MILLIE JEFFREY

Interviewed by

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TD: We're here today with Millie Jeffrey. We're very glad to have you here. You may remember, more years ago than either of us likes to think, we were neighbors, and our kids played together in Rouge Park. So, it's good to see you again and have this interview with you.

Now, we want to start a little bit with your background. Were you born in Minnesota? Where were you born?

MJ: No, but before I tell you where I was born, Tom, I want to say how wonderful it is to be here with you. And I have such fond memories of our families working together and our children playing together, growing up together, and also our participation in those early exciting days in the Democratic party and in the labor movement.

Now, to go to your question. I was born in northwestern Iowa, which is very fertile soil -- black, black soil, three feet deep -- in a small town, and my mother and father were both pharmacists. My mother, it turned out that she became a single mother, after she had seven children. I was the oldest of seven. She was determined that her children -- her six daughters, particularly -- were going to get a college education. She knew she never could afford to send us away to school, so she studied. And I can still see her sitting on the living room floor with catalogues from the various universities in the midwest -- Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, Notre Dame and St. Mary's. She chose to move us to Minnesota. I was a sophomore in high school at that

time. My brother, who was two years younger than I, we were together. Kenneth, my brother, was very smart. He advanced very quickly in his educational life. So we grew up, let's say, in Minneapolis, which was a wonderful city. I think she moved there in part because she had an older sister who lived there. Then we went on, my mother's dream, to the University of Minnesota, and I worked 40 hours a week. Fortunately, I had a wonderful job because of very flexible hours. I worked for a professor who was doing his major study of student self-support at the college level. And we worked on Hollorith machines, the predecessor of our great fantastic computer world now. But, I was also very active in campus activities, particularly the student YWCA, which was one of the most radical organizations at the University of Minnesota at that time. My mother was a magnificent, wonderful woman, who gave me so much of what I am today or have been all during my life. And in the YWCA I had another wonderful mentor, Lois Wilde, the secretary of the Y.

At the YWCA we did everything. We had campaigns to integrate restaurants. At that time, Chinese, Chow Mein, Chop Suey was very popular, and we would go and try with Blacks go to integrate them. We had an 'inter-racial committee'. We had in summer programs, we had some of the great thinkers, Rinald Neighbor, A. Phillip Randolph, many pacifists, both women and men. I had nothing in a sense. We were very, very poor, and I remember we used to live on mush during some of those winters. We had fried mush, regular mush, and so on. But I was also very fortunate to have these wonderful mentors, teachers, and

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particularly through the YWCA, which had profound influence on my thinking, my life, my philosophy, what I should try to be.

TD: Then your mother encouraged you in all of these activities? Or is this on your own?

MJ: Oh, no. My mother, it's so hard to know, my mother used to say, and I remember she had a community, what we call now a community drug store. She worked in that drug store very long hours, open 7 days a week, even on Christmas. So she was gone a lot, and I had a lot of responsibility for my younger siblings.

One of the things I remember -- we had a neighbor that I didn't like very much -- my mother used to say 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' and that always puzzled me because I didn't think I was supposed to love myself. But what she explained to me was that if I didn't respect myself I would not know how to respect others. So that became a tenet, and I think so important. We talk a lot today about self esteem, self assurance, and one has to learn, one has to become learned to develop so you can respect yourself. That's not easy because each of us has flaws, but basic to life is to respect others so that you can work with them, so you can accomplish things. I believe a great deal in individual initiative but also simply stated in collective action.

TD: Now, let's jump, do a fast forward. How did you go from the University of Minnesota to work for the UAW and Walter Reuther, in particular?

MJ: Ok, well, very quickly. I was extraordinarily fortunate and I was offered a fellowship at Bryn Mawr College where I studied social economy and social research. Bryn Mawr is outside of

Philadelphia. Philadelphia was a very exciting time. This city, this was 1933, '34, '35. And we, in our program, we had internships in the city. One of the things we did was a housing study for the hoisery workers. We used to go hoisery worker meetings every Friday night. They were young and dramatic and exciting and also meetings of the Socialist party. Through that, that's where, I remember that's where I met my future husband, Newman, was at a picnic of the necktie workers who were on strike. So it was a very exciting time for all of us. That led to, first, after I got through two years at Bryn Mawr, I worked for the Pennsylvania Department of Labor, and then the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Jake Petoskey, who is the vice president, asked me to become -- the best title I ever had in my life -- Educational Director of the Pennsylvania Joy Porter Shirtworkers Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America -- and that was for a couple of years. We did everything. We did our education classes. We took busloads of people to lobby in Harrisburg for minimum wage and for protective legislation for women workers. We took 150 people to May Day celebrations in New York City. We worked with the bootleg miners so that education had broad definition.

TD: What were the bootleg miners?

MJ: The bootleg miners -- this was during the Depression years still, and there was great unemployment, huge unemployment in the mines. This is anthracyte and that part of Pennsylvania. That's one reason that the manufacturers from New York and Philadelphia had moved their shops into Pennsylvania where there was such unemployment in the coal fields, as I said. And

there were women, wives and daughters, who were available because, of course, the garment industry is largely female. And the bootleg miners went in the side and mined coal. They established a distribution system of trucking to Philadelphia and New York City and were really quite successful. We worked with them. I remember there was an article in the *New York Times* and one of the few times I made the *New York Times* in my life. But I was called something like the 'angel' of the bootleg miners. Tom Flannery was one of their leaders. Actually, I bought my first car, it belonged to a man who was in prison for bootlegging.

TD: Well, now let's jump from there to the UAW.

MJ: Well, after that my husband and I edited -- Newman was the editor of the labor paper in Cheboygan, Wisconsin for about a year -- where we learned all about the progressive, political machine, so to speak, and there was a farmer labor federation. And then after that I was an organizer for the amalgamated and the textile workers and worked in Indiana and Georgia and Louisiana and then in 1939 we decided it was time for us to have a family and I asked Amalgamated for a transfer from New Orleans, and they put both of us in Baltimore. That's where our first child was born. Then a couple of years we did some things for the government, and guess what, the labor morale section, the war production board with Andy B. Miller. He was later the legislative assistant. We learned to know Andy and his wife Hannah in Milwaukee when we printed our labor newspaper, *The Milwaukee Leader.*

TD: A legislative assistant, that was for the CIO?

