

International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Equipment Workers of America, UAW

International Executive Board Oral Histories



Olga Madar

Interviewed by Glenn Ruggles August 6, 1985

Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs Walter P. Reuther Library Wayne State University **RUGGLES:** Miss Madar, you were born in Sikesville, Pennsylvania. Let's start with your early childhood. You were born about the time that World War I broke out and your parents' homeland was under attack. Tell us what you can about Sikesville and why your parents eventually left and came to Detroit.

MADAR: Sikesville was a coal mining town, soft coal, bituminous coal. My early recollections were that at first the mines seemed to be doing well. At that time my dad was involved in the meat cutting business, slaughtering cattle, and a meat market in a grocery store. I recollect the mines from the standpoint of knowing that when that shrill whistle came, other than the lunch hour — what was then the supper hour — that meant that there was a mine accident. I remember the schools, which were of course small in class size, and I remember that they did a very good job of teaching grammatical construction. Most of what I know now I learned there, because I went through the 8th grade while I was in Pennsylvania. But then, the more poignant and probably lasting impression is that as the Depression came, the mines closed and the meat market was not making out. My dad thought that he could buy some property and could farm. In retrospect, that was a big mistake. That wasn't really good farmland.

It was a cozy kind of a life in a small town. I did not wish to come to Detroit. We came to Detroit because it was in the midst of the Depression. We lost everything, didn't really have any income coming in. Several members of the family were here in Detroit, the older ones, my two older brothers and my oldest sister. Two of them were working periodically in the auto plants. The other one was operating a beer garden, and I can't recall now whether that might have been legitimate, because it might have been during Prohibition. So it could have been illegitimate. But I cried when we left the small town.

However, I'm glad that we did come to Detroit, with the wider opportunities. But it was rough when we got here, with the Depression.

RUGGLES: How old were you when you left Sikesville?

MADAR: Fifteen.

RUGGLES: You graduated from Northeastern High School in 1933?

MADAR: That's right.

RUGGLES: That was a difficult time for a teenager to be graduating.

MADAR: Well, that period of time, from 1930 to 1933, was very difficult because there was no work for the family. At one point, the only person working was my sister Mary who was two years older than I. She was working at Sanders. You know, as you grow older, you learn things. It was typical of the Depression that women were more apt to get jobs, because they were low-paying jobs, service jobs. She was making fifteen or sixteen dollars a week. Everybody else was laid off. My dad couldn't get a job except on the WPA, which meant cleaning up alleys. Everybody was grateful for it. But getting back to Sanders, which is still in business, we followed the French queen's saying: let them eat cake. That's what we were doing, because it paid fifteen or sixteen dollars a week, but brought home the day-old bakery goods. She had a couple of friends who worked there who were supervisors. I think that most of the time what we were eating was fresh.

RUGGLES: Looking ahead, you've been described by a lot of people as a crusader. Were there things in your early life that perhaps sparked that attitude — the conditions that you found during the Depression?

MADAR: It's difficult to tell, but I would think, yes, that the Depression years did make a mark on me, as it did on the entire family and a lot of other people. You never forget that time, particularly if you come from a large family with not enough means to get along. I suppose one of the things you have to learn when you're in a large family is that you really have to stand up for yourself, too. You have to learn a couple of things: one, that you really have got to make your way or else and secondly, that you have to have a kind of team effort as well. That's kind of competitive in one sense, but not competitive in another.

RUGGLES: When you graduated in 1933, were you expected to get out and get a job?

MADAR: I had always said that I wanted to go on to college. At one time my aspiration was to be a lawyer. That's when I was12, 13, 14. But then after you've been to high school, you learn that no one was pushing that. That wasn't for the girls. What you did was to become a teacher. So, I had always wanted to go on to school. I was involved in athletics in high school and I got some assistance from the physical education teacher in looking at schools and going to Eastern Michigan, which wasn't the name at that time — it was Michigan Normal I believe — because it was a well-known institution for physical education in its well-rounded sense.

RUGGLES: When you went to college, you had your first contact with factory work, didn't you, at that time? Chrysler plant?

MADAR: Yes, I was fortunate in that I got on a sandlot softball team. We had a game against a team from the Chrysler plant out here on Jefferson. The superintendent of the plant was the one who organized the team and who was the manager, not the

coach, the manager. We played them and I was the catcher and we beat them. So he asked me if I wanted a job. And I sure did! It was difficult to get a job. He indicated if I played on the team, I could get a job at the plant.

RUGGLES: You said in one interview earlier, that you spent the whole day on the assembly line putting fasteners on the auto parts and then all night having nightmares about them. Were conditions really that bad in the factory?

MADAR: Yes they were. I didn't have the pressure other people had to stay as long as there was a job. I knew I wanted to go on to school. There wasn't a full week's work for everybody, so the ploy was that those who were the fastest were the ones who'd get work four days or five days, where the others would get to work two or three. That was an element of competition which was cutthroat. I didn't have to worry about it because, although I didn't get a full week, I would be able to work three days. But that speeded up the line and there were big interlinings of the doors that you had to pull off the conveyor belt and then put fasteners in. It was a wrist action that you needed too. Yes, particularly at the beginning, I would dream about those doors coming down and stacking them up. But as I said, it wasn't so traumatic for me as it would be for those who had to go on working.

RUGGLES: How about work at the Bower Roller Bearing plant? You were there also, weren't you?

MADAR: Yes. I went on to school, of course, during the regular year. There was competition for getting teams. The way the sports enthusiasts, who might be the coaches on one of the teams, would sell it to the company was that if you were champion, you got a little free advertising, that kind of thing. So they were out looking for players

and Bower Roller Bearing organized a team and offered a job. Now, that was a little different situation, because they separated what were the women's part of the assembly of the bearing and the men's jobs. I suspect, in fact I know that if you look back it would be paid accordingly. The job was to inspect the bearings. There wasn't a lot of pressure in it. It was a cleaner operation. It was a much different situation over there. But it was more paternalistic. In both plants, it was before unionization.

RUGGLES: You left college in 1935 or 1938?

MADAR: In '38. I had a year out of school when I didn't have enough money and continued working and missed a semester. I got out in '38, in January.

RUGGLES: You went to work as a teacher in Flat Rock?

MADAR: No, there was a period of time, as far as the school year was concerned, that I had to get a job. I did get a contract to go to Flat Rock, prior to that, but not until September. Interestingly enough, in high school I had no difficulty getting good grades. The only subjects that I didn't do well in were two that I didn't really want — shorthand and typing. Those I was taking because my dad said that is what I ought to be doing rather then going on to college and that I'd better take them. I remember that I got a "D" in shorthand. I did well in grades in high school.

When I went on to college, it was a little different story. You had to apply yourself a little more. Unfortunately, I wasn't applying myself as well as I should. I was being told by the faculty that I wasn't going to get a job unless I got my grades up and that jobs were hard to get. But the superintendent at Flat Rock was looking for a basketball coach. That's how I got the job.

I got a contract, but I had a period of time from graduation in January until September during which I got a job at the Ypsilanti Psychiatric Center as a recreational therapist. That was really a very meaningful experience and I learned a great deal. It served me in good stead later as we tried to develop good programs when they were doing placements in the community and not providing the kinds of services that you get in the institutions.

RUGGLES: Can you describe some of the work and the conditions that you encountered there at the Psychiatric Center?

MADAR: At that time it was known as a pretty good place. We didn't have any of the medications, of course, that we have now. They did have an extensive recreational therapy program and they had a swimming pool. I knew very little about the various types of illnesses. So you just played it by ear as far as involving the patients. The situation really wasn't that bad, being naive about it. Subsequently I learned that Dr. Yoder, who was there at the time, complimented me for the kinds of things I was doing. But most of that was in ignorance — I was simply trying to involve individuals in activities.

I had a softball team. We brought in teams for them to watch, we tried to teach patients who really weren't ready for it. I recall a young girl of fifteen or sixteen who came to the gym and got involved in activities and we were playing a little softball and it was her turn to bat and she just stood there. If she was on first base and they threw the ball at her, they were going right by her. I recall trying to assist her to swing at the ball and I thought that she did fairly well. The next day when I went to pick up the group in her area, she wasn't in the group and I couldn't understand why and I asked, "What's the

matter? Why isn't she going with the rest for recreational therapy?" It seems what happened was that at some point in time she picked up a broom and swung at the attendant. That's what she had learned about swinging at a softball that had carried over. I did notice improvement in a lot of the patients as they became involved in different activities. I wasn't there long enough, but I learned a great deal.

RUGGLES: On to Flat Rock. That was a teaching job where there was no union and conditions must have been a little different from what they are today for schoolteachers. Can you describe your teaching experience in Flat Rock?

MADAR: It's most interesting, you know, as we had all of this controversy about compulsory unionism. One of the first things that I was required to do was to join the Michigan Education Association. But it wasn't a union; it was a professional organization. That was true because the principal and everybody belonged to the Michigan Education Association and that was what you were supposed to do, even though It wasn't doing you any good. It was not — and I say this with no intent to be derogatory to the collective bargaining process of the MEA, but the fact of it is, in some areas it was not concerned about the everyday teacher in the school. They were more concerned about the administrators, because that's who ran it.

As far as the conditions were concerned, they weren't bad in a small town. Class size was small. Particularly coming out of Detroit and then knowing how some of your other co-workers, those who were with you at the university, would fare as they would come into Detroit with the large classes in physical education. That wasn't the kind of situation we had in Flat Rock.

But we had some other kinds of things. Number one, there wasn't physical education for the entire group. There was only one gymnasium. When I came there they did have physical education through the eighth grade, but it wasn't every day and you had to combine classes. What's more, you had to share the gymnasium with a man physical education teacher and the boys' program. That was a little more difficult.

