LARRY CARLSTROM

Interviewed by John Barnard
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BARNARD: This is John Barnard, and I'm going to be talking with Larry Carlstrom about his activities and his observations of the UAW back in the 1930's and 40's. We're at the Region 3 headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Larry, I thought we might start out with you telling us about how you got involved in the UAW, the organizing that was carried on in the early days, and anything in your family background that would be relevant to the UAW experience. Your dad was a union man. Tell us about that.

CARLSTROM: Well, my dad came over from Sweden as a bricklayer. He was a union man. And he worked on the Chicago World's Fair buildings. They had imported him from Minneapolis. And he never tired of telling the tale that in order to get him, they had to pay him more than the foreman on the job. And to accomplish that, they would go by each day and put a half-dollar coin in his pocket. That satisfied the foreman and it satisfied the scale.

Well, I had gone to college for a year-and-a-half and then started working in Racine, Wisconsin. There, I got married to Linea Haglund. Her father, Dreth Haglund, who was the first employee hired by Art Modine who set up the Modine Manufacturing Company, got me a job in the plant. I started there in April 1928. Came along the Depression, one year I made the magnificent sum of $643, the whole year.

BARNARD: Now, was this because you were working part time?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: A lot of that time?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: Now, what did they make there?

CARLSTROM: Radiators, heat transfer equipment for the auto industry and the agricultural industry, generally, as well as their own independent heat transfer units that it would set up on the wall, around the ceiling of a factory.

In any event, we were soured by the Depression and damned by the employer, if I may use a horse race term here. Along came our feeling that we should do something better. There's got to be a better life for us.

The Blue Eagle came along and we thought we would try organizing, see what we could do. I was running a spray gun at the time. We went downtown to the union hall, talked with a fellow by the name of Holt. We said we'd like to form a union.

BARNARD: This was AFL?

CARLSTROM: Yes. There was no CIO. I'm talking 1933. And he said, "Why sure, we'll help you get a federal labor union charter." I said, "What's that?" And he said, "Well, they give a charter to a group that does not have a formal place within the AFL structure. It's a temporary holding device until such time as there is a permanent place that can be found for you. But we'll apply for you."

Well, they applied for us and for the Young Radiator Company, a couple of miles away, at the same time. And we two groups formed a local union. But we couldn't get along very well, so they told us to keep that charter and they'd apply for another. We received Charter 19188.

I became the recording secretary of the local union and took over the chairmanship of the shop committee that met with the management to build the working relationship. By 1934, we had 100 percent membership in the union.

BARNARD: You were still a relatively young man at this time?

CARLSTROM: Oh, hell, yes. I was the youngest in the union.

BARNARD: How about the others? Were they mostly young people, or all ages?

CARLSTROM: Oh, I'd say in their thirties and forties.

BARNARD: So some of them had been working there quite a while?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes.

BARNARD: But others were fairly new?

CARLSTROM: Right. Along about the same time, the idea of building a union had spread to other plants in the community: Walker Manufacturing, still in business making mufflers; Ajax Division of American Motors—they made the Nash-Ajax car; J. I. Case; Massey-Ferguson; Green Manufacturing, to name but a few.

All together we had, as I recall, seven local unions in the community. And just like one piece of coal needs other pieces of coal to keep warm, we banded together and our officers were meeting relatively frequently.

We got the idea that we ought to share our experiences with local union officers of other unions in the area. So we would meet quarterly—Goldfram (sp?), Waukesha, Stoughton, Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee—because we had locals in these communities. I'm skipping along now, unless you want to stay in greater detail.

In early spring of 1937 we hit on the idea of setting up a district council where we would meet regularly at periodic places and intervals. And we would get full-time officers. George Kiebler, president of Local 75 in Milwaukee, Nash Motors Seaman Body Division, was elected president. I was elected secretary-treasurer.

BARNARD: Now, this, of course, was a UAW local?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes.

BARNARD: What had happened to the federal local that you originally were involved in?

CARLSTROM: Well, in 1934, we started grumbling. We wanted a charter. We didn't want to be federal labor unions. We felt there was a permanent place for us. We wanted a vertical union. And John L. Lewis joined at our viewpoint. Bill Green and his tired old men were reluctant to do so. We kept badgering, however. Finally, they agreed to let us have a conference. So we held a conference in Detroit in the Fort Wayne Hotel, in 1934. And they were trying to stifle us, I'm sure.

BARNARD: The AFL people?

CARLSTROM: Yes, running the show. But we finally demanded and made it known that they should let us call the convention. So a convention was called for August of 1935 in the city of Detroit. And I went there as the delegate from my local, Local 82, Modine. I think there's only one other guy alive today from that convention.

BARNARD: From the 1935 convention?

CARLSTROM: Paul Russo, from Local 72, Kenosha, American Motors now, but Nash Motors then. And we were given a charter, but we were not allowed to elect our own officers. Homer Martin was appointed. Ed Hall from Local 75 was appointed secretary-treasurer. And they gave us very limited jurisdiction. They denied us our tool and die makers and they denied agricultural implement.

That, to me, made no sense. As a sprayer in the plant, coming down the line to be sprayed would be a Ford radiator, or a Caterpillar radiator or Deere & Company radiator. It made no sense whatever to say that we were automotive, but were not farm implement.

Nevertheless, we took the charter. But after that, the heat was so great on the AFL that we had a rump convention in April of '36. And at that time we told them that this was our jurisdiction. These were our elected officers. It worked out just fine.

BARNARD: Kind of declared your independence from the AFL?

CARLSTROM: That's right. We claimed we were still the AFL. We had no desire to break away. But we said this is our jurisdiction.

BARNARD: Any personal impressions you have of what happened at those conventions, why we should put it in the record, here. Homer Martin, of course, was elected president then in 1936, and that was the first convention that Walter attended.

CARLSTROM: Yeah, F. J. Dillon was our first president.

BARNARD: Right. He was the appointed one?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, and he was a saloon-keeper, a former saloon-keeper, from Ohio, east of Dayton, Ohio.

BARNARD: Springfield?

CARLSTROM: Springfield, Ohio. I can tell you, we had a darned good local there in ag imp. I can remember the numbers better than I can recall the names.

BARNARD: International Harvester?

CARLSTROM: Yes. So there I got to meet with fellows from Local 121. Our district council—keep in mind that in '37 (I'm backtracking now) we were full-time officers. I'll get back into that shortly.

Back in '35, we were the federal labor unions until we got charters, and the charters roughly in seniority order, gave us the charter number. Like 74 went to Young Radiator, because they held the original federal labor union, and we got 82. It came a little later, although in truth, we were from the same time exactly.

Well, during this time, I did a lot of negotiating for the union. And it worked out pretty well, with 100 percent membership.

BARNARD: How hard was it to get people to join up? Apparently, it wasn't very difficult.

CARLSTROM: Well, we escorted them to the back fence if they didn't want to join the union.

BARNARD: So you had to put on a little pressure sometimes?

CARLSTROM: That's right. Escorting them back. I want to tell you, in that connection, that our tool and die makers listened to the siren song of the IAM that they were going to do a better job for them. So they walked away from Local 82. And we figured out the plant wasn't big enough to have more than one union.

So I told Miles Carter, our company vice-president, who I sat across the table from very frequently, that we weren't big enough to have two unions here and asked him to let me have a ballot and he said it was okay.

So I took the ballots down. They were in the form of an application for membership in the union. And they sent a foreman along to see that I wouldn't strong-arm anybody—me, 125 pounds at that time!

And I said, "You can see the foreman back there. He can't hear what we're saying but he knows, and you know, that I'm here with company blessing or I wouldn't be here at all. And here's your applications for membership, again, in the union. The company needs you, the company wants you and we certainly want you back in the union. Just sign up, and we'll go back as we were before." I picked on guys that were soft, you understand.

And the last one I picked on was the IAM steward. I said, "Here are 22 applications for membership in the UAW. Do you want to be a Mexican general or do you want to come along? If you want to come along, fine. We all admire your talent and we'll keep you. " So he signed up. So we retained 100 percent membership.

We're back to 1935, back in the plant. We heard a rumor that Modine was going to build a plant down in La Porte, Indiana, and at the local meeting, that rumor was brought out.

Incidentally, our local met once a month and you paid a dollar fine for non-attendance at the meeting, so we were well attended. The plant had 650 people and we always had 400, at least, in the local meeting.

BARNARD: That's pretty good attendance.

CARLSTROM: You're darned right! And I'll give you an anecdote on that a little later.

BARNARD: Okay.

CARLSTROM: And they were not sure that was true. And we asked for volunteers, who would go down to La Porte and see. Only one volunteer.

BARNARD: You.

CARLSTROM: So I went down there and talked with people over Saturday, Sunday, Monday and came back to the plant on Tuesday to find that my card had been pulled. I went to the personnel director, Ken Crew, and said, "What the hell goes on? My card isn't in the rack."

He said, "Oh, you quit." I said, "What?" He said, "You weren't here yesterday. You quit." Well, here I am with a wife and three little kids. I told him that I at least wanted to go up and get my things.

Charlie Hayek, president of the local, got wind of what was going on and he came up and asked why I was taking my belongings? So I told him. And he said, "Well, of course you haven't. I'll go down there with you." He went down and told Crew that if Larry quits, we all quit. It's as simple as that.