MF: AF of L. Andy, oh, he was famous. He was a member of the Congress at one time. So, then during the time and Newman was director of the labor division of the office of Civilian Defense. We lived in Washington for a couple of years. And then my husband wanted to come to Detroit. There were lots of people who wanted to become members to participate in the tremendous achievements of this baby burgeoning union, the United Autoworkers of America. So we came to Detroit, and Newman worked in the Ford plant during the war making airplanes. On our way to Detroit I went home to my mother because she had not seen our second child, our son. While I was in Minneapolis visiting my mother and my family, I had a letter from Victor Reuther. He offered me this position of Director of the Women's Department.

TD: How had you known Victor?

MJ: I knew Walter a little bit, and I knew Roy very well because he lived with us in Washington because he was also working in the same department as I was so we went in on the bus every morning.

TD: Same department of the government?

MJ: Yes, the War Production Board, Labor and Morale Section. But Victor, I really didn't know at all. I met him, but I didn't know him. I just said, 'well, I've got two young children -- I have to see what happens and so on.' And I remember one night at a party at Vic and Sophie's home I said to Victor, 'you've been so patient. I just think that you should find somebody else' because try as hard as I could I could not find a satisfactory child care program for my two children, babies, so to speak. They were both

under five. That very next day a woman walked in. We were living in a housing project. She lived a few doors from me. So I tried her out for a couple of weeks again, fortuitous. She, Anna, and because she could come every day. We didn't have a place for her to sleep in. I was able to accept Victor's offer.

TD: And this was in Detroit?

MJ: Yes, in Detroit.

TD: Now, then what was your first job with the UAW?

MJ: As Director of the Women's Bureau.

TD: And what was that and what did it do?

MJ: There had been, the Autoworkers, of course, the industry was predominately male, and it was the face of America. It was Catholic and it was Protestant and it was many different ethnic groups and it was the South and so on. And it had traditional male attitudes. But there was this huge influx of women workers because the women were neede as the men went off to war and the production requirements for personnel increased. So our task was wonderful. What we tried to do was to develop a women's program and we had a national women's conference, for example, which was the first time, you know, it was sponsored by the international union, a women's conference.

TD: Now, was this just inviting UAW women?

MJ: Yes, UAW, across the country. We did things, for example, the men had gone -- the idea was -- somebody had an idea that the production workers should see the product and how it was used in the services so you could connect working on the line with the war effort. Some men had gone to Camp Atterbury in Indiana so we

said, well, the women should do the same thing. So we had 150 women that went to Fort Knox which was tanks, and we had a great time -- 150 went on the train -- some of the women, it was the first time they'd been on a train. But we were in the tanks. I remember when I got in the tank I was the first one in and I had claustrophobia at first. It was so scary. We rode in the tanks. We crawled. They had training in which, you know, in camouflaged suits. You crawled along the ground. In training they would fire live shots. Well, they didn't fire live shots over us, but they fired blanks or something, so we had to keep our heads down and crawl. In other words, it was a terrific learning experience for us, and I don't know whether it accomplished its goal of connecting. But you did day by day in 9 or 10 hours of work and getting very tired. If you were a woman having to take care of children, shopping and so on, all of those problems which surrounded women. And we tried to deal with those, too. We worked very hard on child care.

TD: Let women see the end product of what they were doing mechanically in the shop? Do I have that correct?

MJ: Right.

TD: Then you took the lead on that and got support from the UAW?

MJ: And Olga Are (??) was one of my close associates partners in all of this and Olga, who later became vice president, the first woman vice president of the UAW, was then at the bomber plant, local 50, at Willow Run.

TD: I think as far as the people hired, you mentioned, would you say there's an 'Archie Bunker' background on a lot of union members that when you join the union you don't get all your attitudes changed automatically. What was the relation of Walter Reuther? Did he support this or was he just passive or what was his role in relation to you and your job and the work with women?

MJ: Well, my boss was Victor. At this time, R.J. Thomas was president of the union. Walter was a vice president. I did not see a lot of Walter in those days. I saw a lot Victor and the Reuther associates, his close friends, and I was labeled when I was put on the staff. I remember there were some leaflets saying, you know, here's another socialist, which somebody got out. I don't even know which group. There were many, many different groups in the union. It was all so new and creative and so much spontaneity and so much, some people would say, irresponsibility when you saw the things that were happening in the shop. But, it was a creative, dynamic period.

TD: What was Vic's job at that point?

MJ: Victor was Director of the War Policy Division which had been set up by the International Union. It was under the direction of the president, R.J. Thomas, but Victor was an extraordinarily able person. The other divisions were veterans, manpower, civil rights, and then we had sort of a manual that codified all the regulations affecting labor during the war period which was used by the local unions and women. There were five divisions.

TD: Now tell me about the struggle for equal pay in relation to the War Labor Board.

MJ: First, let me say, if you read the constitution of the UAW and the bylaws from 1935 at the South Bend convention, they speak to -- it's amazing when you think about it -- equality of women. Maternity leave for women, for example.

TD: What year was that?

MJ: 1935

TD: And that was pretty unusual at that time.

MJ: It really was very unusual. Of course, taking what is said in a constitution and applying it is a different thing. But there was a part of the UAW philosophy at that time. Secondly, during the war when it became so apparent that there was going to be -- first there were like, you know, like 25%, 25,000 women and then there were 250,000 women that entered war production plants under the UAW collective bargaining agreements. Walter believed, I think, in equal pay for women, but he also felt, and women were going on many different jobs, not the traditional ones like sewing in the upholstery department and welding and what not. If something wasn't done about this this could lower male wages. So he wrote a brief and presented it to the War Labor Board and the War Labor Board issued a ruling which called for equal pay for equal work in the war plants.

TD: So the purpose is not simply, you might say, a moral idea that women should get equal pay, but if they didn't get equal pay they would pull down the wages of men. Is that it?

MJ: Precisely. And I think illustrates Walter's larger view.

TD: So both to combine the principle and also practicality.

MJ: Right and practicality.

TD: Now, let's talk a little more about the matter of empowerment of women. Part of that was to protect the working conditions of men. Do you want to tell a little bit more about what you were doing to get the empowerment of women.

MJ: Well, thank you, Tom, because what we were doing, we had a lot of education classes in addition to the national conference on women, we had regional conferences for women. So women could come together and, of course, this was replicated in the '60's, in the '70's and '80's where women said 'we need to meet together.' We met together because then you could learn parliamentary procedure conducting conferences. We were interested in women becoming sufficiently knowledgeable about their rights in the union, their rights in the shop, their rights in the community so that in order to become empowered you have to be informed and educated. And then you have to learn to exercise those rights, and that takes a lot of association with each other, agreeing on common goals so that in the plant they could speak up, they'd know what their rights were to go to their committeeman or their shop steward in the local union to say, 'hey, look at us -- we're here, too.' And, hopefully, though there wasn't much time for this during the war but later on in the community in politics.

