

*Interview returned from
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R O Y K U B I S T A

This is the second installment interview with Roy Kubista taped on December 10, 1983 at the AFSCME offices at 5 Odana Court in Madison, Wisconsin, by Dr. Philip Mason, Director of the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

Dr. Mason: Roy has reviewed the interview of December 17, 1982, has made changes that are being reincorporated.

Mr. Kubista: I would like to make some additions to the first interview. I think I talked about one personality and that was Arnold Zander, the first President, but I didn't talk about the other person who I think was responsible for the growth of the International in the early years and its prestige nationwide--Alva E. Garey. Garey was a product of Wisconsin. He was a native of Edger ton, Wisconsin, and was educated in the Wisconsin public schools, and took a law degree at the University of Georgia. He was very close to the Georgia people. As years went by, when he became an employee of AFSCME, he had very close ties with the people in Georgia and the local unions down there. Garey, after his graduation from college, practiced law in Edger ton and became a state senator in the Wisconsin legislature. He promoted and sponsored some of the first old age pension laws in this country, and in our state of Wisconsin. That was in the

Mr. Kubista: early 1920s, maybe about ten or twelve years before social security was ever thought about.

After his service in the legislature he became Director of the State Bureau of Personnel and was one of the founders of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States in Canada. He hired Arnold Zander originally as a chief examiner of the civil service system, a position, as I've said in the previous manuscript, which was sort of a Deputy Director of Personnel. A. E. Garey was one of the founders of the Wisconsin State Employees Association in 1932 and I think carried, while Director of Personnel, card #5 in the union, and he used to be very proud of that. He then got all of the professional personnel of the State Bureau of Personnel to join the union at that early time. He and Arnold Zander then proceeded to build the Wisconsin State Employee^s Association in those early years. As I've said before, that association was built from the top down instead of from the bottom up.

Garey, in the middle thirties, was hired by the Public Administration Service, a Chicago management organization, for the purpose of setting up merit systems in the cities and counties of California. He spent a year out there setting up the civil service programs in the cities, and counties of California, and many of those civil service ordinances are still there. He worked with the Political Science Department of the University of

Mr. Kubista: California and his handiwork as I've said, remains to this day in those cities and counties. After that he came back to Wisconsin from his leave. By that time Arnold Zander had become the President of AFSCME in 1936, and in 1938 he convinced Mr. Garey to resign his position as Director of Personnel for the State of Wisconsin and to go with AFSCME as a Civil Service Counsel--he was a sort of an in-house-attorney.

Colonel Garey, as I mentioned previously, was a Colonel in the first World War and also in the Second World War. He liked the title of Colonel and everybody called him Colonel. His duties with the International AFSCME were to extend and promote the merit system in this country among the states, and the local units of governments where it didn't exist. Beginning in 1938, his duties were to also promote the establishment of retirement systems in this country, and in the public sector where they did not exist. There were at that time, I think, fewer than twenty states with any kind of merit systems. In fact, I don't think there were that many. There were very few with retirement systems for state employees and except for the protective occupations *and teachers,* ~~police men and fire fighters,~~ there were none for county or municipal employees.

He [Colonel Garey] was an early advocate of the extension of social security to the public sector. I recall going with him to Washington in the early 1950s to

Mr. Kubista: lobby for the extension of social security to public employees. We were successful, if I recall correctly, in amending HR 6000 which was at that time going through the Congress to extend social security to the State, County, Municipal Employees of Wisconsin who were under the Wisconsin retirement fund, ~~alone~~. The rest of the country was excluded because it didn't want social security. The National Education Association and Fire Fighters were fighting social security, they didn't want it extended. The large independent organizations of public employees like the California State Employees Association and the New York Public Employees Association didn't want any part of social security. So HR 6000 went through, but in an amended form extending to the state of Wisconsin alone, under a compact between the state, and federal government--the provisions of social security law. That was Colonel Garey's work. From there on, the law was amended, and again Colonel Garey was active in that effort. Other public employees were included later. Wisconsin teachers didn't come under ^{social security} ~~it~~ until 1958.

I think the primary thing I want to emphasize about Garey is the fact that he became by the process of neglect, on the part of Arnold Zander and Gordon Chapman, the Chief Administrator ~~Officer~~ of AFSCME while the headquarters were still in Wisconsin. Arnold Zander and Gordon Chapman liked to travel and be out of the office an awful lot so the administrative responsibility of running

Mr. Kubista: the International union fell upon Colonel Garey and it was through his efforts, I've always felt, that the International survived in those critical years and by survived I mean that literally. We didn't lose members. We were able to operate within the per capita tax structure without huge deficits. The correspondence got answered and various services were administered.

