YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Sheet & Tube Shutdown

Personal Experience

O.H. 1062

CHARLES J. CARNEY

Interviewed

by

Philip Bracy

on

April 10, 1981

O. H. 1062

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Sheet and Tube Shutdown

INTERVIEWEE: CHARLES J. CARNEY

INTERVIEWER: Philip Bracy

SUBJECT: Family history, state/federal service, Youngstown Sheet and Tube

DATE: April 10, 1981

B: This is an interview with former Congressman Charles J. Carney of the 19th District for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program, on the Shutdown of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube, by Philip Bracy, on Friday, April 10, 1981, at 2:00 p.m.

Could you tell us about where you grew up and what schools you attended?

C: I was born and raised in this valley. I was born in Youngstown, Ohio, on Pearl Street, April 17, 1913. My father and mother, both their families go a long ways back in this area. My father's grandfather on his mother's side was Martin Moran. He came to this country right about the time of the Civil War and settled down on Poland Avenue along the old canal, which is now part of the Republic Iron and Steel. My grandfather Carney came to this country around 1870 and had my great-grandfather's name. My grandfather Carney was born in Ireland, but learned the puddling trade in Manchester, England. At that time, this was a great center of puddling in America. My grandfather, somehow, had my great-grandfather's name because they came from the same county and area, County Mayo in Ireland. When my grandfather came to Youngstown, my great-grandfather helped him get a job and as a result, he

met my grandmother, who was born in this country, and Briget Moran married Patrick J. Carney and that's where our branch of the Carney line started.

On the other side of the family, my mother's grandparents were Mr. and Mrs. Robert Grogan. My great grandfather Grogan came to the United States at the time of the potato famine in the 1850's, from Ireland, and worked along the old Erie Canal in New York State, and then became a railroad builder. He was a gandy dancer or a railroad trackman. He worked on the spur of the Erie Railroad, that comes out of New York State, down through Meadville, Pennsylvania into Youngstown, which was right after the Civil War, 1860s or 1870s. Then, Robert Grogan settled here because the job ended up here. They had some kind of a hut or tent, but the family, as they built the road, traveled right along with him.

Then my grandmother, one of his daughters, Katherine Grogan, was born. My grandfather, who my mother never knew nor did I (my mother's father) was a Swiss-German immigrant by the name of Fritz Grimm. He was a baker in Apollo, Pennsylvania and my Grandmother Grogan went there on a holiday. She met him, they fell in love and got married. My mother was born in Apollo, Pennsylvania and moved back to live with her grandparents in Youngstown, because both her mother and father died in an epidemic when she was five years old.

So, my roots in this valley go back a long way. I was born on Pearl Street. At the age of three, I went to East Youngstown, Ohio, now Campbell, Ohio. I was raised and went to school there. When I started school, it was at the McCartney School in 1919. I then transferred to Fairview School in Campbell. In 1924 when I was in the fifth grade, Sacred Heart School in Youngstown was finished and I graduated from there in 1927. Then I went to Campbell Memorial High School where I graduated in 1931.

It was the depths of the Depression, I was the oldest of 13 children. Things were pretty rough. We had a hard time getting something to eat. So, I didn't go on to college. I started work at Republic Rubber in Youngstown, Ohio in 1934. In 1935 or 1936, I started going to Youngstown College. Youngstown College in those days consisted only of Jones Hall, built about 1936 or 1935. I attended for nine hours of course work a quarter for a couple of years. Then I got active in the labor movement, the war broke out and that was the end of all my formal college days, until taking classes at Youngstown State.

B: What is puddling?

C: Puddling was making iron. You take iron ore and in those days, they made it into pig iron, they called it, but it wasn't steel. They only make a couple tons on heat and each puddler had his own furnace and his own crew. It was the old method of making iron. That was what Youngstown was famous for prior to the modernization of steel.

B: How did you first learn--jumping ahead--about the shutdown of Youngstown Sheet & Tube?

C: Well, when the announcement was made, I was on a plane Monday morning, September 19, 1977, headed for Washington. I received a call from Mr. Tom Cleary on Sunday night. He asked for a meeting in Washington the next day. So, we set a meeting for 1:00. When I got into Washington, there was a call waiting for me at the airport from one of my aides. He told me that the Youngstown Sheet & Tube had announced they were closing down the plant.