But more importantly, you got some academic classes. The first one I got was biology and that was not something that . . . Although there were science classes that I had, I had never taken a straight biology class. The reason I got that was because the head of the physical education department, the coach, had been teaching it and didn't want it anymore, so that's what I got. I had to really go fast to keep one step ahead of the students and I don't know if I did. But subsequently I got geography, civics and political science, that kind of thing, for seventh and eighth graders. That I enjoyed.

I organized a program, not just what they hired me for, which was to try to develop a championship basketball team. I tried to develop a program of intramurals and to broaden it, to go beyond basketball. We had tennis and field hockey. We had a carnival to raise money so we could buy field hockey sticks, that kind of thing. So we were trying to broaden the program. To the regret of the superintendent and others who hired me as a basketball coach, I was experimenting with the zone defense and the first year was disastrous. I survived. There were differences in pay. There was that old bit about you don't tell anyone what you're making because they made those deals. I really learned that I didn't want to stay in teaching. There was emphasis on discipline, not that that was difficult, but I didn't want to be in teaching. I had a desire to get into recreation and I thought it would be industrial recreation.

With the opening of the war, they were hiring people at the Willow Run bomber plant development nearby that was a Ford-run plant. There would be no loss in finances. They were paying more than teachers were getting. It seemed to me that my starting salary was around \$1,150. At that point in time that I was thinking of making a change I was somewhere around \$1,300 or \$1,400.

RUGGLES: That was your teaching salary?

MADAR: My teaching salary, yes. So meanwhile, I had been developing a good program and I was considered to be doing very well. I asked for a raise, knowing full well that I would probably go on to make a career change. One of the reasons I did this in the middle of the year was that there had been a dismissal of a teacher, which I didn't think they could do. I thought I had a year's contract. I hadn't read it closely. But they dismissed him on the basis that they could do that with a 30-day notice. It was also true that the 30-day notice worked the other way around, so I thought I'd try the 30-day notice.

First, I thought that after the previous year's contract, we had received no increase to the best of my knowledge. There might have been individuals who had received an increase. The superintendent was a very nice person, but we had received no increase, so I said that I was going to leave unless I got an increase. He did go to the Board of Education and they determined that as much as they would want me to stay on, they could not give me an increase unless they gave it to everybody else. I told them that they ought to give it to everybody else. I gave 30-day notice and went to work at the bomber plant.

RUGGLES: Were they upset when you did that?

MADAR: They took it quite well. When we were going through this, they were a little unhappy. We remained friends and interestingly enough, I have now active in the Coalition of Labor Union Women a young woman who was in my eighth grade and who I had subsequently met in 1974 when we organized the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She teaches out at Henry Ford Community College and she remembers those times. She was a bright student who was ahead of me in biology.

RUGGLES: You went to work at the Ford assembly plant at Willow Run in 1942?

MADAR: Yes, I think that was the date.

RUGGLES: What was your job on the assembly line?

MADAR: I actually wasn't on the assembly line. I was on a plating platform where we were to assemble, but not as a regular assembly line, pieces so they could be dipped into the solutions. The solution that they were dipped into was alrock. It was just a question of stringing them up so that they would be ready for that alrock solution and then also there was a cadmium solution. Women, they said, could not fool around with alrock solution or the cadmium plating solution.

There wasn't really that much work at the bomber plant when I came there. What was happening was in the cost-plus basis. You get geared up for the production — Ford was going out recruiting workers to be in position — and we didn't have very much work. I remember when Franklin Roosevelt was due to come through the plant, we spent two or three days just accumulating work. We didn't do anything just so we would have something to do when he came through the plant.

RUGGLES: It was shortly after that, though, that you became involved in recreation. Your actual work experience at the assembly plant was brief, wasn't it?

MADAR: That's right. When I first came in, I was under the mistaken notion, because that's the kind of thing you got in your textbooks, that it was industrial recreation. It was the companies that were concerned about providing services. When I first came, there was a good relationship with the union. The director of personnel had come out of Local 600 and then had gone over to management. The relationship at first was a good one, so that I became a volunteer in organizing recreational activities. They allowed for a little freedom in organizing activities.

But subsequently, as I became involved in helping the local union, not really helping but was doing volunteer activity and recreation with the union, we approached them for a joint program and they didn't wish to do it. The company really wasn't interested in that kind of thing. So, I was doing recreational activity, organizing activity under the aegis of the union on a volunteer basis. I did, however, have access to the plant.

Then we had a difference of opinion with Ringwald and the management, because he suddenly decided that the women ought to be wearing uniforms. He made a second mistake, which was that he made a distinction between us and those clerical workers who were working on the plant floor and could readily be seen by the rest of us. They would wear a two-piece dark blue pantsuit, while the rest of us had to wear the light blue denim drop-seat jumpsuit. There were two things: number one, the choice of the wearing apparel and secondly, they were talking about forcing the women to do it. At that point in time I had just come on the union staff. The women just rebelled. I never saw such a

great uprising in my life. That's when the good relationship between the union and the company on recreation dissolved.

But it was the union that was concerned about the welfare of the people around there. I was approached and asked if I would go with the union. You were on a leave, so there was no really great danger, at least for the period of the war, as far as loss of pay and jobs were concerned. The job was not only organizing recreational activities, but community activities, because of the influx of women from all over coming into the plant. So I got a job working full-time with the local union, Local 50, and was only in the plant for a brief time. In fact, I can't recall, but it couldn't have been over six months.

RUGGLES: The uniform issue was an issue of sex discrimination, wasn't it?

MADAR: It certainly was. There were differences also in pay as well, I recall, because it was very boring not having enough to do and even if you had work, it was boring just to be winding up those pieces to be dipped into the solution. I was working up on the platform with a woman who was from the University of Michigan who had a master's degree and they wouldn't let us do anything with the solution or ask questions. We, of course, were curious and bored and so we did it. I remember the alternate committeeman saying that we couldn't do that. I said, "Why can't we do that?" He said, "Well, the union won't allow it. The women can't do that." I said, "I don't believe that." Then I called the local union and found out that wasn't true. Subsequently I found out, and I couldn't blame them, that they didn't want the women to do those jobs that they were calling essential, that only men could do, because they didn't want to be drafted, and I can't blame them for that.

But of course, on the other hand, women began to do a lot of those jobs in the plant, because there weren't men to do them. There were wage differentials, however. If you worked with the solutions, you got more money than we did racking up the pieces. The woman I spoke about was working in the research lab dealing with the whole plating process before that plant closed up.

RUGGLES: Do you recall the wage differential?

MADAR: No, I just know that there were wage differentials. It's true also that we had in our contract a clause demanding equal pay for equal work. If you knew enough about it, and most of us didn't, you had to police it to make sure you got the equal pay for equal work. The motivating factor for that, of course, was the belief on the part of the top leadership, but not necessarily those who were in the top leadership of that local union or other local unions, that you were being employed to take the place of a man who had that job, whose opinion and the company's all along was that you were only there temporarily. When the war was over, the men were coming back, so you had to find some way to maintain that salary schedule and that was equal pay for equal work. You didn't want to take a job and pay the woman much less in wages, because when the man got back those wages would be depressed. Although I think the unions were in the forefront as far as getting equal pay for equal work, the leadership was able to do it because the membership, primarily male, wanted to protect those wage scales.

So now we're on for a bigger battle. We're coming to grips with the most important issue, which is that they put women in those so-called women's jobs. They didn't look at the requirements necessary, the skill and so forth, to do the job when they established those wage rates. That wasn't the union, because that's done primarily by

management. Unions paid little attention to those classifications. So as a result, we were occupationally segregated over all of these years. That's the basic reason for the gender wage gap. We are now at long last, particularly as we use Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, getting at that difference and saying that that is sex-based wage discrimination.

The feminist movement brought in that term "comparable worth" and that's confused the issue. Our union men don't understand it until you tell them, "Hey, this is plain, simple, everyday garden-variety wage inequity." The difference is, however, that this wage inequity was caused by a sex-bias. Or if it's the case of black occupationally segregated classifications, that's race-biased. It is a violation of the federal law. Now, they understand that. The minute you say wage inequity, they understand what that means. The women's movement did a great deal to get coordinated action on this issue, by the way. But by the use of that term "comparable worth" and trying to make it a legal term, or even to legislate it, they just confused the issue. They just didn't have that experience at the bargaining table that, at least in every contract negotiation in my union, a certain amount of money was set aside to resolve wage inequity. The problem was it wasn't set aside to look at also those wage inequities which were there because of a sex or race bias. Now we are getting to it. I certainly diverted us, didn't I?

RUGGLES: No, that's fine. I was going to ask you how long you stayed with Local 50 before you went with the international union.

MADAR: I had not been with Local 50 for very long when I was asked to come on the international staff, where they had a Recreation Department. When I was at Local 50 we were under an administrator because it was a new union. I learned a great deal in a brief time about the organization and the politics of the union from all angles. We had

everybody out there. We had the people who couldn't make it in their own local unions who came out; we had infiltration. When I'm talking about the left, I am talking about members from the Communist Party, because they made no bones about it. So we had all kinds of things going on. I hadn't been there very long, however, when I was asked if I would come on the international staff, because the international staff was also looking to broaden the program beyond its bowling competition and baseball and that kind of thing.

But I didn't feel that I had enough experience to go to the international union. Also, the pressures of the plant closing were not there, because we were just gearing up for the wartime effort. So I conferred with people there, including not just the administrator, who was the regional director, Bill McAulay, but also with Alan Strachan, who was the administrative assistant who really developed the community program. He really suggested that I be employed and was involved in all of that kind of activity. They both suggested that I ought to stay on. And part of this business of asking me to come on the international staff might be a part of the internal politics of the union. I don't think that it was. That was the time of the Addes regime, when Walter was attempting to come in. I had always, without being identified with any political side and being new to the union, associated in principle with the kinds of things that Walter was enunciating. So I felt myself with that side, even though I really wasn't involved in it. I told them no at that time.

