclear arms contest. We need an economic abundance race.
- III. As an American, I believe our system can win the fight against poverty.
- IV. Collective bargaining gives us the opportunity to translate material values to achieve a better life for all people.
- V. President Johnson is to be commended for his war on poverty.
 - A. I telegraphed our full support.
 - B. We will bring this convention a program on the war on poverty.
- VI. We will address ourselves to the question of civil rights.
 - A. The Civil Rights Bill will not solve the problems of civil rights.
 - B. As I said at my speech at the Lincoln Memorial, all people of good will must join together and win this fight or all reason will be lost.
- VII. And we must provide medical care for older citizens.
 - A. The Kennedy medical bill has thus far been blocked in Congress.
 - B. We have told all the companies of our membership that we will support medical care through social security.
 - C. The companies will pay the entire medical insurance fee in 1964, we serve notice of that.
- VIII. We need to work for full employment.
 - A. We need to learn how to share our abundance.

B. We have not learned since the thirties how to distribute our wealth.

C. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

IX. Profits are at an all time high from 1953 to 1963.

A. Business Week says profits for 1964 will be at an all time high.

B. U.S. News concurs.

C. GM is breaking records--1.5 billion after taxes in 1963.

1. GM made \$3.80 per hour of work in profits.

2. They have 2.5 billion dollars in cash reserves.

3. We intend to lighten their burden.

D. Even Chrysler had record profits and Ford, too.

E. Yet Henry Ford contends that profits are lagging.

F. Perhaps he's spending too much on his daughter's coming-out party, new yacht. He made nearly five million dollars in profits.

G. The average Ford worker would have to work 729 years to make that much money.

H. Ford isn't worth that much.

I. Whenever we want higher wages its inflationary--their logic is nonsense.

X. We need to establish a dynamic balance in our economy to create greater economic growth.

A. The worker and the consumer have been short-changed.

- B. The business interests reverted back to form after Ford's first 100 days--they didn't learn their lesson.
 - C. They need to learn that they must create conditions for full production.
 - D. A million dollars means little to Ford but a lot to workers who will have expanded purchasing power.
 - E. We make progress with the community, not against it.
 - F. The worker is entitled to greater equity.
- XI. We are going to make progress for the workers this year and pioneer some new concepts.
- A. In 1948 we developed the cost-of-living improvement.
 - B. In 1949 and 1950 we developed our pension program.
 - C. In 1955 we established Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.
 - D. In 1964 working conditions will have top priority.
 - 1. We want more relief time.
- XII. We will give high priority to employment-creating programs.
- A. An early retirement program.
 - B. General pension improvement of funds.
 - C. We want improved insurance programs.
 - D. We want longer vacations.
 - E. Improve overtime provisions.

- F. Reduce the workday or workweek.
- G. More paid holidays will create jobs.
- H. Have the employer pay the insurance plan.
- XIII. We want wage increases.
- XIV. We want improvements in Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.
 - A. We are close to an annual wage.
- XV. We will call a small parts convention.
- XVI. We will address ourselves to the question of automation.
 - A. Look what happened to Studebaker.
 - B. We should demand preferential hiring rights.
- XVII. We ought to protect the pensions of small parts employees who lose their jobs.
- XIX. There are a number of special problems.
- XX. We need sound economic programs, a united union, and preparation for bargaining in 1964.
- XXI. We need to wage an effective campaign on the political front, too.
 - A. Some states passed legislation against Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.
 - B. Senator Goldwater is our best publicity agent.
 - C. We need to get voters registered.
 - D. We have to talk the issues.

Conclusion

- I. Let us work together toward a stronger union.
- II. Thank you.

The outline of Walter Reuther's 1964 UAW convention address discloses several interesting facets of the speaker's ability to arrange ideas. The speeches were not tightly organized and they are difficult to outline. There were few transitions between points and one can speculate that the listener could have difficulty in determining where one idea started and another idea ended. Also, from point XII to the conclusion of the speech, Reuther characteristically lists a string of specific suggestions for the solution of at least some of the problems discussed in his speech.

Moreover, since Reuther's speeches followed a topical pattern rather than a logical pattern, neither a deductive nor an inductive pattern of organization was carried over in an entire speech. However, many arguments tended to be deductively organized. Reuther's general method of argument was to apply a general premise to a particular case. For example, in refuting the argument of big business that the guaranteed annual wage would

destroy the worker's incentive, Reuther's premise was that incentive is not the same for a worker as for an executive. The UAW president then gave three examples of the huge salaries and wages of the automobile executives to support this contention.

VIII. The incentive argument against the guaranteed annual wage is one thing for an executive and something else for a worker.

- A. Mr. Curtice makes \$329 an hour in salary and wages.
- B. Mr. Sloan has an hourly wage of \$2178 per hour.
- C. Sixty executives were paid 12.6 million dollars.¹⁵

According to Moyne L. Cabbage, who interviewed Walter Reuther, the UAW president stated that he had no specific agenda to his speeches.

After analyzing Walter Reuther's arrangement of ideas, this writer concluded that the union addresses of Reuther did not differ from the arrangement of ideas found in Cabbage's study of speeches on public policy to nonunion audiences.

¹⁵From the writer's outline of speech from UAW, Proceedings, 1955.

Walter Reuther's convention speeches to UAW delegates are not models of well organized speeches. As the following sample of Reuther's own notes illustrates, he usually listed a long series of points or priority subjects in topical fashion and this constituted the whole of his arrangement preparation.¹⁶

According to Frank Winn, special assistant to the president, Reuther used the following notes and all such notes to speak from extemporaneously. It seems that Reuther did not use any fuller outline.¹⁷

Conclusion

In summary, Walter Reuther arranged his speeches by characteristically listing a long series of topical points. The distributive or topical pattern of arrangement was invariably used as the basic organizational scheme with segments of each speech suggesting logical or historical patterns of development.

¹⁶ Speech notes found in Cubbage's study pp. 124-127.

¹⁷ Interview with Frank Winn, Special Assistant to the UAW President, March 14, 1969.

from y pol + red bud

Bred ex in sound chris

Armen bone —

Bot- Brand + Fred

Heavis Conforce

Russion ~~can bed~~

shul — Dadythyyey

Long Range Slope

lodral shift — left rest

Reuther's introductions gained the attention of his audience through a variety of means, including humorous anecdotes, complimenting the audience, referring to the significance of the occasion, and stating his purpose directly. Reuther's conclusions were short and simple appeal endings.

Thus, in conclusion, Walter Reuther's international convention speeches are not examples of clearly organized speeches. The best that can be said about Reuther's arrangement is that the speaker's presentations are neither disorganized nor well organized. They are simply loosely organized speech models.

CHAPTER VI

STYLE

Style according to the rhetorician Hugh Blair is "nothing else than that sort of expression which our thoughts most readily assume."¹ Under the older title of elocutio, style was regarded as the third part of rhetoric. It referred to the way in which the speaker clothed his ideas with language. The conception of style can be studied by the critic in terms of the qualities that contribute to its excellence, including correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and impressiveness.

Correctness refers chiefly to word choice or to usage. The rhetorical critic should evaluate the correctness of the speaker's language by determining whether his words are reputable and in current use.

Barriers to clearness include (1) a defect of expression or an overconsciousness; (2) faulty arrangement of words; (3) using the same word in different senses;

¹Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (London, n.d.), p. 103.

(4) uncertain references in pronouns and relatives; (5) artificial or complicated sentence structure; (6) the injudicious use of technical words and phrases; (7) extremely long sentences.

Style must be appropriate to the audience, the occasion, and to the speaker himself. The following list may assist the critic in his analysis of style:

Elements of Clearness. The following elements assist in achieving clearness in speech:

- A. Thorough knowledge and understanding of the ideas
- B. Discerning word selection
 - 1. Appropriateness of the words
 - 2. Currency; popular usage of the words
 - 3. Reputability of the words
 - 4. Intelligibility of the words
 - 5. Variety; adequacy of vocabulary
- C. Simplicity of sentence structure
- D. Use of definitions to clarify ideas
- E. Use of examples
- F. Use of illustrations
- G. Control over details in the speech
 - 1. Avoidance of involved elaborations
 - 2. Proper discrimination between the essential and the less essential materials
- H. Orderly sequence of ideas: organization integrity
- I. Proper transition materials designed
 - 1. To bridge the gap between parts
 - 2. To suggest the direction in which subsequent material will move
- J. Adequacy of logical materials: assumptions, evidence, argument

K. Suitable summaries designed

1. To refresh the memories of the hearers as to the broad outline of the ideas
2. To refresh the listeners' memories as to the interrelation of details within individual points

Elements of Impressiveness. The elements contributing to impressiveness in speech are:

A. The sources of persuasion

1. Logical materials
2. Emotional materials
3. Ethical materials: force of personal character

B. Imagery

C. Variety in sentence structure

1. As to length
2. As to complexity
3. As to form: position of the words

D. Devices for emphasis

1. Repetition
2. Climax

E. Rhythm

F. Tropes

G. Figures²

The following chapter will be divided into five parts: general style, correctness, clarity, appropriateness and impressiveness.