I had no prior notice to it no more than anybody else in this district. I might say here and now that the shutting down of the Sheet & Tube was bad enough, but the method and the way they did it was a cruel, cruel thing to do to the people of the district. In all my investigations since then, this is the only civilized country in the world, communist, socialist or free world, where a big industry like that could shut down without any prior notice to the government or the people affected.

When we heard the Youngstown Sheet & Tube shut down, a panic button was hit by practically everybody, including myself, in the district. There was no forewarning. Workers were dismayed, disillusioned, and didn't know what to do. All phases of the political system, the city, the state, the county, the national, which I was represented, knew exactly what to do. During that week, I called various people in Youngstown, various groups, including labor and business groups, arranging for a meeting which was held at the Higbee's auditorium at McKelvey's. At that meeting, we talked about the problem and started a planning process to respond to the shutdown.

B: What date was that?

C: That was September 23, the first Friday after the original announcement, which was September 19.

B: You mentioned the various groups. Could you tell me approximately how many people attended?

C: There were 100 people there. There were all segments of townships, both counties, officials, businessmen, labor leaders, just a group that we called together, of community leaders in a hurry to assess what the situation was.

B: Did you hold follow-up meetings after that?

C: Oh, I held a number of meetings. We were meeting with everybody. Just prior to this, I want to point out that we had an August recess, about August 15 to the early part of September, of Congress for summer vacation. During this time, the paper was filled with steel layoffs and problems all over the country. The steel industry was complaining about the excessive imports of steel, what it was doing to the country. Prior to the Sheet & Tube announcement on September 9, I called a meeting on my own. I called a meeting of people in Washington representing U.S. Steel, Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Inland Steel, and Armco Steel. At that meeting, we also had two of the top steelworker executives in Washington who handle legislation in the capitol.

I pointed out that I thought the steel people had a problem. They hadn't been organized well enough. I told them that if they would get together, the labor and management people, draw up a plan to do something about steel imports and for steel, I would attempt to organize a steel caucus. Subsequent to that, within two weeks, I organized a steel caucus, which eventually became the largest lobby with members in about 20 states, composed of 159 members. Many credited us being the most effective lobby on Capitol Hill.

The next year and a half, while I was still in Washington, we met at least three or four times directly with the President of the United States. We had the President call a meeting, the Steel Summit Meeting. Out of our work, the President set up a Special Steel Task Force and the Solomon Report, which did do a lot to curb the import of steel and is credited with doing much to bring back the steel industry to a better position than it had been in some time.

So, I anticipated the steel companies were having a hard time. I knew this, but still I got no indication that Youngstown Sheet & Tube was facing problems. I put out a notice, stating when Lykes Corporation announced plans to close Youngstown Sheet & Tube's Campbell plant, I was given no advance warning. The shutdown came as much of a surprise to me as it did to the workers. The matter has been a top priority to me ever

since the Lykes decision was publicized. So, I immediately started going to work. I put out reports to the people and did all I could to alleviate it.

During this time, I met with the editor of the Youngstown Vindicator, Mr. Brown and various steel people, to see what could be done. Out of that, I found out the government had some officials who were experts in this field of rehabilitating communities that have had severe economic shutdowns. Two of these people were a man by the name of Mr. William Earl Bat, Jr.--he was manager for the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Work Living--and Dr. Harold L. Shepard--he was with the American Institute of Research. These two men had done a lot to bring back the Southbend area when the Studebaker Company closed down there in the late 1940s, early 1950s. These were considered the two outstanding experts on rehabilitating places where the economy had gone bad due to industry shut down. They frankly admitted that Studebaker gave them plenty of time in the community to develop a program.

All we were faced with, as I saw it, in the Youngstown area, was that we had this severe problem. But it just happened, like a chicken getting its head cut off, with no time to prepare or to soften the blow in any way, shape, or form. So, I brought these gentlemen in as well as people of various departments of government. Labor, Commerce, and, other departments and agencies each had some say in the process. I brought all of the government officials in and tried to get them all to sit down. They explained to us the best way we could do it. All these government agencies would cooperate, but we had to get one group or person in charge to coordinate the work. We tried to do that.