Then subsequently I ran for office at Local 50, but usually as an independent. But at one point in time I was asked by Brendan Sexton, who was working out there and who was part of Walter's political team, to go onto a slate that he was putting together, a coalition slate. The way that slate was lined up, I was perfectly willing to go along,

because some of the individuals who I did not wish to associate with because of their thinking on race were not part of that slate. That's when I first met Walter Reuther. The person who was to be the head of the slate — the president — would dump the other slate. The next morning he changed his mind. Anyway, we continued on and I lost, by the way, but I always ran independent. I was threatened that I would be fired, but then I'd quit when one person said he would fire me if he won. I turned in a resignation letter, in fact, but Brendan came to see me and we went to lunch with the new president and we ironed it out.

But then, there was every indication that the war was winding down, the plant would close, and then I put out feelers to Dick Leonard, who I had met over a period of time. At that time he was a little closer to the Addes slate; he really identified with the Reuther faction, but he was closer because of the convention in which Walter was supposed to win with Local 50 votes. Brendan thought he had them. That was, again, early in my political life. I overheard the conversation between the person who was heading up that faction, who pretended to be with Brendan and with Walter, having a meeting in the local union hall. All the rest of the officials and delegates had gone. I overhead him talk about when they got to the convention, their votes were not going to Walter. But there was nothing I could do. I didn't know who to get, what to do, where to get people. It was all so new to me.

RUGGLES: Do you recall his name?

MADAR: Yes. It was Freddy Masters. I recall, too, that Wally Quillico was the one on the slate with Freddy. He was agreeable to dumping Freddy and heading up the slate that Brendan was doing. He was going to be the president, but then he changed his

mind. But he was also tied in closely with Dick Leonard. Anyway, that's the one where Dick was left out on the limb, and I couldn't blame him for being a little annoyed at the Reuther faction. So at that point in time, he was closer to George Addes. So when I indicated to him that I wanted to be on the international staff, Dick talked to George Addes and I did go on the Recreation Department staff.

RUGGLES: This was in '44?

MADAR: Yes, October of 1944.

RUGGLES: It was going to be two more years before Walter was to become president. Going back for just a moment to the left-wing movement and that factionalism, did you become any more directly involved than you've already been describing?

MADAR: Yes. At the local union, although I might not identify with a slate during an election, I did line up with what became the Reuther forces. You would go to meetings that were held on Sunday. I could identify with the issues as well. So you would have to sit there, because it was a matter of outwaiting the individuals. I recall we developed substantial recreational programs. We had to also go out to get housing. We went to Washington when Wally Quillico was president. You see, Henry Ford didn't think that you needed housing and people were coming in with no place to live. The only place where they could come for help would be at the local union hall.

But yes, I got identified with politics, but not as part of a caucus group. You ended up on a side because of your beliefs. I recall organizing programs and hiring part-time people to do the activities. I remember one person who taught at Eastern Michigan University, a friend of mine who was teaching social dancing, who told me

about some of the episodes in the classes. One time she said that she was dancing with a man and he had this button on that had a nice flag of America, so he turned it over and it said USSR. Anyway she described the pin on the back and wanted to know what it was all about. I didn't bother telling her at that point in time. There was no reason to get somebody else involved in the politics. But it was just a question of vying for influence and there were people who felt a certain way on certain issues. But you learned a lot in a short period of time.

RUGGLES: Your duties as a staff member in the UAW Recreation Department when you went with the international, I have a hunch that this was where your greatest gains as a union leader occurred. Am I right?

MADAR: I spent most of my union life in the Recreation Department or as director of the department. The chief responsibility was to work with local unions, helping them to organize recreational committees, which were standing committees constitutionally, and to try to get them to develop a program which was more inclusive of the membership, a varied program, not only concentrated on those persons who were already specializing in an area. For example, the sports program was the chief concentration. There was discussion from the very beginning about developing community recreation programs so that in the urban areas the young kids would have places to play and also developing cultural recreation programs, depicting what is going on in the struggles of the workers and that kind of thing.

Despite that being the first and major push for the way the recreation program should develop, what happened was it developed in the same pattern as if the companies had sponsored it. When you got organized, the company immediately found out that they

weren't interested anymore. What they were saying was that they were providing an activity for workers, but they weren't really. They were doing the all-star thing. Our members who were sports persons, that's what they wanted, an all-star team. In many cases, we were sponsoring leagues which were not primarily union members; they were people who were recruited to play on the team just like I was recruited to play on the company team. So our task to was to try to develop a broader program.

The other thing that occurred was that one of the major functions during bowling season in the Detroit area was to maintain the league averages for the various local union bowling leagues. In addition to that, because the game was controlled by the American Bowling Congress, as far as the men were concerned, and the Women's International Bowling Congress, as far as the women were concerned, and had a great tie-in with the Proprietors' Association, we were urging them to be sanctioned. That was the way all of the competition was run. We said that if you wanted to have the international union's Recreation Department maintain your scores and handicaps and all the rest of it for you, then you had to belong to the ABC and the WIBC and be sanctioned. Well, the difficulty with that one was that there was a "Caucasians only" clause in the ABC and the WIBC. The Proprietors' Association would try to say that it wasn't their fault, that they couldn't do anything else, because after all if they did, they wouldn't have any business. But it turns out, of course, that the Proprietors' Association controlled the whole damn thing.

So that's what we walked into. Walter was aware of it. Then when he got a majority on that board, the first meeting when they had a majority on that board, they took the action that no union money should be spent on the local union level or on the international level in their promoting of any activity which was discriminatory because of

race. It then meant we could not assist. The local unions couldn't do it under the aegis of the ABC and the WIBC. That was a difficult kind of thing to do because the membership, they're bowlers and it's just like the baseball strike: if you're a fan, you don't look at the issue.

Anyway, we then had to organize a campaign. We worked with the NAACP and the Fair Practices Department of the UAW. The approach was to educate the public about this segregationist policy. With "Caucasians Only," that meant North American Indians couldn't get sanctioned. You had all these hundreds of thousands of bowling leagues. The CYO, that was one of their most popular activities. What you had to do was to say, "Hey look, this is what's going on. What do you really believe in? Are you going to join us?" We organized a National Campaign for Fair Play in Bowling. Hubert Humphrey was the mayor of Minneapolis at the time, Betty Hicks was a golf champion, and they were co-chairs, but ours was the task in the department. I was primarily involved in organizing local committees for Fair Play in Bowling and to carry the story nationwide.

The third part of it was the legal part. That's where the NAACP was extremely helpful. In the long run, that's the way we beat it, by pointing out to the ABC . . . The ABC said they never could change, that their membership wouldn't go along with it.

There were a few people controlling the whole thing. When it came right down to it, we were going to win in the state of Illinois where they were incorporated and the articles of incorporation did not permit this. It was when the verdict was to come down at their next convention that they changed the rule.

RUGGLES: The NAACP filed a lawsuit. Where was that? Was it at the state level?

MADAR: The state level, in Illinois.

RUGGLES: Do you recall that case? Were you involved personally in that?

MADAR: Not the legal aspect. I was part of the discussions about the case, but as far as being involved in it directly, no. Roy Reuther coordinated the activities of the UAW group and Bill Oliver was director of the Fair Practices Department. No, I was too busy out there trying to mobilize the community support and keep the thing moving.

RUGGLES: You earned yourself quite a reputation for getting involved in such a sensitive issue. Were you ever under any threat or were they any situations where it became very, very sensitive?

MADAR: No, not really. It was misunderstood, even by blacks who said, "Here we are being discriminated against in much more basic kinds of areas like employment, housing and so forth." Well, I concur. "What are you doing about that?" Well, my philosophy was this: each of us had our specific jobs to do. I may feel more strongly about the housing and the employment bias, but my job was to see to it that we eliminated discrimination in the recreational activities. I also felt that we would make much more progress if you saw blacks out there playing golf, rather than out there boxing, beating their brains out. We had to make the progress there.

To me, as I became the director of the Recreation Department, you applied basic union principles to what you did in recreation. My training in physical education had taught me the same thing, which is that you ought to put your emphasis on those who don't know how to participate in sports rather than on the all-stars. What you need to do

is to make all persons have the skills and the abilities to use their leisure time and you have to look toward not just your youth, but also to look to your middle-aged and when you're older. What you do is try to help to develop a program which is for the majority of your membership. That's where you would go. They used to say that participation in sports helped to solve racial problems. No, not unless you work at it in the right kind of way. It wasn't just in bowling we did this. We were also looking at it in golf and in other areas — the elimination of discrimination. We did better on race than we did on the women.

RUGGLES: Do you suppose that your efforts in the 1940's in ending discrimination in recreation spilled over into other areas later on? Was there a relationship here?

MADAR: Let me say that we did not eliminate it in recreation. We still have a long way to go. We did it in bowling. I think it was a question of attitude and bursting some balloons on the mistaken notion that if you promoted sports activities on an all-star level and you got some competition and you had some blacks playing at the state level, rather than just at the local level, then all of a sudden racial discrimination would evaporate. That's not true. It showed itself even in the schools in the city of Detroit if you take a look at the variety of programs which they had, where you began to get more blacks. They didn't have swimming and golf and things of that kind. The answer to your question is that I think that all of these helped in the long run, all of them put together. You cannot do this in isolation. You can't do it just in employment or in housing; you have got to do the whole ball of wax.

Incidentally, I was just very aggrieved when I saw a decision that was made by the Board of Trustees at Eastern Michigan University, where they decided to pay the coaches on the basis of whether or not they could win. That isn't the kind of physical education concept that we learned at Eastern Michigan. I haven't had time to get in touch with the president, but I've got to tell him, no more are they getting contributions from me until they change that policy. It just goes contrary to everything we were taught. I was too busy — involved in the conference we were doing on pay equity — to respond to that when it took place, but now I'll find some time.

RUGGLES: The bowling issue cropped up in '47. That was the same year that you were appointed director. Was there a connection because of your good efforts? Do you think it led to a promotion or was it coincidental?