Dr. Mason: What position did he hold in AFSCME and when did he come? Did he join Arnold Zander from the beginning?

Mr. Kubista: No, he came with AFSCME in 1938. Arnold, of course, had already established himself as President of AFSCME in 1936, in fact in 1935, and was running a going organization with headquarters ~~and so on~~ in Madison, and it was then that Colonel Garey went with the International.

Dr. Mason: From ~~WSCP?~~ WSEAP

Mr. Kubista: No, directly from the Directorship of the State Bureau of Personnel. Well I thought it was worth telling that background about A. E. Garey because I've always felt strongly that he was one of the mainstays of AFSCME in the early years.

Dr. Mason: How long did he stay with them Roy, do you remember that?

Mr. Kubista: He retired in about 1956 or thereabouts, directly after the International's move to Washington. He was against the move to Washington. He owned a home in Madison and he commuted to Washington after they moved, and finally he decided he would retire.

Dr. Mason: Did he have an elected position in AFSCME?

Mr. Kubista: No, this was an appointed position. He was a staffer, and earned a very low salary all those years if I recall rightly. I don't think he was ever paid more than \$12,000 a year, according to what he told me. His pension was very, very small, and the International convention voted him an additional pension from time to time of a \$100 a month. He never came under the International Pension Trust for some reason or another, and I never knew why. And he died in 1971 at the age 88.

Dr. Mason: What was your relationship with Colonel Garey, when did you first meet him?

Mr. Kubista: Well I knew him originally as Director of Personnel when I took over as Executive Secretary of the Wisconsin State Employees Association in 1936, when Zander moved on to International President and I was defeated for Secretary-Treasurer. So I knew Colonel Garey for two years at least while he was Director of Personnel and worked with him in that capacity. He was on the other side of the table, if we can use that expression. But he was always interested in the union, continued his membership, despite the fact that he was Director of the State Bureau of Personnel. So I knew him then and as the years went by, he became sort of my mentor I suppose, in the movement. He was a patrician, an intellectual, an attorney, an expert in politics and political science. We traveled together over

Mr. Kubista: the country to many meetings and did some lobbying in Washington, as I've said about social security, and so I knew him very, very well.

During World War II when he was recalled into the service, he became an executive officer of an ordnance ~~plant~~^{camp} in New Jersey. I don't think he ever went over-seas. I took over on sort of a consulting basis some of the work that he had been doing for the International in retirement and merit systems programs in this country. He had a secretary who was very well trained ~~by the name~~^{She was} of Marjorie Miller, and she did a lot of that work, and I kind of helped her wherever I could until he returned from the service. ~~I mean by he, I mean Colonel Garey.~~

Dr. Mason: Were there any other officials, or people in the administration of AFSCME that we perhaps overlooked whose contribution should be noted?

Mr. Kubista: I certainly think Gordon Chapman's contribution was enormous over the years. I understand you've interviewed Gordon, and he's told you himself what he did. I've always admired Gordon, he was well liked by the membership, I don't think anybody disliked Gordon Chapman. He had excellent public relations and he worked very, very hard. As I've said, he loved to travel and he did some traveling for the state department, I think, when he was over in Japan. He then worked, for some time, for the

Mr. Kubista: state department. But I'm sure you've got some of those details from him. So Gordon Chapman's contribution was an enormous one to the success of the International. He was a good Secretary-Treasurer. A Wisconsin man and an accountant, I think, by training.

Dr. Mason: This information on Colonel Garey and Mr. Chapman will be added appropriately in the first segment of the oral history. I'd like to continue now with the period from 1936 when you joined the Wisconsin State Employees Association. Can you tell me about this first assignment or at least a return again to the ^{WSEEA} WSCA in 1936? What offices did you hold and what were your major assignments?

Mr. Kubista: When I took over from Arnold Zander in 1936, the office was an appointed office, and the Executive Board of the Wisconsin State Employees Association had been set up originally as a policy board with the power to make staff appointments. In that respect we didn't follow what most labor unions do and that is to elect representatives of the union. The officers were elected, and unpaid, but the staff was paid and I was employed as the Executive Secretary on a indefinite basis, there were no contracts of employment, it just continued that way. Arnold Zander started that in the beginning because he thought it was a good arrangement that the Executive-Secretary would serve as long as he did the job, and would be subject to discharge by the executive board at any time when the job wasn't done. I think it was a good arrangement. I was