That's when I started a committee, and I appointed, incidentally, Mayor Jack Hunter, who had opposed me the year before. I appointed him, trying to say that it wouldn't be political. Of course, I guess when you do anything in government, it's political. If politics has anything to do with government, then I guess it's political whether you like it or not.

B: Was that a result of this October 11, 1977 meeting?

C: Well, at the October 11, 1977 meeting, I had these two gentlemen as I said, Mr. Bat and Mr. Shepard in and had most of the top leaders in the community, of all the Valley, in attendence. We did it without any precise. . . . And of course, one of the things I found out, everybody has their axe to grind; everybody wants to be in the act. As old Jimmy Durante used to say, "Everybody wants in the act." And that's the way it was here. Anybody you didn't invite, of course,

their feelings were hurt. Looking back, maybe if I had time to prepare it, I would have done it a little bit different. Basically, I wouldn't have changed what I tried to do as a plan. Maybe with some finesse or soothing ruffled feathers, I might have done a little better job, but, frankly, I didn't have time to do that. I was thinking: "What can we do to bring this valley back and meet the problem?"

So, we had this meeting, and these gentlemen, government officials, said that we should set up one committee to coordinate all the work of all the other agencies of government and work as center to coordinate the work with the government. What happened? Every little community wanted to set up their own plan, and both counties wanted to do the same. What I was trying to do was coordinate, to the best of my ability, all the efforts and direction of the Federal Government in the 19th District to one channel. By and large, I think we did a good job. I guess we could have done a better job if we would have had more time to prepare for it.

B: When you're referring to the government feeling they needed one body, speaking in one voice, was that a result of the December 20th meeting at the White House?

C: No, that was a result of the October 11 meeting. At the September meeting at the White House, the President promised to back us and said he would ask the various government agencies to coordinate us. But, at this meeting on October 11, that was the first strong step here, where we had these two gentlemen, Mr. Bat and Mr. Shepard, give us some ideas, or the government officials suggesting the method to us that if we'd coordinate, get one coordinating body that can accept the money, allocate it in the Valley with one head and one planning agency they thought we could do a better job. We started to do that and, by and large, it developed into the Mahoning Valley Economic Development Committee. But shortly after that, I was defeated and so we turned the work over to others at that time.

B: Can you fill-in, if you will, the period between the October 1977 and the beginning of 1978, what your efforts were?

C: Well, as I recall--and I haven't had time to do a lot of researching--we set this meeting up and then we invited all the community leaders of all the valley. About this time I might say, another area popped up here. I set this meeting up and started getting it moving and I got invited on a trip to Egypt and Israel, which is one of the most important trips I ever took in my life, with the number two man in Congress, Jim Wright. While I was gone, the Mahoning Valley

Ecumenical Coalition set up. This was headed by Bishop Malone, the Catholics and religious leader, various Protestants, and the Jewish Faith. They wanted to have the government open the steel mills and run it by workers. Of course, it was a good plan, and we tried to coordinate; but sometimes though, you didn't like it actually. Our heads bumped together.

Finally, We did coordinate. We worked it out that the Mahoning Valley Economic Development Committee would handle the money and that they would try to get the money in the plan, but once they got the money, the actual workings of it would be done by the Mahoning Valley Economic Development Committee.

I'm saying this in a few words. And this is the result of many meetings, and many, many differences of opinion and so on. We just hammered on over a period of time.

B: Are there any particular meetings during this time that stick out in your mind more than others perhaps?

C: Well, I think the one meeting that stuck out was a meeting with the leaders of the Development Committee. Mayor Richley of Youngstown, Jim Griffin, who was the head of the steelworkers, representing senior citizens, and myself, sat on one side of the table. Bishop Malone, some of the major Faiths, Rabbi Burkowitz, and head of the Protestant churches in this area sat on the other side. We just hammered it out. I said that while I agree with what the religious group was doing, I would help them to get the money for a feasibility study (which was funded). I didn't think they were set up to handle it after they got the plan started, and they agreed. So, out of that meeting we came to an agreement. They would continue their efforts, we would all work together in the community to try to get them the money for the study and get the money to open up the steel mills run by the workers. But if and when they were opened up, the actual handling of the money would be done by the Mahoning Valley Economic Development Committee, which was set up by the government at the government's suggestion, and who would bring the experts in. That was down the road, but they would be in the position to hire the right kind of people, handle this program, and administer the money.