MADAR: I suspect that they were related. I did not realize that I would get to be director of the Recreation Department. The director took a leave of absence because of what was supposed to have been a throat difficulty. Much later I learned that it was cancer. Anyway, I was traveling and servicing the Ohio area. We were in the thick of that factional battle. Victor Reuther was slated to come down to the Ohio school where we really had to scrounge around, because there were still shortages pertaining to the war. I was doing the recreational program, having a recreational workshop there.

I was really being teased about the fact that they had heard there was a leave of absence on the part of the director. Here I was putting all of this time in and I wasn't going to get to be director, so and so was going to get it. Frankly, I cared less at that point in time. I didn't think that I was going to get it. But I think what happened was that some of the people with whom I had worked, Brendan and others, Joe Kowalski, Ed Lee

and a number of people who were a part of the Reuther political faction, which by this time I was identified with . . .

What happened was that Victor came to that school and the people who were close, some of them were offered it and didn't want it and they thought I would be a good choice. Walter named me and I was surprised, but that was fine. But to answer your question, yes, I'm sure the whole bowling thing, the whole philosophy — we were doing all kinds of things to promote the cultural. activities — helped.

RUGGLES: Let's jump ahead to 1964. That's quite a jump that I'm going to make here, but there was a committee organized in 1964 to elect a woman to the International Executive Board. You had a hand in that. Was that committee organized by Walter or did that grow out of the women's liberation movement? Was it independent?

MADAR: Actually, what occurred was we had made some progress in getting a minority elected to the board, a black minority. The women were watching this whole development. We were concerned about when was a time that we could get our Administrative caucus to take a look at representation for women. I must admit that I was the one who said to the women staff members — I had a meeting in my office — that we had to make the move, that we owed it to the women out there and that we ought to follow the same pattern of trying to get a woman elected to the board by changing the constitution, by increasing the size of the board and by getting a commitment from the Administration caucus to put a woman on the slate. You knew that if you were part of the Administration caucus, you had to get the leadership of the caucus to agree to it. But

beyond that, the leadership of the caucus weren't going to do it unless you got the secondary leadership out in the local unions to do it.

After that initial meeting, I met with Walter. My whole purpose was not to be a candidate for the office, but to see to it that we did that. We owed it; we had made it, now we ought to do something as far as the rest of the women were concerned, we ought to get representation. I met with Reuther and he gave me some very good advice. He said that yes, he would like to see it happen, but he wasn't saying that he was going to do it and anoint us. We had a task to go out and sell it to the secondary leadership and they, in turn, to the board constituted as the Administration caucus. He also said that we would make a mistake if we selected a candidate. You had to get the principle first.

Actually, in our first initial run in '64, we started too late. The meeting I held was too close to the convention. The fact of the matter is, as I look back now, that discussion with Walter came up a little bit later, as we were already in it. We couldn't pull if off the first time. We really didn't have time to go out and organize. The advice and help that came from Walter came as we went along, but at least we made that initial push. We said we'd be back. Then we started earlier the next time and that's when we were getting the help and advice. We organized HER — Help Equalize Representation. Stella was one of the active people in that. We go way back.

RUGGLES: Who was on that original committee?

MADAR: Staff members. There was Edie Van Horn. I can't remember if Lillian Hatcher came. There was Caroline Davis. That was one of the mistakes we made the first time around. Caroline didn't want to get involved in this ballgame unless she would be the candidate. She seemed to have some assurances that she might be Walter's choice.

I went along with that, but some of the other staff members weren't exactly in agreement with that. Dorothy Haener was on the staff at the time. I can't remember them all. It was the next time around that we really got that out, that no matter who was chosen, we better not talk about candidates until we nail down the principle.

RUGGLES: I found an earlier piece of correspondence where you signed your name and then put "chairman" after it and I got a little chuckle out of that.

MADAR: Did I? Well, that's what we did.

RUGGLES: Is that somewhat of a superficial issue to you, chairman vs. chairperson?

MADAR: It means a great deal now. That shows you that when the big push came, when we began to make a distinction was in '66. That was the formation of the National Organization for Women. I remember when Leonard Woodcock very scathingly said . . . Later, when I was on the board, I said, "We ought to change the contract, to do it in the third person." He said, "That's a passing fancy."

Now my own belief is if you know that I am the chair, then you call me "chairwoman." I know you are the chair, I call you "chairman," and when I don't know, I call you "chairperson." That's the old stuff. It's like Dorothy Flair, who is the vice president of Michigan CLUW who is addressing a group of people on Saturday and says, "girls" and then says, "oh." And she still says girls when she speaks, because she has said it all of her life. That was the accepted way of doing it and I did it. But not anymore.

RUGGLES: On that 30th anniversary of the UAW in 1966, you wound up getting 90% of the votes for director. But there was a floor fight prior to that vote. Let's discuss the floor fight.

MADAR: Before that, once we nailed down the principle of the organization that we had, then we began to talk about candidates and we knew the method of selection.

What we did when we started, we told all of the women who could conceivably be a candidate or even if they didn't want to be a candidate to say they were candidates.

Because they were saying that there were no women out there, so we had everybody, including myself.

Now, there were a number of times I wanted to get out of that race. I got word from Walter not to get out. Part of that was because Caroline was having a little difficulty. She was ill and I think he had some concerns. Knowing that I was telling her that I did not wish to be a candidate, she boxed me in by saying, "I've told Walter that if I'm going to step out, it's only for you." There I was. I couldn't get out of that race.

When it came down to the selection just before the convention, they met in caucus session, the board did. I didn't know where those votes were. I know that I had indicated to some of the leadership, including Gino Serafini, who was co-chair of HER and president of Local 51, that there was some indication that the director of the Chrysler Department, Doug Fraser (I never did ask Doug — I'm going to have to ask him) might be supporting Edie Van Horn. That didn't sit well with the Chrysler presidents and they got busy. But as it turned out, it wasn't that way.

When you have an Administration caucus decision, every part of that administrative leadership, including the regional directors, are supposed to go along, once you take the vote. I had a little tiff with one of the regional directors (and I'm a good friend of his now), because a staff member who came out of his region and who was on my staff was opposed to the choice. Apparently there was a little bit of falling away from

the Administration caucus. Meanwhile, there was opposition and there was a little confusion over the fact that I was the Administration caucus selection. They don't realize that the opponent is not part of the Administration caucus. But they also caught them in the box. You didn't vote for the opponent if you knew that she's in opposition to the caucus. Well, word came out that there was a split and Walter made them go through that vote. Leonard wanted to stop it. Walter said, "No, I want to see where the ranks are, from the standpoint of leadership, on a principle." They do it anyway, but on a principle, such as selection of a black or the election of a female. "Do we hold firm when we make the decision and we hold with the candidate. I want to see who didn't do their job out there."

RUGGLES: This was a roll call vote?

MADAR: This was a roll call vote.

RUGGLES: It was a long, tedious process.

MADAR: Yes it was. They ultimately called it off.

RUGGLES: You had some opposition from Canada and from the Toledo area.

Is there any particular significance to that?

MADAR: You mean from the membership?

RUGGLES: There was a . . .

MADAR: Yes, the candidate. There wasn't a candidate from Toledo.

RUGGLES: No, but there was some spoken opposition against a woman, I believe, on the . . .

MADAR: Yes. There were some difficulties there as far as Gosser and the Ohio region. We operated a children's camp up at the Michigan AFL-CIO camp. It was both

for boys and girls. He operated the camp. They had boy sessions and girl sessions, but it was a question of competition with camps. One summer we didn't have it up there, because they raised it on the board. If you look at those minutes, you'll see all the discussion which was contrary to how Walter felt. It was a bad thing to have boys and girls camps at the same time. But the one year we didn't have the camp here in Michigan, they all went to Ohio. I think it was that difference there. It may also stem from the business of the other kinds of issues that were controversial, like the bowling one. But the opposition wasn't that great. It came definitely from the carry-over from the old left-right split. Beverly was her name. So there was a split right there in that same local union, left and right.

RUGGLES: Did George Burt support her or did he support you?

MADAR: I thought George supported me. I'm almost positive. George and I have always been good friends, particularly because we started on the environmental issue. We didn't stick with just the recreational activities when I was director. We were on the conservation/environmental issue before that. George is an environmentalist. That whole clean water campaign, which the UAW was in the forefront of . . . They're talking about finding out things now that in that conference in '64 we were talking about. If you take a look at that report, you'll see it there. I listened to the TV and read the newspapers and said, "My God, there it is, you haven't done anything about it. You were told about it a long time ago." No, I would be surprised . . . I'm almost positive George supported me. It was Region 3, Indiana, where I got my opposition. It was going to be won, I knew.

RUGGLES: I have a sensitive question to ask you. You recently were quoted in a newspaper saying that, "Any progress women make will be handouts until women are organized." Was it a handout in '66 or tokenism? That charge was made also.

MADAR: Well, from the standpoint of a handout, no, we had to fight like hell for it. Now, go from there to the business of whether it turned out to be tokenism. Well, it's run like that. You mobilize the forces, but you don't then set up the organizational structure that exerts the political pressures for you, which is what happens. You get elected and you are not supposed to go out there in the regional directors' territories and be political. Then, if you're not involved in collective bargaining, you don't have any power there either. So you turn out to be a token, but never was that a handout. No.

Some for awhile didn't forgive you. On the other hand, on the first go-round and even the second go-round, Leonard was not for it. I don't think that it was because he was opposed to the principle. I don't know what the real reason was, but I will say this: once it happened, in that same year, I remember Leonard saying to me at a Christmas party, "You know where I was, but 1 want to tell you that I was wrong and I'm glad you are on board."

Now, being on board, however, did not make you a member of the club. You might be a part of the Administration caucus, but you're not a member of the club.