²Thonssen and Baird, pp. 431-432.

General Style

Ancient rhetoricians such as Demetrius and Longinus attempted to classify the total style of the speaker.³ They identified general speech style with such terms as simple, plain, middle, grand, and sublime. However, few modern critics have agreed to a set of objective criteria by which to determine the general style of a speaker.

One method of critical analysis which may be useful is to determine the "readability" of speech texts as an indicator of the speaker's overall style. The readability of a passage is an estimate of the complexity of the language which the speaker uses. The number of words, number of syllables, number of sentences, and the length of sentences are the ingredients used to arrive at this estimate. The basic premise of all readability estimates is that the more complex the language of a speaker, the more difficult it is for the listener to comprehend the speaker's message.

The writer tested samples of Walter Reuther's speeches using the most famous readability estimate, the

³Ibid., p. 107.

Flesch Formula for Readability.⁴ Samples were picked at random, words were counted, sentence length was estimated, and syllables counted. When all calculations were made, the writer found that Reuther's speeches were at the middle range of Flesch's scale between easy and difficult; it was at the range which Flesch designates as "fairly difficult" to read. Thus, if readability is a reliable and valid estimate of a speaker's use of language, then Walter Reuther's style of speaking, his overall use of language, is "fairly difficult."

Correctness

Walter Reuther's use of language is grammatically correct. However, as was noted in Chapter IV of this study, Reuther does tend to speak at length in the abstract, particularly at the beginning of his speeches. The writer used a list of abstract words in order to describe and compare the union president's use of such terms in his convention speeches. Six convention speeches were studied

⁴Rudolf Flesch, The Art of Readable Writing, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 213-216.

for their abstract terms. These results are summarized in the appendix, page 258. This table suggests that Walter Reuther used a wide range of abstract words in the sampled speeches. Such words as "democracy," "freedom," and "truth," are not specifically defined or concretely specified. Reuther's tendency to speak in the abstract occasionally may be the result of a somewhat limited vocabulary.

Clarity

The writer found that Reuther's speeches contained factors contributing to clarity as well as factors which were barriers to clarity.

Among the factors which aided the clarity of Reuther's expression of thought were Reuther's knowledge of the ideas that he expressed, his use of examples, and adequate use of evidence and argument.

As the writer mentioned earlier in this study, Walter Reuther articulates the thoughts of his lifetime in the American labor movement. When he speaks about collective bargaining issues, he speaks from a background of over thirty years in the labor movement. For more than twenty years, as leader of the second largest union in the

world, Reuther has emmersed himself in the economic and social problems of the contemporary scene. Thus, Reuther speaks from a thorough understanding of the issues which he discusses.

Moreover, once Walter Reuther goes beyond his survey of world problems, he makes abundant use of statistical examples, specific examples, and illustrations to clarify as well as develop his ideas. The following illustration is representative of Reuther's stating an idea and clarifying through the use of examples:

And when you look at the salaries and the bonuses that the automobile industry is giving its top executives, you can understand how badly we are being short-changed.

The chairman of the board of the General Motors Corporation received in salary and bonus in 1965 a sum 99 times as great as the average General Motors worker--not counting his [the chairman's] stock option bonus.

The chairman of the board of the Ford Company's salary and bonus was 78 times greater than the average wage for the Ford workers, not counting \$4 million that he got in dividends.

And the chairman of the Chrysler Corporation's salary and bonus, not counting his stock option, was 65 times greater than the average wage and salary of the Chrysler worker.

And I say to you that we ought to say to them that nobody in America is 99 times better than another worker working for the same corporation.⁵

⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 28.

Then, too, Walter Reuther's clarity of expression was aided by his excellent use of evidence and argument. Reuther was in the enviable position of having a research staff find recent and cogent evidence to support his contentions. The UAW President used an abundance of factual data to support his arguments and, thus, both evidence and argument were strong in all of Reuther's convention speeches.

But the writer also noted barriers to clear communication of ideas. Clarity was hindered by a lack of variety in his choice of words, a tendency to digress from the point he was making, and lack of suitable summaries and transitional materials.

Walter Reuther tended to overuse such words as "fight" and "struggle" and "nailed down." For example, in his 1966 constitutional convention speech, Reuther "nailed down [italics added] the annual wage improvement factor." Later on he nailed down pensions. Still further, he hoped the convention would nail down the 1967 collective bargaining demands. Often, Reuther's sentences were unnecessarily redundant: "No President in the history of our country came to that high responsibility better prepared

to assume those responsibilities [italics mine] than Lyndon Johnson."⁶ Or consider the following: "And now, with respect to the economic demands, we believe that in 1964 we should give top priority to those economic demands."⁷ A greater range of vocabulary would help to improve Reuther's clarity of expression. The speaker needs to make greater use of synonyms and pronouns.

Walter Reuther's clarity of expression is also hindered by a tendency to digress from the point he is making: "But our industry and especially good old GM-- they always break the records. I was reminded the other day of the way Leo Krzycki" ⁸ One of the convention speeches ended with Reuther's saying he wanted to make one final point and he then proceeded to make several points before concluding.

Finally, Walter Reuther's speeches lacked transitional materials and suitable summaries as clarity devices. Proper transitions would have helped bridge the gap between the parts of Reuther's speeches. Transitions would also

⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1964, p. 42.

⁷Ibid., p. 49.

⁸Ibid., p. 46.

have helped to suggest the direction in which subsequent material would move. Internal summaries would have helped refresh the listener's memory as to the interrelationship of details between points. Terminal summaries would have refreshed the memory of the hearer as to the broad outline of the ideas. Transitions and summaries would have helped clarify Reuther's ideas.

Appropriateness

Walter Reuther's use of language was found to be appropriate to the audience. Reuther spoke to automobile workers, most of whom had no more than a high school education. Therefore, it was necessary for Reuther to speak in plain and simple language to these delegates and in a language which the delegates could easily understand.

The UAW President did this by employing words and phrases which occur frequently in the language of the average worker. Idiomatic words such as "hell bent," "basic guts," "bellies," "cock-eyed," "kids," "price tag," "wooden nickels," "Commies," "cure-all," "sacred cow," "ugly head," and many others were noted throughout Walter Reuther's speeches. They were the slang expressions of

common people, and if Kenneth Burke's theory of identification has any merit, Reuther's language built a common bond between the speaker and his audience.

In addition to using the idiomatic language of daily conversation, Walter Reuther spoke in the jargon peculiar to the labor union movement. He frequently used terms such as "racketeer," "rank and file," "the boys in the foundry," "the guys," "scale," "bread and butter issues," "picket lines," "speedup," "old-timer," "time clock," "strike," "sit down," and "stool pigeons."

Finally, Walter Reuther used many commonplace phrases such as "nothing on a silver platter," "off your rocker," "when the chips are down," "the facts of life," "get off their fat bottoms," "go fly a kite," "a buck forty an hour," and many other common phrases. To a more sophisticated audience such phrases would be classified as cliché language and would be wholly inappropriate, but to automobile workers such language is perfectly appropriate.

Impressiveness

The writer critically analyzed Walter Reuther's constitutional convention addresses using the following list of stylistic figures:

A variety of figures enlivens and dramatizes argument. Here are other figurative language usages to suggest ways of increasing your repertoire of verbal imagery.

Allusion: Metaphor referring to a well-known incident--"the ghost of the coalition returned like the ghost of Banquo."

Apostrophe: Absent addressed as though present and the inanimate as if intelligent and present--"Come to the bridal chamber Death," and, "Alma Mater, we love thee."

Antithesis: Things mutually opposed--"Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven."

Synecdoche: The name of a part denotes the whole or the name of the whole denotes a part--"Give us this day our daily bread" (meaning sustenance generally), or "the new world of television."

Simile: A likeness is pointed out in things otherwise unlike--"the tobacco habit settles upon one like a vampire and sucks his blood."

Figurative Analogy: A simile in which the identity is one of principle, and commonly of greater complexity than the usual simile:

"I think a politician might well remember that, while it's true that people don't shoot Santa Claus, they finally did plug Jesse James. I hope our politicians right now will be very careful not to slap more taxes on the U.S.A. I'd go back and read what finally happened to Jesse James."

"Communism is like a colony of ants."

"We must not try to patent the process by which Americans are made, or we will get an assembly-line product."

"Propaganda is a blitzkrieg of incendiary bombs."

Hyperbole: Intentional exaggeration is used to make a point--"The referees didn't let either team touch the ball during the first half."

"Minnesota opened holes in the Nebraska line as big as Grand Canyon on visitor's day."

"Socialism means to control the American family--to control the father, control the mother, control the child. That means the end."

Understatement: Reversed hyperbole, the drawing of a conclusion so extremely conservative in nature that it offers striking contrast to the expected conclusion. An example is the comment of a neighbor after two members of a religious "whipping cult" had been beaten to death, "Now, I'm certainly in favor of religious freedom, but this is, perhaps going too far."