Mr. Kubista: an appointed employee of the board, and was given certain duties and performed those duties. One of the duties was, of course, the administration of the headquarters office of the Wisconsin State Employee Association. ~~Now there was an organization of unorganized people in the state government who were eligible to join.~~ Legislation was a part of the program which meant registering as a lobbyist for each time the legislature met. Because we didn't have any collective bargaining, we lobbied for wages, hours and conditions of employment for state employees. Public relations was another function of the job which consisted of meetings with different organizations, and radio programs preparations. We didn't have TV at that time to worry about. Other duties consisted of being editor of the Wisconsin State Employee, a monthly magazine which was published until 1970, and generally serving as the administrative officer of the association. Those were the duties and responsibilities. I took them over and attempted to do the job ^{with} ~~and had~~ a staff composed of one person, an office secretary. The secretary and I ran the Wisconsin State Employees Association in those early years, and that went on for a long time. I don't think we got any staff until we were able to hire part-time staff like Bob Hastings, who I originally hired and who later went with Jerry Wurf as Executive Assistant, ^{Bob} ~~and~~ was one of the "Young Turks" who took over the International Union from Arnold Zander in 1964.

Dr. Mason: Do you remember what the approximate membership in the state organization was in 1936?

Mr. Kubista: In 1935 at the constitutional convention we had ~~1,000~~ ^{111 members}.

Dr. Mason: So the state government grew, and your job was to get more and more employees to join the association.

Mr. Kubista: Right.

Dr. Mason: In the period of 1935 to ¹⁹⁷⁰ ~~1970~~ did you always lead the position of executive director?

Mr. Kubista: Yes, always executive director.

Dr. Mason: In the period of 1935 to 1970, what were the major events in the history of the ~~WSEA?~~ ^{WSEA?} ~~WSEA?~~ ^{WSEA?}

Mr. Kubista: Well there were mostly legislative accomplishments and those ought to be written about sometime because I think the ~~WSEA~~ ^{WSEA} had a major impact on state government over those years, with respect to the personnel function. I remember originally that we went after a Wisconsin State Employees retirement system. As I've mentioned there were very few retirement systems in this country for public ~~sector~~ employees in that early period. We had an old civil service law which began in 1905, and I think we had the second civil service law in the country. I think New York came first and there is still some argument as to whether Illinois or Wisconsin came second, but we were right up there with civil service. We went after the first state employee retirement system in 1943, and we got it and that was a major event. I had the great privilege in 1943 to

Mr. Kubista: be working with ^{EDWIN} Edmond E. Witte, who was at that time teaching at the University of Wisconsin and was one of my major professors. As I had graduated ten years earlier in 1933, I still had close contact with ^{EDWIN} Edmond E. Witte. He was on a committee on which I served to draft the first state employees retirement system and to get it through the state legislature. Witte incidentally, as I think you know, was the Father of the social security act, in that he was the Executive Director of Roosevelt's committee on economic security which was headed by the first woman Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins. Well that was one of the first objectives we went after and probably the most satisfying in 1943.

What other highlights? Well in 1943 we got through legislation again to set up one the first COLA programs in this country. I think there was only one cost of living adjustment formula existing at that time and I think that was in the city of St. Paul. As I recall, the state of Wisconsin and maybe Milwaukee city and county were the first ones in the COLA business. That was way before the UAW had a COLA clause in their contracts, ~~of which many exist to this day.~~ So we pioneered the first COLA, we also pioneered the merit increase law in that same year, and developed a structured program of salary progression between the minimum and maximum of salary ranges. All these major accomplishments came in 1943. Then right

Mr. Kubista: after the war the 40-hour, five-day week was established. We had people working 48 hours and many people working longer than that in the institutions throughout the state. After the war when the armies were being disbanded, and the servicemen were coming back, we got the legislature and the governor to go along on setting up a 40-hour, five-day work week and to create jobs for returning servicemen. Well, what else? Accumulated sick leave.

Dr. Mason: What role did the Wisconsin State Employees play in the war effort? Were there any activities from 1940 to '45?

Mr. Kubista: No, except a military leave law that we also promoted, and when I say promoted, I mean that our conventions of the WSEA WSCA would take positions on legislations, and we'd set up a legislative program in the even number years. The legislature met in odd number years, and we'd go after that program by drafting the bills, introducing them in the legislature, seeing them through the committees and finally getting them passed or getting them killed, but that was the process. We used to say that our legislative programs became, over time, recruiting posters for the state civil service systems, which they did. Even though the civil service systems sometimes opposed what we were doing.