TD: Now, did women get elected to jobs in the union such as shop steward, officers of the union? How much encouragement was there of that?

MJ: Well, it was tough. I would say that in the smaller local unions women began to be elected as recording secretaries. Sometimes it was combined secretary-treasurer. We would

encourage women to be not only chair of the women's committee, but also education committees and to participate, you know. So to speak, you have to earn these things. They're not handed to you. There's a saying, 'A woman has to do twice as well to get half as far as a man.'

TD: Yes. And, now, when was Olga _____ elected vice president? Do you remember about when that was?

MJ: Well, yes. That's a very, very interesting period in the UAW. Horace Sheffield and Willoughby Abner, who was a brilliant man from Chicago and very active in the UAW, had been president of the NAACP in Chicago at a UAW convention. Horace Sheffield nominated Willoughby Abner for vice president and this we sort of go to the pail because it was not, the Reuther slate was the slate that was going to win at the convention. But this was a very strong protest with a failure of the UAW to sufficiently recognize blacks. Across the union, in local unions and in the national, international administration.

TD: Walter was president of the UAW then?

MJ: Walter was president, and it was, I think, a heroic act of Horace Sheffield.

TD: Tell me more. I know you and I both knew Horace Sheffield well. Tell me a little bit more about his background and his relationship to Walter.

MJ: Horace passed this last year.

TD: Yes, in fact, I was going to do an oral history on him, but go on.

MJ: I would say that Horace in many ways is one of the few persons that I've evern known or worked with in my life who never really compromised his principles. He, among other things at this particular time, he formed a trade union leadership conference, which was an organization of African Americans. So after this convention -- I'm struggling to get the year, but it'll come to me -- Walter realized that something had to be done about bringing blacks into it. Meanwhile, Olga _____ and the women, and I was part of this, were campaigning for a woman on the board. And what Walter did for the next convention in many ways I think illustrates his leadership. We spoke earlier about principle and working things out in a practical basis. He proposed the addition. He proposed to increase the international union board. IEB -- International Executive Board -- by three spots. And these would be board members at large. And he named three people -- Ken Bannon, beause Ken was director of the Ford Department and was the only major department that did not have a representative on the board. So that took care of Ford. Jack Edwards -- black -- and Olga Medar (??). And then later these three at-large were named vice presidents.

TD: And they were part of the Reuther slate when they got elected?

MJ: Yes, oh, definitely. Walter persuaded his colleagues on the board to go along with this and, of course, there was a big Ford convention. There was huge Reuther caucus. But also it had been taken out. You know, Walter worked endlessly in going out to the local unions whether it was for internal politics or whether it was,

for example, on the pension program. He worked at least two years and other officers did, too, because to get workers to say, for example, the first pension program was 8¢ instead of in the paycheck to put it in a pension program. That took a lot of selling, so to speak, a lot of informing and educating.

TD: Admer (?) was nominated by Horace Sheffield but did not get elected.

MJ: He withdrew.

TD: Oh.

MJ: The statement had been made and it was a powerful statement.

TD: But that helped build the idea that resulted in Bannon --

MJ: It was a powerful voice.

TD: And Edwards and who was the third?

MJ: Jack Edwards and, of course --

TD: And he was African American.

MJ: Jack, oh, yes, he was from the Ford Department. And many people thought, as a matter of fact, as I recollected -- Leonard Woodcock's candidate for that was Horace Sheffield. But because Horace had been such a leader he paid the price. He was not named.

TD: That's interesting.

MJ: Yes, he paid the price.

TD: The one that's the real creative liberal pays the price and built it in for someone else to come along.

MJ: Right. But, you know, the great thing about Horace was he never became bitter. Bitterness is such a debilitating emotion. Horace never was. And he was put on Walter's staff.

TD: I remember he and Bob Millender were very much for real integration since you and I think of. Is that right?

MJ: Oh, yes. You're so right, Tom. You're so right.

TD: All right. Now, let's move along. We're getting into the Fair Practice and Civil Rights. I remember looking at Gladys Beckwith's Women's Hall of Fame.

MJ: Yes.

TD: It has pictures. You were much younger then, but I think marching in Oakland county or some place.

MJ: One loves to look at those younger pictures -- those photos when one was younger.

TD: Well, you were active. Do you remember about what year that was? I don't need the exact year, but was that part of a UAW activity or as an individual or what was your role then?

MJ: Well, I can't remember when I wasn't active in the Civil Rights movement. It really comes from my college days, just as an individual, oh, this must have been, oh, those marches, of course, were in the late '50's, '60's because it culminated in the great 1963 Detroit march. And so, for example, in Grosse Pointe and Pontiac and other places there were the demonstrations for we were doing housing.

TD: Now, were you working for vic Reuther at that time or for Walter? Do you remember?

MJ: Oh, I was working for Walter then.

TD: All right, then were you encouraged by him to do this or was this an official UAW function or what was your relationship with Walter at that time?

MJ: The UAW platform adopted at conventions resolutions many of them quite long, many of them expository before they came -- *Therefore, be it resolved.* Set forth not only an economic goal for the auto workers, but it had a vision. Walter always talked at conventions, always talked about many things, but he always talked about the children back home. And his 1946 article which was a guiding light to him and, I think, to the UAW, and I hope still is, we make progress with the community, not at the expense of the community. We are priviledged. Auto workers are priviledged, but, and still are, because of the wealth of the industry and the strength of the union. So, you had perameters. The philosophy of the UAW was that one could do almost anything. Now, it's true I had great freedom. I used to go into Walter once in a while when I was director of the community relations department at that time. I'd say, we'd like to do this or like to do that and he would say, 'oh, that's ok, Millie.' But I'd like to know what you think. And he'd say, 'if you get into trouble, you will hear from me.' So I had really, really great, great freedom.

TD: You had great freedom so you could march in Grosse Pointe or Civil Rights or anything like that.

MJ: Anybody could march in Civil Rights, but it was, I got into a lot of causes which were maybe outside the union, but Civil Rights was a fundamental program of the UAW.

TD: Now, was there much -- remember, there were a lot of Archie Bunker rank-and-file members -- in fact, I interviewed Irv Bluestone and he made the point that Walter marched with Martin Luther King and some of the members from the deep south were probably less than enthusiastic. Did you run into any problems within the organization?