Euphemisms: Euphemisms are language devices chosen because they are more socially acceptable than their synonyms. Usually a euphemism is an avoidance of direct communication. The euphemistic circumlocution is illustrated when, in talking about the death of a friend, we say he "went to his last reward" instead of saying "he died." Society demands rather peremptorily that certain words in our vocabularies be suppressed and their euphemistic equivalents used in polite communication.

Two-Valued Orientation: The small number of words available compared to an infinity of circumstances to be described plus a naturally understandable desire to simplify complex social phenomena result in a source of language distortion termed "two-valued orientation."

We tend to describe people in extremes as saints or sinners, as good or bad, intelligent or stupid, handsome or homely, intriguing or stodgy. Inaccuracy comes about because of our failure to recognize a middle ground.⁹

⁹Winston L. Brembeck and William G. Howell, Persuasion: A Means of Social Control (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1952), pp. 156-157.

Allusion

Walter Reuther did not make great use of literary allusion, but he did occasionally use this metaphorical device.

Biblical allusions were perhaps most characteristic of Reuther's style.

You know, the good book says that Christ, the great Carpenter, had to drive the money changers from the temple, and back in 1932 Franklin Roosevelt . . . [moved] the capital from Wall Street back to Washington.¹⁰

. . . and the dignity of every human being in our free society, regardless of the color that God gave that individual when He made him in His own image.¹¹

Reuther also alluded in his speeches to passages from well known speeches and paraphrased the basic idea. For example, he paraphrased a famous line from Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in his 1959 speech: "Most important of all, let us together rededicate ourselves to the work that lies ahead."¹² In his 1966 speech, Reuther paraphrased the words of Winston Churchill in describing

¹⁰UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 53.

¹¹Ibid., p. 58.

¹²Ibid., p. 60.

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the automobile company executives "That never have so few with so much offered so many so little."¹³

Antithesis

The juxtaposition of antithetical thoughts was another figurative device noted in Reuther's speeches. Walter Reuther repeatedly used the phrase "the little men of big business" in his convention addresses. Other examples included such phrases as "They gave us nothing on a silver platter" and "too old to work and too young to die." Reuther did not make abundant use of antithesis, but he did occasionally use such a device.

Synecdoche

Like antithesis, synecdoche was an occasionally used figurative device noted in Reuther's speeches. He often referred to the "relationship between the bread box and the ballot box" when talking about one's economic

¹³UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 25.

position and one's voting behavior. Or he argued that "the surest way to guarantee to have your ice box filled with good food is to see the ballot box filled with good votes."¹⁴

Simile and Figurative Analogy

Walter Reuther's convention speeches did not contain many similes or figurative analogies. The writer noted no use of the simile and only one outstanding instance of the figurative analogy:

I said to the newspapermen yesterday: when you go into a hospital and you are going to be operated on, the doctors carefully prepare you for the operation, put you on a low-calorie diet. That's to reduce the layer of fat around your vital organs so that the operation can be performed most successfully. And that's good medical practice. But when we sit down at the bargaining table with General Motors and with Ford and these other great corporations, we reverse that medical practice. We say that the heavier the layers of fat the more successful the operation is going to be.¹⁵

¹⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 13.

¹⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 11.

Hyperbole

One of the most frequently used figures of speech in Reuther's repertoire was his use of hyperbole. A representative list of hyperbole would include the following examples. Also note the use of repetition and alliteration.

what good is a wage increase, or a better pension plan, or an improved seniority agreement if the world winds up as a rubble of radiated ashes?¹⁶

We happen to believe in the sovereignty of the government, not the sovereignty of the Steel Corporation.¹⁷

Prices and profits are up in the stratosphere.¹⁸

you didn't see C. E. Wilson or any of the other top executives running around the country with patches in their pants.¹⁹

When you buy what the farmer grows, the farmer gets robbed on his end and we get robbed on this end.²⁰

¹⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 47.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁸UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 9.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 10.

²⁰Ibid., p. 16.

we would have been glad to put a listing of those things that we got out of the generosity, of the milk of human kindness that overflowed from the corporate hearts of America. But they were so microscopic we couldn't find a sign small enough to put them on.²¹

The example above suggests that Reuther's use of hyperbole can sometimes approach irony. He made great use of hyperbole.

Understatement and Euphemism

There was a noticeable absence of understatement and euphemistic language in Reuther's convention speeches. Possibly, this can be explained by Walter's volatile personality. Reuther's message was straight from the shoulder and he pulled no punches. The only euphemism noted was a reference to elderly workers as being in the "autumn of life." Reuther characteristically exaggerated his point rather than understating it or talking around an issue.

Two-Valued Orientation

Walter Reuther's rhetoric did simplify the issues between labor and capital and he did make labor appear to

²¹UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 22.

be the "good guys" and corporation executives the "bad guys." The UAW President refers to the entire labor movement as a "crusade."

In the world, we have to struggle not only to help the hungry people find answers to their pressing economic and social problems, but we have to be the kind of symbol, the kind of moral symbol that when we raise our banner high in the world, will give encouragement and inspiration to people as they search to find a way out of wilderness of despair and darkness and hunger, and ugly, naked poverty.²²

Note the use of "f," "h," and "g" as alliterative language below.

We will not go to the bargaining table just as a routine matter of another bargaining session. We are going there knowing that this is a crusade--a crusade to gear economic abundance to human needs. We plan to give management a little bit of the vision that we have. We would like to show them that great, new world that can be built if free labor and free management and free government and free people can cooperate together in harmony in harnessing the powers of America and gearing that power to the basic needs of people. We hope that they will grasp that vision which is essential to the leadership in this great world crisis. There is no limit to the great progress that we can make, because human progress is as unlimited as the creative genius of the free human spirit.²³

²² UAW, Proceedings, 1959, p. 57.

²³ UAW, Proceedings, 1955, p. 12.

In contrast to the labor movement, "the little men of big business" are described as inhuman profeteers (note also the use of the word "how" as repetition):

We need to let our younger people know what it was like in the early days, how we were beaten up by the gangsters and the underworld goons and how we were shot at and how we were intimidated and how every local union had a high percentage of stool pigeons inside of the local spying upon the local membership.²⁴

When Wilson and the other economic royalists in our industry look down the end of their noses and say an annual wage is unreasonable, we are going to tell them we don't care what you say, we are going to battle for it until our kids get an even break in America with your kids. That is what we are after and we are going to get it.²⁵

The above passages have the flavor of agitational speeches.

Alliteration and Assonance

The writer noted many instances of the use of alliteration in Reuther's speeches, such as "fearless fighter," "a world without war, a world without want," "we hardened under Harding, the country kept cool under

²⁴UAW, Proceedings, 1966, p. 23.

²⁵UAW, Proceedings, 1947, p. 15.

Cal Coolidge and we all got hungry together under Herbert Hoover," "the struggle to give people priority over profits" among many others.

Strangely enough, while Reuther used alliteration often in his speeches, the same cannot be written of the use of assonance, which was not noted in any of the speeches.

Metaphor

Walter Reuther's figurative imagery often had economic implications such as sharing "the fruits of our developing technology," "economic justice," "families on top of the economic pyramid," "a nickel in our pay envelopes," and "we won't be payed by the wooden nickels of inflation."

Still other images were simple colloquial phrases common to a worker's vocabulary. He used such common expressions as "milk of human kindness," "off your rocker," "search their souls," "a sacred cow," and others equally well known. Walter Reuther's language was full of metaphorical images.

Parallelisms

The writer noticed that Reuther used parallel words and phrases as a stylistic device. In his 1947 speech, for example, he used the word "people" in parallel sentence structure. Again, in his 1951 speech he stated:

Ask the boys in Fruehauf who have lost their jobs; ask the boys in Reynolds Spring; ask the boys in Motor Products; ask the boys in dozens and dozens of plants where they are losing work to unorganized shops because the rates are 50 and 60 and 80 cents an hour less than in their organized shops.²⁶

Pronouns

A comprehensive analysis of six of Reuther's speeches showed that the UAW President made abundant use of personal pronouns. The summary of this data reads as in the chart on the following page.

²⁶UAW, Proceedings, 1951, p. 9.

Personal Pronouns in Sample
of Convention Speeches

	1947	1951	1955	1959	1964	1966
I	63	84	31	68	87	48
You	34	16	10	24	28	1
He	10	17	10	30	42	7
She	0	0	0	0	0	0
We	173	99	253	274	302	290
You	34	43	31	30	33	40
They	86	46	58	95	64	56
Them	6	7	7	4	10	15
Me	3	9	1	6	1	3
Her (objective)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Him	4	0	4	10	6	2
Us	16	10	12	22	11	20
My	2	7	1	1	2	2
Your	6	2	1	7	1	0
His	2	10	10	19	22	5
Her (possessive)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Our	33	43	60	71	72	53
Your	6	7	6	3	1	6
Their	18	18	28	34	32	10

Thus, Walter Reuther used many personal pronouns, especially "we" and "our" which may have helped to personalize his message to his listeners.

Conclusion

Walter Reuther's general language style was fairly difficult according to its readability.

The UAW president used correct language in his convention speeches, but the writer noted the frequent use of many abstract words. Reuther tends to be abstract at the beginning of his convention addresses.