BARNARD: So he changed his mind?

CARLSTROM: Well, not right away. He went out of the room and talked with someone, who I don't know. And he came back and said it was all a mistake, I should get back to work. So I owed eternal gratitude to Charlie Hayek, who later became superintendent of the plant, incidentally.

So it's 1935 and we're still meeting, still organizing local unions, helping others get organized, on a volunteer basis.

For example, the Green Manufacturing people, making stampings, let it be known they wanted a union, a vertical union, and they were down to two choices: IAM or UAW. And they asked if I would go and talk that Sunday afternoon. Sure.

A fellow by the name of Al Hayes came down from Milwaukee. He was general organizer and he spoke first and I spoke second. And they voted for UAW. Al Hayes later became president of IAM. He had the oratory. He had the experience. And I had the local union proof of membership, proof that we had organized, proof that we had local unions. And they were functioning local unions.

BARNARD: Now, you had a contract with Modine by that time?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes.

BARNARD: They recognized you and worked with you?

CARLSTROM: You bet. And we had contracts with others. Walker Manufacturing, Modine. The Case fellows were not yet in UAW. AF of L would not allow them to come in, and they were an independent union. And they were independent. I mean, no ifs, ands or buts about that.

So here we are, slugging along, bitching the AF of L for not giving us a union, organizing, venting our steam on our employer and on unorganized workers. Pretty soon, we decided we wanted a permanent family. And that started District Council Number 1 of the UAW.

We decided we'd have two full-time officers, George Kiebler and me. We each got the sum of $25 a week. We got $3 a day for out-of-city and 3 cents a mile for inter-city mileage. No intra-city mileage whatever. And a hotel bill up to $3.

I want to start now and pay tribute to my wife and my family. I told Linea what was going to happen. Very likely, I would be offered a full-time job—should I take it, or should I not? Here I am with a son and twin daughters, little kids, five and four.

And I said, "Linea, I don't know what will happen. But I do know if the union doesn't grow, I'm out of a job. And if I'm out of a job, I'll be black-balled all along the coast, the shore of Lake Michigan. Do we take the challenge, or don't we?"

She said to go for it, because we had nothing to lose. So we did. Here we are, 69 years later, still married.

BARNARD: So your family always was very supportive of what you thought you had to do here?

CARLSTROM: You bet. Yeah, I should say so.

BARNARD: So no friction at home?

CARLSTROM: No, she supported me. We had nothing to lose but our chains, literally. Oh, and before I left, Ken Crew came around and said, "I understand you're leaving?" Orally, they'd given me a leave of absence, which later on they rescinded.

He said, "You should stick around. We're looking for you to be our new foreman." I said, "That's wonderful, Ken. Here I've been, since 1928, and you guys didn't know I had any talent outside of running a spray gun. Now I can be a foreman over there in the other building, handling the Diamond T line from the business end of a spray gun. I said, I want no part of that. You didn't know I had ability then, you don't need to know it now."

So I got an oral leave of absence. The man who gave it to me ultimately left the company, no record, and I found out later on, many, many years later on, when I applied for a pension, that I had quit.

So here we are in Milwaukee the first Sunday in May in 1937 setting up a district council. George and I had a lot of meetings with Homer Martin. Homer would come over from Detroit. Keep in mind as far as our district council was concerned, I think we were doing a better job of organizing and functioning than the International Union.

BARNARD: Well, that's one thing that I wanted to ask you about. How much was the International involved in what you were doing?

CARLSTROM: They paid 5 cents a member per month to maintain our district council office. But we loaned a couple of organizers to the International Union. George Rose from Local 58 was sent out to help organizing in the Buffalo area. And Frank Sahorske, ex-president of Local 180—this would be J. I. Case in Racine—went on to help organize in the Rockford area.

Our district council took in what is now all of Region 4, again. So we had such locals as 225, Rockford 378, J. I. Case.

BARNARD: The organizing, as you describe it, seems to have been pretty much a grassroots effort?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes.

BARNARD: It came up from the bottom?

CARLSTROM: Oh, it sure did.

BARNARD: Rather than someone coming out from Detroit and saying do this and do that.

CARLSTROM: Oh, no. Oh, no. They came over subsidiary. Our unions literally were born out of the needs of the people. Literally, they were grassroots organizing.

To give you an example of that, here I am sitting in an office up on Fond du Lac Avenue in Milwaukee. We had three rooms over a tavern. Across the street was a fine Turnverein, German meeting hall that we could use for membership and organizing meetings. It worked out fine for us.

And a group came up and said they wanted a local union. I asked them how many were in the plant and they said just a couple hundred, so I gave them 200 applications for membership. I told them to go and talk to them , sign them up and get $2 from each one you sign up and put it in an envelope. I needed $2 and the application. And then I told them to seal the envelope and write their name over the flap and have him write his name over it so there's no question that the money is there. And when you've got the majority signed up, come back to the office and I'll help you get a charter. We did that a number of times, organizing.

BARNARD: So these people just walked in right out of the plant, off the street?

CARLSTROM: They knew what we were doing. We organized such plants as Local 209. These now became Homer Martin local unions, and I'm giving you several: 209, Harley-Davidson; 232, Briggs & Stratton, my old friend, Cliff Matchey, later an international rep for Homer Martin's union; Tony Doria, first on the district council and the executive council—I'll give you a little of that—then the secretary-treasurer of the new Homer Martin union; 322, Globe Union.

I don't know how rough I can be on the anecdotes, but let me give you one here. Came the split in 1938. Homer Martin here, CIO functionaries over here. We were right wing and left wing. And the people in Globe Union said we love George and we love you, but we won't let either one of you talk at our meeting where we're going to decide which way to go. Later on,

that's what they did. You picked your guy. I picked George Rose, who later went out to the Buffalo area. George sadly came to the meeting drunk, filled with bombast oratory and scotch whiskey. And we lost Globe Union. Otherwise, I'm sure we would have had a multi-plant employer in our midst.

Well, here we are setting up our district council, two full-time officers. We wanted board members. Joe Mattson, who later became board member of the International Union, Local 125, a little local up in Minneapolis, on the district council, board member.

Lenard Key, Rockford, Illinois; Bill Wydallis, Oshkosh; Malcolm Lloyd, who later became an international rep of UAW, LaCrosse; Winand Kult, Kenosha, retains his membership, likewise, as an officer of Local 72; Paul Steffes, Local 75, stayed secretary-treasurer of the Local 75; Clarence Truckey became vice-president of the district council and a member of the board. So you can see, we were representative of a region.

BARNARD: Let me ask you about one of the big locals, one of the well-known locals in that area, 248, in Milwaukee, the Allis-Chalmers local.

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes.

BARNARD: Did it come into the picture at this point?

CARLSTROM: Oh, I should say they did. Yes. Harold Christoffel had more than one argument with me, I can tell you that. Here we were, 1937. They paid their dues. They paid their 5 cents a member. And they would do their damndest to disrupt every meeting they came to.

BARNARD: The district meetings?

CARLSTROM: At district council. We met quarterly, and they were adept at pounding the table. They did that at the '37 convention.

BARNARD: In Milwaukee?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. And the convention, George and I took on the job of setting up the convention. We set it up in Eagles Hall, up on 2300 Wisconsin Avenue. But we were so

wild and created such a ruckus that they threw us out. During the convention they said we cannot use the convention hall. So hurriedly and happily the downtown convention hall in the city of Milwaukee was available, so we moved downtown to have the convention. And it was there at that convention site that John L. Lewis spoke. Now, we were in this kind of a position: Most of us were right-wingers.

BARNARD: And that was the term you were using at the time?

CARLSTROM: Right-wingers. And 248 was almost alone being a left-winger.

BARNARD: You mean almost alone within the district council?

CARLSTROM: That's right. Although they had some guys in Local 75. But to people outside and to some of our own people, we too were left-wingers. I was a right-winger, but I wanted to go along with what I saw the majority of the auto workers of the country were going. You had to go with the flow, in my mind.

So here we were, fighting our own brothers and they were fighting us, when we had a common enemy, the employer. Nevertheless, we came out of the '37 convention and started fighting as soon as we got back into our respective locals and regional offices, lining up people for the next convention.

The rift between the right and left wing of UAW was evident to the leadership of the CIO at the time. They sent over John L. Lewis to see if he could heal the rift. He was very popular then, and deservedly so. I can see him now, that leonine head, standing up there at the beginning of the meeting, telling us how they would handle disruptions in their local unions. He said all in favor of the management meeting proposal here will signify by raising your hand. All those opposed will register their opposition with the sergeant-at-arms as they leave the hall.

BARNARD: That's the way they did it in the miners union, eh?

CARLSTROM: Well, that was what he said. He then told us about Blondell, a noted tight-rope walker who had set up a strong wire across the Niagara gorge, a couple hundred feet over the raging torrent below. And he walked back and forth across this tight-rope wire.

One time, he took a man on his back, from Canada over to the American side. And he said, "What would you think if that man, after he got safely on shore, had said to Mr. Blondell that he had leaned too far to the right or left when crossing?" I tell you, the people roared. He made that distinction between the right and the left.

Nevertheless, it didn't work. We knew that the only way we could solve the problem was by organizing the unorganized, because the more we organized, the bigger would be our own convention, the more safe we would be.