B: Would that have been about December of 1977?

C: Well, in December, yes. I don't know exactly.

B: I believe that about December 20, that you were at a meeting at the White House with some leaders of the Ecumenical Coalition and others. . . .

C: Yes.

B: Could you relate what you recall from that meeting?

C: You're talking about things that happened three and four years ago, and it's all a jumble to me. The basis of it was that we had a number of meetings in the White House. The big meeting was when the Federal Government promised to allocate $300 million for use of a viable steel project in the Mahoning Valley. To date, that $300 million hasn't been tapped. They've never come up with what the government considered a viable product where they can invest money and have at least a 50/50 chance of recuperating it.

Right after this meeting I talked about on October 11, a whole series of meetings happened, which we tried to involve various members in the community. My idea was to set up a plan comprising all segments of the Mahoning Valley, Trumbull County and the 19th District, all the major industrialists, all the major college people, plus representatives or organized labor, and even of labor that wasn't organized or was far from it.

We set up a whole series of meetings and this went naturally, kind of laborious and slow. First thing we did, we hired a fellow from the Batelle Institute--I don't remember his name--to try to coordinate the overall effort. He came in and . . . drew up an overall prospectus, a plan of what we needed to get this valley going, some of the best ways to go about it, and how we would go about trying to get money from the various government agencies. And it moved slow.

During the meantime, I started bringing in various government officials to see this valley. I brought Ray Marshall that was Secretary of Labor in and Mr. Strauss, who was the President's Head of Trade at that time. I brought in Toney Soloman. This is the only district Mr. Soloman went to in the United States. He and I just happened to hit it off, and it probably helped that I was head of the Steel Caucus. I brought Mrs. Harris in as Secretary of Housing. I tried to bring people here from all federal agencies involved to show them the valley and acquaint them with what our problems were. I thought we did a pretty good job.

In the meantime, the work of the Mahoning Valley Economic Development Committee continued, while my aide, Paul Stevens, got them incorporated and set up. Incidentally, it was Paul Stevens who got the incorporation papers ready for the Ecumenical Coalition and set them up as a non-profit corporation so they could go about getting money in a lawful manner. So, we did do some things in the district.

In the meantime, I ran into a very, very serious primary campain. Two very strong local Demoncrats ran, and I barely weathered out the primary. Then, we went into a very tough November campaign. So between campaigning and doing all this and running the Steel Caucus, I was going seven days a week, 80, 90 hours a week. I'm not making excuses, because I did the best I could and the results, I believe, show it.

B: What was the focus of the Steel Caucus?

C: The Steel Caucus was set up to try to coordinate the work between Congress and the President and the government, steel companies, steel unions, to do something about the problems of the steel industry. We had a number of meetings, as I said, with the President and some of the top officials of government. Out of this, the President set up the Task Force of Steel. That was around May, and along about the fall, they came in with reports. They set the trigger price mechanism. The proof of the pudding is in the eating--it is said. In a year, I cut the steel imports from about 20 percent of all steel consumed by this nation down to about 10 percent. That year, the steel companies made more profits than they had made in a number of years.

So, I think the Steel Caucus did a lot. One thing, it not only did a lot to get the government more aware of steel's problems, but got the steel-makers aware of government's problems. I think it did a lot to bring people together and act as a fulcrum, I think, to coordinate the work between the steel unions, the steel industry and other major branches of the American business. So, I think it did a lot of good, but it took a lot of work.

I don't want to give the impression I did it all; I didn't. I had a number of good people working with me. We worked together. It was not only the largest caucus, it was one of the few bipartisan caucuses in Congress. We had strong members from both political parties. I think we did a hell of a job. The mere fact that I was the chairmen of it was probably due, not so much to my ability, as to the fact that I was the conceiver of the idea.

B: Who were some of the other key people beside yourself that were active in the Steel Caucus?

C: I might say one thing, ordinarily the Speaker of the House don't belong to caucuses. Thomas Tip P. O'Neil, Massachusetts, was a member of our caucus. Joe Gaydos, now the chairman, he was my vice-chairman, [and] Joe Gaydos from McKeesport, Pennsylvania. There were two

vice-chairmen, one from each political party. Representative Buchanan was Republican Vice-Chairman. He was from down around the Alabama steel district, down around Birmingham. Ralph Regula, from the Canton District, Republican, was one of the members of the Executive Board. We had an executive board about evenly split up between the two parties, and we had representatives from every major steel area in the nation, congressmen and mostly respected like Gunner McKay, from out in Utah; Murphy, from the Chicago area; the Congressman from up in the New York district; Jack Kemp--he was one of the members of my caucus, althought he didn't take a real active part; Henry Silvesky, from Lackawanna.