Dr. Mason: What other programs did the Association sponsor at the end of the war, for the returning veterans? Were there any plans that you had then, any activities?

Mr. Kubista: No, simply the creation of jobs. It was thought that jobs were going to be a problem for the returning servicemen. As a matter of fact it never turned out that way. I remember going to a legislative hearing in the Capitol regarding the employment and unemployment of servicemen after the war. This job crisis never really materialized that I recall. But our purpose was to institute a 40-hour, five-day work week and thereby create several thousand jobs in state government. The legislature went along. The governor signed the bill and the 40-hour work week was created. As a result of that bill, a great number of veterans did get jobs. However, many veterans chose to go to school on the G. I. Bill.

The other thing we did during World War II was the promotion of a military leave law. Wisconsin had no laws for military leaves when the draft began and the war began. Our members were being drafted, and no provisions were being made for what would happen on their return. As a union we drafted a military leave law and saw it through the legislature guaranteeing the soldiers, first of all, a leave of absence, and secondly, a structure for restoring them to their jobs with the same status they had when they left, plus any merit increases that they may have missed.

We also pioneered legislation to take care of civil service employees who were drafted into the civilian service of the federal government during the war. At that

Mr. Kubista: time the state employment service was federalized by the national government for the war period, and all those state employees became federal employees. It's now called the "job service." We had many problems with respect to their retirement rights, including their salary rights upon their return.

Now you may say, "Where were the civil service people, where was the state government?" Well as a matter of fact, the civil service didn't seem to be interested in that, the people who were running the merit system in our state felt that they ought not be involved in any kind of legislative activity, and this was all legislative activity. They didn't want to lobby, they didn't want to appear in the Capitol, in fact the legislature discouraged them from lobbying or appearing in the Capitol. So that lobbying function became an union function, and the union took it on when it really should have been a management function. They should have been in there saying, "we need this kind of legislation in order to take care of these situations," but it didn't happen that way, and so we pioneered it.

Unemployment compensation for state employees, again a highlight, came about after World War II in a novel way in that ~~the public sector or the state, even up to this time~~ did not pay unemployment compensation taxes like private employers do. ~~The~~ unemployment compensation is

Mr. Kubista: ^{administered on} ~~taken care of by~~ a pay-as-you-go basis. Even today the state and our local units of governments do not pay unemployment compensation taxes.

Dr. Mason: We were just talking about the accomplishments of the Wisconsin State Employees Association. Roy what was your relationship from 1936 to '70 with AFSCME?

Mr. Kubista: Originally the structure of AFSCME provided that all of ^{public employees} the organizations throughout the federal labor unions, throughout the country were affiliated as locals of AFSCME. Thereafter the local unions chartered chapters, and so we had a chapter organization within the local unions. The Wisconsin State Employees Association became Local #1 of AFSCME. It had a number of chapters, for example; the state prison chapter, the state reformatory chapter, the University of Wisconsin had several chapters and so on. Sometime later, I don't how much later, maybe four or five years, the International decided to charter not only local unions but also charter councils of local unions. The council was to be either a state council, or district council, and a service organization. Arnold Zander thought that the International should be primarily concerned with organization. The state councils, and the district councils should be concerned with service to the local unions, because it became obvious that the International wouldn't be able to service local unions all over this country. It didn't have the money and it didn't have the staff. So then the Wisconsin State Employees

Mr. Kubista: Associations became Council 24 of AFSCME and the chapters under the association became local unions--that was the structure.

We were close to the International Union, in the sense that we were physically close here in the city of Madison. I originally prevailed on Arnold Zander to give up the two or three offices that he rented in 1936 in the ~~back~~ ^{BANK} of Madison building on the Capitol Square, and to buy a building on Madison's west side, provided that the Wisconsin State Employees Association rented space in that building, and ~~helped to pay~~ ^{paid} rent and thereby ~~to pay off~~ ^{helped} the mortgage. Well a suitable building came on the market on the west side of Madison, and Zander bought it, and I think the price was \$50,000. It had two stories and a basement. The International took up the second floor with offices and the first floor was devoted to the Wisconsin State Employees Association Administrative offices and a rather large meeting room. So that was our association with the International in the late 1930s and the early 1940s. We were very close physically. We used to play ping-pong with Arnold and with the staff in the basement; have our lunches down there, all of us.

Dr. Mason: And you also got to keep in touch with Arnold Zander during that period because of this proximity.