We came to February of 1939 at the Faust Hotel in Rockford, Illinois. George and I were at swords point—Kiebler, I'm talking about—but we agreed we'd hold a special meeting of the district council that Sunday in Rockford, Illinois.

Homer Martin came down to speak. Both groups were there. First motion was made, and the sense of the council was that we would request all of our affiliated local unions to send delegates to the Homer Martin convention.

We got into a morass of legal fighting. George had to vacate the chair, appealing his decision. Clarence Truckey, Local 858, Racine, my buddy, vice-president, took the chair. He was booted out. They finally got me, the third man to hold the chair. I didn't get booted out, but we never got a motion adopted either way. One of the memorable periods of my life was standing with tears in my eyes saying good-bye to Homer Martin at the lobby of the Faust Hotel. Sympathetic as I was to his viewpoint, right-wing viewpoint, opposed to the left-wing fellow travelers on the left, still I knew where the union should be going, and where it was going.

BARNARD: By this time, it was clear the UAW was going to split?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. Oh, I should say. And keep in mind, our district council, which was a functioning organization—make no mistake about it—far more functioning than anything in Detroit—our union was built out on the spokes of the wheel, not on the hub—we were meeting quarterly. And we had a couple hundred delegates there battling. You knew darn

well that this was a going union, but we were not going to be hoodwinked going into a small, struggling union.

BARNARD: Which was what Homer Martin's group was going to be.

CARLSTROM: That was right. Some went with Homer. I'm thinking of Janesville, the GM plant out there, Fisher Body, and Chevrolet. They went with Homer. But not many went with him. The bulk went along with us and stayed in CIO.

BARNARD: But you felt some personal loyalty to Homer, did you?

CARLSTROM: Well, I had known him, sure.

BARNARD: To that point of view?

CARLSTROM: Sure. After all, he had come over to see us in Milwaukee. It flattered us a little bit. Here I am, a fugitive from a spray gun, you know?

BARNARD: Yeah.

CARLSTROM: Here's the president of the mighty International Union. I knew him quite well.

BARNARD: So there were quite a few people who shared your position, who felt some kind of debt of gratitude to Homer for what he had done, but just couldn't go along with him on this?

CARLSTROM: Yeah. A lot of debt of gratitude. We had organized our plant. We felt we were the ones giving them something. Not many in Detroit could say they were functioning 100 percent unions. After the '37 convention, there was no barring Local 180, a big J. I. Case local, from coming in. No bar to 378, J. I. Case, Rockford, coming in. No bar to 248, Allis-Chalmers. No bar to, I think, 407 out in LaCrosse. We started going right away after the '37 convention and we picked up these local unions. Nothing from Detroit had done it for us. Our charter had done it. And they came in. And we had fellows that helped each other, hell, selling ads; rank and file fellows went out and got the ads for us. That's what built the union.

BARNARD: The rank and file activism?

CARLSTROM: Well, I should say so. I could not emphasize that more, as I told you earlier, about giving them membership cards. But I became knowledgeable about the NLRB procedure. We organized and had maybe 40 local unions in this area, maybe 50. I'd have to look back and see.

BARNARD: What about strikes? How many strikes did you have? What kind of opposition did you encounter from employers on that?

CARLSTROM: Let me give you one, about one local union. Local 291, Oshkosh. They made axles. They were owned by the Rockwell family. You may have heard the name Rockwell. They had a plant in Detroit. Timkin Detroit Axle, TDA.

Well, we organized the plant in Oshkosh. The plant was running along High Street on the front side. On the back side, it fronted on the Fox River. We went on strike and the fellows complained to me that they heard rumblings in the plant. I said "Don't worry about it. It's just the damned foreman running around making noise to make you think they're performing work."

That satisfied them for a while. Pretty soon, one of the guys came in and said the damned foremen are taking tools, dies, jigs and fixtures out of the plant and putting them in a rowboat.

BARNARD: Out in the river?

CARLSTROM: On the river. The boys said they'd fix that. Shoring up the bridge on either side were boulders, you know, down the shore. They stood up there and when the foreman came by in a boat, kerplunk, down they went, foreman howling. So we won that naval battle.

BARNARD: They sunk the rowboats when they went?

CARLSTROM: No, no. But they scared the living daylights out of the foreman running the rowboat. And, having won that naval battle, the company started getting serious at negotiations.

And Walter Russell came in. I can recall it as though it were yesterday, the fellows sitting back there glowering. I think that's the proper verb. Black hair, eyebrows bushy, leaning like that, bitching everybody without saying a word. And he didn't talk. But we got our strike

won. We got our contract. We got our wages. That was 291. Of course we had strikes. And it worked out very fine.

BARNARD: So you were giving a lot of support to these locals within the district?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. George and I were busy, not fighting each other. We were too busy organizing and negotiating. George actually did more of the organizing and I did more of the negotiating. I had more free time to do that. I was limited because the checks came in five cents per capita and I'd have to go to the bank and do stuff like that. So I guess the negotiations fell on me to justify what George had been talking about.

We organized plants that were not UAW. I think of Local 416, Trostel Tannery, but we gave that local away after they set up their own.

Mill Prince, paper maker, 316 as I recall, I negotiated the contracts for them, struck in both cases. I recall striking at Mill Prince. Came down from the meeting saying we're pulling the pin. And I stood on a stack of paper saying, fellows and girls, shut her down. The companies would always give in on our modest demands. It took a little guts to usurp their plant, you know. We shut her down. But it worked. They came over and interrupted a meeting to ask us back to negotiate. That's the closest we came to striking that one.

BARNARD: So sometimes all it took was a threat to shut it down?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: To get the negotiations back on track? And these were locals that then later left the UAW and went to ...

CARLSTROM: To other CIO...

BARNARD: But you were prepared to organize anybody who wanted to be organized?

CARLSTROM: Oh, sure. Sure.

BARNARD: At least at the first instance?

CARLSTROM: We were and we did. And we kept them for several years until there was a place for them in the structure of the CIO.

Jeff Michel, appointed by the AF of L as an organizer, truly became the first regional director of our area, Region 4. Among his accomplishments were the organizing of Moto Meter Gauge and Equipment, LaCrosse, Local 396, and Local 395, Northern Engraving, in the same community. We had a successful strike at 396 which was the larger firm. Moto Meter Gauge and Equipment owned the plant. So 395 followed along behind 396.

We had made a good contract. In fact, so good that the foremen liked the idea of organizing. And they organized and went on strike. And they came to us for help.

And I recall sitting in the basement of a hotel in downtown LaCrosse. The basement had a long meeting table and we were there as assistants to the foremen. Actually, of course, we had the key. Production workers had the key. So the negotiations went across the table between our side and the company.

I can't recall the name of the president of the company. You should look him up, because he came in to settle the thing. And the rumor was that he was the paymaster for Pancho Villa. And as paymaster, he got the silver and Pancho Villa got the rest.

And we settled in negotiations. But they didn't have a union. And shortly thereafter, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that foremen were not eligible to become members or engage in collective bargaining, but this was the first time I know that foremen went on strike and actually negotiated themselves a better deal. That was in LaCrosse.

BARNARD: Now, what company was this, again?

CARLSTROM: Local 396, Moto Meter Gauge and Equipment.

BARNARD: That is interesting. I'd known that there was some interest among foremen in various places to organize in the 1930's when they saw what was being done.

CARLSTROM: Yeah.

BARNARD: But this is probably, as you say, the first time that they tried this and went on strike.

CARLSTROM: Yep, and they were on strike. The plant was down, shut her down. We wouldn't cross the picket line to go into the plant. And they called me from Milwaukee to come over and sit in. And as soon as I was there, we talked to the foremen. And after that, oh, several years later, the company folded up in LaCrosse and moved to Bay City, Michigan.

Oh, yes, let me tell you about 1939. You don't mind if I jump around like this?

BARNARD: No, that's perfectly okay.

CARLSTROM: Labor Day I'm invited out to LaCrosse to speak. They had their labor hall on the south side of town. Town struggles up the Mississippi River, and we marched up to the baseball field, about five miles. A stinking, raw, rainy day.

But we marched, and the marchers sat in the stand. Out in front of the stand they had hastily erected a little platform where we would speak. I was the next-to-the-last speaker. I think it was John Robinson—now I can't recall for sure the name—but he was then the president of the United Rubber Workers, and he was the principal speaker.

I got soaked, of course. I got soaked twice, because when I went back to my home in Racine, I found that I'd been fined a dollar for not marching in the Labor Day parade. That still grinds me! It still grinds me! You know, I got soaked a dollar.

BARNARD: You were absent without leave there, eh?

CARLSTROM: Yep. So I can give you anecdotes of these towns like Oshkosh and LaCrosse, as I've just done. I spent a lot of time with 395.

BARNARD: Did you go to the 1939 convention in Cleveland?

CARLSTROM: I've been to every convention except the last. We went to that convention in the Hollanden Hotel in Cleveland. Took my wife along and took Clarence Truckey and his wife. We were going to be there less than a week. Somehow, it stretched to three weeks and we were broke for a couple years.

BARNARD: Nobody was paying your expenses on that, huh? Not enough, anyway?

CARLSTROM: No, not for that long. And certainly not for Linea. It was quite a convention. Bill Cody, Local 75,was elected our regional director there, elected primarily by the leadership of Local 248. So we had a left-wing regional director.