Factors of clarity noted in the convention speeches included Reuther's knowledge of his subject, his use of examples, and his excellent use of evidence and reasoning. Barriers to clarity include a lack of variety in word choice, a tendency to digress, and lack of suitable summaries and transitional material.

Reuther's language was appropriate to his audience. He used words with which the automobile worker could easily identify and understand. He also used union jargon at appropriate times.

Walter Reuther used impressive language in his speeches to the UAW constitutional convention. He used biblical and rhetorical allusions occasionally. Reuther also occasionally used antithesis and synecdoche. Similes, figurative analogies, and understatement were rarely used

in his speeches, but he made extensive use of hyperbole. Reuther used many alliterations, but seldom did he use assonance. Euphemisms were also lacking in his speeches. The writer noted two-valued orientation with labor representing "goodness" and capital representing "badness." The speeches studied were rich with metaphor.

In sum, Walter Reuther's convention addresses were appropriate to his audience. The language was correct, but occasionally abstract. Reuther did not always express his ideas clearly, but his imagery was truly impressive.

CHAPTER VII
PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

Introduction

Thonssen and Baird contend that a broad conception of delivery leads to a fuller understanding of speakers and speaking. They suggest that delivery embraces: 1) the speaker's methods of preparing his speeches, 2) his mode of delivery, 3) nonverbal factors conducive to the speaker's effectiveness, 4) verbal factors conducive to his effectiveness.¹

This chapter will be divided into four sections corresponding to the following questions: How does the speaker prepare his speeches? What mode of delivery does the speaker use? What nonverbal factors influence the speaker's delivery? What verbal factors influence the speaker's delivery?

¹Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948), p. 453.

Preparation

A fuller appreciation of a speaker and his speeches results from acquiring insight into the way he went about preparing his talks. The critic should investigate the speaker's early training and education, his reading and study habits, and his public and private experiences. Through an inquiry into these factors and others, one can determine how a speaker puts together his speeches.²

This writer was able to acquire accurate and specific information about the speaker's preparation and delivery of speeches through Reuther's own testimony on this topic and by discussing this matter with members of his staff who have occasionally had some involvement in the preparation of Reuther's speeches.

Perhaps the most significant point relating to Reuther's general speech preparation is the fact that Walter Reuther customarily will spend very little time in the preparation of his speeches. Reuther's hasty preparation produces an often times poorly arranged speech which was already noted in the chapter on the arrangement

²Ibid., p. 436.

of the speaker's messages. There are occasionally unnecessary repetitions and digressions in his speeches.

The absence of detailed and long preparation may be the result of a lack of time in Reuther's busy schedule to devote to this activity. Walter Reuther must deliver one or two major speeches each week in the year. Reuther is so besieged with demands for his time that the preparation of a speech does not have high priority with him. Speech preparation is wedged into other activities and is only accomplished whenever it does not interfere with other matters.

But while Reuther's preparation for a specific occasion may be slight, in a real sense every speech that he gives is preparation for the speeches which are to come. As was noted in Chapter III, Reuther says many of the same things to all types of audiences. The characteristic of Reuther to repeat himself led Frank Winn to remark that "if you have heard one of Reuther's speeches, you have heard them all."³ Mr. Winn noted that many famous persons tend to use a common stock of ideas whatever the occasion. In Reuther's case, the Union president

³Interview with Frank Winn, Special Assistant to the UAW President, March 14, 1969.

will adapt his materials somewhat to different types of audiences. For example, Reuther will use more materials related to education if he addresses a group of teachers. Or he will talk about race problems in more detail if he is addressing a civil rights group. Thus, Walter Reuther is always generally prepared since he tends to repeat the same ideas in the same way whatever the occasion.

Walter Reuther engages in general preparation whenever he sees something in the papers or in a magazine which relates to a subject which is important to him. He likes to clip out parts of the paper or magazine for future use in a speech or report. The process of clipping gives Reuther a store of specific information to use within his speeches at a later time:

I keep a speech file myself of newspaper clippings, magazine articles, etc., much of which is clipped on planes or in hotel rooms when I am travelling. Sometimes I have a special envelope for material for a particular speech which is coming up, including the opening convention speech, but I always keep a running file of speech material, including notes I jot down myself. This material stays in my brief case until I am sure it is no longer useful.⁴

⁴Interview by correspondence with Walter P. Reuther, May 23, 1969.

As was mentioned earlier in this study, Walter Reuther also has a staff which he relies upon to supply him with pertinent information concerning any topic about which he might want to speak. Frank Winn, UAW Public Relations Director, stated to this writer that Reuther notifies his staff that he would like information on a given topic by a specific date and the staff members then research the question and submit their findings for Reuther's evaluation.⁵ Reuther explained his utilization of UAW staff personnel and his habit of clipping newspaper and magazine materials to the writer as follows:

I draw on many sources, mostly in the UAW, to provide me with material, usually factual and statistical, sometimes quotations from authorities in specialized fields to buttress an argument or a theory. Among those I may call on are our Research Department, Legal Department, Social Security Department and staff members who work in various other fields. Sometimes I ask that the requested material be typed in large type on speech cards about 5" x 8" which I can insert in the proper place among my handwritten notes. Often I ask these same sources to provide me with printed material--books, periodicals, texts of government, foundation or other types of reports--on particular subjects which I can summarize and/or make notes from myself. In the development of ideas and programs which may become part of speeches, I often have very informal sort of seminar discussions with groups made up of staff members

⁵Interview with Frank Winn, March 14, 1969.

and my fellow officers. These are often unplanned and many times a meeting called for another purpose may develop into such a discussion. I rarely, if ever, ask any of my colleagues or anyone else to write language to be incorporated in my speech and I never ask anyone to help me organize a speech in its final form.⁶

According to Frank Winn, in the early years of the Reuther presidency of the UAW, Mr. Winn and several other staff members prepared a number of speeches for Reuther. But Reuther's final speech was so different that it was decided to abandon the idea.⁷

The only times I have ever read a speech from manuscript have been for radio or TV in order to meet timing requirements. In the 1930's and early '40's, some radio stations and networks used to require, particularly from labor spokesmen and others they feared might be controversial, that speeches be submitted in advance and read as submitted or as finally approved. This is seldom required now, at least not in my experience.⁸

Frank Winn disclosed to this writer that Walter Reuther does try to prepare his convention speeches to the UAW convention more thoroughly than his average speech.

⁶ Interview by correspondence with Walter P. Reuther, May 23, 1969.

⁷ Interview with Frank Winn, March 14, 1969.

⁸ Interview with Walter P. Reuther, May 23, 1969.

According to the UAW Public Relations Director, in addition to assembling information over a period of several weeks prior to the convention, on the night before the opening session of the convention, Walter Reuther will spend several hours working on the speech including drawing his material together and rehearsing the delivery of his message.⁹

Reuther described his preparation of the constitutional convention speeches as follows:

The night before the opening day of the convention I sit down alone in my hotel room and spend two to three hours writing notes in long hand (mixed with a private kind of short hand no one can read except me) for my opening speech to the convention. Since the day before the convention starts is always an extraordinarily busy one, with many last minute details and meetings requiring my attention, this often means I don't get started on my speech notes until after midnight, but I always do this no matter how late I get started. The purpose of writing out these notes in detail is primarily one of organization of the speech.¹⁰

Walter Reuther pointed out to the writer that while his last minute note writing might be considered hasty preparation, the ideas for each convention speech have been emerging over a long period of time.

⁹ Interview with Frank Winn, March 14, 1969.

¹⁰ Interview with Walter P. Reuther, May 23, 1969.

Preparation for the speech is not limited, of course, to this last-minute note writing. The speech consists primarily of two parts: an account of the stewardship of the administration I head over the two preceding years and the policies and programs for the next two years which the International Executive Board is recommending to the convention. The first part I have lived with and have been deeply involved in over the two preceding years; the second part has been discussed and debated among the officers and the Executive Board over a period of months. Some of both parts have nearly always been presented in earlier speeches to larger audiences than the Executive Board. Consequently, when I sit down to make my notes I already have well in mind the areas I want to cover and what I want to say about them; I am not dealing with new and unfamiliar material.¹¹

Walter Reuther told the writer that the general purpose of his speech was to inform his audience about UAW activities and to intensify their beliefs in the goals of the UAW:

My opening speech to the UAW convention is in the nature of a report. I think it has basically a threefold purpose. The first two of these are those I mention in answer to your first and second questions: an account of my stewardship and the proposals for future programs and policies. The third purpose is to restate as clearly as possible the fundamental principles and philosophy of the UAW and its long range goals, and to relate to these ideals our programs and policies, including our past performance and our projections into the future.¹²

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

Reuther stated that he delivered the convention addresses using the extemporaneous mode.