Mr. Kubista: We were very close until the rift came and this is an interesting piece of history. During World War II the federal government posted signs all over: "Is this trip

Mr. Kubista: necessary?" Don't travel unless you absolutely have to." Arnold took that literally and refused to call a convention, even though the constitution said that AFSCME was to hold an International convention every two years. So I think, the first wartime convention in 1942 was cancelled. I'm just thinking now, maybe not too accurately, Phil, but I think the 1942 convention was cancelled because we got into the war in 1941, and I think the 1944 convention was cancelled also. This created a great deal of turmoil in the Wisconsin State Employees Union. We had officers at that time who felt very strongly that conventions ought to be scheduled and elections held. The officers were elected at that time once every two years. International unions were holding conventions despite the ban on travel. The AFL ^{WAS} ~~were~~ holding conventions, and so our people thought AFSCME ought to have a convention, largely because they wanted to follow ~~the~~ democratic principles ~~and~~ ~~constitutions~~ and have a chance to elect officers.

Well it got so bad that Council 24 officers, the elected officers, began to mimeograph appeals, and sent them out to all the local unions in the country to put on the pressure to have an International convention. All of this typing and mimeographing went on in the basement of the International Headquarters on the office equipment of the International. This created a very sticky situation because Zander came upon some "subversive" material one day and he thought this was terrible. Right in the

Mr. Kubista: headquarters, Council 24 sending out appeals for a convention when his policy was that there wouldn't be a convention. So he ordered Council 24 out. "Move!" There were ~~a great deal~~ ^{many} of bitter feelings, and a lot of acrimonious arguments. Council 24 packed up and moved out of the International Headquarters and into headquarters of their own in the Insurance Building in Madison, and stayed there for the rest of its lifetime.

It's an interesting sidelight and led to, I think, a lot of strange feelings between Council 24, the founder of the International, and its early financier, and Arnold Zander, and over the years that feeling never did quite die out. It lasted all the way up to 1964 when Arnold blamed the Wisconsin Delegation and especially the State Employees Delegation for voting against him in that convention and bringing on the election of Jerry Wurf.

Dr. Mason: Was the campaign by Council 24 and others to call for a convention successful?

Mr. Kubista: No, I don't think it was ever successful. I think the first convention was held finally after the war and I think it was 1946, although I'm not sure. Those dates will have to be looked up.

Dr. Mason: There is correspondence in the AFSCME Archives, Roy, between you and a man in the state of Washington, relating to holding a convention in Seattle at the time.

Mr. Kubista: I think I was one of the culprits, I think I was signing some letters and Harold Springer, who was President of the

Wisconsin State Employees Council at that time, was also signing those letters. We were in the "dog house."

Dr. Mason: Were there issues other than the one of conventions that challenged the leadership of Arnold Zander during this period?

Mr. Kubista: Yes, I think there were on the part of the Wisconsin State Employees movement, and one of them was a continual argument about what Councils were supposed to do and what the International was supposed to do. Arnold's position was that a state council of local unions was supposed to provide organization and service, and Council 24 used to take the position that its function was to provide service and the International was to provide organization. To that Arnold Zander would reply: "The International's function was to organize members in jurisdiction where there weren't any, and that the Council's responsibility was to organize new members in jurisdictions which already existed like in the state of Wisconsin." That argument was never resolved and the International never took any part during those years in organizing new members in the state of Wisconsin, there were no organizers here, and the Council finally did its own organizing. That was one of the key issues that went on for years. That led, of course, to the continual challenge of what is the International doing with our per capita tax. I guess that goes on to this day. But in those years the officers would add up the amount of per capita tax that was going to the

Mr. Kubista: International and then take the position that we ought to be getting something for it. Well Zander's position was that you're being made stronger by the fact that we're using that money to organize in other states. Our officers and members used to take a dim view of that argument, although I think there was a lot of merit to it. The services of the International were not as elaborate as they are today.

The main service that was being provided was the service of Alva E. Garey that I talked about a little while ago, in the area of retirement and merit systems promotion. It was largely a ^{consulting} ~~consolidative~~ service because ~~the~~ Council 24 was doing most of that ourselves here in the state of Wisconsin. And so that was a continual source of irritation; what is the International doing with our money, what are we getting for our money? Members pointed to the fact that about all they were getting was the International's magazine, and they didn't like it. And this of course was resented by Zander and led again to hard feelings.

Another issue that always arose in those years was the running of the International conventions. There were always delegates who returned home tired and angry, and they claimed that they never had any "fun." Conventions were contentious. There was always an argument going on, Arnold Zander was always defending something he had done or somebody else had done. He was being attacked, the

Mr. Kubista: atmosphere was just not very good. Delegates would swear that they would never go to another convention. It was another source of irritation between Council 24 and the International Union, until Wurf came on.