We worked night and day, not only on the local level, but on the national level. I did everything I could do, talked to every friend I ever had, anybody I had ever done a favor for. We constantly had the various government agencies in effecting business. I can get some of the names here.

B: Could you give me what you feel are the highlights of the Solomon Task Force Report?

C: Well, out of these series of meetings that we had with the President and a few meetings of the Steel Caucus, there was a Summit Meeting, which the President called, which he had tops of all the big steel companies in the country, people like General Motors, IBM, people of that Stature and number of the top labor officials from various labor unions, primarily of the steel workers, of course, and the auto workers, all seeing what could be done, how we could meet this problem with steel.

Out of that the President, which is the first time, to my knowledge ever a task force was set up for a specific industry--set up what was commonly know as the Task Force of Steel headed by a man by the name of Anthony Soloman, who was highly respected. He was a specialist in government, a specialist in finance, a specialist in the steel industry. He had many degrees, a man who had made a fortune himself in private business and now was doing what he thought to pay his debt, to give something back, and he was devoting his time to taking care of governmental projects. The man was kind of a professorial type and at first, I didn't think I'd like him, but I got to be very friendly with him. He had a fine mind and many of the things that he recommended or talked about, which I thought was pie in the sky, or just trying to give us a lot of baloney, turned out to be essentially true.

But the President appointed this man the head of the Steel Task Force and he gave him about a three-month deadline. He appointed him and he said, "Now, let's see what we can come up with, what we can do about this problems of steel." Number one, he set up a position which was called a fast track trigger price system, which would eventually be this: It provided that any foreign steel company that sells steel in the United States, first of all, you'd have to consider the price it cost them to make that kind of steel in their country. Then, you would have to add to that all of the freight charges and other supplementary charges. For example, if a ton of steel cost $1,000 and the freight cost $400, they couldn't sell it for sell more than $1,400. That was the basis essential. They couldn't "dump" steel in America. Steel companies were saying that the Japanese, some European steel companies were dumping steel, meaning their surplus steel, they were selling in our market in the United States for less than they'd sell it in the home market.

The government, we found, had very, very accurate records of what it cost Japan to produce steel. They used Japan as a basis for this, because they found out that the Japanese were the most efficient steel-making country in the world. So, in other words, for Japan to sell their steel in the United States, they had to sell it at their minimum, what it cost them to make it, what they would sell on the local market, plus all freight charges and any other incidental charges. This system was set up in the fast track price system, "trigger price" they call it. Anytime that they would sell below that, an automatic price increase would go into affect for all their steel, not just the one they were, maybe, trying to cheat on, but selling cheaper than the trigger price. The track system would set up the percentage for all their steel that came to this country.

The Task Force said, "When they did this, that would cut the import of steel into this country, foreign steel, from 20 percent to 14 percent in the first year." I thought maybe this was pie in the sky. The truth was they cut it down between 11 and 12 percent the first year and it has worked out fairly good.

They said that this would increase the earnings for U.S. steel companies by $900 billion a year, and that proved to be effective. Statistics will show they did that. They had said that the steel industry would utilize 85 percent of capacity, which they did in the first year.

Recommendation two was the tax write-off of steel heavy equipment, which took 18 years, was reduced to 15

years. The tax write-off, made it possible for American steel companies to write heavy investments off three years faster, saving about 20 percent, roughly.

They provided for the direct release of $215 million of economic development money to be put in a revolving fund in the office of management and budget for loan guarantees. In addition to that, there was $500 million set aside for viable steel projects submitted by steel companies.

Of that $500 million, we were promised $300 million in the 19th Congressional District for a viable--I emphasize the word viable--steel project. To date, nobody has come up with what the government felt was a viable steel project--in basic steel. I think that with proper application, the leaders of district still have a fighting chance for it. Of course, the new Reagan administration, I don't know what they will do.