BARNARD: 248 must have been the biggest local in your region, wasn't it?

CARLSTROM: Yes. I think they had 7200 at that time, and Seaman Body, maybe 3600, Kenosha maybe 5000; Local 72.

BARNARD: Big national locals at that time?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: So did you have a kind of running battle within the region between 248 and some of the right-wing locals?

CARLSTROM: Oh, battle would not be correct. We were ignored most of the time. And they had their troubles with Harold Story. He was as rough and tough as anything in Detroit.

BARNARD: Allis-Chalmers was a rough firm to deal to with and that probably had something to do with why 248 became a pretty rough local.

CARLSTROM: I think so. Because when they went on strike, they'd have mounted police along that street, a long street, every 50 feet, officers.

BARNARD: Well, what else went on in your district?

CARLSTROM: Well, I've mentioned 322, 232, 209, they being Homer Martin local union folks.

BARNARD: Now, after the '39 convention, some of the Homer Martin locals stayed with Homer, like the Janesville local?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: But then, eventually, came back into the CIO?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. Yes. Bill Cody was a one-year director.

BARNARD: Just for one year?

CARLSTROM: And the next year, the convention was held in St. Louis.

BARNARD: Right, 1940.

CARLSTROM: And I was the right-wing candidate against him, up to the convention. During the convention, I was a candidate, too. Came up 23 votes short. I knew things were embedded in concrete. Local 72 came to me and said, you can't get elected. You want Bill Cody elected? If you do, run against him. If you don't, we have a candidate for you.

BARNARD: Okay. So they had somebody who was more middle of the road?

CARLSTROM: Yeah.

BARNARD: That they wanted to put in?

CARLSTROM: George Nordstrom. And George was a good guy. I had nothing against him.

BARNARD: But he was from Local 72?

CARLSTROM: Yes. So I called a meeting of my caucus and told them the facts of life. I thanked them for their support and said if you agree with the things that I stand for, you'll vote for George Nordstrom. So George got elected. And I ceased running for any office.

BARNARD: That one time was enough, eh?

CARLSTROM: I could have been elected in 1944 at the convention in Grand Rapids. Walter Reuther sent word through Jack Conway. All I had to do was cut Joe Mattson's throat and run against a dear friend.

BARNARD: Mattson was the regional director by that time?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, he was the director.

BARNARD: And you would have had to run against him?

CARLSTROM: Which I refused to do.

BARNARD: But you would have had Walter's support?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. 719, 6 alone. Six was the Buick Aircraft Engine local. And 719, Electro-Motive Diesel. I've serviced most of those local unions. Jack Conway was

chairman of the shop committee of Local 6. I was the first rep that he ever knew in the UAW. And so I worked very close with Jack and he got to know me and I guess it was felt that if I put my name in the ring, I'd be the director. Well, I couldn't do it. Rightly or wrongly, I'd worked with Joe since the Federal Labor Union days and he was my regional director and to go to a convention and vote against him ...

BARNARD: Why do you think Walter and Jack Conway and these people thought that there should be a change?

CARLSTROM: Oh, because—and this was a feeling that I largely shared, too—Walter wanted to get the Farm Equipment Workers Union out of existence. And we wanted to get it out by raiding them. And we always said, it's not a raid, it's a rescue.

BARNARD: He thought you would be better able to do this, to carry out this raiding on FE than Mattson?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, I guess.

BARNARD: You had pretty good ties with the agricultural workers?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yeah, through Case and Massey. Walter felt that we should take on Caterpillar.

BARNARD: It was an FE local?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. By far, the largest one in FE. And we got on the ballot. Five groups were on the ballot. And he sent in 80-plus staff.

BARNARD: UAW staff?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, 80-plus staff. I think it was 89 guys, on the weekend before the election. Roy was there, Roy Reuther was there. And we teamed up, the two of us together, and with the staff walked every block in the community, East Peoria and Peoria. We won the election.

Came to negotiate a contract. My union had no sense of geography at that time. Peoria was in Region 3, where we're sitting right now. John Bartee was assigned to negotiate there, and

Harvey Kitzman, the director of the Ag Imp Department, of which I was then the assistant, sent me in to negotiate. Well, actually—I don't want to sound immodest ...

BARNARD: Go ahead and say it.

CARLSTROM: I did the negotiating. Caterpillar had a team of negotiators. In those days, there was an industrial basketball league. And I think the place for them in the company was on personnel. You had to be at least 6'2" in order to sit at negotiation. George Travis sat across from me and we negotiated the contract.

In those days, there were 26,000 people in that plant. And I went around the plant. They had a Caterpillar engine, a locomotive in tracks, railroad tracks, right inside the buildings, like KK building, LL building, HH building, seven miles of track. That's the only way you could get around to all of them, it was that big. So I happened to be the guy that was the gunner on the first contract.

BARNARD: Now, FE put up quite a fight there, didn't it?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes.

BARNARD: Did you get in any scrapes?

CARLSTROM: Literally, in the hotel there—this is hearsay—Harvey Kitzman got in an elevator and several FE guys were in there and started to muscle him, even though Harvey is a big guy. And they got off the elevator and Harvey said, "I will be back." He talked like a general of the United States Army: "I will be back." He was back through me, because I happened to have been the gunner for that first contract.

You might find it of interest how we had to set up the contract. Here we had won the election. Pat Greathouse, God bless him, was busy organizing the local union. Well, we had to negotiate something. And no local union to tell us what to do. So armed with paste pot, scissors and two public stenographers, in a couple rooms in the hotel, we took contracts apart, principally GM, and drafted a proposed agreement. Paste pot and scissors, we went to the negotiations with the set of union demands for a contract.

BARNARD: Used the GM as a model?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, and we took the best, what we thought was the best. When we didn't like something, we'd substitute something. But at least we had a framework to talk.

In that same connection, let me tell you about Allis-Chalmers and pensions. I assigned Tony Audia of the Ag Imp Department to ride herd on the Allis-Chalmers locals. And he came and he was stalemated. He was out of 477, Revere Copper and Brass, Chicago. Old-timer. A fine fellow. But he was darned near in tears. He couldn't get anyplace in negotiating the pension plan. This was the fashion of the early 1950's, '49 and '50.

BARNARD: UAW was making a big push for pensions?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes, at that time, yes. And John Livingston was then my boss, the vice-president of the UAW.

BARNARD: He was in charge of Ag Imp at that time?

CARLSTROM: Yes. When they set up the Ag Imp Department, Walter named Harvey as the director of the new department and then told him—hearsay—to see that Larry goes with you as the assistant director. So that's where I went. I was, by that time, pretty badly scarred. You get that way. And, to be frank, I wore such armor as I had on the front to face the employer. My backside was easy to hit.

So I was sent out to do the negotiating. Harvey was busy carving up the region, to become regional director. So the day-to-day work of the department, I did. I say that unashamedly.

So when Tony was stalemated, I said, "You set up a meeting and I'll go up." And I can recall Red Ohrman sitting across the table saying, "Mr. Carlstrom, we're not going to negotiate until we see the whole elephant. We're not going to negotiate on the tusk until we find out what the whole elephant looks like. We're not going to say a word until you give us a complete proposal." I said that sounded reasonable.

BARNARD: This was Allis-Chalmers, right?

CARLSTROM: Uh huh, Red Ohrman, saying we want to see the whole elephant.

BARNARD: I've never heard that expression before. They wanted to know what the whole package was going to be?

CARLSTROM: Entirely. And I said that if that's what's holding us up, let's really delay these negotiations for a couple of weeks and we'll come back. Two weeks later, we came back. I had dictated for the better part of two days a proposed new contract. I had taken the best proposals we had in our contracts with Deere and Company, Harvester, which I was most familiar with—if you talk with anyone, they'll tell you how much I did in Harvester—and dictated the whole damn package and gave it to them. And that started the negotiations and we did get a pension plan worked out.

Yes, Harvester we met at the Congress Hotel in Chicago all the time. I spent many, many days with them. They were the fourth largest bargaining unit within the UAW at this time. And I had absentee landlords, Kitzman first, Livingston after. So I was the guy that did the day-to-day meeting at the table. And the boys loved my talk about the proposals. I can tell you, I would say it was like a dead mackerel in the moonlight. It shines, and it stinks. And that became the line, you know.

BARNARD: Well now, which of these Ag Imp firms were the hardest to deal with? Which one did you have the most trouble with, would you say?

CARLSTROM: Oh, Case. But a close second, 248, Allis-Chalmers. Case we went on strike the day after Christmas. A bonus was paid in 1945. Stayed on strike until March of '47. And I became persona non grata in that town, because we had to wrap up that strike, not because we were losing—the picket line was solid and the plant was tighter than a drum. But they were building elsewhere. They were moving. Do you want an anecdote on that?

BARNARD: Sure.

CARLSTROM: We went to the War Labor Board to get the proposals. In return for the unions giving up their right to strike, the government said that they would set up the terms and

conditions of employment if we couldn't negotiate them. Armed with that, we didn't strike Case. Came the end of the war and we never had an agreement. And we felt rightly, then, and I still feel that way, that the government should have taken over the plant.