MJ: Oh, oh, oh, Walter was castigated in the south. There was a local that the UAW appointed an administrator in Memphis, International Harvester Local in Memphis, an administrator was appointed because in the local union the toilets were black and white. An administrator was appointed to take over that local because of their segregation policies. Oh, it was very rough. The first time Walter went to the south was in Selma, and at that time Selma was, in a sense, a barricaded. The black community was barricaded in Jefferson housing, Thomas Jefferson Housing Project. Some of us, and because of this Walter really had such vision. He never wanted to get too far ahead of where the membership was, where the rank and file was, worked very hard at educating it. However, on this issue, he felt, I think that in the early days it was better the UAW was giving thousands of dollars to NAACP which was critized about, the literature was really vile about Walter. But we, some of us -- Horace and others of us -- wanted Walter to go south. He needed, we felt, to feel it. And so he decided to go south to Selma. Horace Sheffield and some others, and Horace and I were sort of his advance. And I remember we went down and we stayed in this public housing project in Selma. The project literally was surrounded by state police cars, police

cars, maybe they were state and local. I don't know, but it was bumper to bumper, and once you got in you really couldn't get out.

TD: Now, what was the purpose of the police?

MJ: Well, this was all on voting rights.

TD: Was it to protect you or not to protect you?

MJ: Oh, no. It was to contain because Martin Luther King had, the idea was he wanted to march to the city hall to protest the right to vote. They were not granted a permit. That was the particular issue at this time. So we were there, and I'll never forget. That was the night I listened on the floor because there were a lot of people living in this little apartment in the public housing would come to help march or try to march. It was one of the great ideas of Andy Young, I think, and others who were in the Martin Luther King leadership. And it was the night Lyndon Johnson gave his "We shall overcome" speech.

TD: Lyndon Johnson did?

MJ: President Lyndon Johnson. Three times in that speech he said, 'And we shall overcome.' Now, that was the theme song of the Civil Rights movement, and here the President of the United States articulating those symbolic words was strengthening and sustaining. And the next day Walter arrived and there was this huge meeting in Brown Chapel. Remember, we were contained. And again the request had been made for a permit to march. And Walter was there, and we were there sitting in the church waiting for Dr. King to come. And Andy Young came in and so I said, 'you know, Walter's here'. So he went up to speak to Walter and he said, 'oh, you must come and see Dr. King.' So Andy, I went

with him. Andy took Walter and went up to where Dr. King was waiting, well, there had been speech making going on in the church at Brown Chapel. So Walter and King met privately and talked and then they came down together to the chapel. While we were there it was his tenseness. Somehow or other there was rumor or something that a permit might be granted. But the hours went. That's why we were waiting in the chapel. Hours went by. This had started, I think, about noon. Finally, we received the word at 4:00 we could march. Now, you understand there had been bags. People were not let out into the street. It was incredible by this bully sheriff. But to march was 4:00. You had to march two-by-two on the sidewalks, not on the street. And it was scary because nobody knew what would happen. And somehow or other, you know, it was 4:00. It would be getting dark by the time we were going into evening and we marched to the City Hall and it was like Martin Luther King -- Martin Luther, Martin Luther -- putting on the church door the proclamation. And I have a wonderful photo here which appeared in *Life* magazine at the door with Dr. King and Walter Reuther and the bishop of the Greek Orthodox church and two nuns. They were at the front of the line. We were, of course, back here some place. That was the first time Walter marched with Martin Luther King. It was the first time he'd come to the South, and I think was a turning point and certainly a historic moment.

TD: But Walter survived in the UAW. I mean he did get good contracts and did get grievances processed.

MJ: Walter Reuther never forgot that his primary responsibility was in the context of his philosophy for achieving a better society and a better living for his, the UAW members, and all of society. But he knew in order to do that the UAW had to be strong and it had to be a reality in the shop or it would not survive.

TD: I remember hearing him talk on union conditions, contracts. He'd almost always work in a sentence that most of the people of the world went to bed hungry every night. At the same time, he was talking about better contracts and pensions and health care and so on. Well, now let's go on. You talked about how you said Walter said progress with the community, not the expense. You want to talk a little bit about when Walter said we should get wage increases with no price increases. That was for the General Motors workers.

MJ: That was a famous 1945-46 strike. It was at the end of the war and labor had really suffered during the war and the freeze on wages and the freeze on working conditions and so on. Walter went to the executive board and proposed that there be a GM strike. Again, you had the brilliance, I think, of his leadership. That was wage increases without price increases. It was open the books. It was a national citizens committee that was created with representatives from religion and education leaders and they studied this and recommended an increase.

TD: How much research had he done on whether that was economically possible? Or was it just a speech?

MJ: Walter had the confidence to have on his staff and his principle associates very, very able and talented persons. That

included Leonard Woodcock and Jack Conway and Nat Weinberg. Nat was the research director, and, of course, then there were people like Don Montgomery and Paul Siften in the Washington office.

TD: So when he said wage increases without prices...

MJ: Research had been done.

TD: There had been the factual sound economic analysis.

MJ: The auto industry, you know, we went into a conversion period and so on. That was why this was so critical to do it right after the war because we were going to convert. Obviously, a very critical time to get those cars back on the market. Man, for automobiles was huge. For years, the auto industry had operated on a new model. They'd figure out the total cost and then it was 20%-22% profit. When industry as a whole was operating at 6% profit, I think the economy, and economics were there.

TD: So it was right at the end of World War II, then.

MJ: Yes. That strike was 127 days. One of the things we did in that was there was no strike relief then. We had to help get welfare. In Michigan you could get welfare, but we organized the National Citizens Committee to Aid to Families of GM Strikers.

TD: Now, Millie, as we all learned, Walter was not able to get wage increase without price increase. When I say Walter, I mean the whole UAW.

MJ: Right.

TD: That may have changed our whole economic approach and then I think the UAW did, as you say, take care of its own members. Now, just one idea I've had is that maybe some of the

resentment of Walter was that he was so well qualified. For example, he was a very skilled tool and die maker, and when there's a matter of 500 planes a day, he knew more about production than the heads of the Big Three just because they'd grown up from a different basis. I just wonder often if some of the resentment of Walter by the Big Three was the fact he was so much more knowledgeable about their own business. Have you ever thought of that or do you think there's anything to that?

MJ: He exasperated the presidents of those corporations. And while it's true he didn't win the issue as he stated, remember this strike was historic not only for the union but I think it was the first major strike after the cessation of the war. There were powerful forces, and one of the things that happened was that the steelworkers settled for 18 1/2¢ an hour, which was a recommendation of a government body, too.

When you think back on it, in a sense, it was a revolutionary concept in our free enterprise system. If that had happened, if that philosophy, economic policy had taken hold in this country we would not be in the dilemma we are today which there is a widening salary wage income gap between those who are rich and those who are poor. That's one reason sales are down in this holiday season. It's because workers, people, white collar, middle class, as well as the poor, are earning less today in real income than they were 2 years, 4 years, 10 years ago.