The Wurf years were characterized by a completely different atmosphere in conventions. Under Wurf, delegates would go to conventions and come home "happy." Everything was going smoothly. There were no arguments, there were no contentions, and they'd come home happy, and I think that was a great credit to Wurf--the years that he ran conventions. I observed that he managed to create an atmosphere of good feelings and accomplishments. Zander never did. That was partly due, if I may digress a minute, to Arnold's own personality. Arnold was contentious. If there wasn't an argument there, he'd make one. He believed in being the "devil's advocate." For example, on many arguments I had with him, I knew damn well he didn't believe what he was arguing, but he would take one side and then have somebody argue the other side. I think he believed that creating ^{devisive} issues was a spur to good ^{devisive} membership. It led members to be interested in the union, and maybe he was right, maybe people joined because there were issues all the time. But his issues were so acrimonious and so contentious that I think it turned people off.

Dr. Mason: During World War II and certainly into the 50's there were sources of discontent within the union regarding Arnold

Dr. Mason: Zander's leadership. You've mentioned the issue over per capita; the very closely related issue over the role of the International to provide certain services, and the handling of the International conventions. Another issue that's been listed as a cause of discontent, that came out at the 1958 convention, was the issue of centralization of power, not necessarily the division of power in terms of services but the charge that Arnold Zander was bringing more and more power into the headquarters and in 1958 it would have meant into Washington.

Mr. Kubista: Yes, there was a feeling that there was a centralization of power and I think ~~it was~~ two things that probably gave rise to it; one was the so called "special arrangements" structure that Zander introduced, and that meant, if I recall rightly, that the International would collect the full amount of dues from a local union and agree to give that union certain services, if there wasn't a Council available under which that local union could be serviced. I think that was attacked on the basis of the argument that Arnold Zander was centralizing power over local unions in the hands of the International. I think there was a fear on the part of Councils that Councils would finally be abolished and ^{the} International would collect all the dues and there would be no need for Councils. People in Councils were sort of wary of this kind of arrangement whereby the International was reaching out to do all this service work.

Mr. Kubista: The other problem, I think was in the area of trusteeships. There were ~~so~~ many trusteeships in this country where somebody had done something that the International didn't like and ~~were~~ ^{the local unions was} placed in trusteeship. It was about that time that the International constitution was rewritten. A great deal of the language was borrowed from the Teamsters constitution, especially ~~that~~ ^{the} language that provided for suspensions of officers and members and penalties and that kind of thing. I think there were 21 pages of the International Constitution which dealt with suspensions and penalties. Getting rid of people in the union rather than recruiting them into the union--there was a great deal of criticism of that. Although I was on the constitutional committee that drafted that constitution, I was against that part of it, ^{opponent} probably the only one because the committee was hand picked.

The committee was advised by the late Joe Padway, who used to be an ~~Milwaukee~~ attorney from a Milwaukee firm of attorneys, I think, called Padway and Goldberg. Maybe Padway's name isn't in that firm any more. I think Joe Padway was also ^{council} ~~on a council~~ for the AF of L at that time and he did most of the drafting of the Constitution and he took the language out of the Teamsters Constitution. Well there was a great deal of resentment about that. First the concept of devoting 21 pages of the constitution to getting rid of people didn't seem to make a great deal of sense. Those of us in Wisconsin felt that at least in

Mr. Kubista: Wisconsin we didn't see any great peril to the International from the members being critical of the Union. I think you're getting the impression that there were bad feelings between ~~the~~ Council 24, the father of the International union, and AFSCME while they were here in Wisconsin, and I have to say that this is probably right. That was another source of irritation in those years.

Now Arnold also at that time was doing a great deal of traveling, and many ^{members} believed that he wasn't spending enough time in Headquarters. Because he was gone most of the time, he was not available to people who wanted to see him or talk to him. The beginning of the housing program, which finally was his undoing in 1964 or ~~1962~~, was another source of conflict. As you know Arnold wanted to get the International ^{involved} as sponsor of ^{the} federally funded and sponsored housing projects.

Dr. Mason: As a matter of fact he had already taken steps to involve AFSCME in this area. Had he not?

Mr. Kubista: Yes, oh yes.

Dr. Mason: Going back to '58 convention, Jerry Wurf spoke at that time and is quoted as saying this about Mr. Zander, "He's a decent well meaning individual but a befuddled man." Do you think from your vantage point of working here in Wisconsin with him, that this is an accurate characterization?