Although I was sitting with people who probably were more sensitive to the issue of discrimination than any other group would be, they were more sensitized to race discrimination than sex discrimination. They didn't know when they were being paternalistic and sexist. They didn't really realize it. I guess I can say that I look back and I see sexism but not really aimed specifically at me. I think the first time I really felt

it was when I got to that high, elevated position on the board. They didn't know it, but I never was a part of the club. In fact, I didn't like the club concept. I didn't like the idea of hiding behind a secretive caucus to take action against somebody.

Over a period of time, I saw the value and the need to have a caucus. An administrative caucus in which the leadership at the top take a strong position and a moral position can be very effective. But at this point in time in 1966, particularly when we came to the basic principle of our opportunity to get a woman elected as regional director and the leadership of the caucus didn't take a leadership position but allowed those 17 tails out there to wag and run the show, then that doesn't become an Administration caucus.

RUGGLES: When you became a member of the executive board, did you receive the assignments you had expected? Were there any disappointments?

MADAR: There weren't any disappointments. You see, I looked at it differently than the others. Everybody said you had to have a collective bargaining assignment or else you weren't really anything in the union. And it's true, politically you weren't.

That's the way they looked at it. But I sat on that board and will tell you that most of the discussion was not about the difficulties in collective bargaining. We had enough people to do that. So, as far as assignments were concerned, I wasn't disappointed. But I had to have one and nobody wanted to give up their collective bargaining assignment, so Doug took me to Walter and Doug gave up TOP servicing, which meant just small plants. He had Chrysler, so he had that. He also gave me a staff member — Wally Webber — that went with it. He didn't give me TOP organizing, though; he wouldn't give that one up. But he did do that and he made that sacrifice.

Now the other thing that happened, because I had been early in the development of the retired workers program, was that I was going to be director of that department. Meanwhile, they wanted to make a change in the assistant director and were looking around for somebody to take that spot. The director of our Community Relations

Department, Andy Brown, was the one they were looking at. It was my understanding that it was Andy who said he would not take that unless Walter was directing. So it ended up that I was co-director with Walter Reuther, which didn't work out at all, because you had administrative assistants, which assistant directors go running to. I gave that up after awhile and said, "I can't live with this, Walter." It was at that time then, because we wanted to have a Consumer Affairs Department that I became director of the Consumer Affairs Department. We broadened the whole scope of the recreation and the conservation program.

RUGGLES: As co-director with Walter of the Retired Workers Department, were you sort of ignored and people would go around you to him?

MADAR: That's right. The assistant director went around me to him. I didn't like that, because I had some of my own notions about what ought to happen.

RUGGLES: In the assignments — education, office workers, retired members — those were all men on those committees, all chaired by Woodcock, Fraser, Walter. Were you intimidated?

MADAR: No. (I didn't have education. You mean I was on that committee.)

No, I wasn't intimidated by them.

RUGGLES: You were the only woman at that time on those committees.

MADAR: I know, because I was the only board member. No, I wasn't intimidated. The one I didn't get, that was the other interesting thing. What I naturally should have gotten was the director of the Women's Department. But Caroline didn't want to get out from having Walter as the one in charge, rather than me. The prestige of the president being director, she would be second to Walter and not to anyone else. I never did get the Women's Department, but I never regretted that either because, frankly, what we subsequently learned when the Women's Department was split off from the Fair Practices Department was that they had no constitutional authority. It was all in the Fair Practices Department. They were beginning to square that away and we learned subsequently, at one of our large caucus sessions, when one of the women got up and said, "When are you going to put sex into the constitution?" It wasn't in there. So I didn't regret not getting that.

In answer to your question, the fact that I was alone didn't bother me, because you must see that as a recreation director of an organization which is primarily male, in a field that involved all of the sports — and I had to organize them — that I'm going to be associating all the time with the male leadership, so that wasn't an unusual kind of situation.

RUGGLES: Well, you weren't intimidated. Were you effective? Do you feel that you were effective on those committees?

MADAR: Not as effective on the board as I should have been, and I didn't speak up as much as I should have spoken up, because there was really not much . . . Well, anyway, I could have been more effective. I think, on the committees, I was more effective. Subsequently, it was brought to Leonard's attention that I wasn't on the Fair

Practices Committee and he put me on. Then I truly could be effective, particularly in that unofficial third step, where there was a discriminatory problem that we then said you have to have someone of that minority group sitting in to discuss the discrimination with the Big Three. That meant females as well as blacks. No, I was effective. More effective in committees than at the board level.

RUGGLES: Did your influence increase when you became a vice president, even though the other members-at-large became vice presidents?

MADAR: No, that was just a change in title. You must know — if it's not in the Archives, it's time to be there — they were going to leave me out. The other board members-at-large were pressuring, they were saying that in terms of their responsibilities, they ought to be vice presidents. So they agreed they were going to do it. I didn't realize they were going to do it. There was a board meeting. I can't recall whether that was in Canada or where it was. I got tipped off by Victor Reuther, I think it was, that that was coming up. Walter and Emil were going to buy it. Victor said, "Just let it ... see what happens. I think at this point the regional directors are very upset about this." You had gone to the regional directors and said, "Basically and morally, this is what you have to do to elect a woman to the board." But now what they were saying was that they were going to move them up, but they're going to leave her behind. Well I sat through that session and I must say that's one time I saw the regional directors really just come out for what was right, better than the leadership.

RUGGLES: Against the caucus, the leadership?

MADAR: Against the board meeting. Walter and Emil backed off very quickly.

So, yes, all of us were going to be moved up. Now, when you talk about influence, it was

the same thing, but you had a different title. Doug got to be vice president before he was board member-at-large. He's still doing the same thing. To them, it must have meant something. It meant — to Jack Edwards, Doug and whoever else was involved, Ken, I guess — it meant that they had the same status as Leonard Woodcock and Pat Greathouse. They wanted to be vice presidents along with them. That was no big thing to me, except that if they were going and they left me behind, that would be wrong, because of all those women out there and because of what we fought for.

RUGGLES: As head of departments, especially of the Recreation Department, did you have a lot of autonomy or did you have to clear your major decisions with Walter on a day-to-day basis?

MADAR: I had a lot of autonomy and I think that's why I got to be the candidate, because I did develop programs. If you look at the record of what we did under my leadership, but with the full support of Walter (there might have been some things you checked out with him in advance), the whole environmental thing, the saving of the Porcupine Wilderness area, the Indiana Dunes, all those kinds of things were things that were near and dear to his heart, too. We often had to fight some of our people. The whole clear water thing, the retiree thing, the organization of the Clear Water Conference of '64, I worked with Walter on that one because that was near and dear to his heart. I had to do the detailing. I still have those notes, penciled notes as we developed that program. There might be some times when somebody would say, "Hey, what is she doing down there?" or that kind of thing, but because I could read what was the basic philosophy of the leadership, I would then develop the program and they were supportive of it.

RUGGLES: Tell me about the Clear Water Conference. How bad had the water quality become in this country?

MADAR: Very bad. Lake Erie and the Great Lakes were very bad. Jerry Cavanagh and Governor John Swainson were good people, but their staff people put a man in charge of the water supply system here, Gerald Remus, and he was telling them everything was okay. But on the federal level, there was the whole push there for clear water. I had gone to a conference and learned about the study they were doing and also I heard a person say that he wasn't getting the support of unions and that they were going to turn him off. I went to him and said, "Hey, it never came to us. You never told us. We'd be glad to work with you." We helped to turn it around, where Gerald Remus was trying to pull Jerry Cavanagh and John Swainson off. We turned that around. The documentation was there. We were in Canada and every place else talking about this whole situation.

RUGGLES: The average rank-and-file UAW member might say to you, "Why is this a UAW issue? Why is my money being spent on this?" How would you respond to that?

MADAR: I would respond to it the same way an average rank-and-file member who liked to go out in that lake and fish. They were with us better than some of the leadership. They knew the water was polluted sooner than we did, when they couldn't catch those perch out there. That's the kinds of programs that we ought to be doing to reach our membership. In fact, we developed programs trying to involve the membership in their communities, where the air was bad, like in Detroit and Downriver. We were constantly trying to do things, to say to the membership, "Hey, does this bother you in

your community? You know what you ought to be doing is going to your local union and getting the leadership to take an action and use the union and any influence they had in relationships to the problems that bother you in your community." We were doing more to involve them than anybody else was doing, and we still need to do it now.

You asked me a question earlier about whether I was disappointed. The work I was doing was every bit as important as collective bargaining, and there were enough people out there doing that. So we needed to have more people who were able to interpret to our membership and bring them closer to us and deal with these kinds of everyday basic problems that they had.

RUGGLES: I was impressed with the UN Conference on Human Environment held at Black Lake. You had a hand in that, too. That was a significant meeting.

MADAR: Yes, that was a follow-up of the Clear Water Conference, and Victor was very instrumental in setting that up. He was the one who had the relationship with the UN. It was a natural follow-up of what we did here in Detroit on that Clear Water Conference.

RUGGLES: You had representatives from nations all over the world?

MADAR: Right. That was a traumatic period of time, because that was the point in time shortly after Walter's death and Leonard had taken over. That conference was planned with him; he was going to be there. My recollections of all the things that have happened are not too good. But those were the conferences that were documented or taped. There's a booklet and it's all there for history. It all evolved out of this whole concern about the environment and I knew that's what we ought to be doing, but more

importantly, I also knew that I had the support of the president of this union who was very much concerned about it, too.

RUGGLES: Let me go back a minute to the role you played in getting on the board. Was anyone surprised when all your major assistants were male appointees? You appointed Frank Fagan and . . .

MADAR: No, they weren't surprised. That's what they wanted. That's what they told me I should do. I wanted to put women in there. The only way I could make up for it was to try to put as many women on as I possibly could on the staff level. They told me, as a woman, I ought to get a man. I didn't think so. I thought I ought to get a woman. They weren't surprised. That's the way they thought it ought to go.

RUGGLES: I did notice that the female membership did grow in the staff at large.