TD: I think another way to put it, Millie, from '32 on we were narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor and now it's increasing. The stock market's going up great, but that's a real

problem. I wanted to go back a bit, just a little bit on World War II. As I understand it, the auto industry wanted to keep making cars and start out airplane factories in California. Walter took the lead in conversion because he knew so much as a tool and die maker about the industry.

MJ: Yes.

TD: And I think you said that exasperated probably some of the men, not women, men across the table.

MJ: Well, the reason, and not only exasperated, but they had an entrenched position was because they were saying Walter Reuther is trying to run our industry. He has no right to tell us what to do. It was challenging the authority of the corporate body.

TD: It was going beyond merely wages, hours and working.

MJ: Precisely.

TD: Ok, now, we could spend hours on this, Millie.

MJ: Oh, yes, but we have to move on.

TD: Let's go on to the Michigan Democratic party.

MJ: May I just say one thing quickly?

TD: Sure.

MJ: Because Walter always had a way. He used to say that, for example, there would be I remember the Ford strike of 1950, there'd be a huge meeting and there would be thousands of people there. The way Walter would present the issue, like pensions, was in words and vivid descriptions so that the people who were there, the men and women, especially the men, could go back in the plant the next day and say, 'this is what Walter Reuther's talking about.' One of those expressions going to this concept that we've

just been speaking about was he talked about the high velocity dollar. In other words, the dollar that was in the working man's pocket was spent in the community in which that family lived. And that was the concept that as you developed the income of people, it would contribute to the prosperity and the economic development of our country. High velocity dollars was the way he made it vivid to people, his economic concept.

TD: He did have an ability to phrase things.

MJ: I'm sorry I interrupted you.

TD: No, no. One other thing. I often heard him speak about is the re-alignment of political forces. I think he was partly concerned about the Dixie-crats and so on. Now, let's go into the Michigan Democratic party, in particular, the changes that started in about 1948. I know you and I were, I think, both on the executive board in the old 17th district.

MJ: Yes, yes, we were.

TD: So do you want to tell a little bit about what was done there as far as re-aligning political forces.

MJ: I guess one would say that a principal in that re-alignment of forces was G. Mennen Williams, who ran for governor. He was sort of an unknown. He had the support of Martha and Hicks Griffiths. He ran for governor. To the surprise of many, he was elected. Michigan had been a Republican state. It was really a one party state for years, with the exception of when Franklin Roosevelt carried, for example, 1936, and Frank Murphy was elected governor. That was part of the Roosevelt landslide of '36. We were a Republican state. So we had this upstart, Mennen

Williams. A rather tall upstart, I must say. And you had the participation of auto workers and as time went on the coming together of Mennen Williams and people like Neil Staebler who had a philosophy of openness and a participation with, but I used to say in those days, and I still believe, with a strong and ethical labor movement, the UAW. And people like, in other unions, like Gus Scholle, who was president of the Michigan CIO. It was a wonderful combination. Mennen Williams built trust. He built trust in our system of government whether it was with auto workers or it was with ethnic, Polish, German, Italian, with the Black community, African American community, with liberals, intellectuals, and many business people. But basically his strength flowed out of what we don't have today -- is his confidence that through the electoral process, through the election to public office of people you could trust with the programs, implementing programs they campaigned on, was key to all of this was Mennen. And it was a wonderful exciting period in the '50's and the '60's.

TD: Now, how about the role of precinct delegates in that '48 election? I know you're very familiar with it.

MJ: Well, '48, I wasn't that active. No, I'd been elected precinct delegate, come to think of it, in 1946 because we lived in Herman Gardens then. A couple of people came over that morning and said at the breakfast table, 'we're going to write Millie in today for precinct delegate.' That was before we had, that was when the Democratic party was still controlled by people of very limited vision, conservatives. But I worked mostly just in my precinct. By 1948, though, we did, '48, I don't recall all of this, but I know that

we did Josephine Huntzinger was the UAW person, the woman who later became a member of the legislature and was then the GM diesel (?). Josephine and I and several other women went to Martha Griffiths and suggested that she run for the state legislature. At first, Martha said, 'no, she had to work for Mennen.' That was her contribution to the '48 campaign. But then she decided to run and Martha was elected. And that was her first elected office which led to her becoming a member of the United States Congress.

TD: Let's go on. This is maybe some of the dark side of our politics. Now, I'd known Martha. We were in college together, Martha and Hicks. Certainly, she took the lead in Congress and civil rights. Then at some point, and I'm not too familiar because I wasn't so active then. The 17th endorsed somebody against her for Congress.

MJ: Well, that was one of our mistakes. Just one time. And she was elected in 1954. In 1956, the 17th Congressional District endorsed her opponent in the primary. That was one of our young juvenile mistakes.

TD: I remember Ted Bond and I tried to meet with Martha and heal that and we were not successful. But I guess everybody's entitled to one mistake. The other was the hassle, the conflict on 17th District chair between Al Meyers and Mike Lich. Does that ring a bell?

MJ: I have no recollection of that at all, Tom, absolutely no recollection.

TD: I mean things were vigorous in those days.

MJ: Well, the reason I have no recollection is because by and large with our state party chair, Al Meyers, with Johnny Tuttro, who was the chair of the UAW group. There were many different caucuses in the 17th district. It was vibrant and dynamic and argumentative. No question about it. That was the times.

TD: Do you want to mention some of the other unions?

MJ: But we all worked together so well, and Mike Lacey was very important, and I have no recollection of what you're talking about, absolutely none.

TD: Let's go on. Do you know some other labor people other than UAW? Certainly, the UAW was very active, you, I think, Irv Bluestone.

MJ: The postal workers, the fire fighters were very -- the 17 District, of course, was a fabulous district, Tom. You know that. I mean we had Adelaide Hart and we had Helen Berthelot and we had Ted Bond and we had George Bowles. And you can name some more. We had great talent in the 17th District.

TD: And what I think was so good...

MJ: One of the, I can't think of his name right now, the postal worker -- letter carriers -- became president of -- Jim, Jim. I can't think of his last name at the moment. Became president of the National Letter Carriers Union. So we were very diverse, and we had the academics and the intellectuals, as well as the working people.

TD: I think, and I don't want to put words in your mouth, Millie, but --

MJ: Oh, come on, you can do that.

TD: Well, when Walter was talking about re-aligning political forces, I think in the 17th and to tending the party, it was UAW, Michigan CIO, AF of L, Teachers Union, and --

MJ: Teachers Union, yes.