And I think you can get a Time magazine of that period to find that Truman went on a boat ride on the Mississippi River on a weekend with his Secretary of the Treasury, and he was talked out of taking over the plant. Immediately after that happened, John Gibson, Secretary of the Labor Department, who had come to meet with Harvey and me on several occasions, let me know that the jig was up. The government would not take over the plant. Here we were, on strike to get the War Labor Board contract approved, and the government disallowed it.

BARNARD: Annulled it?

CARLSTROM: And we were left without a contract, and we were out on strike for 14 months. And I became a bastard in my hometown. So if you want to know, I have a pretty strong feeling about Mr. Truman, although in many, many respects he was a wonderful president. But insofar as we're concerned, maybe he couldn't do any more because the war was over. Case was a very tough obstacle.

And the sticking point was that when Local 180 got recognition from Case, the Case lawyer had them agree that so long as the company recognized 180 as the sole collective bargaining agent, the union would agree it would not press for a union shop or a closed shop. No meetings or membership whatever.

And they claimed that that was in forever. We had to go to court to get that thrown out. Max Raskin, our Milwaukee attorney, a close friend of Dan Hoan, the mayor of Milwaukee, the largest city in the country with a socialist mayor, was our counsel. I was the witness, the only witness he put on. And the court held that there was no such thing as an agreement in perpetuity, that that was out.

Let's talk a little bit about back in '35. As secretary of the local union, it devolved upon me to go downtown and talk with the city fathers to help us get more beans and macaroni and foodstuff. Believe me, things were tough.

My brother-in-law, Steve Dexter, was a college professor. His dad was a Congregational minister up in northern Wisconsin. Had a little farm to help him eke out a living. He sold his potatoes 35 cents for 100 pounds. Milk was delivered at our home for 8 cents a quart.

BARNARD: Now, did you want to collect this food to distribute it among the membership?

CARLSTROM: No, we would just get the city fathers ... Looking back at it now, they were given an impossible task. We wanted to see that they became more generous in passing out beans and spaghetti and other foodstuffs.

BARNARD: This was for people who didn't have jobs?

CARLSTROM: And for people who had jobs, too.

MR. BARNARD: Oh, really?

CARLSTROM: At $643 for one year, do you think I could maintain a wife and three kids? I took, on more than one occasion, my son John's wagon to work on a Friday, pay day, and stopped at a plant where I could get coal, two bags of coal, to haul home. And it was 2.7 miles from the factory past the coal dealer. You want to talk about a Depression, I can talk about that.

BARNARD: So even though you had work at this time, you didn't have enough pay to really support your family?

CARLSTROM: No. And when I had to get two sacks of coal in my youngster's wagon to haul home, you know it was pretty hard sledding, to mix a wagon with a sled. It was pretty tough sledding.

BARNARD: When did things start to get better?

CARLSTROM: Well, in 1939 we had a couple of cost-of-living adjustments in contracts in our region at that time, believe it or not. And the companies wanted to exercise them, because it would lead to a wage cut.

BARNARD: They wanted to push it down?

CARLSTROM: Yep.

BARNARD: I didn't know that anybody had a cost-of-living factor in there.

CARLSTROM: Oh, yeah. Yes, sir. We negotiated this little term in the contract. The union reserves the right for its members to refuse to work on material coming from or going through concerns deemed unfair by the union.

In 1947, of course, backward and forward boycotts under the Taft-Hartley Act were ruled unconstitutional. Why, I do not know. Why a union collectively cannot do what simultaneously they can do as an individual. I can refuse to work on something in my plant. I don't want to work on that.

BARNARD: You had been doing this before, before Taft-Hartley?

CARLSTROM: Yes. Yes.

BARNARD: You'd been doing this, and it had been a pretty effective device, I guess?

CARLSTROM: I think so.

BARNARD: Yeah. Well, what about this cost-of-living factor that you mentioned?

CARLSTROM: Well, we put it in.

BARNARD: That was something you had wanted?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: But then the cost-of-living went down and so the company wanted to take away some of your wages? So how did you feel along there in 1948 when the UAW agreed to a cost-of-living factor in its GM contract?

CARLSTROM: Oh, I felt it was a wonderful deal.

BARNARD: Did you? You weren't afraid that it was going to go down?

CARLSTROM: No. I knew by then that over the long term, there would be a continual rise in the inflation rate every year. I recall Charlie Wilson coming to the meeting of GM people telling us that they would give us a cost-of-living, and an annual improvement factor.

Now, if you talk about those times, I would hope you would use as a frame of reference the times in which we lived, the cost of living, the fact that there were always more workers than jobs, the fact that we didn't have legislation around. Oh, but we were gifted in Wisconsin.

BARNARD: In what respect?

CARLSTROM: Oh, the fathers of Social Security came out of the University of Wisconsin. Ed Witte. John R. Commons. So I was blessed with having people that I knew that were pretty smart, pretty capable people.

BARNARD: Now, was there legislation in Wisconsin, state legislation, that provided some kind of support?

CARLSTROM: I can't tell you. I can't recall that.

BARNARD: Witte, of course, was an important figure in setting up Social Security.

CARLSTROM: Yes. And I knew Ed. And one time sat with him at a microphone in a little office on the campus of the University of Wisconsin, talking as you and I are talking now, about the union. Because he had an abiding interest, a deep interest in the growth of unions in Wisconsin. A grand man.

BARNARD: Did you know any of the La Follettes?

CARLSTROM: Oh, hell, I put my feet up on the radiator in his office. Sure. Sure.

BARNARD: He was governor of Wisconsin?

CARLSTROM: At the time, yes. Yes.

BARNARD: What about political activity? How much were you involved and how much was your district involved or the region involved in politics in the area? Did you try to get the vote out?

CARLSTROM: I think so. I would suspect, without figures but just memory, that the rank and file in northern Illinois and southeastern Wisconsin paid as high a percentage in special money to help elect people as anyplace in the country.

BARNARD: Was that something that you worked on very much?

CARLSTROM: No. I could have been involved in the Democratic Party. In fact, I had Democratic Party people ask me why I didn't get involved. And I can tell you, I was too busy.

BARNARD: Too busy to take that on as well. But there were a lot of people who did get involved in the political things as well?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. Sure. You know, Jack, people have basically four areas to get involved: Organizing, negotiating, political action and education. I think those are the four basic drives for collective activities.

BARNARD: And yours was pretty much concentrated in negotiating? Well, organizing too, somewhat earlier?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: Tell me a little bit about how you came to know Walter Reuther and maybe the other Reuthers and what sort of contacts you had with them?

CARLSTROM: Well, actually I didn't know him very much. I knew Victor. Victor had come over and talked at a couple of meetings.

BARNARD: When was this? In '36, '37?

CARLSTROM: No, I think Victor came over in '39. He came here in '37. In fact, he claims to have organized 662 and 663.

BARNARD: At Anderson?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: Yeah. He was down here.

CARLSTROM: Oh, he was, sure. But a fellow by the name of Hansen, from Local 75, was here every day. He could bay at the moon like anybody you ever heard. And I think did a lot of the leg work. Victor couldn't be here all the time. But Hansen was down here a lot.

Turning the clock forward rapidly now, they hit on the idea of having a trading relationship with the Amalgamated Engineers Union in England, under which they would send a man over here, and we would send a man over there. This was done just before I retired. And I was sent over to England. So I spent five months talking to the English people about American unions. And they sent a man over here about English unions.

Basically, the big difference is our locals are workplace-oriented, and theirs are community-oriented. You joined a local because it's in your plant. There you join the local because it's in your community. That's why, when I was there, they had 18 local unions in the Ford plants. And the convener, the chief convener, worked from a small local union. He had the power to shut her down. All the power, but no responsibility. They don't have long strikes over in England, because they don't have a union treasury.

BARNARD: How come you happened to do this?

CARLSTROM: I don't know. I was then the first director of the Arbitration Services Department. That had been set up in '64.

BARNARD: Maybe we ought to move on to the period when you worked with the international.

CARLSTROM: Yeah, sure. Back to the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis. George Nordstrom is now the director. Bill Cody is defeated.

BARNARD: Now, this is 1940, right?

CARLSTROM: 1940.

BARNARD: The 1940 convention in St. Louis, right.

CARLSTROM: And the union, the international union has now grown immeasurably stronger. The district council is on the wane. Declining influence, declining activity. The

international union is taking over. No promises had been made to me at all, but shortly after the convention, George asked if I would like to be on the staff of the international union, in charge of the Milwaukee office.

I said, sure. So I resigned from the district council office at the next meeting, and took on the assignment of being an international rep. That's how I made the switch.

BARNARD: And what were your duties as an international rep? Did you primarily service the locals in the Milwaukee area?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: And so you were still involved in negotiations and grievances?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. Yes. Keep in mind, 1940 was the European conflict, World War II. George had me take on the GM assignment in the region—Local 6, Melrose Park Buick and Local 719, Electro-Motive Diesel. There they took the eight-cylinder diesel engine and cut it in half and made the Navy quad that was used on landing ships during the war. Melrose Park Buick was aircraft engines.

Well, between those two, we must have had 16,000 people, so you know I was spread pretty thin on the grievances, besides the Milwaukee office.

Oh, another plant, Local 274 out at O'Hare. Jess Nicholas, from Kenosha, 72, was made international rep, and he organized McDonnell Douglas workers there, which later on became the airport. It started out as a manufacturing plant. The early organizing in the Illinois area was primarily from guys from Wisconsin who moved down there, because we'd already been doing the business of organizing, negotiating for a decade or more. I thought you might find that of interest.