Except for some statistics and figures and perhaps an occasional quotation, I do not read from my notes as I speak, but I have them before me and follow their general outline as a means of keeping the speech orderly and coherent.¹³

When commenting on the importance of the convention addresses, Mr. Reuther noted:

To me, my opening speech to the delegates to the UAW's biennial convention is the most important speech I make during that two-year period. As president of the UAW, my first responsibility is to the UAW membership, and this is the only opportunity I have to speak personally and directly to so large and so widely representative a cross section of that membership. That is why I feel obligated to make as complete as possible this account of my stewardship, this projection of future program and policies and this restatement of our ideals.¹⁴

Mode of Delivery

Many of the observations made in the next three sections are based upon the writer's personal experience as a member of an audience to whom Reuther spoke.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Walter Reuther's general delivery can best be described as highly agitated, energetic, and animated. Voice, gesture, and bodily movement all combine to give Reuther's speech dramatic impact and his delivery effectively helps to communicate his ideas.

Walter Reuther follows the extemporaneous mode of delivery almost exclusively. Since Reuther tends to repeat the same material from speech to speech as mentioned before, each speech is in a sense preparation for future speeches to come. A Reuther speech is the result of slow evolution over time. As the years pass, the statistical information and other developing material will be updated to change with the times, yet many of the basic ideas and assumptions remain constant.

Reuther customarily will speak from notes which he himself has prepared.¹⁵ He likes to use half sheets of blank white paper upon which to write his notes. An examination of a sample of his speech notes disclosed that Reuther likes to jot down key words or phrases about a topic. Occasionally, a single word will suffice and the

¹⁵Notes from Moyne L. Cubbage, "A Rhetorical Study of the Speaking of Walter Philip Reuther on Matters of Public Policy," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1961, pp. 124 and 127.

UAW president does not even bother to number his points. He divides his thoughts in his notes by drawing lines between his points. In addition to half sheets of plain white paper, Walter Reuther will use 5" x 8" cards of information contributed by his staff members. These cards are summaries of statistical data which members of the Public Relations Department and the Education Department have researched for a specific occasion. The speaker will also include clippings from newspaper and magazine articles as part of his speech notes.

Reuther may have as many as twenty sheets of notes for a speech, but they are so sketchy that he never gets bogged down in them. Perhaps because he has essentially expressed the same ideas over and over again he is free from his notes and speaks directly to his audience.

While Reuther experimented with manuscript speaking early in his career as the President of the UAW, he seems to have been dissatisfied with the results and he has all but abandoned the practice.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of Reuther's speaking is the length of his address:

My convention speeches usually last an hour to an hour and a half. A few have run longer. It is a tradition now that the newsmen

4.) Communist offer -

million y. long + deficit ppl

promise low security

price, pol. risk, fuel

Bird strike and drive

Answer from -

- Both Bird & Fuel

Major Conference - early Feb

Russian ~~was to be~~

and - early Feb

total - 194,000

use parts can
were below

Plenty work - Answer

Heavy - 2 and 1/2
up and down

Exhaust { 804,000 190
 604,000 190

every child - my 7 good

you - down down up

covering our convention make up a betting pool as to how long my opening speech will be. Sometimes, at the beginning of the speech, I advise those who have bet on a short speech that they have already lost.¹⁶

This is particularly true of Reuther's convention speeches to the UAW delegates. Walter Reuther will address the assembled delegates for an hour and forty-five minutes or more. In fact, Reuther has joked about his long windedness within his speeches.

Now, at the beginning of each convention I am obligated to make a report, and there are certain people who make bets on how long it will take me to make that report. I spoke at a Freedom Dinner in Detroit last Sunday where I heard a story that I thought was rather appropriate. There were three little boys, each talking about how long the sermons were at their respective churches, and they asked the little Catholic boy how long the priest spoke, and he said, "Well he makes a short sermon." And they asked the little Jewish boy how long the Rabbi spoke, and he said, "Well, our Rabbi doesn't talk too long." And then they asked the little Baptist boy how long his minister spoke, and the little Baptist boy said, "Well, our minister takes the pulpit, and then he takes his wrist watch off his wrist and he places it before him on the pulpit." The little Catholic boy said, "What does that mean?" And the little Baptist boy said, "It doesn't mean a damn thing." So when I place my wrist watch here to make a report to this Convention I have essentially the same attitude towards my watch.¹⁷

¹⁶Interview with Walter P. Reuther, May 23, 1969.

¹⁷UAW, Proceedings, 1962, pp. 55-56.

According to Frank Winn, Reuther believes that his lengthy, eight to ten thousand word speeches are justified since Reuther gets a chance to speak to most of the local leadership only once every two years and he wants his union to be fully informed about the programs and policies of the UAW.¹⁸ Moreover, this writer noted that despite the convention speeches' unusual length, the audience was attentive throughout with little verbal cues of restlessness and fatigue. It may be that the content and delivery of these messages are of such quality as to effectively maintain the attention and interest of his audience over an unusually long period of time. Perhaps the fact that the speech is delivered at the first session of the first day of the convention helps Reuther to maintain the attention of his listeners.

Nonverbal Factors of Delivery

An analysis of the speaker's physical characteristics and action is also helpful in understanding the delivery of the speaker. The first impression of the physical

¹⁸ Interview with Frank Winn, March 14, 1969.

characteristics of the speaker usually occurs while the speaker is waiting to be introduced. Reuther gave this writer the impression of being a cordial, affable person. He listened attentively to previous speakers and reacted to their remarks. He walked briskly to the lectern. As he spoke his posture was erect, and his stance conveyed the impression of a confident man. He was serious in manner as he spoke about the serious problems of his union and the world in general. While he was aggressive and even hostile at times, he was generally controlled and well poised. Indeed, at one convention he personally quieted down a group of delegates in the balcony who had become unnerved at the sight of some outside demonstrators who had come to the convention protesting the war in Viet Nam.

Walter Reuther frequently gestured and seemed to be unimpeded by the stiffness in his left arm. The animated delivery tended to add to the dramatic impact of Reuther's speech.

One gesture which seemed to be characteristic of Walter Reuther was a pointing gesture with the index finger rigidly extended and pointed downward. Cabbage refers to this gesture as the nailing down of a point.

Still another characteristic gesture was the simultaneous extension of both hands with the palms turned inward facing each other as though he were measuring something. Finally, Walter Reuther will occasionally thump the table in order to emphasize a point.

Reuther's gestures were well timed and spontaneous arising out of the stimulus of the moment. They were firm, definite, and meaningful gestures which added impact to the speaker's words.

Walter Reuther spoke directly to his audience and only occasionally did he resort to a brief glimpse at his notes. Thus, he conveyed to his audience an air of spontaneous enthusiasm.

Verbal Factors of Delivery

As was noted in Chapter III, the UAW president will occasionally resort to humor. But Reuther's humorous references are exceptional instances in speeches which are otherwise quite serious and urgent in tone. Walter Reuther's always cogent and serious manner of speaking is an exception to the style of oratory prevalent in the unions and

is another of the differences between him and the old-line leaders.

Perhaps the key to Reuther's effectiveness is the apparent sincerity with which he renders his message. Reuther has stated: "For speech to be truly effective, I think the outer man has to really articulate the convictions of the inner man."¹⁹ The sincerity and conviction with which Walter Reuther speaks was noted by James Wechsler who stated: "He can get fighting mad and the result is often effective Fast on his feet he is rarely flustered . . . and obviously supremely confident that he knows what he is talking about."²⁰

Another characteristic of Reuther's general vocal quality which this writer noted was a harsh and strident quality of voice, particularly when he is indicting business or political figures. Walter Reuther's voice is clear and intelligible, but it is not a pleasant voice. When listening to Reuther's convention addresses, the writer thought that Reuther did not adjust well to the accoustics of the large convention halls. He shouted

¹⁹ Interview with Walter P. Reuther, May 23, 1969.

²⁰ James Wechsler, "Labor's Bright Young Man," Harper's (March, 1948), pp. 265-266.

throughout his long addresses and the writer was of the opinion that he over projected his voice. Cabbage thought that Reuther sounded agitational and the writer felt that Cabbage was making a conservative comment. Reuther sounds very didactic in his convention speeches. He definitely preaches to his audience, that is, he sounds like a fire and brimstone preacher.

Contrary to Cabbage's observation, Reuther did not speak rapidly, at least in his convention speeches. This author timed the oral presentation of one of Reuther's convention speeches and found that Reuther spoke on the average at a rate of 110 words per minute. The average rate of oral speech in daily conversation is about 150 to 175 words per minute.

Walter Reuther pauses frequently to emphasize a thought. Reuther's use of the pause is very effective. The following portion of a convention speech will illustrate how the UAW president utilizes the pause to emphasize his thoughts:

I believe it appropriate when we come together in conventions / that the convention meets in the spirit of the sense of renewed commitment / and renewed dedication / to man's eternal struggle / to extend the frontiers / of social justice / and human betterment, / joining in the over-all task of / building /

a just social order in the world where peace
and freedom and justice / can be the / rich
blessings / of all of the members of the human
family.²¹

Reuther speaks with a general American dialect.
His articulation is distinct and crisp, but not overly
precise. Errors in enunciation include not completing
"ing"; saying "indivijal" for individual; saying "strenth"
for strength; saying "hunderd" for hundred; and saying
"becuz" for because.