TD: And in addition to ADA, the general liberal community, people like Ted Bond, who later became a circuit judge. People of the general liberal orbit were pulled in there that normally not wanting to bother with politics.

MJ: And, of course, one of our prominent members was John B. Swainson.

TD: That's right.

MJ: And it was the 17th District who promoted John first. I remember that so well. We had a senate seat coming up, and I remember we talked about it. You may remember. We can win this race! Then we said, but who will our candidate be? I can't remember whether, I know Johnny Tutu was there and you and others and so we, he was active in the district, but here was a World War veteran, an amputee who'd been very active in the Veterans Association, John B. Swainson. We elected him state senator where he worked with Bill Milliken. Do you remember? Bill Milliken was then in the senate and they were the Turks. Those two worked together. They were a great combination for progress in our state. A Republican and a Democrat. And then lieutenant governor and then governor.

TD: Well, just another point on your inerest in women's participation. The old 17th, before we got active met in a bar, which I think kind of discouraged women from participating.

MJ: Yes, that's right. I'd forgotten that.

TD: Then we met in the Carpenters Hall, very nice union hall. And then Adelaide Hart got a fashion show and I know got women really involved in the district very actively.

MJ: Adelaide exemplifies in so many ways the spirit of the times and the kind of open participatory party we had. Adelaide was a school teacher and a Catholic, and her faith meant a great deal to her. Having been raised as a Catholic in my early life, you learned compassion and caring and that you were part of humanity. Adelaide was absolutely zealous. She really didn't want to compromise. And I can remember Adelaide, you know. Adelaide is a little taller than I, but standing next to Mennen Williams, shaking her finger in Mennen's face. For example, maybe it was on something about mental health or whatever her cause or education.

TD: Well, where Adelaide was so good, she would shake her finger at Mennen and say, 'your staff's giving you cotton batting' and she would tell him and he would listen.

MJ: Oh, yes, Mennen would listen. No question about it. The other thing quickly about Adelaide. And I know you have a tape of her. But, Adelaide went up and down this state. Now, her job was as vice chairman with women. So she would work in county after county with women in the county. But also with the county chair, but always advancing the equality whether women, minorities, ethnic group, but always building the party in the image, and we were a liberal party.

TD: Well, I think you and Adelaide and people like that really got women to participate.

MJ: Adelaide, particularly.

TD: How about racial participation in the Michigan Democratic party? What was done there to involve ethnic groups, African Americans, and so on?

MJ: Well, I remember, I think that Mennen was, Mennen, as I said earlier, he developed such trust. I recall when Mennen Williams endorsed John F. Kennedy in June of 1960 at Mackinac Island -- very dramatic thing. And when I came back to Detroit that night. The next morning I started calling leaders in the Black community. You didn't have to call so many in those days, and they were so angry because Mennen Williams was their candidate for president. There were the Damon Keiths, and there were the Bill Patricks and there were just dozens of doctors, dentists, funeral parlor owners, as well as UAW people. It was across the leadership, at least, of the Black community. Plus, in the great numbers of people this trust and faith and belief in Mennen Williams and what he stood for which meant, in their minds, he was a true fighter. I think that's what people would say. They felt, I remember it could be Mike Novack, for example. They felt here, here I am, and I have in the state capitol somebody who is fighting for me, and that was Mennen. And that together, you see, with this great cross section of organizations and individuals from various groups.

TD: In addition to his role as an individual, what about the platform of the Michigan Democratic party?

MJ: Well, of course, Tom, I love that question because that really was what I cared the most about. Again, in those days we had, I chaired, at least at two state conventions, the platform committee. We spent months in advance preparing that platform. We would have people like Wilbur Cohen on the committee.

TD: Tell us who Wilbur Cohen is.

MJ: Wilbur Cohen was a professor at the University of Michigan, and he was also under John F. Kennedy, secretary of HH, Secretary of Health and Welfare. He had been one of the intellectuals and professors that had worked on the preparation of social security legislation for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Amazing, wonderful, talented, generous.

TD: So he was on the platform committee.

MJ: He was on our state platform committee, and we had hearings around the state in at least three to five different communities in which we would have public hearings. Of course, there were party people there and the county committees were sponsors of this and invite in community people. But also people whether we had our divisions like health, mental health, the economy, labor, consumer, education. Education was very important in those days, and we would bring to the convention this platform which had been developed. Then I would struggle to have debate on the floor. And speaking about Mennen listening, we, remember I'm not sure what this year was, but there was an issue on workman's compensation and at the convention we also, of course, had platform committee meetings because the platform when you got to the convention had to come from the platform

committee, platform and resolutions. And we were really stuck because Sid Bolner was our contact with the governor's office. I remember saying, 'we're going to have to talk to Mennen about this' because they weren't budging and I forgot, probably a small point, but

TD: Now who was not budging?

MJ: Sid Bolner or Paul Webber. So I remember I got --

TD: Who was Paul Webber?

MJ: Paul Webber, thank you, was that genius that Mennen Williams had as his, I guess you would say, public relations director. Paul was a wonderful Irishman, marvelous sense of humor, and one of the keenest public relations senses, I think, that I've ever known. He related to where people were so well, and he was a great part of that wonderful Democratic party with Mennen Williams and Neil and so on.

Anyway, to get back to the point, so I called Mennen in the hotel, what is now the Amway, the Pantlind Hotel, where we had our conventions, and he came to the phone. I told him what it was and we got it worked out. He said okay. So he did listen, but we didn't -- it's just like any principal. You don't go to the principal until you've exhausted every avenue of trying to resolve a problem in moving forward. That's the only time. When you're really stuck then you go to the principal whether it's the governor or Walter Reuther or whoever.

TD: When I talk to people in other states, I think the real difference was that when people talked to Mennen they come from

a background of being active at the grass roots. Like yourself or Gus Scholle. More so than in other states.

MJ: Yes.

TD: Now, you said something, talked about how the national CIO was against people getting into the grass roots but Michigan got an exception. Do you want to elaborate on that a little bit?

MJ: Well, the AF of L.

TD: AF of L. Was that the AF of L - CIO at that time?

MJ: Well, it was labor policy.

TD: Yes, labor, right.

MJ: Labor policy from Gomper's time on was because we were not a powerful political force was reward your friends and punish your enemies. Which meant if you were going to do that you had to maintain your independence so you could go to either party. That was the philosophy, the policy, so to speak. I was going to make another point. I've forgotten it now.