MADAR: Absolutely. There would have been more if I had my way on all of them. As it turned out, I had my way on some of them. You will also note that there were black females there, several. That's where it started and some of them are still around

RUGGLES: Another sensitive question — Larry Gettlinger — there seemed to be some trouble getting settled in.

MADAR: He was one of the administrators up in Walter's office.

RUGGLES: The question of office space and furniture and things like that came up.

MADAR: Well, the practice that Walter had was to have administrative assistants assigned to various departments. I don't think he ever said, "This one is in

charge," although there was always somebody up there who was really heading it up or there was a battle as to who should be heading it up. If the records indicate that there were some problems, it just means that Larry wasn't broad enough to give me the same kinds of privileges. But I think he had the same battles with others.

RUGGLES: I was just wondering if that was just normal adjustment or was he difficult?

MADAR: No, I think really, in all fairness, I subsequently learned and know of the fact that there were others who had difficulty. I got along with him well, but it was in the golf league afterwards and so forth. But he was pretty narrow and autocratic on some things, and I'd just fight him on it.

RUGGLES: You eventually had to write to Walter about that. You wrote him a letter. I don't know if he replied.

MADAR: I don't remember what it was. What was it about?

RUGGLES: It dealt with this letter-writing campaign that you and Larry had and you indicated at one time, "I can't win this anyway. Do what you want." Then you wrote Walter about this "picayunish thing."

MADAR: I don't remember that. If I knew what it was that I was asking for. Was it a piece of furniture?

RUGGLES: Well, it was also office space.

MADAR: I think by appealing to Walter, I did get more space. It was still second. But that was because you were the last one in and it was a little more difficult.

RUGGLES: It wasn't because you were a woman.

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MADAR: Oh sure! That's always in there. It still is over there or anyplace else. I still say they're better than most, or were. Right now, I don't know. By this time, they should be a little more sensitive to the issue and they should not be that way. More importantly, if you're in a leadership position and if you are sexist and a good politician, you know what side the bread was buttered. You know that if you're going to reach out to all of those women and what was happening out there that you ought to be making some positive affirmative action steps to show that your union was in the right place. That happened before. I don't think it's happening as well now as it should. There are some other unions that are doing much better at this than the UAW, which I love dearly. The reason I'm saying this is because we were in the forefront and my concern is that we will not be in the forefront. To me that's shortsighted.

RUGGLES: Working with Walter as closely as you did, did you ever have any disagreements with him? Were you always in agreement with his philosophies?

MADAR: I suspect that there must have been some times when I was in disagreement with his philosophy. I did become annoyed when we kept hearing and hearing about all the problems as far as George Meany was concerned and then not taking any action. I felt that we ought to move, if this is the way it was. You got so that you got a little tired of it.

RUGGLES: Are you talking about separating from the AFL-CIO?

MADAR: Well, he didn't like the way it was going while he was there. I thought some action ought to be taken. He was trying to get people to rally around him, but it's the same thing over there as it is in any other group. They'd tell him yes and then when it came time, they weren't there. It happens now, it happens to me and I'm sure it happens

to everyone. Anyway, at that point in time it was obvious, okay, the only thing you can do is pull out and just forget about it. I guess at that point in time I was a little annoyed. Then when he did, when we took the action, I thought that's great, now we'll forget about that one and go on.

I changed my mind on that subsequently. I think we made a mistake with some of the alliances we formed with the Teamsters. It wasn't worth it. It was just window dressing. Not that you shouldn't try to do something with them, don't misunderstand me. But that way, it didn't work. Subsequently, although I had said that I never wanted to go back in again, I changed my mind, particularly when we were forming the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Then I realized that if we couldn't get along with unions, if we couldn't understand each other, we were going to be in deep trouble. So although I had said, "Never again," I changed my mind. I knew we had to go back with all of the things that we were fighting against and with the opposition we had.

RUGGLES: Go back to what?

MADAR: To the AFL-CIO. I was saying we never should go back again. Then, when it came up again, by that time we had gone through a whole experience of working not just with the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, but with independents. I knew that we had to find a common ground or get chopped off piece by piece. So, I was for going back. Back to your question: generally I was in agreement with his concepts and philosophy. That was one in which I thought he ought to really put it together or gotten out sooner before the thing became too much of a . . . There probably are other areas, but I can't recall them. Did you find something?

RUGGLES: There was some disagreement on the retiree program, but it must have been a minor issue.

MADAR: Yes, that one. The only question there was whether or not we would have the staff to do that part of the function of the retiree program that we had been doing with short staff. When they organized the Retired Workers Department, which I was not opposed to, when we finally got to the political part of that program, the structure that we have now — the local union, the regional thing — had not been implemented right away. That was a difficult thing to do, until Dave Miller came along. I urged him to get into the program and did the political battles over the opposition of the regional directors so that Walter could go ahead and put a structure together. We had a three-phase program and that wasn't being done, because that's one of the areas where the regional directors and the local unions didn't want any interference. We had to get a retiree who had the political moxie, and he led that.

But at the point when we established the department, I didn't think that with us having done all those picnics and all those center programs and all of that with short staff, that a staff member who had been working with us should go to the Retired Workers Department rather than coming into the Recreation Department to do that work, and that was the controversy. That was done primarily with Roy, who was taking two different positions when it came to the Women's Department and the Retired Workers Department. I have that exchange of letters. But that wasn't a disagreement with Walter. That was the business of his being influenced by outside forces. People don't know how staff' are really the ones who set policy when you become an elected official. It's staff that sets

policy. When an electorate and/or a constituency sits quietly for a minute, you have an established policy.

RUGGLES: I have a list of organizations that you have belonged to and participated in, which is enough to drive you wild. From the American Youth Hostel to the Gerontological Society to the Commission on Aging. Which one is your favorite?

MADAR: The Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Women's Political Caucus and the National Organization for Women. How is that? I don't know which ones are down there.

RUGGLES: I have just about all of them. Of all the special projects in which you have been involved — DART, the art fairs — which one was your favorite, of the special projects?

MADAR: The Deprived Areas Recreation Team was one. The work we did on the mental health deinstitutionalization program, the committee that had to draft a program which never went into effect, they were way ahead of their time. Now, DART worked effectively as far as seeing to it that there would be equity and some better resources in those areas of the city which were economically deprived that didn't have the resources and the facilities and in the involvement of the citizenry and impacting on the bureaucratic staff's structure. Its chief objective was to involve the UAW members. We didn't do too good of a job directly. We got UAW members, but only because of their association in their other neighborhood groups, because they were interested in our objective. We focused on the shortcomings of the local recreation departments in their planning and how they yielded to pressures.

RUGGLES: Do you think that if DART and other similar types of programs had been more effective that we might have avoided such things as the riots in '67?

MADAR: Well, if we had started a little earlier, yes. There were some serious derelictions in terms of services based on race in this community and in our schools too. I served on that school study committee, and I don't know if that's listed in there as one of the organizations, but that study of the schools and also the physical education study were important kinds of activities in determining the kinds of institutionalized racism that took place and does take place.

RUGGLES: It still exists.

MADAR: Yes, it still exists. More and more now, in a city like Detroit, it's economic, and it makes it more difficult, because before you could rally the blacks.

Now, who do you rally — the poor? You have whites and blacks who made it and could care less for the ones who haven't made it.

RUGGLES: One of the projects you seem to have been involved in before was at the Black Lake Education Center. Were you part of a group to search out a site? I find some early records indicating that even before Black Lake came up, that out in Oakland County there were some possibilities for an education center. Could you tell us about that?

MADAR: Yes. We were doing our educational programs with the Michigan AFL-CIO. Part of that too was with Gus Scholle, AFL-CIO president. We had some very good educational programs that helped people to make up their minds politically out there before Walter became president and they were done very effectively. The Education Department had its summer schools up there. Then we operated the children's

camp. We always said that we ought to have a family camping program so the parents could also come up. It got put together when Walter started talking about a family education center, where the emphasis was in terms of education and involving the families, but you also had a children's camp. Because I was the director of the Recreation Department and we had the camping program, I was asked to look around, and we were looking around. I had some help from one of the staff members over at the Huron Clinton Metropolitan Authority, because I was on that board. We were looking. I would call some of these to Walter's attention.

But interestingly enough, that piece of property, the regional director from Region 1C had talked to Walter about it and I didn't know that. Then somebody else came along and talked about it and Walter became very interested in it. It was right after the convention. We all went up in two small planes to take a look at it. It was a very ideal place. There was some land there, down by the beach, that the soil wasn't right, but there was still plenty of other good land. Coincidentally, there was a bad storm and we couldn't come back to Detroit. I can't remember where we went and they had to come and pick us up in cars. I say that because of what happened as far as Walter was concerned.

RUGGLES: There is some controversy around the center because of the distance from metropolitan areas for visiting dignitaries and there's also some controversy about the financing of Black Lake. Instead of coming out of dues, like the Port Elgin thing in Canada, it came out of the general budget. Could you comment on the controversy around that?

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MADAR: First, let me say as far as the site is concerned, you've seen the material and you've seen the Oakland site where I was looking. I truly believe that even though I prefer a natural setting, I think we need something closer to an urban area due to the educational function and you still could do the other. That goes against what I like, so when I got out to Black Lake and looked at it, I thought we made a mistake in the selection of the site.

As far as financing, frankly, I had not been involved in the various viewpoints in that controversy. I see nothing wrong in the way it's financed. I would like to see it go on. I do know it's expensive. I don't think we really developed all of the winter uses that we could have developed. Part of that is the transportation problem. At one time I tried to get the director of transportation for the state of Michigan together with Don Ephlin to talk about whether or not there's a possibility of trains going up there and they did get together. At one time in Michigan, at all the children's camps, the private ones, they went by train and it sounded to me like a very interesting experience. But the transportation is one of the problems. The question as to whether or not there ought to be a larger payment for the people who participate in that summer program in terms of the cost is also another factor. But I don't really know enough about its operation. That was not in existence long enough for me to get a good handle on what's going on. I don't even know how the children's camp was established. We sent them all our manuals and so forth. I hope they find a way to get around the financing.