Conclusion

Walter Reuther's general preparation of speeches
is hasty perhaps because of the great demands for his
time. Fortunately, Reuther expresses similar ideas from
speech to speech so that each speech is a rehearsal for
future speeches. The UAW president's general preparation
includes keeping a speech file which is periodically
updated. He told the writer that much of his information
comes from his UAW staff members. The writer also learned
that Mr. Reuther spoke from notes rather than manuscript.

²¹UAW, Proceedings, 1968, p. 27.

President Reuther spends two or three hours preparing his notes for his constitutional convention speeches on the night before the speech is delivered. Reuther observed that he developed the ideas of the speeches over the two years between conventions. He told the writer that he considers his convention addresses to be his most important speeches to the UAW membership.

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Mr. Reuther's physical characteristics conveyed a sense of vitality and conviction to his audience. He had a serious demeanor and seemed controlled and well poised. He gestured freely and frequently. Reuther's gestures were well timed and spontaneous arising out of the stimulus of the moment. They were firm, definite, and meaningful

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the writer would stress the importance of taking into account all relevant historical and rhetorical factors when evaluating the effectiveness of the speaker. When this critical test is applied to the speeches of Walter Philip Reuther at the UAW constitutional conventions, then Reuther must be judged an effective speaker. The union leader spoke with knowledge on a wide range of topics. He argued cogently and with complete mastery of his message content. He sensitively probed the psychological dimension of the rhetorical situation, and he spoke with a winning sincerity.

Moreover, Walter Reuther's topical pattern of speech arrangement is a practical method of arranging the numerous ideas he chose to discuss at each UAW convention. Indeed, even Reuther's repetition of ideas from speech to speech may be considered as effective rhetorical strategy since each convention audience brings with it

new delegates who may not have heard Walter Reuther express his ideas.

Thus, when all important rhetorical variables are examined, Walter Reuther must be judged an effective speaker.

The purpose of this study was to present a rhetorical analysis of the constitutional convention speeches delivered by Walter Philip Reuther at the conventions of the United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

The speeches selected span twenty-one years during which time Walter Reuther delivered eleven speeches to the UAW convention delegates. The writer found that the published UAW Proceedings were fairly accurate texts when he compared speeches published in the Proceedings to electronic tape recorded versions of the convention speeches.

Primary sources of information included the published Proceedings of the constitutional conventions of the UAW, personal correspondence with UAW officials and the speaker, and personal interviews with the staff members of the UAW. Secondary sources such as books, periodical articles, newspapers, and unpublished works were evaluated in a bibliographical essay in the introduction to this study.

The plan of analysis for this study included an introductory chapter which stated the significance of the study; the questions to be answered by the study; sources of information used in the study; and the plan of analysis.

Chapter two set the scene for the rhetorical criticism by tracing the rise of trade and industrial unionism in the United States with special emphasis on the growth of the automobile industry.

Chapter three presented biographical data on Walter Reuther including his ancestry, his early home life, his education, his early development as a speaker, and his rise to leadership in the UAW.

Chapters four, five, six, and seven rhetorically analyzed and criticized Walter Reuther's invention, arrangement, style, and delivery.

Results of the Study

The "Questions to be Answered" enumerated in the Introduction will be used as a guide in summarizing the results of this study.

1. What were the dominant social trends which influenced the speaker?

Historically, early attempts by workers to organize into associations of labor unions were not successful in the nineteenth century until the formation of the American Federation of Labor. The success of the A. F. of L. as a labor association was due to its policy of craft unionism and limited economic goals within the framework of the capitalistic system. Workers' repeated efforts to develop effective labor unions were invariably met by the concerted opposition of management, government, and the courts. Not only was American culture generally hostile toward unions but labor was also beset with internal friction with some unions favoring narrow collective bargaining objectives while other unions sought more sweeping social reforms.

Hostile public, employer, and government attitudes toward unionization mitigated against the formation of a union in the automobile industry until the enactment of the National Recovery Act in 1933 granted the workers the right to organize. The UAW emerged during the Depression after the AFL failed in its attempts to organize the automobile workers. A series of successful strikes against automobile

companies led to recognition of the UAW as the representative of all workers in the auto industry.

Since its formation, the UAW has reeled off a series of collective bargaining contracts which include such innovative features as a cost of living clause, Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, and a modified guaranteed annual wage. In addition the UAW has established a reputation as one of the most progressive unions within the American labor movement. It has insured member rights through a Public Review Board. The UAW has actively supported liberal candidates for public office and molded effective political action campaigns on the local, state, and national level.

Thus Walter Reuther leads a union which is the epitome of the labor trends of American unionism. It is both "practical" and "idealistic" at the same time. While Reuther has attempted to relate his union to social needs, he is deeply committed to attaining economic goals within the framework of the existing economic system.

2. What antecedent conditions in Walter Reuther's life were most influential in shaping Reuther's speaking?

Walter Reuther's boyhood was spent in a family which taught strict religious principles together with a philosophy of social humanitarianism. Walter Reuther's parents taught him a philosophy of social democracy and practical Christianity which cherished freedom, justice, and the right of men to speak freely on current affairs. Thus, Walter grew up in an atmosphere of concern for the ethical implications of economic problems. The home environment was tied closely to local union politics since Walter's father was a union official.

Often on Sunday afternoons, the Reuther brothers debated on a broad range of social issues. Those debates were said to be an important influence upon the speech training of the Reuther brothers.

Walter Reuther has risen from a rank-and-file laborer to the presidency of the UAW. In his youth, Reuther worked in the steel mills of Wheeling, West Virginia and later he worked in the automobile plants of Detroit, Michigan. Thus, Walter Reuther speaks from practical

experience as a common laborer when he addresses the UAW membership.

Reuther attended Wayne University for three years where he engaged in extracurricular speech activities as the leader of the campus branch of the Young Socialists he spent much time as a labor union agitator. Walter Reuther's student days at Wayne provided many extracurricular opportunities to develop his speaking skill. He spoke on street corners agitating for the organization of the workers into unions. He also spoke in support of Norman Thomas' candidacy for President of the United States on the Socialist ticket during the election of 1932. Thus even before Walter Reuther became a local union leader, he had developed his speaking ability thanks to his father's instruction and his own practical efforts during his days as a young college student and union agitator.

During the depth of the depression, Walter Reuther's intellectual horizons were broadened by extensive travel through Europe and Asia.

Upon his return to the United States, Reuther became a local union official and swiftly rose to power within the UAW. He became known as labor's bright young man for his strike plans and for such war time proposals

as a plan to produce five hundred planes a day; giving union members a short period of army training to increase their production motivation; and a plan to reconvert government plants after the war.

After the war, Walter Reuther waged a skillful campaign for the presidency of the UAW which he won by a very narrow margin in 1946. Since then Reuther has led his union to many pace setting contracts within the industry. He has agitated for a greater distribution of wealth and for labor's greater involvement in the social problems that plague the nation.

3. What were the collective bargaining ideas expressed in Reuther's constitutional convention speeches?

Through the years Walter Reuther has advocated a wide range of specific wage proposals. In the speeches studied, he advocated the need for increases in real wages or purchasing power. Since 1951 all UAW collective bargaining contracts have had cost-of-living clauses which guard against the effects of inflation.

Reuther's speeches also outline job security programs for the UAW membership. These provisions include

improved pensions, Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, medical care benefits and the guaranteed annual wage.

Walter Reuther has also suggested ways to increase employment within the UAW ranks. Increased vacation time was one means of creating more jobs. Reuther has suggested a reduction in hours worked to stimulate more jobs. The UAW leader has gone on record advocating a more balanced distribution of overtime and even a reduction in overtime to encourage more jobs in the automobile industry. Finally, Walter Reuther has consistently advocated a guaranteed annual wage as a means of guarding the worker against periods of economic difficulty.

4. What were the broader economic ideas expressed in these speeches?

In the constitutional convention speeches of Walter Reuther, the UAW president argued that the wealth of the nation was not distributed fairly, thus creating an unstable economy. He took great delight in pointing out the enormous profits of the automobile industry executives who refused to grant pay increases to the automobile workers. One of Walter Reuther's most interesting economic

arguments was that a corporation can cut prices, raise wages substantially, and still realize moderate profits.

Thus, Walter Reuther's economic philosophy was not premised on the inflation-deflation dichotomy, but rather on the notion of a greater distribution of wealth as a means of expanding consumer purchasing power.

5. What were the social-political ideas expressed in these speeches?

Walter Reuther set aside a large portion of each constitutional convention address to state the union's position on legislative proposals. The UAW leader engages in political action because he believes that it is a way to insure that collective bargaining gains will not be curbed by state and federal legislatures which might be hostile to labor.

Moreover, the UAW political action program has never been limited to a few programs of self interest. The Reuther-led union has supported the broad spectrum of social welfare programs such as the poverty program, medicare, aid to education, and civil rights legislation, to mention only a few programs. Walter Reuther believes that collective bargaining problems and social problems are

closely related and that the UAW should seek solutions to the problems of all the people.

Perhaps the major weakness of Reuther's ideas is the universality of his thinking. He tries to solve all the world's problems in a single speech and he might be wise to narrow his subject to some extent.