Here we were in Michigan. We've been talking about Michigan, and you had this really break through, unusual development in which a one party state had become a Democratic party state with Mennen Williams. Gus Scholle, this brings in the legislature. Gus Scholle had been labor's lobbyist in the Michigan legislature. As I recollected, and we were neighbors, and you worked with Gus, so your recollection may be different. But Gus just became so frustrated because he was not free as a labor person to participate in the Democratic party because he had to play along and reward your enemies -- reward your friends and publish your enemies. And so it was Gus Scholle who proposed in

a state convention. You can put in the year. That labor depart from this policy and that labor be free to participate in parties but the Democratic party. And he had to get permission from Phillip Murray. You're right, it was CIO. He had to get permission from Phillip Murray to do this. And that was the beginning, and, of course, that's when they started having the cartoons with Gus Scholle and Mennen Williams and Mennen being a Charlie McCarthy. It's hard sometimes to recall. The *Detroit News* was run by a man who always when he said labor, he also said 'goons', who also said the place for labor 'goons' is in the cemetery. I mean that was the editorial tone of the *Detroit News.*

TD: I'm glad you brought that out that the media was entirely different. I mean you read the *Detroit Free Press* now, when it's not on strike.

MJ: When it's not on strike.

TD: In fact, we quit subscribing. So I go to the office down the hall to read it. Certainly, it's a big change from what was going on.

MJ: *The News* had to change, even *The News* because of its readership in the Black community and its potential subscriber. There's really no comparison. *The News* is still a conservative newspaper, and *The Free Press* , of course, is liberal. But, also, just quickly in those days almost the entire press of Michigan was opposed to Mennen Williams.

TD: How about appointments when Mennen was governor? Do you want to make any comments about those? And the process of appointments.

MJ: The process of appointments. That's again when people like Sid Bolner and Adelaide Hart and Margaret Price and Ann Almeyers, our standards were so high. We, for example, the appointment of the Liquor Control Commissioner or any appointment, that, in our view, that person had to be beyond reproach. We were always very proud of the quality. We made nominations. A lot of other people did, too, whether it was for the Mental Health Commission or whatever, Workman's Comp, but we were always very proud in all the years Mennen Williams was governor there was never anybody, well, it was true, also, under John B. Swainson. We had no corruption. You know, and you think of the Liquor Control Commission. Remember how we used to worry about that. No corruption. We were appointing persons of integrity and ability.

TD: How about racial appointments?

MJ: Well, one of his first appointments, his first appointment of a Black American to a judgeship was Judge Jones. That was the first appointment in Detroit, and it was to fill a vacancy. Speaking about media. And when Judge Jones was on the ballot in the next election -- I can still see in front of me -- on the front page of *The Free Press* an article about Judge Jones which was critical, if not defaming, of his character and Judge Jones lost. That was the last time that an appointment of a Black lost an election. One of his great appointments, of course, was Wade McCree, who went on to be a member of the circuit bench, Solicitor General of the United States of America, one of the great Americans.

TD: Probably would have gotten on the U.S. Supreme Court if we'd had a Democratic president at that time.

MJ: Yes, I don't think there's any question about that.

TD: All right, now then you were very active in the national Democratic party. I know you were committee woman for many, many years. Do you want to tell us about what your role was there?

MJ: Well, I was very fortunate to be elected by my colleagues in the party first as alternate national committee woman to Margaret Price and then in 1961 as national committee woman for Michigan. And then I was extraordinarily unfortunate, and I was nominated by Neil Staebler, as a matter of fact, to be named to the executive committee of the DNC representing the midwest states.

TD: Well, then how many national conventions did you go to?

MJ: I think it's seven national conventions beginning in 1956 and my last convention as a delegate was 1980.

TD: Now, tell us about the presidential campaign when Hubert Humphrey ran. Who did you support for president at that time?

MJ: In 1968?

TD: Yes.

MJ: In 1968, of course, it was a tumultuous period in the history of our country and certainly in politics. That was the time of the Viet Nam War and the student rebellion against participation of the United States and the distress among many people of our involvement in that, so to speak, unholy war. Lyndon Johnson was president. I shall never forget, I was in the home of John B.

Swainson when Lyndon Johnson was on television saying 'I will not run for re-election,' which upset the apple cart, so to speak, because had he run there was no question he would have been the nominee of the party. And I think that was insightful of Lyndon Johnson and characteristic of him in many ways because as the history books are written, if it had not been for Viet Nam he would be one of our great presidents. Really cared about the war on poverty. Well, Humphrey, as vice president, was beloved in Michigan. He had campaigned for us. We used to call him our Michigan senator when we didn't have a Democratic senator. He had, I think, personally responsible for electing Jim O'Hare to congress in his first election. He certainly was beloved by labor, but the times had changed, and, of course, Hubert was closely associated in the minds of people with Lyndon Johnson. That was the Viet Nam syndrome, anti-Viet Nam war syndrome. So there were many people in the auto workers union, including members of the executive board and people like Jack Conway, some of which I didn't know at the time. I happened to be a very early supporter of Robert Kennedy. I have a photo of -- he came to Detroit and this was a photo of African American leadership which included Coleman Young and others, Bill Oliver and so on -- and this was in the book, Cadillac Hotel. We had a photographer there, and I remember somebody said, 'well, come on, you get in the picture.' And I said, 'no', and I'm glad I said 'no', because it's a wonderful photo. But as they were taking the photo, somebody said to Kennedy, 'well, who's supporting you in Michigan?' And the photo, of course, was with Bobby. It was so typical of Bobby. He just

sort of shrugged his shoulders, and he pointed to me. Well, he came to Michigan and one of his trips was to Lansing, Grand Rapids, and Kalamazoo. I won't take time to describe all of that but I remember full well I was very worried about Grand Rapids, and Flo Peterson, who was on the staff of the UAW in the Grand Rapids region and a couple of the other women, they had planned this new rally in the center of the city and it was huge. I thought, oh, this is going to be a disaster. I was wrong. There was a huge crowd. Then we went to Kalamazoo, and in Kalamazoo it was just like the John F. Kennedy days, paraded on the streets and here the people were coming out from hospitals -- the doctors in their coats and the nurses -- and from the beauty parlors, the women with their curls in their hair and so on. I went in the next morning to report to Walter, objectively, just told him what had happened. Lansing was a small thing. I think it was a luncheon. In Lansing, Grand Rapids, and Kalamazoo. Again, Walter didn't say a word to me, not a word. I just wanted him to know, which was my responsibility. So I was very much into Kennedy, very, very much into the Bobby Kennedy campaign.

TD: Now, at that time did the UAW have a position on neutrality or endorsement?