RUGGLES: You were on the board, weren't you, when the financing of it came up?

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MADAR: Yes, and I can't remember having any objections to it. Subsequently a different method of financing came up, didn't it? Don't they have a new method now?

RUGGLES: Well, I think people pay as they participate.

MADAR: No they don't. That was there from the beginning. All they pay for is transportation. Yes, I was on that education committee, but it seems to me that afterwards there was a new method of . . . They had to increase the financing.

RUGGLES: The original purchase, the twenty million dollars or thereabouts that Walter had to do some persuasive arguing to get other board members to . . .

MADAR: But remember that what happened also, we had a disastrous GM strike at the same time, so we had to mortgage that as well. I wouldn't be about to tell you how to finance that place unless I had something to do about how it's being operated. There's a lot of things I wouldn't be doing the way they're doing.

RUGGLES: I have a question to ask you about conservation, because that seems to be a main interest of yours. In heading the Recreation Department of an industrial union and conserving natural resources, there seems to be a conflict, because there is a need for using some of these resources in industry. I'm think primarily of oil drilling in the Pigeon River country and the sand mining over at the Bridgman Dunes, which is needed for the automotive industry. There seems to be a conflict in the conservation of our natural resources and the use of them.

MADAR: You don't have to go to those far-off examples. We can go right close to the autoworker. We had controversy and still have controversy. We had it in relationship to the supersonic transport. We had it in relationship to the B1. We had a three-member committee — Ken Bannon, Doug and I. It was the first time in the history

of the board that we came in with three divergent opinions. I have been in the middle of controversy when it impacted in our aerospace industry. We had conflict when it came to the Huber foundry, when the air pollution commissioner here in Wayne County came to us to say that he had gotten a call from staff members over at the UAW Chrysler Department to get off their back, because he was telling Chrysler that they had to do something about the Huber foundry. Well, the only way we got around that was to talk to the UAW members who lived around that foundry. There were more of them than were employed in that foundry.

The answer to the question is that management and self-interests have used this kind of economic blackmail to make our membership get in the untenable position of saying, "Don't take my job away." At the same tire they're condemning their grandkids. That's what they make them do. The whole auto emissions program — that was a controversy. We took a good position. It's now being watered down. I will tell you that you think we win those battles when we concede the job response. But it's not so. In the long run, we lose more jobs because of what's happening and it costs us a heck of a lot more money, because we pay for it rather than get management to clean up the mess.

Look up how much it's cost us to clean up the waters that were polluted by all the industries here. The same is true of everything else that we've done. So, sure there's controversy; what you need is strong leadership to know what is good as far as the majority is concerned. You can't ever get away from the concept that the union is part of that total community.

RUGGLES: That's a good answer. I'm glad you have strong feelings on conservation.

MADAR: So did Walter. Now, he would be a little more politically astute about some of them, but he would manage to set up the thing so we could have the responses at the right time by the right people and be there to save you if you were going to go down the drain.

RUGGLES: Let me ask you a question about TOP. Since a lot of the white-collar workers are women, did your involvement in organizing increase the membership in that?

MADAR: I wasn't involved in the organizing, except when they called on me when they had organizing drives. They did that often because they didn't have enough women on the staff, so they had to call on my women staff to help them out and also call on me when they had an organizing drive. There was an increase in organizing there. As far as our responsibilities there, we were primarily involved in helping the smaller locals who had TOP units. Then we assisted, my staff would assist there. We also assisted in places that were not UAW, such as at Wayne State University. Subsequently, two of those unions became affiliated with the UAW.

We were constantly doing sensitivity- and consciousness-raising in TOP. My experience with the TOP section of an industrial union is that we have a greater sexist group of men than we have in the plant. These are jobs that can be equally done by females, but more importantly, some of those jobs that were occupied by females, the grade levels were lower. The first encounter we had with that was the nurses at Chrysler. They were organized and as a result of their organization, did have an increase in their salary. But then I had just come into that operation when their first round of negotiations would take place as part of the total unit. They expressed to me the grade level where

they were as contrasted to the timekeepers and even the mail boy — and it was mail boy, not mail person. They were much closer to the mail boy than they were to the timekeepers. They were living the whole wage inequity, sex-biased thing at that point in time. They fought that battle and I supported them in that battle.

If you'll look at the TOP newsletter, the last one that came out, that speaks to this whole issue of elimination of sex discrimination in that area. My assistant, Wally Webber, wrote it, but he did it after we had several conferences and three rewrites. He did an excellent job. If you haven't read it, you ought to read it. In fact, I think we ought to circulate it some more. Now, I was curious about what happened to that nurses unit since that whole sex-based wage discrimination thing has gotten into the courts now. Well, apparently they found themselves in a better position to have a separate nurses unit in the UAW. They are no longer a part of that same local union.

RUGGLES: I've got to ask you a question about 1974 and your retirement.

Some people have said that it was sudden. Some people have said it was very surprising.

MADAR: They weren't listening if they said it was sudden or if they said it was very surprising. Before I ran in that convention I said I was not going to run again. I indicated why. I also indicated what I was going to do in the next two years. In the first national Women's Conference I spelled out that what we needed to do as women in our union was to organize a women's caucus within the Administration caucus. In other words, I announced before the convention I was not going to run. I told Leonard that. Then afterwards I tried to establish and develop a procedure to organize a women's caucus.

About that same time, in fact, just prior to the convention, a coalition called Network for Economic Rights was organized to bring various women's groups or women leaders in various organizations together around state legislative issues which were concerns to our unions, but also to them as organizations. I then learned that as I tried to involve union women in that network that what they were saying was that it's time for us to get together as union women. So, at the same time, the idea of the Coalition of Labor Union Women was developing. Then I became occupied in that, because the time was right. The other one, also, I wasn't going to be running. Trying to involve my staff in that was too . . . They were an endangered species if they got involved in that kind of a political thing. So we never organized the women's caucus. But we did get the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

There's also the misconception that I left the UAW to be president of the Coalition of Labor Women. That's not true. The other erroneous impression is that I was being paid for it. I was chief cook and bottle-washer at no salary. The only thing that made it possible for CLUW to get off the ground is that I had a commitment from Leonard that they would provide office space, and for the first six months they also provided secretarial space. When I left the presidency of the Coalition — I was president until 1977 — I had a commitment from Doug that he would also be supportive of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, when he became president. There shouldn't have been any surprise. I made it very clear.

RUGGLES: Was there anything negative, such as you just being tired of the "old boys club," that type of thing?

MADAR: I said in the beginning that I didn't want it. I was happy where I was. So, I wasn't happy being up there in that position. I couldn't do as much as I wanted to do. I wanted to have a little time to do my own thing in my own way.

RUGGLES: I'd like to ask you about some of the people you worked with. I want to ask you about Jerry Cavanagh. As a person, how do you feel about him?

MADAR: I liked him very much. He was very creative, he could visualize things. He was very fair. I had a disagreement with Jerry Cavanagh, but that didn't matter. I was on the Parks and Recreation Commission at the time he got elected and the UAW did not support him. So the word was out with some of his people that he was going to dump me. I can't remember who in the UAW, but they told me that some of his staff members were talking about this. Jerry met with us and said it wasn't true. I had not been out there battling for his campaign because the UAW board had taken a position and as part of the board, there I was. I didn't think that Mayor Miriani was very good. I was glad that Jerry won, but I did not know him that well.

Working with him in the Parks and Recreation Commission, he was very receptive to ideas and suggestions. It did not get him upset when I took issue with him. You'll find in the records that I took a stand to say that if he went ahead and appointed that director of recreation he was going to appoint, I was going to leave the commission. Now, the facts of life were that I was going to leave it anyway because 1 was going to be too busy, and I was making that an issue. We met with Jerry in advance. I indicated my concern and I said that after I met the man and I was wrong, then I would tell him, but, then, if I felt the man couldn't do the job, then I thought I ought to have the right to take the position that I wanted to take. He said I could.

The whole question of the development of Belle Isle, the whole waterfront thing, the whole family center concept, the whole business of combining federal programs into one lump project, so you could do all kinds of things — health services, recreation, the whole gamut — all of that was developed during the Jerry Cavanagh administration.

RUGGLES: It was about this time, I think it was in '63, that Detroit was being considered for the Olympics. In fact, it was a bid city. Then it got dropped. Do you recall that?

MADAR: I recall that. You sure have done your homework. Before I came to do this interview with you, I wondered if you were going to be like the rest of them and not look up . . . You have done your work.

Yes, there was a controversy and I was up on the wrong side of the table on that one with everybody. Now you're talking about a disagreement, yes, with Walter, with Doug, with everyone. I think Jerry wanted it too. We took a position against it and we did some documentation. Every piece of evidence indicates, except in Los Angeles . . . And I still to this day don't know how much it cost the citizens. I was out there before and afterwards, but not for the Olympics. I know what they did to fix up that place and it did help the whole city. But we were ready for a real financial trouncing and I didn't see us getting involved in it. The UAW put some up-front money into that. I didn't think we ought to go through with it.

RUGGLES: We lost it anyway.

MADAR: Yes, we lost it anyway. We would have gone down the drain. Now, how they pulled it off in Los Angeles, I don't know.

RUGGLES: I have Senator Lorraine Beebe's name down here. I thought I'd ask you your impression of Lorraine.

MADAR: It turned out that after Lorraine got elected to the Senate — I knew her before, because she had been involved in recreational activities and I had been doing some officiating — she was a conservative in the Senate and she took the wrong position on the Farm Workers. It's interesting how politics makes strange bedfellows.

Subsequently, we organized the National Women's Political Caucus that was with Democrats and Republicans. Here was Lorraine helping to organize the National Women's Political Caucus. But I must say that I was not supporting her for her positions. I felt that she was a conservative.