Mr. Kubista: No, I don't think Zander was "befuddled." I think Zander was naive in some of his dealings with people. He was intellectual and stubborn, he reminded me of Dean Rusk during the Vietnam War, and his stubbornness. He had disdain ~~and arrogance~~ of other people's opinions, but he was not "befuddled." I think Jerry Wurf used the wrong word. He was naive and stubborn, and that kind of a personality led to his undoing, finally, because he was never able to see that he was in trouble with the membership. He wasn't close enough to the membership to know, and even if he did know, I think he was too doggone stubborn to ever change course and go some other way.

Dr. Mason: By 1958 or '60 it was obvious that there was an organized group within AFSCME fighting against Zander. They referred to themselves as "The Young Turks." People such as Jerry Wurf, Joe Ames, Al Bilik, Bob Hastings from Wisconsin, Father Blatz, and Norman Schut. Was this an organized campaign so that the other members within AFSCME organizations and the different Councils in Wisconsin, were aware of the movement? Was it given a lot of publicity?

Mr. Kubista: Yes, I remember Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum came to Madison before the 1964 convention and sat down with the leaders here. They explained their program. I told Jerry Wurf something at that time, and he said that he would always remember it. I told him that I ~~don't~~ ^{didn't} think that you can unseat a ~~President,~~ an International union

Mr. Kubista: President, unless he's done something terrible like stolen a lot of money, or gotten involved with his secretary in the back room or something awful. I don't think you can unseat him. Wurf said, "Oh yes we can," and of course he did by 21 votes. But he always remembered that conversation, and reminded me many times that I had said that to him in the Park Motor Inn, in Madison, when he and Victor Gotbaum were here urging the Wisconsin Leadership to support him in the 1964 convention. Phil, I would like to refer to my earlier interview discription of the meeting that was held in Wisconsin with Arnold, A. E. Garey, John Lawton, Steve Clark, myself, and the Wisconsin leaders to urge Arnold to please change his ways before 1964. This was in the winter of 1964, the convention was to be held in spring. The signs on the horizons were that he was going to be beaten if he didn't change. But he got angry and he refused. He wasn't going to change programs, wasn't going to get out of the housing business, and that was that!

Dr. Mason: Were you involved in these conventions from 1958 to 1964?

Mr. Kubista: No, no, I didn't go to any of those conventions.

Dr. Mason: There was another issue that was raised in 1962 and 1964, and that had to do with the election of Regional Vice-Presidents. Was this an attempt to take away some of the power that he had?

Mr. Kubista: That I don't recall, I can't comment on it. I remember the issue but I don't remember what the arguments were for and against. I know that Colonel Garey was against Regional Vice-Presidents.

Dr. Mason: Gordon Chapman has often been cited as one of those opposed to Arnold Zander, yet he's never been described as one of the "Young Turks." Is that an oversight? Was he, indeed to your recollections, a part of the Wurf - Bilik - Ames group?

Mr. Kubista: I think he was opposed to Arnold Zander when he was in the State Department immediately preceding 1964. He came in under President Kennedy as a Labor Liaison officer in the State Department and worked there for some time during the time when these "Young Turks" were getting organized in order to take Zander on when the organization was really going. So I don't think he was a "Young Turk" in the sense that these other fellows were. He ran, as you know with Wurf as Secretary-Treasurer on Wurf's ticket in 1964.

Dr. Mason: After the 1964 convention the issue of Arnold Zander's relationship to the CIA and Central America was brought out. Do you recall whether that was an issue prior to the convention or that only ^{came} ~~come~~ out after Wurf had a chance to examine the records?

Mr. Kubista: I don't think it came out during the convention, and it didn't come out before the convention. I first heard about it before the convention, but I didn't ^{connect} ~~describe~~ it to the CIA. I once asked Arnold, "where do you get the

Mr. Kubista: money to travel to Africa and to South America and to Argentina?" He said, "I get it from a man in a trench coat who I meet on a corner in Washington, and he gives it to me in an envelope." I didn't connect it with anything. Maybe I was naive too, but I didn't think about it at the time as being anything connected with the CIA, and of course I should have, but that was what he answered. Whether the money was actually exchanged that way, whether there was all that secrecy or not I don't know. Maybe Zander was just being over dramatic.

Dr. Mason: Did Zander get involved in the issues of communism within the unions? Did this prompt him to work with the CIA in this manner?