MJ: No, because of the, not only were some people for, of course, Walter, because of his loyalty to Hubert Humphrey and because of the fact that Lyndon Johnson was president of the United States of America and, therefore, very important to the union, Walter always had a perspective which, I think, was a vision in the

horizon. But there were people who also supported Stuart Simington, who was a candidate.

TD: Now, did Walter criticize you for supporting Bobby Kennedy?

MJ: No, no, not only I, but many people. I had lots of freedom, tremendous freedom. It was one of the blessings of working with the UAW, but others did, too. He respected people. And when he saw, and I think it was Leonard Woodcock who probably put the motion on the floor in the Executive Board after he listened to the discussion that took place at that board meeting. Leonard always a great listener. He knew how, after he heard what people were thinking and how they were saying it, he could put forward a statement which brought everybody together rather than leaving people fractured. So the position was neutrality, which meant that you could support any candidate you wished.

TD: I want to move on. I wish we had days to do this.

MJ: Yes, ok.

TD: Now, your work particularly with women -- I know you were very active in some of the women's organizations. Could you just touch on the high points there?

MJ: Yes. Well, people often ask me when I became a feminist. I never can answer that question because all I can remember all my life was that I thought women had to protect their own interest and fight for them whether it was with my brother or whoever. I was a founding member of the National Women's Political Caucus and later its president. The Women's Political Caucus which, of course, fit right into my belief in the electoral process

has changed methods, methodology and so on. The National Women's Political Caucus was dedicated to the election of progressive women to public office at every level, as we used to say, from the White House to the courthouse. I was also active in other women's organizations. NOW and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a wonderful, wonderful organizatin of women dedicated to peace and civil rights and so on.

TD: Now, I want to go into some on the governors. You talked some about Governor Swainson, Governor Williams. Did you know Governor Romney very well?

MJ: George Romney, yes. I first knew George Romney when I was a member of a citizens advisory committee to Detroit Public Schools. George Romney who was then president of American Motors was chair of that wonderful committee which Ed Cushman, wonderful Ed Cushman, who had been with American Motors and now was at Wayne State University, Ed was the vice chair. That committee was one of the finest citizens committees I ever have had the priviledge of serving on. And, number two things, one was George Romney then, had a small group that he met with from time to time in his office as president of American Motors, and I happened to be a member of that group, where we worked particularly. Some of us were very concerned about separation of state and church because of George Romney's great faith in the Latter Day Saints, but where we also, that's also one thing I want to point out about that. The second thing is, I said this was one of the finest citizens committees I

ever served on was that when we completed the report it was not to be put in moth balls. George Romney personally campaigned for a millage capital improvement. I think it was $9 million and we won that and that was how new schools were built in Detroit before 1967.

TD: What really amazes me, and I didn't know George Romney as wel as you, that he was so right on Viet Nam, the brain washing, he was right on the gas guzzling of cars, in Con Con he took the very strong position for Civil Rights, yet when it came to ERA or apportionment, there was that dichotomy.

MJ: Dichotomy.

TD: I could understand somebody being against women, against other things, but how do you explain that? Am I right that there was that dichotomy?

MJ: Oh, yes, you're absolutely right, and I certainly can hardly explain myself much less another great human being because I do have a lot of respect for George Romney. He once said to me, 'Millie, in the ERA, if it had just said *gender* instead of *sex*, I could have supported it.'

TD: Well, that's what the Supreme Court justice now, what was her name? Said that her staff person told her to talk about gender instead of sex.

MJ: Today more and more not only members of the Supreme Court, but others are using the word gender instead of sex. I'm not sure just what that signifies.

TD: Well, I think *sex* has an implication of *sex* and gender has a well, I don't know, but I think there's that. Now, let's go on to

the awards you had in '95. Margaret Sanger, Planned Parenthood. What was that for?

MJ: Well, that was a very touching award for me. I never had anticipated this. For me, it was from Planned Parenthood. It was very moving and had great significance because I am one who has great respect for the men and women, especially the women, who have gone before. The women who won the suffrage. If they had not won suffrage, I would have spent my life winning suffrage. Margaret Sanger, in some ways, is the most important woman in the lives of women becaues it was Margaret Sanger who even went to jail who had to leave our country and spend a year in England because of her advocacy of Planned Parenthood, of birth control.

TD: Now, Millie, at that time, as I recall, did the UAW ever take a position on this subject?

MJ: No, no.

TD: Now, did Walter know you were active in the matter of Planned Parenthood?

MJ: I remember one time I gave Walter Margaret's autobiography because I wanted him to award the social justice award to Margaret Sanger. So I said, 'take it home and you May read it'. Because at one point we did get May to serve on Planned Parenthood board in Detroit. Walter never accepted my suggestion. This was an issue that was very, very sacred, I would say to many members of the UAW. It was a very controversial one. And I also remember having a meeting of Black leaders in the UAW cafeteria outside of it in which, when I was trying to get

them interested in Planned Parenthood, and the response was, 'genocide'. So you can see, no, the UAW did not take a policy position.

TD: Another controversial one was capital punishment. Did the UAW ever take a position on capital punishment?

MJ: You got me, Tom. I don't know. I don't recollect.

TD: Now, some other awards, the Win Newman, that was from ADA. What was that?

MJ: Well, I mention that because Win Newman was a labor attorney. Win Newman was --

TD: We got about one minute to go.

MJ: Oh, oh, Win Newman was the person who worked on pay equity perhaps more than any other single person in the country.

TD: How about the Alpha Gamma citizens?

MJ: That's a social sorority and again an enormous surprise to receive their Distinguished Citizen award.

TD: And the National Women's Hall of Fame?

MJ: Well, that was a surprise, too. That came at the National Convention of the National Women's Political Caucus in Nashville last summer.

TD: Well, Millie, it's been a real pleasure. I just wish we had hours more, but this will be used for research for a lot of people. I know it will be helpful to them. What about your plans in the future? You went to China? I don't imagine you're going to retire. What are your plans for the next year?

MJ: I want to work on the implementation of the platform of action adopted at the Fourth World Conference of Women.

TD: How about political candidates? Are you going to be active as a Democrat?

MJ: Debbie Stabenow for Congress in the 8th Congressional District! Take back one Republican seat and defeat Newt Gingrich!

TD: Well, I guess that's a pretty specific objective, Millie. Nobody said you were vague. Well, thanks a lot.

MJ: Thank you, Tom.

TD: We really appreciate it, and I know this is going to help scholars and I hope students and others get to see it doing research. Thanks, again. It's been a real pleasure to have you.

MJ: Thank you, Tom.

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