BARNARD: Yes. Now, that Buick plant was a brand new plant, right?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes—25 acres under roof.

BARNARD: That's where you got to know Jack Conway?

CARLSTROM: Yes. And Local 6, I think, gave the international union more international reps than any other local I know of. There must have been more than a half a dozen out of that one plant.

BARNARD: Did they have many grievances coming out of there during the war?

CARLSTROM: I would have two meetings a month at each plant. That's all. The grievances they couldn't get resolved, didn't worry too much about the merits. We didn't have time for that, I guess, for the painstaking investigation we do today. I'm sure we threw away valid grievances. But two meetings a month was all I could give.

BARNARD: You just didn't have time to spend on processing them?

CARLSTROM: No. No.

BARNARD: What did you see about working conditions during the war in these plants? Were people working harder to try to increase production, or ...

CARLSTROM: Well, the pace of a plant is really what you're talking about.

BARNARD: Yes.

CARLSTROM: I used to think I could walk into a plant and be a pretty good judge of the pace in that plant, because I've been in so many plants over my tenure. But I'm not too sure that I could compare that time with peace time, because most of the plants in that area in that era were on some kind of an incentive system. Very few were like GM, paid by the hour.

And I can well recall Heinrick Gierok, GM central labor relations, telling me that they didn't have to pay to get a fair day's work they didn't have to pay an incentive. Each work station had a fair day's work and that's what they're required to do. So they didn't pay piecework.

Now, I can recall Walt Bailey, president of the local at International Harvester in Springfield, Ohio. He was the president of the council. They had a council of International Harvester like you had in GM, all other areas. They'd get out on what they called APE, average piecework earnings. You worked for the union and you get out on a grievance and the company

would pay you at your average piecework earnings. I needn't tell you that the boys would work like hell for a little while to try to achieve a pretty high APE and then they'd be out on grievances.

At the same plant, I was in there one time, and I saw a Bliss & Carnival press. A fellow was operating the press with a foot treadle. Over the top of it, they had a U-shaped piece of steel stamping to protect his foot from stuff coming down. What the guy had done is put a block between this U and the treadle so that it stayed constantly in motion. Safety. In the same plant, I saw four guys making stampings for the roof of a truck, one on each side. Palm buttons.

BARNARD: On a press?

CARLSTROM: Uh-huh, to start the press. They had made a nice device, shaped like a three, to hit that palm button, to hold her down.

BARNARD: To hold it so it's on all the time?

CARLSTROM: This on a big press—maybe a 50-ton press—on the fly, stretching in there to put grease on the male press, on the fly. So it was more than the arm under the press. Talk about safety. The company was allowing them to do it. I raised hell.

BARNARD: Now, this was because they were on a piece rate?

CARLSTROM: Yeah.

BARNARD: And they wanted to get as much out as they could?

CARLSTROM: Sure.

BARNARD: And you raised hell about it?

CARLSTROM: I sure did.

BARNARD: What did they say about that, the guys on the piece rate?

CARLSTROM: Unhappy with me. That's a scar I carry, too. We wanted a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. And of course, it depends upon whether you're getting it or giving it, right?

BARNARD: Right. Well what happened? When you raised hell, what did the company do?

CARLSTROM: They stopped that business there. And I suspect the guys got more money from the company. They raised hell. They had to work slower and turn out a better product. Pace is difficult to fake, to answer. And GM was as high as any of the piecework plants I know of.

But there again, they're spotty. Because, after all, when you're talking pace, you're talking only about, at most, two-thirds of the workers. The rest are on ancillary activities—inspection, maintenance, custodial.

BARNARD: Now, during the war, the left-wing in the UAW wanted to move more toward piece rates, I believe, incentive pay?

CARLSTROM: Oh, yeah, for a while.

BARNARD: So did you encounter any problems with that?

CARLSTROM: Oh, our office for the district council was at a downtown building. Down the same aisle, on the second floor was a Communist front office. And they had on their door, "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

BARNARD: So this was back in '39, '40?

CARLSTROM: Yes. And the Milwaukee Journal made much of the fact. I called Sam Chervin, the reporter over there, and told him to come on over and see what's been added: "The Yanks Are Not Coming, Too Late" that they had a sign painter put on their door. Depends on which side you're talking about. Yes.

BARNARD: What else did you do as an international rep?

CARLSTROM: Well, quickly, from '40 to '47, I was in the Milwaukee office, also working in Chicago, which by that time was the regional office. For those seven years, I was international rep servicing Milwaukee and working with other reps, and roughly in charge of the

office. In '47, the international union decided to set up an Agricultural Implement Department. Walter picked on Harvey, president of Local 180 ...

BARNARD: Harvey Kitzman?

CARLSTROM: Yes. ... to be the director of the department and saw to it that I became the assistant director. From '47 to '53, I was the assistant director.

BARNARD: And so this was the time when you were very much involved in trying to organize the Ag Imp plants?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: And dealing with FE?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: Because UAW and FE kind of declared war on each other ...

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: ... around 1946, '47? Were you involved in that?

CARLSTROM: Not me. I'll get back to that in some detail. '53 to '64, I was on the umpire staff of the GM Department, the only non-GM employee, but I'd been very knowledgeable at GM because of my dealings with Locals 6 and 719, and in parts up in Minneapolis and over in Omaha. From '53 to '64, I was in the GM Department. Livingston had gotten in a fight with Walter and Walter had taken the Ag Implement Department away from him.

BARNARD: What was that about, the fight between Walter and Livingston?

CARLSTROM: I suspect—suspicion only—that Walter felt that John was getting too big for his britches, getting too much power. After all, he had Ag Imp, he had the GM Department.

BARNARD: There's some talk that Livingston thought he perhaps should be president rather than Walter.

CARLSTROM: That would fit in. So he had it taken away from him. I'm sitting there. Pat Greathouse, director who had run against my friend Joe Mattson and beat him, was now appointed by Walter as the director of the Ag Imp Department. I do not know whether Pat would have retained me or not. Likely, he would have. I do not know.

BARNARD: This was '53, is that right?

CARLSTROM: Yes. I do not know. But I told him that I'd been given an offer to work in Detroit and therefore, I was leaving, so he didn't have to fire me.

BARNARD: Okay. How come the offer to work in Detroit came to you?

CARLSTROM: Well, Livingston, I think, felt some obligation. I had been a loyal soldier.

BARNARD: So you were going to come on Livingston's staff, is that right?

CARLSTROM: GM Department. Walter merely clipped off Ag Imp and gave it to Pat. And I felt, maybe too idealistically, I do not know, but I told Pat I didn't think the system was right for a regional director to be the director of a department that had national roots. The guys out in Stockton, California were under the International Harvester national agreement, subject to the decisions of the director. But they had no voice in his retention or discharge. I felt, structurally, that was unsound on the part of the union.

BARNARD: It should have been a national officer?

CARLSTROM: That's right. They corrected that at the next convention, incidentally. Pat became a vice president. See how they moved?

BARNARD: Kind of going in by the back door.

CARLSTROM: Yeah. Well, in 1964, the executive board of the union felt the need to set up the Arbitration Services Department, so that the independent parts plants could get some skilled arbitration assistance, assistance that they would not be expected to get from their region. And so they set up the Arbitration Services Department and I was given the assignment to start up that department. That's a job I held from 1964 to October of '69, when I retired.

BARNARD: Well, what do you want to say about these staff positions that you had? Going back to working for Livingston first in GM, and then we'll go on to talk about the arbitration work, too.

CARLSTROM: Well, I had a very good relationship with all of my superiors. I tried to the best of my ability to carry out their wishes.

I had a tough time with Livingston. He called me up. We were in national negotiations with International Harvester and he felt I should get something that I strove for and couldn't get. I said, "John, there's an old saying: A coward dies a thousand times, but the brave but once. I've done all the dying I'm going to do for this damned job. If you want me to be fired or quit, say the word. I've given the best I can on this and I can't get it. If you think you can get it, I'll set up a meeting for you to come into negotiations."

BARNARD: This was with International Harvester?

CARLSTROM: Yes. I made the same speech to Ray Berndt of this region — Caterpillar, Region 3. Geography! They didn't know! How Caterpillar from Peoria became part of Indiana, God only knows. I do not know. And we could only get maintenance of membership.

BARNARD: At Caterpillar?

CARLSTROM: Caterpillar. And Ray Berndt called John Bartee and me and raised holy hell. I said, "Fine, Ray. I can't get it. John can't get it. It's not in the cards."

BARNARD: You were trying to get a union shop?

CARLSTROM: Yeah. Not in the cards. "I'll be happy to set up a meeting for you. I'll get on the phone and call George Torrence and Ralph Monk right after we hang up and set up the meeting for you to come in."

BARNARD: Well, he couldn't get it either?

CARLSTROM: He didn't come in. He didn't want the meeting. He thought he could get it by brow-beating John and me. That's the only explanation I can give you.

BARNARD: Now, Livingston left when, in '55 or so?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: And went with CIO?

CARLSTROM: Yes. Walter gave him an advancement.

BARNARD: So to speak.

CARLSTROM: Director of Organization of the AFL.

BARNARD: Right, which turned out, I think, not to be much of a job.

CARLSTROM: Yeah.