Mr. Kubista: I don't recall, no, I don't recall that he was ever involved in any emotional campaign against the Communists in the unions. At least he never spoke about it. My guess is that he just enjoyed the travel; he enjoyed seeing the country, meeting other labor leaders, and presumably promoting democracy in some of these other areas of the world. ~~I doubt that he was an anti-communist.~~

Dr. Mason: Roy, in 1964 you've alluded to the election of Jerry Wurf by 21 votes. As a leader in Wisconsin of a major Council in AFSCME, what were your observations, about this early period of Jerry Wurf's administration? What was his style? How did it compare with Zander? You mentioned

that he attempted to get the delegates more involved, more supportive of such meetings. What else did you notice about Jerry Wurf?

Mr. Kubista: Jerry was a militant, and I think the 1964 membership was beginning to wake up to the desirability of changing the ~~legislative~~ merit systems, and to bring the civil service era into the collective bargaining era. I don't think Zander ever grasped ~~that~~ ^{the} concept that the membership was getting ready for collective bargaining. Wurf came in and said, "this is what we are going to do, we're going to stop begging, (collective begging as he called it) and we're going to go to collective bargaining." Zander, I think, continued to have the feeling that the way to get results, as I've said before, is to concentrate from the top down. If you can get the top officers such as the mayor, and the city council to say they were in favor of the union then the subordinates would all join the union. Wurf believed in organizing from the "bottom up," and I think this was a very fundamental difference. So Jerry I'm sure, grasped the notion that the membership was now ready for militancy and for collective bargaining. The state of Wisconsin had enacted the first collective bargaining law for County ^{and} Municipal Employees in 1959. State Employees were beginning to be restive about collective bargaining. The State Employees law came in 1966 as a result of the retirement of the old conservative public

Mr. Kubista: servants. The ~~newer~~ ^{new public employees} people were coming out of industry, where they had collective bargaining contracts. When they were asked to join the Wisconsin State Employees Union they said, "Where is your collective bargaining contract?" and we used to say, "we don't have any, we have the civil service laws and rules," and they said, "To heck with that." And so gradually the complexion ^{and attitudes} of the membership ~~was~~ ^{were} changing.

I don't think Arnold ever ~~grabbed that concept~~ ^{understood that change} and Jerry grabbed on to it and that was the difference in style. Plus the fact that Wurf was clever enough and was able to run a convention that made the delegates go home "happy." The atmosphere was entirely different. He was a rousing speaker always. Zander was a more intellectual and restrained speaker, and that made a difference. Wurf was a mixer. Arnold was never a mixer. So those were some of the differences in style and concepts. Wurf was the man for his time.

Dr. Mason: How did Wurf relate to Councils like yours? Did he visit them?

Mr. Kubista: Yes, yes, very much so. He would come out to Wisconsin. He'd send all kinds of help out when we needed it. Come out himself and talk to the Governor or go wherever else he was needed. He'd go to local unions and make speeches. At our officers meetings, he'd always turn up and make a rousing speech--got the people interested. So he really

Mr. Kubista: got out and did the job. And, of course, he stuck to the business. Wurf, until his later years, never left the country. I think he went to one PSI meeting that I know about. Once in while he'd go over but nobody ever knew about it. But he wouldn't be gone for months at a time. He was on the job. He may have run his Washington headquarters in a ^{sometimes angry} ~~ridiculous~~ fashion which I think he did. We talked about that a number of times, but at least he was there, and I think the members liked that ~~idea~~. So the style was entirely different.

Dr. Mason: Were there new leaders brought in?

Mr. Kubista: Yes, but I don't think that made too much difference. I don't remember that we had much trouble here, I think Bob Overbeck and Steve Clark were our Wisconsin representatives on the new Executive Board. He [Steve Clark?] was the only executive board member that I recall who survived the Zander debacle. He came from the Zander board and stayed on the board when Jerry Wurf came in.

Dr. Mason: Did Zander return to Wisconsin after his defeat in '64?

Mr. Kubista: Yes, he did, and I talked to him, and he was very bitter. He came to the office at headquarters, ^{of the} in State Employees Association. He blamed the Wisconsin State Employees Association, ^{Council 24,} partially for his defeat by 21 votes. He said, "If you'd voted for me I would have won." He never got rid of that bitterness. He only visited the ~~Association~~ ^{Asso-} ^{Council 24} offices maybe twice after his defeat.

Dr. Mason: Did you yourself maintain any relationship with him?

Mr. Kubista: Well, we were always friendly and close in the sense that we talked together whenever we saw each other and corresponded once in a while. But after the move to Washington he was pretty remote and didn't appear in Wisconsin very often. After his defeat, of course, he went back to Washington for a while and then went to the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay to be a guest lecturer in political science, where he died a few years ago.