6. What kinds of materials of development did the speaker use?

Walter Reuther favored the use of statistical examples, comparative statistics, illustrations and specific instances as developing materials. Reuther also utilized quotation, and repetition and restatement to develop a point.

The convention addresses contain an abundance of statistical examples. The heavy use of statistical information is perhaps the hallmark of a Reuther speech at a UAW convention. Usually, the statistics deal with profits made by industry in a given year and they are not restricted solely to the automobile industry. Reuther will also use statistical information comparatively to refute an argument or to illustrate economic growth.

In addition to his abundant use of statistical data, Walter Reuther utilized many case examples in each of his UAW convention addresses. Illustrations were drawn from personal experiences and historical facts with an occasional humorous anecdote to illustrate a point. Reuther also made ample use of specific instances in his speeches.

The writer noted that Walter Reuther seldom quoted a source verbatim. Instead, he usually paraphrased an article or summarized what some famous person was quoted as saying. Reuther seemed to enjoy quoting statements made by the automobile executives and then refuting their position.

Reuther did not make great use of repetition and restatement in any given speech. However, words, phrases, and examples which have occurred in earlier speeches tended to be repeated in later speeches.

7. Did the speaker use his evidence correctly?

When one applies the tests of statistical evidence to Reuther's speeches, one discovers that the UAW president made excellent use of statistical evidence. Reuther provided a sufficient number of statistical instances, usually

two or three examples, to substantiate his point. The examples were, in all cases examined, accurate representations of the information reported. Thus, Reuther's use of statistical evidence did meet the tests of statistics enumerated by Thonssen and Baird.

In addition, the writer learned that Reuther will send memorandums to the Research Department and they, in turn, prepare note cards on any subject Reuther wishes to discuss. Thus, Walter Reuther's evidence is always relevant to a specific topic and the most recent information obtainable.

8. Did the speaker use sound argument?

Walter Reuther's convention speeches to the UAW delegates are characterized by three kinds of reasoning--from example, cause, and sign. While the writer did not note any analogical reasoning, many of the examples Reuther used were comparisons of statistical information, thus suggesting an analogical process.

When Reuther argues causally he usually argues from effect to cause. When critically evaluating Walter Reuther's causal arguments, the writer concluded that his arguments were sound, i.e., they did not contain any

apparent contradictions, although some businessmen would surely dispute his inferences. The causes are usually sufficient to produce the effects he speaks of in his addresses.

Walter Reuther also uses sign reasoning in his speeches as a form of argument. Reuther's selection of examples was large and probably gave the impression of being a representative sample of sign examples. The use of so many examples tightens the probability of safely inferring that big business is in fact robbing the public.

9. Did the speaker refute counter arguments effectively?

Whenever Reuther anticipated a mediating cause or circumstance in his causal link, he refuted the argument in his speech. Perhaps the best example of Reuther's refutative skills is found in his 1955 speech in which he anticipated rebuttal to the guaranteed annual wage and refuted each possible argument. Excerpts of the lengthy analysis of this skillful piece of rebuttal were provided for the reader's analysis.

10. What type of audience and occasion is entailed in these speeches?

The international convention, which is held once every two years, is the highest tribunal of the international union. It is at these conclaves that issues are debated before delegates representing more than one and one half million UAW members. The union goes on record on almost every subject affecting its members, including social, political, and economic issues.

Over 2,500 delegates and guests assemble at these conventions. A composite of the average delegate to the 1959 UAW convention showed that he was male, forty-two years of age, semi-skilled with some high school education, a member since World War II or shortly thereafter, an officer in the local, a participant in union educational programs, who believed the convention fulfills its most important function as a policy-making body.

Speeches play a major role at the six-day convention. Many famous guests have been invited to address the convention over the years, including union leaders, social reformers, celebrities, and political leaders. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson addressed the UAW convention. In fact, the convention averages two major speeches per day.

11. What types of materials of experience did the speaker use?

Walter Reuther's constitutional convention speeches to the UAW delegates were primarily characterized by appeals to selflessness and dignity with occasional moments of humor and sarcasm, and with an undercurrent of struggle and conflict between labor and management.

Invariably, the UAW president began each address by relating the goal of improved economic gain to the more lofty goal of translating democratic principles into realities. According to Reuther, the goal of the UAW is to maintain full-time employment without resorting to the pump-priming effects of war. His motive is largely altruistic rather than selfish.

Walter Reuther made direct appeals to his listeners' economic motives. He usually recited the wage improvement under his leadership and the many fringe benefits shared by the membership. He appealed to the group pride of the UAW delegates. He also pointed out programs pioneered by the auto union.

In addition to appeals to altruistic, economic, and group pride, Walter Reuther made ample use of appeals to fear. Reuther often suggested that the world is

threatened by nuclear annihilation. This was particularly true of the speeches of the 1950's. Reuther played upon the fears of his audience when he suggested that the United States is threatened with economic collapse unless solutions are found for the nation's economic problems.

Walter Reuther made strong use of appealing to patriotism. He has always been strongly anticommunist and he argued in his speeches of the 1950's that the United States should wage an economic war, a war of productivity with the Soviet Union.

Finally, through the years Walter Reuther has increasingly appealed to the humane instincts of his UAW delegates to work for social justice in America. Reuther has devoted much time in his international convention speeches of the 1960's urging the delegates to support social action programs. Reuther's social justice appeals seem to be the least effective of all those studied.

12. Were other psychological components of the speeches effectively handled by the speaker?

Walter Reuther was extremely perceptive in his use of materials of development. In addition, Reuther made effective use of struggle and conflict in order to gain

and maintain attention. Reuther's speeches appealed to economic gain, to altruistic motives, to group pride, to fear, to patriotism, and to social justice. Significantly, Reuther vivified his factual and statistical information through the use of specific illustration. Throughout each address this writer noted an underlying theme of conflict and struggle which added interest to each speech. Reuther's speeches contained taunts and barbs directed at the large automobile corporations and the executives who command positions of leadership. Not even the President of the United States was beyond Reuther's scorn.

In the speeches analyzed, the writer also noted that Walter P. Reuther secured the attention of his audience through the use of visual aids, a barrage of facts, and the rhetorical question. He pointed to slogans within the convention hall. He also maintained the interest of his audience through the use of a barrage of factual data. He characteristically overwhelmed his audience with an avalanche of up-to-date economic information. He cited data on profits before and after taxes; he compared the economic growth of the nation over the years; he cited the growth in wages as compared to profits; he told about

the loss in billions of dollars in underproduction. Walter Reuther is a veritable statistical dynamo who never tires of educating his union to the economic facts of life.

Finally, he made extensive use of the rhetorical question as an attention device. In his 1964 address, the union leader made particularly effective use of this device by using a series of questions to maintain interest.

13. What antecedent factors influenced the credibility of the speaker?

Walter Reuther's personal life is essentially frugal and abstemious. The UAW president has long been noted for his sobriety, industry and indefatigable energy. He immerses himself in union activity, working sixteen to eighteen hours a day. Another facet of Reuther's personality is his inclination to develop a blueprint for a wide range of human social problems.

Walter Reuther is a man of impeccable integrity. His salary is down around the \$25,000 mark per year, which is a fraction of the average salary of most union leaders who receive \$50,000 to \$65,000 per year.

Walter Reuther's social philosophy reflects his father's influence. He is a liberal Democrat.

Reuther stands 5'8-1/2". He weighs about 160 pounds and he is strong and trim. When speaking he usually wears moderately priced suits, white shirts, quiet ties, a dark suit and bow tie. Walter Reuther's most striking features are his red hair and athletic build.

14. What factors within the speech contributed to the speaker's credibility?

Walter Reuther focused attention on the probity of his character by associating his message with what is virtuous; by tempering his praise of the UAW; by condemning the selfish economic motives of the corporation executives; by minimizing unfavorable impressions of himself; by interjecting personal experiences about union and public affairs; and by giving the impression of being completely sincere.

Reuther appealed to the altruistic and patriotic motives of his audience. He lauded the accomplishments of the UAW over the years. His castigation of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler executives helped to increase the respect and esteem of the UAW convention delegates. It is also quite common for Reuther to build his personal ethos by

referring to his own experiences as a worker or as world famous labor leader. Reuther also suggested that he was a man of influence whenever he referred to conversations with famous labor leaders, congressmen, scholars, leaders in foreign nations, and Presidents of the United States. Each speech contains several such references. Reuther especially liked to refer to conversations with the presidents of the large automobile companies which are usually heated verbal battles. Then too, the writer noted that Reuther also seemed to like to refer to his many testimonies before various congressional committees. I would suggest that all these references helped to improve the ethical appeal of the speaker in the mind of his audience.

In addition Reuther increased his ethos by giving the impression of being sincere. Walter Reuther's tone was always serious. He took great pains to analyze the problems of his union and his nation. He provided his listeners with an impressive array of arguments and evidence to support his conclusions. Reuther's basic philosophy has not shifted in the slightest over the years as president of the nation's second largest union. Walter's rhetoric compared favorably with his actions.

Reuther helped to establish his intellectual credentials by common sense economic statements and through revealing a broad familiarity with the interests of the day.