BARNARD: And I guess Leonard Woodcock came in as the GM Director at that time, didn't he?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: And so you were still working in the GM Department at that point?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: So you continued to work with GM locals?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: And be involved in negotiations as a service rep? Had you known Woodcock at all?

CARLSTROM: He had come over one time to Milwaukee in the early days and we sat in the Schrader Hotel having a drink and reminiscing and talking about the state of the union. And he went back to Detroit. So I knew where he lived and knew him. It was on a Leonard/Larry basis. Yeah.

BARNARD: And I guess you must have known Irv Bluestone by this time?

CARLSTROM: Oh, very well. A grand man. Could have been, and should have been, president of the union, in my judgment.

BARNARD: Well, he spent an awful lot of time on the staff rather than coming up through the regional director route. And I believe in 1971, when he became the vice president,

wasn't he the first person who came off the staff and into that kind of position? I think everybody else had come up as a regional director, hadn't they?

CARLSTROM: Yes, that's right. He was the only one that had made the jump.

BARNARD: So he didn't go along the usual political route?

CARLSTROM: No. And they have continued that same thing in the GM Department today. The director of the department never was regional director of Region 4.

BARNARD: That's Shoemaker?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: So you had a chance to work with some of these people in the GM Department who really made quite a contribution to the UAW over the years? Both Woodcock and Irv Bluestone.

CARLSTROM: Oh, yes. Yes. Old saying again: What the times require, the times will provide. And I think Woodcock was needed to put our financial house in order as a union.

BARNARD: After Walter's death?

CARLSTROM: Yes. He clamped down and, I think, made a more severe regimen in the bookkeeping of our union. It needed it.

BARNARD: Now, there were real financial problems at that point?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: Because of what, because of Black Lake and the expense there?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: And then because of the GM strike, too?

CARLSTROM: Yes. Well, you're talking about Black Lake? I have spoken up there a lot of times. They had arbitration classes.

BARNARD: After you retired you did this?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, for a number of years I was invited up to run a week on arbitration.

BARNARD: What sorts of problems did you work with when you were involved with the umpire set-up?

CARLSTROM: Are you familiar with the way we then ran it? We had a Public Review Board.

BARNARD: Well, I know something about this, but why don't you describe that?

CARLSTROM: Well, perhaps alone of all the big unions, UAW had set up a Public Review Board, comprised of chiefly college professors, knowledgeable clergymen, knowledgeable government—mid-level and top—government employees, to sit on a board of review, where we would send grievances that couldn't be resolved within the union to the satisfaction of the grievant for final review.

We would agree to be bound by the results of their best judgment on the case. I've been before that Public Review Board on three occasions, that's all. Sustained in all three, incidentally.

I can't imagine any other institution of men the equal of our Public Review Board. I have raised this matter with one of my sons-in-law, who's a dentist. I asked him if he could imagine the dentists setting up a bureau of clergymen, professors, et al. to rule on whether or not you had indulged in malpractice and agree to be bound by the fruit of their decision?

Dick couldn't contemplate that. Neither can the general public. Yet we do that, and don't get any credit for it.

BARNARD: How was the Public Review Board looked on by just rank-and-file members?

CARLSTROM: Gee, I do not know. I do not know. I was spread so damned thin over the years in the union, I'm afraid I can't put it under my personal microscope the feeling of a general question like that.

BARNARD: Now, it was your job to go before the Public Review Board on some of these occasions?

CARLSTROM: Only on those cases that you handled yourself. ... I've got an area here I haven't talked to you about.

BARNARD: Okay, what's that?

CARLSTROM: I'm back in 1933-'34 again, and I'll tell you that Wisconsin, in fact all the Middle West, was in a ferment of social change. I've already alluded to Ed Witte as an example.

From this hotbed of social change, not surprisingly, there came a group of leaders, leaders whose ideas and energy spread beyond the state of Wisconsin. As I earlier told you, the earlier negotiations and arbitration and organization in Chicago came from Milwaukee and Kenosha staff people.

Well, how about some of these people? First, I think history will tell you that social change started out for a relatively small group, 25,000 citizens of Athens, 10,000 citizens of Venice. Small groups, but they were enlightened, and they were active.

It was my good fortune to brush up against some of those people. Let me point out some of them for you: There was Andy Biemiller, who came up to our office on 2620 Fond du Lac, where we started the district council office. He was labor spokesman in Congress, as well as a top official of the AF of L.

There was Walter Burke, who worked in Milwaukee the same time I did, and one of my competitors in organizing. He became the secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America. Rudy Faupe, IAM. Rudy became the first head of the ILO over in Europe.

BARNARD: International Labor Organization.

CARLSTROM: Yes. And there was Joe Padway, Milwaukee attorney, general counsel for the American Federation of Labor and Dave Previant, from the same office. And these fellows numbered several international unions as their clients, Padway alone being general counsel for the AF of L itself.

I've already told you about Al Hayes, later president of the IAM. Tony Doria, first secretary of the UAW-AFL, Homer Martin's union. He was on the executive board of our district council. Well, Max Raskin I owe a tremendous debt to. I knew him many years and well enough to call him a friend. He gave me wise counsel on many occasions. Max Raskin truly was a friend of labor, and a very capable guy. And Bill Quick, his partner, who said a labor contract was a confession of weakness.

BARNARD: Why did he say that?

CARLSTROM: Because you don't need a contract. You hit the bricks if they don't do as you tell them.

BARNARD: The contract just ties you down, not them, eh?

CARLSTROM: Yeah. Ed Hall became first secretary-treasurer of the UAW.

BARNARD: Yes. Now, what sort of contact did you have with Ed Hall? He was a man who was around for a while and then just disappeared and was replaced in 1939.

CARLSTROM: Yeah. Well, I don't know how he got the job, to tell you the truth.

BARNARD: Okay.

CARLSTROM: I didn't have any business with him. With Steffes, John Erickson, George Kiebler. Those were the guys I knew in Local 75. They were the fellows who carried the ball. How Ed got the job, I do not know. Oh, another fellow—two of them: Leo Krzycki, Amalgamated Clothing Workers vice-president.

BARNARD: CIO man?

CARLSTROM: Yes. And a citizen of Milwaukee, living on the south side, who loved to speak, who helped me many times. I'd call up Leo, "If you're available, will you come and talk to a meeting?" He sure would. After about three minutes of talk, he'd take off his coat, throw it over to the side, roll up his sleeves and REALLY start talking! He was a free-wheeling talker. A great guy.

BARNARD: Who were some of the other good speakers that you heard?

CARLSTROM: Well, the best speaker I ever heard was Homer Martin.

BARNARD: What about Homer Martin as a speaker? A lot of people talk about Martin's ability to make a strong speech.

CARLSTROM: I don't know whether they would have the same conclusion about him that I earlier gave you: What did he say? But you came out of there enthused.

BARNARD: Did he talk like the preacher that he had once been?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, firebrand. Victor, I thought, was a better talker than Walter. Very logical. You could follow his train of thought. He had nice, modulated tones. Roy was more of a firebrand when talking. Walter came in second. And that is not to decry his ability.

BARNARD: Right. Still, of course, he was pretty good?

CARLSTROM: You're darned right.

BARNARD: They were an unusual family, the three.

CARLSTROM: What a gift to labor.

BARNARD: Involved in the UAW. They just came along at the right time.

CARLSTROM: I earlier said to you, "What the times require, the times will provide." It's been my pleasure to have brushed up against a lot of capable people. A lot of capable people. Not much rubbed off, but ...

BARNARD: But you feel that you were very fortunate to have been involved in the kind of opportunities that came your way from this?

CARLSTROM: Oh, I should say I was.

BARNARD: It was an unusual era, given the number of able people who were active in the UAW and in the labor movement generally at that time. They were really able to inspire and to invigorate it, and to lead it to some extraordinary achievements.

CARLSTROM: Well, a teacher, if he's any good at all, not only has to teach, but he has to inspire. If you don't inspire, you don't pass on the knowledge that you impart.

BARNARD: You felt these people were pretty good teachers, in that respect?

CARLSTROM: You bet.

BARNARD: Did you have any personal kind of pangs or bad feelings when Homer Martin went kaput?

CARLSTROM: No, I was angry.

BARNARD: You were angry. You felt Homer had betrayed a lot of workers?

CARLSTROM: Yeah, that's right. As I told you, I had tears in my eyes when I said good-bye to him. Tears of anger.

BARNARD: They were tears of anger, not of sorrow?

CARLSTROM: Not sorrow. I felt he knew better. I'm not sure that that is true, because I wasn't in Detroit when he was surrounded by ravenous wolves.

BARNARD: Well, he fell into the hands of the Lovestone crowd and they seem to have led him astray, or whatever, however you want to put it.

CARLSTROM: I can't emphasize too much my feeling that the UAW grew out on the spokes, not at the hub. But the folks from here, from Indiana and Wisconsin particularly, were ahead of the parade. Way ahead of the parade.

BARNARD: Yes, Michigan and the Detroit area seem to have lagged behind as far as organizing went.

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: And I guess, you know, one of the things that's often said is that they had to deal with the Big Three, and the Big Three put up more resistance to organizing than in some of these areas, like in Wisconsin and Indiana.

CARLSTROM: They should sit across from the fellows I sat across from in J. I. Case, who'd say, "Mr. Carlstrom, we tried that a century ago, and it didn't work then, and it doesn't work now."