Now, the steel industry wanted a relaxation of environmental controls, but they were turned down, at least, by that committee. I see now that Mr. Reagan and his committee the other day has a plan. They're going to relax some of these rules and regulations. They provide a low differential of treatment in the regulation enforcement for the steel industry.

They had a number of other lesser ones, but the great ones were, of course, the setting aside the money for the steel industry and two, the fast track trigger price system, which I think, in retrospect, proved to be two things, which made the steel caucus a valuable tool as far as revitalizing the steel industry.

B: Could you discuss your meeting with Mr. Cleary on that Black Monday?

C: Well, as you look back, it's all a matter of time frame. As you know, as I have probably said earlier, that on September 8, which was right after Labor Day, Congress came back from vacation. You didn't have to be a genius to see that the steel industry was in tough shape. All over the country, they were laying off steelworkers, and the steel industry seemed to have organized campaigns complaining about unfair competition and how they weren't getting cooperation from the government and that the Japanese, particularly and somewhat the common market were dumping steel, which means they were selling steel in the United States cheaper than the American Producer in their own markets.

On September 8, I had met with the representatives of four or five of the major steel companies in the United States and the Legislative Director, Jack Sheehan of the United Steelworkers of America Union. I tried to get them to agree to come up with a plan and a program that all of the steel industries could agree upon for necessary legislation for proper protection of the steel industry and fairness to both the United states and to all the world. I announced at that time that I would, in turn, try to start a steel caucus of the congressmen from the various steel producing areas in the United States to try to push such a program. I have been working right from that time on up until when the famous Black Monday occurred to try to accomplish this task.

Now, nobody, to my knowledge, in an official position at least in Washington or in the government or in industry, even in Youngstown, nobobody that I knew of had any pre-knowledge that Sheet & Tube was going to, just out of the blue say, "We're shutting the Youngstown Sheet and Tube." On September 18, which was a Sunday, I was home, and I received a call from Tom Cleary from Washington. Tom Cleary was one of the few local people from Youngstown who was on the inner-board of the workings of the Lykes Steel Company. All the other major directos of that were brought in by Lykes from other areas. Tom was probably the top man from Youngstown. He was the Vice President of the company. And he said that the Lykes Steel Company would like to meet with me in Washington on Monday morning. I said, "Well, I have a plane reservation; I'll be leaving here about 8 o'clock in the morning and drive to Pittsburgh. By 10 o'clock, I'll get a plane to Washington, which brings me to Washington round about 11:30 or 11:45." He said, "Well, I want to meet with you when you get here." I said, "Fine."

When I got off the plane at Washington D.C., my aide Tony DeStefano, my legislative aide, was waiting for me to drive me downtown. He said, "Did you here the news?" I said, "What?" He said, "Lykes Sheet & Tube announced today they're shutting down the eintire plant, Youngstown Sheet & Tube Plant in Youngstown, Ohio." So, he filled me in generally about what happened. When I talked to Mr. Cleary, I met him in the afternoon, he confirmed that Youngstown Sheet & Tube was going to be shut down.

The sad part of this, in retrospect, is that I think Lykes or any other company that is going to shut down, that worked with industrial community and legislative leaders might have allowed us to be better prepared to curb the shock and to get busy trying to do something by simplay giving prior notice. As soon as they

announced, the community went wild, you might say [that] everybody started running off in different directions. Everybody had some plan or program to save the steel industry for Youngstown and nobody actually knew what to do. So, we started off there, we attempted to do something, and as time shows, we did a little, but we didn't do all the good we wanted to do.

B: You mentioned a meeting with Mr. Lambert.

C: This was about two weeks after.

B: After the shutdown?

C: After they announced the shutdown, I started trying to work with people. On a Saturday morning, I called Mr. Lambert, went to the Sheet & Tube main office out there in Boardman, and I met with him. He was in a meeting when I got there. And I said, "Mr. Lasmbert, what can I do to help you? What can we do to try to save this industry? Can we get you any modernization? Can we get any government aid?" He said, "That's what we're going over now," and he pulled out some figures. It was an enormous amount. They needed about $450 million or $500 million just to beat the air pollution problems and the other things they had to do right away. They give me these figures, which I gave to some people around town, but nothing ever happened much about it.