RUGGLES: She opposed you on the grape boycott?

MADAR: Yes, on the grape boycott. Yes, but she was really anti-labor, she really was.

RUGGLES: I have John D'Agostino's name down here. I thought it would be interesting to ask you about John. He appears in your files a lot. Did you work closely with him?

MADAR: Well, John was one of two people who was employed at the time to do the discrimination in bowling battle and organized leagues. There were two people employed for that and I had to let one go. I kept John on and he was part of the staff. There was a little bit of friction that developed later on in the staff relationships. He indicated the desire to come over to the Retired Workers Department. They asked me if I had any objections and I had no objections.

RUGGLES: Some other women in the women's lib movement — just a brief comment on what you think about these people: Betty Friedan.

MADAR: Betty did her best thing by writing the book. She is a little emotionally unstable at times and she would take sides and she fought Bella Abzug. I didn't always agree with her. She's over one way one time and the next time she's over someplace else. But she made her contribution. She's not, as far as I'm concerned ... For instance, as an example, most people don't know but the National Organization for Women was helped by the Women's Department of the UAW — Caroline Davis and Dorothy Haener. Dorothy Haener was an officer in there. The whole organization of things, before they had their convention, was assisted by the UAW. I was elected to the board and the issue of the Equal Rights Amendment was in the forefront. The UAW was not for the Equal Rights Amendment. I was and so was Irving and a number of people. Part of that was the fear of the loss of the so-called protective legislation. Caroline, who was head of the department, wasn't for it. So I was elected.

Meanwhile we were making inroads to get our position changed. They had their first convention and I went to it. We got told after we got down there and there weren't too many people there that they were going to take a position in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment. Meanwhile, their work was being done out of the UAW. I had a breakfast meeting with Betty Friedan. I said, "Betty, give us a chance at least to get to the board, so that we can get our position changed. If we don't get our position changed, we're not going to be able to go ahead and continue to support you when you're out there fighting for ERA." She refused to do it. When that discussion came on the floor, I made a commitment. I told them, "Just let it go for now. Wait until some of the other

organizations besides my own can get us in line so we can all work together. I promise you we'll be there after this next convention for sure." When I did come and testify for that convention, one woman came up to me and said, "I didn't believe it, but here it is."

Then in the National Women's Political Caucus, there were several times . . . Betty was always clashing with Bella Abzug. Frankly, I respected and admired Bella Abzug. We are where we are because she took all of the beatings and all of the blame and all of the rest of the stuff that made those . . . Those men didn't like her. She stepped on their toes and they didn't like it. So you're asking me what I think about Bella Abzug. I think she's a great person and I think she hasn't gotten all of the kudos and all of the titles that she needs to have because of what she did for us.

RUGGLES: Let me go to the opposite side of the political spectrum. I want to ask you about Phyllis Schlafley.

MADAR: I think about her just like that name sounds. She is a conservative from the word go. She is only concerned in the relationship to a self-serving interest. As far as I'm concerned, she's a disgrace to the family of womanhood. She preaches one thing and does another. I have no respect for her or Elaine Donnelly, who was her aide here, because when we talked about real family needs and about the whole question of women in Social Security . . . At that point in time, if they weren't married to a man for twenty years, they didn't have any vesting at all in Social Security. It was on a radio program. Well, that was going to be too costly to the companies! Now, how could you be concerned about the family when you say it would be too costly for a spouse to have vesting privileges in terms of what she contributes in her home?

RUGGLES: Betty Furness.

MADAR: Betty, I thought, did a very fine job as a consumer advocate. That was my association with her. I didn't know her as well. We didn't work in the political arena that much.

RUGGLES: Eleanor Roosevelt.

MADAR: The little I knew of Eleanor Roosevelt, she was one of those idols. She was out there fighting. She took a lot of grief. I have a picture, a colored picture, but it's fading now. It's with Eleanor and Walter and May and the two girls, two women now. I still have that picture.

RUGGLES: It must be a nice memento.

MADAR: Yes it is.

RUGGLES: Of all the men that you've worked with, who would be the most sensitive to women's issues?

MADAR: Walter. It's a strange thing, because in some respects he was a little prudish about things, but sensitive I think. He was more so than Leonard or Doug.

RUGGLES: In what way was he prudish?

MADAR: He was prudish about women and their relationships, their sex relationships. The running-around bit. You can understand it and the men don't understand it about the females.

RUGGLES: How about John Kennedy, was he sensitive?

MADAR: I didn't know him that well, and I couldn't really. On the surface he seemed to be. I must say that there was something about John Kennedy that I didn't realize until the first time that I met him or was near him, that turns you on like no other political leader has. I recall that at the time he was running, I was very much involved in

those mass social activities of our retirees — the picnics, which grew to 15,000. We used to do a holiday party at the fairgrounds. Then, during the election they wanted to do a big rally, so that would ensure you 6,000 people off the bat. I was there because I was part of the organizing of that. Everybody was getting so excited about him. But when that man came in there and he came by, I must admit I got really like I want to go out and really fight for this guy. I don't know if it's based on the impression he gave. That wasn't the same with Robert Kennedy, because I was on the other side. I was with Hubert at that time.

RUGGLES: How about LBJ?

MADAR: You know, I have to give him good marks. I really have to give him good marks for the Great Society program and the environment program. He and Walter worked closely on that, and so did Lady Bird. They did a tremendous job in terms of the environment and the urban areas and the racial issues. I was opposed to his being vice president. In terms of his personal character, that's one thing, but in terms of what he did on the job, yes, he did a tremendous job. I thought his administration was good. Now, the war thing, that's a different thing. His domestic program was great.

RUGGLES: The war was his downfall.

MADAR: Yes, the war was his downfall.

RUGGLES: Well, I'm tempted to ask you about Richard Nixon. You were in office and very active in the UAW at the time when Nixon was on the rise and I thought you might have a thought about him.

MADAR: He was a big phony. I just never had any respect at all for Richard Nixon. I was on vacation in California. Roy Reuther was CAP director. That was a time

when you got into political campaigns and everybody got involved. What he did was to call and ask me to stay there and work on the campaign of Helen Gahagan Douglas against Richard Nixon. That was the dirtiest, slimiest campaign you ever saw. So, I know about Richard Nixon before he came on the national scene. Then I was a strong supporter of George McGovern and I must say that I was so disappointed with the electorate, including our membership, when they couldn't see the distinction between those candidates. So as far as I'm concerned, he was a hypocrite.

RUGGLES: Let's go back to Helen Gahagan Douglas, because that's quite a significant turning point. You actively campaigned for her back in California?

MADAR: Yes I did, as a part of the regular field work staff, giving suggestions on the leaflets and going to the local unions. Yes, I actively campaigned for her. She was a very fine woman.

RUGGLES: Did Nixon use some below-the belt-tactics?

MADAR: That's what I meant with the word "slimiest." Here is this woman, and he is accusing her of being a Communist. It was so idiotic. That was really very bad. He was the forerunner to McCarthy. He started it all.

RUGGLES: We could sit here and talk all day. I have a hundred other questions, but we probably should wrap it up. I have things like the Interlochen organizing campaign and the Scholarship Fund up there.

MADAR: Yes, we worked on that. Walter was very much interested in doing that. We had the art contest. We had all of those kinds of things. One of the biggest contributions we made in the recreation field was to say, in effect, that companies, unions and every other group of that sort, although they should sponsor some activity for their

membership, what they ought to be concerned with is the development of community recreational activities. That's one of the kinds of things that we are going to be doing, a video on some of the notions and concepts. We talked about labor-management recreation programs. They never materialized, because management didn't really want to do joint programs. They wanted to use the recreation programs. We got joint health and safety committees. We got United Foundation drives. We got joint everything, never joint recreation programs, except a few isolated instances. The Interlochen Art Contest, that was trying to broaden the scope of the program for the membership, which is still too dominated by the sports program.

RUGGLES: You had a falling out with the Interlochen leadership up there.

They wanted to split the scholarship into two parts and you wanted to award the entire scholarship to one student.

MADAR: I knew there was a controversy and I couldn't remember the specifics. But there was a controversy as to how we did it. I think that I was coming down on the side of giving it to some of the people who would come out of the ranks. It's the same thing in music as it is in sports. It goes to those who are skilled and who have the resources to get the training. I was trying to be more helpful for those who didn't, if I recall.

RUGGLES: Ms. Madar, this has been a very good interview. Let me close it by asking you one final question. In looking back over your career and all the struggles of the UAW, have we achieved that good society, that land of opportunity your parents, being immigrants, were looking for?

MADAR: Things are better, but we still have a long way to go. Some of the things we gained during the Great Society days and during Roosevelt's time, such as Social Security, they're now chipping away at and saying that it's old stuff and it doesn't work. We have pockets of poverty. The unfortunate thing is that when you've made it, you care less about those who do not. We need to have the leadership of people like Walter and others, but also the elected leadership. I'm convinced that one of the reasons that Reagan gets elected is not because people agree with his philosophy, but because he goes ahead and does the things he says he's going to do. More importantly, he gives a picture of not doing those bad things.

I am sick to death of those politicians who want our support and say they're supportive of these programs that are part of the Great Society, the ones of equal opportunity. Then they get into office and play both sides of the fence. Reagan has done more harm, the time he's there taking his theories through. He never would have had an opportunity to do it if the people we had elected had moved ahead to do what they said they were going to do. That's one reason why I have respect for LBJ. He did move ahead. I didn't expect it from him. He didn't say that he was going to do it. But he moved ahead and when he got there he said he'd do it and he did it.

I'm watching our current state administration. You can't play both sides of the fence — it happened during the Carter administration — and still come out on top, because some of us who care the most aren't going to work the hardest, even though we'd like to when you get that kind of thing. No, we haven't gotten it. It's being chipped away, and we need some people who have the guts to carry it through and to really have the strength of their convictions.