BARNARD: So you thought that the resistance was just as strong from the employers' side in your area?

CARLSTROM: Stronger. After all, we had a 14-month strike in Case. Look at our debacle in Caterpillar. Can you imagine an auto plant going down two years? I'd say that the Big Three are tough, but they could take lessons in toughness from somebody like Clark Robertson, general counsel to J. I. Case and a member of their board, who said to me, "Mr. Carlstrom, we tried that a century ago, and it didn't work then, and it won't work now." After all, they're talking about 1836, 1840, you know? You've got to keep in mind that these guys were accustomed, ingrained in their way of doing things the way they want them done.

BARNARD: They hadn't had much interference in the past, and they didn't want to have any on the board?

CARLSTROM: We went to the Supreme Court. I've been involved in two of them. Are you interested in them?

BARNARD: What was involved there?

CARLSTROM: J. I. Case, first one. They had a tractor-building plant in Rock Island competing with the one in Racine. They had gone back to work, incidentally, which caused us to lose the strike in Racine. But in any event, we asked for recognition. Case would not give us recognition. We went to the Labor Board, and they directed an election. After, we had a squabble as to the content of the bargaining unit, and the NLRB directed the scope of the unit and directed the election.

We, of course, won the election. After we won the election, we went to the company, said we're prepared to negotiate. They said, "Fine, we'll negotiate on those matters that are collectively proper for bargaining." What does that mean? "Every employee here has signed a quality agreement. Every employee in here at the time of hire-in has signed an agreement to be bound by the terms and conditions of employment that are now extant in the plant, or as may thereafter be set up by us, in return for which he is given a job. Therefore, we'll only bargain collectively with you on those matters they have not signed off on."

We went to the Labor Board and asked what gives? Every time we raise an issue—already provided for. Hours of work, rates of pay, seniority, working conditions—already provided for. The Board heard our story, hearing officer held for us. Armed with that, back to the table. Same answer. Hearing officer's report went to the Board itself and the Board said they're nuts. Back to the table we went. We don't care about the National Labor Relations Board. This is our agreement with our employees. This is where you are.

Under the law, the Board has to go to federal court to get its orders enforced. It does not have any enforcement power. That's true of all departments in our federal government, incidentally. So the Appeals courts held for us. Case wasn't bothered with that. Case went all the way to the Supreme Court. We, of course, won. The Court held that it is not for the employer to say what is the proper scope for collective bargaining.

BARNARD: They were refusing to bargain, is what it comes down to, right?

CARLSTROM: That's right.

BARNARD: Saying that there were things they didn't have to talk about because they had this phony agreement with their people when they came in?

CARLSTROM: Well, that the collective bargaining at the time of hire was a sham, a fraud. The other Supreme Court case involved Local 283, Wisconsin Motor, Milwaukee. Piecework, you mentioned piecework. The labor contract provided that rates of pay shall be set on the basis of the average competent operator working at a reasonable pace, giving due regard to quality of the product and safety of the employees. That's all in the language of the contract.

To help police that language, the union members had agreed among themselves that no one would turn in more than, I think, 15 cents an hour over the base rate of the job. The money escapes me, but the principle is solid. And the company raised holy hell, saying these guys could turn out more, and you're barring them from making more money. That case went to the Supreme Court, and we won that one.

The third one that I was involved in was also Local 248, where we fined some members for refusing to march on the picket line.

BARNARD: What happened there?

CARLSTROM: We won the case. Fines were collectable.

BARNARD: What were the details? People were going to be fined for not showing up for picket duty?

CARLSTROM: Yes, that's right. The union had voted that.

BARNARD: The union had voted to impose a fine on people who didn't come out and do their picket duty? And some of these people who did not want to do picket duty had challenged this, is that right?

CARLSTROM: That's right. And they were aided and abetted by ever-loving Allis-Chalmers. So those were three interesting cases in my time in the union.

BARNARD: And those all had to go to the Supreme Court before they got a final decision?

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: Each one, the union's position was upheld in each one of those?

CARLSTROM: Yes, sir. Some of our new local unions agreed to wage cuts in order to survive. The country was sliding back to its historic situation, in which there were more workers than there were jobs.

And the rich were getting restive, wanting more of the economic pie. America was basically isolationist. A large group of its citizens saw no reason to get involved in the blood-letting going on in Europe. President Roosevelt gave massive aid to England in its life and death struggle against Hitler's hordes.

Inevitably, we were drawn into the conflict. And so the second era began. I wanted to tell you the point I was making was that in my lifetime, I divide it into two 40-year periods.

I can recall standing on the school grounds in Mellen, Wisconsin, a little town in northern Wisconsin where my dad had a grocery store. Hearing the church bells and the sawmill whistle blowing, the tannery whistle blowing, all proclaiming the end of World War I. It's my contention that roughly the 40-year period that began then saw more change for the good of the common people than the last 40-year period.

I honestly believe that the big changes, the inventions that have changed our way of life, basically, more of them occurred then than have occurred in the 40-year span after that. Examine them for yourself, and I think you'll come to the same conclusion.

BARNARD: Why should we in the earlier era have been more inventive?

CARLSTROM: I think we were. I think part of the problem is that we have become, individually, ultra-isolationist. The rise of two-family incomes has led to mother being away from the home and worrying about the school system when we need to worry more about nurturing the children at home. An opinion. I can be wrong.

But I think any basic invention you want, they loomed bigger in that first 40-year period beginning with the end of World War I than the 40-year period after that. Put the inventions up there and they were more for the individual.

Today, I have a grandson, I don't want to name him, who works for the Big Three, who thinks the devil takes the hindmost. He has a very good job, incidentally. And he thinks the unions have outgrown their time and their need. And I say so long as there's greed in the world, there's need for a union, unless you can legislate greed out of the picture.

But I think people today are concerned more about the individual than they are about group responsibility, worrying about the general welfare, which I think is in the Constitution. You don't see anyone talking about the general welfare. They're talking about my rights as an individual, not my responsibilities to my country, to my group, of which I am a part.

BARNARD: Did you think that the UAW, by the time you retired in 1969, had it pretty well fulfilled all your hopes for it?

CARLSTROM: Yes. Let me tell you, I think that the fight we had started in '48, that had ended in '48, it had started 50 years before in negotiating hours, wages and working conditions. The area of concern at the bargaining table had largely been achieved, and we had to open up new vistas. And the genius of Walter was that we opened up the vistas of pensions, insurance, beyond double time for time-and-a-half. And they opened up a whole new area.

BARNARD: Supplementary unemployment benefits.

CARLSTROM: Yes. I think from 1933, when I knew it, to '48, hours, wages and working conditions cover a very narrow area. The scope was broadened immeasurably after '48. And I think it will be broadened again, because there are some areas still to cover. I see nothing wrong with having labor run the bargaining front of the board of directors of companies. They do it in Europe, western Europe. I think we should do it here.

BARNARD: Of course, Fraser went on the Chrysler board for a while and Bieber was on for a while, too.

CARLSTROM: Yes.

BARNARD: But they're not anymore.

CARLSTROM: No. And that's only one union. The whole tendency of the labor movement I think should be to get more people involved. And I speak now as a stockholder.

BARNARD: Do you think this broadening that you think occurred around 1948 or so was primarily due to Walter himself? Was there much rank and file input into this, that you were aware of? Or was this something that the people at the top more or less came up with and said, okay, we want to go this way toward pensions and SUB and insurance?

CARLSTROM: Yes and no. For example, when we went in to get a pension at Deere and Company, we merely glued onto a pension plan already in existence.

When I retired, they gave me a crock. You know why they gave it to me? I would say, that's a crock of you know what, doo-doo. And Ralph Metcalf, who sat across the table from me

in central negotiations, knowing I was retiring, had a crock to give me the last time I was at the table with him.

BARNARD: Weren't going to let you forget that one, eh?

CARLSTROM: No.

BARNARD: Well, it sounds like you had a pretty good time along the way?

CARLSTROM: Yep. My union was good to me. Not all the people in it were good to me all the time.

During the Depression, the federal government put in the Blue Eagle. A company would be awarded a Blue Eagle and they would work under the Blue Eagle, under the terms and conditions set forth by the federal government. For example, Modine's had to pay 42 cents an hour. At least that. And Modine's prided itself on the fact that it paid forty-two-and-a-half. Yes. Unions grew out of the needs of the people, and they still do.

And Modine knew it was a decent place to work by comparison. After all, we got recognition without a strike. We got a contract without a strike. And they met with us. I suspect part of the rationale on their part was that the union was a good sounding board for their ideas and a good place for them to learn what the employees were thinking. It was a two-way street.

Miles Potter would sit there in the regular bi-monthly meeting and tell us about what business they were having, what terms and conditions they thought they would be getting. And we were learning about the company and its needs, which I think is a darned good idea at any age. And in return, surer than hell they got the idea what was wrong out in the plant.

BARNARD: So there was this two-way communication going on?

CARLSTROM: You bet.

BARNARD: And that they were profiting and benefiting from it as much as you were?

CARLSTROM: I think so.

BARNARD: You were learning about the business and they were learning about their employees?

CARLSTROM: I don't think we were a temporary nuisance at all, although in many cases, I suspect they thought we were an aberration that would be corrected shortly.