Walter Reuther's wide-ranging interests in politics and social affairs also suggest keenness of mind. Reuther spoke in each international convention address about the pressing problems of the day: peace, poverty, civil rights. Moreover, he, together with the other leaders of the UAW, drafted proposals and programs on wide-ranging topics for the membership's approval. Reuther's many-faceted interests probably leave a favorable impression with the convention delegates.

Walter Reuther did not strive to impress his union audience with his keenness of mind. He was not always tactful and moderate in the ideas that he expressed and his arrangement of speech materials was not as effective as it might have been.

Reuther won the good will of his audience by citing the many economic advances under his leadership. From the beginning of his administration, Walter Reuther has developed a lengthy narrative of the UAW's many collective bargaining successes.

15. What patterns of arrangement, if any, emerged?

The one predominate pattern of arrangement which the writer found in Reuther's convention speeches was the distributive pattern. He would generally talk about topics related to economic subjects and then he would speak to political action subjects or vice versa. In addition, all of Reuther's addresses studied imply a problem-solution approach to the economic and political-social issues discussed in each speech. Reuther's collective bargaining and social action proposals can be looked upon as "plans" to remedy "needs." It should be stated, however, that the logical pattern of a problem-solution speech was not explicitly observable. It was an implied and almost unconscious organizational scheme.

16. What rhetorical strategy did the speaker employ in his introductions?

An analysis of Walter Reuther's UAW convention speeches disclosed that the union president attempted to create rapport with his audience in a variety of ways. He sometimes related humorous anecdotes; sometimes he complimented his audience; and occasionally he referred to the significance of the occasion.

A customary introduction began by an acknowledgment of the chairman and guests followed by one of the several means for creating rapport. Then Walter Reuther followed with a statement about the major problems that the world was facing. While the words may vary from version to version, the essential idea remained the same. He invariably spoke about the problems of the world.

17. What rhetorical strategy did the speaker employ in his conclusions?

The speech conclusions in Walter Reuther's convention addresses were brief. Of the four possible kinds of conclusions listed by Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, Walter Reuther characteristically used the appeal conclusion. One phrase which seemed characteristic of the speaker's conclusions was "I am confident this convention will pound out " The writer noted this phrase occurring in most of the conclusions analyzed in this study.

Thus Walter Reuther's conclusions were short and simple appeal endings.

18. How did the speaker arrange the body of his speeches?

Walter Reuther's speeches were not tightly organized and the writer found them difficult to outline. There were few transitions between points and one could speculate that the listener could have had difficulty in determining where one idea started and another ended.

Since Reuther's speeches followed a topical pattern rather than a logical pattern, neither a deductive nor an inductive pattern of organization was carried over in an entire speech. However, many arguments tend to be deductively organized.

Thus, in conclusion, Walter Reuther's international convention speeches were not examples of clearly organized speeches. The best that can be said about Reuther's arrangement is that the speaker's presentations are neither disorganized nor well organized. They are simply loosely organized speech models.

19. Did the speaker use language correctly, clearly, and appropriately?

If readability is a reliable and valid estimate of a speaker's use of language, then Walter Reuther's style of speaking, his overall use of language, is "fairly difficult."

Walter Reuther's use of language is grammatically correct. However, Reuther does tend to speak at length in the abstract, particularly at the beginning of his speeches.

The writer found that Reuther's speeches contained factors contributing to clarity as well as factors which were barriers to clarity. Among the factors which aided the clarity of Reuther's expression of thought were Reuther's knowledge of the ideas that he expressed, his use of examples, and adequate use of evidence and argument.

The writer also noted barriers to clear communication of ideas. Clarity was hindered by a lack of variety in his choice of words, a tendency to digress from the point he was making, and lack of suitable summaries and transitional materials.

Walter Reuther's use of language was found to be appropriate to the audience. Reuther spoke to automobile

workers, most of whom had no more than a high school education. Therefore, it was necessary for Reuther to speak in plain and simple language to these delegates and in a language which the delegates could easily understand.

20. What embellishments are apparent in the language of the speeches?

Walter Reuther did not make great use of literary allusion, but he did occasionally use this metaphorical device. Biblical allusions were perhaps most characteristic of Reuther's style. Reuther also alluded in his speeches to passages from well known speeches and paraphrased the basic idea.

The juxtaposition of antithetical thoughts was another figurative device noted in Reuther's speeches. Reuther did not make abundant use of antithesis, but he did occasionally use such a device. Synecdoche was another occasionally used figurative device noted in Reuther's speeches. Walter Reuther's convention speeches did not contain many similes or figurative analogies.

One of the most frequently used figures of speech in Reuther's repertoire was his use of hyperbole. There was a noticeable absence of understatement and euphemistic

language in Reuther's convention speeches. His message was straight from the shoulder and he pulled no punches.

Walter Reuther's convention speeches did have the flavor of an effective piece of labor union agitation. He probably did inflame the passions of his listeners at times. Strangely enough, while Reuther used alliteration often in his speeches, the same cannot be written of the use of assonance, which was not noted in any of the speeches.

Walter Reuther's figurative imagery often had economic implications. Still other images were simple colloquial phrases common to a worker's vocabulary. The writer noticed that Reuther used parallel words and phrases as a stylistic device. Walter Reuther also used many personal pronouns, especially "we" and "our" which may have helped to personalize his message to his listeners.

21. How did the speaker prepare his speeches?

Walter Reuther's general preparation of speeches is hasty perhaps because of the great demands for his time. Fortunately, Reuther expresses similar ideas from speech to speech so that each speech is a rehearsal for future speeches. The UAW president's general preparation includes keeping a speech file which is periodically updated. He

told the writer that much of his information comes from his UAW staff members. The writer also learned that Mr. Reuther spoke from notes rather than manuscript.

President Reuther spends two or three hours preparing his notes for his constitutional convention speeches on the night before the speech is delivered. Reuther observed that he developed the ideas of the speeches over the two years between conventions. He told the writer that he considers his convention addresses to be his most important speeches to the UAW membership.

22. How did the speaker deliver his speeches?

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Conclusion

Walter Reuther responded to the question, "Do you think you are an effective speaker?" with the following observation:

I am not the best person to answer this question. I suppose the objective evidence of my years of leadership of the UAW and in some other areas of American life indicates an acceptance of my leadership and of many of the ideas I have advanced. I suppose my effectiveness as a speaker is one reason for this acceptance. I prefer to think that the fundamental reason is the soundness and moral rightness of the ideas I have advanced and have supported. To the extent my speaking is effective, I think it is primarily because I try to speak the truth and that I try to appeal to the reason, the compassion and the idealism which I believe dwells in the minds and hearts of nearly all human beings.¹

As a result of the preceding rhetorical analysis, the writer would argue that perhaps the major factor contributing to Reuther's effectiveness as a speaker is the apparently high credibility Walter Reuther has established over the years as a sincere and diligent advocate of unionism and social reform.

¹Interview with Walter P. Reuther, May 23, 1969.

Frequency of Abstract Terms in Selected Speeches

	'47	'51	'55	'59	'64	'66		'47	'51	'55	'59	'64	'66
Abundance	0	0	10	2	8	3	Justice	5	9	9	13	6	1
Automation	0	0	4	3	3	1	(Injustice)						
(Automated)							Loyalty	3	2	2	2	4	0
Brotherhood	1	1	0	1	6	3	Military	0	0	4	0	0	2
Challenge	0	1	1	7	2	4	Moral	0	1	17	14	7	4
(Challenging)							(Morality)						
Christianity	0	0	0	0	0	0	Opportunity	3	3	5	3	8	5
Commitment	0	0	3	0	4	0	Peace	2	3	28	8	14	2
Communism	1	20	5	7	0	0	Political	14	9	2	3	11	3
(Communistic)							Poverty	1	4	2	2	7	15
Compassion	0	0	0	0	1	4	Power	10	8	29	6	10	10
Courage	2	1	5	1	1	2	(Powerful)						
Crisis	2	1	1	1	0	0	Problem	13	17	25	16	37	15
Democracy	10	5	1	5	1	6	(Trouble)						
(Democratic)							Progress	1	7	10	10	5	10
Dignity	2	4	1	8	5	0	Recession	3	0	4	2	2	2
Economic	28	15	73	55	39	21	(Depression)						
(Economy,							Responsibility	3	8	6	9	8	6
Economical)							(Obligation)						
Education	0	0	1	5	3	4	Rights	2	2	4	0	15	8
(Educational)							Science	0	0	5	1	1	3
Equal	0	2	0	0	4	2	(Scientific)						
(Equality)							Spiritual	0	1	4	0	0	1
Freedom	12	18	36	15	10	8	(Spiritually)						
(Free)							Struggle	7	20	13	16	12	10
God	0	0	1	1	0	2	Truth	0	0	1	5	2	0
Government	6	3	4	3	4	1	Tyranny	0	4	0	0	0	0
Greatness	7	13	17	1	18	10	Values	0	1	8	5	5	0
H-Bomb	0	0	4	0	1	0	War	6	5	14	5	13	8

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