Incidentally, these figures in the Beetle Report--the Beetle Report was the exact figures that Mr. Lambert had given me that were prepared by Sheet & Tube months before.

B: Was the principle need, that you recall--because there was a ruling, right before the shutdown by one of the courts, in fact, mandating EPA enforcing its regulations.

C: Well the time frame, yes. That was one of the big things that the Lykes people, evidentally, were faced with doing something almost in very short time about was water and air pollution. They just felt that there wasn't enough money, that they wouldn't get a return on their money, they cut their losses and got out quick.

B: So in other words, aside from the information they gave you in your attempt to do something, they just decided because it was a marginal operation to shut down the mill?

C: That was a rationalization--I wouldn't say it was a reason--it was a rationalization. I think you just don't decide to shut a steel mill down in a month or two. They had months of planning gone in this. The

Lykes is like the tail wagging the dog, a small steamship company that grabbed the Sheet & Tube and was a case of the tail wagging the dog and they got all their money out of it. Maybe some Youngstown people lost. Sheet & Tube had an insurance company; they sold it. They had mines, iron ore mines up in the Massabe Range, and they sold them for a good profit. They owned coal mines in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, sold them. They didn't take a loss, Lykes didn't, but some local people probably took a loss somewhere, but Lykes didn't take any loss.

END OF INTERVIEW

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Personal Experience

O.H. 1062

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B: This is an interview with Charles J. Carney for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program, on the shutdown of the Youngstown Sheet & Tube, by Philip Bracy, on May 19, 1982.

B: Mr. Carney, give us a brief background about yourself, about your family history.

C: Well, I am Charles J. Carney. At present, I am 69 years of age. I was born in Youngstown, Ohio on Pearl Street, 49 1/2 North Pearl, on April 17, 1913. I was the oldest in a family of 13. The oldest, seven boys and six girls. Born to my father, Michael G. Carney, who was a steam fitter both in the steel industry and the rubber industry. My mother was Florence Grimm Grogan Carney.

My roots go back in this valley a good way. My great grandfather was a little Irishman, came to Youngstown in the late 1850s. His name was Martin Moran. The Americanization of that--they say Moran with the accent on the second syllable--but, the Irish pronounciation was Moran with the accent on the first syllable. My great grandfather Moran settled down in the Poland Avenue district down around the old Gibson Springs of Poland Avenue. At that time, the old canal, the Akron Canal--somewhere down in the Beaver River, I guess--came in from Akron. My grandfather had a little

C: The University of Kilkinney was an elementary school where they got the basics of reading, writing, and arithematic. Though, some great men came out of that area. Cardinal Mooney, who was born in Maryland but came here as a very small child, lived across the street from. . . . When they got married, my grandmother and grandfather lived on Gibson Street. My father was born on Gibson. It's all torn down now, all that area. Cardinal Mooney was raised across the street from my grandmother and knew her a very long time. After he became a Cardinal or a Bishop when he came to Youngstown, he always made it a point to make a personal visit to my grandmother one big thing to her, at least.

B: What was the extent of the Kilkinney area?

C: Well, it was an area that was bounded by Poland Avenue, you might say, Market or even South Avenue, them streets in there, Gibson Street, Franklin Avenue, a few streets down by Poland Avenue and that general area. Frankly though, I knew a lot of the boys that were their age, they were gone when I was born. So, that general area there, they call it Flint Hill, I think some people called it. The old Saxon Club, I understand the building it had, had originally been the University of Kilkinney or the St. Columba School down there.

Education was rare when any Irishman down there went beyond a grade school education. The ones that did usually were people who became priests. Times were hard. There was no unemployment compensation pensions during those days, and families had to take care of each other. Usually it was, when a boy, especially a male child, got out of grade school, he went in the mills and had to do his bit to keep the family going. And the steel industry, as it always was, in those days more so, cyclical. And they'd have feasts and famine, booms and unemployment from time to time was rare, and the families had to learn to tide themselves over.

There was a lot of community love there, you might say, and people tended to help each other when they were down and out. Though out of there became many of the finest families and finest businessmen in Youngstown.

B: The nearest Irish church was St. Patrick's, I believe?

C: No, St. Patrick's wasn't even built in those days. In those days, the original church in Youngstown was St. Columba's, built around 1850. This is about the fourth church. (St. Columba). Then later on, St. Anne's Church, which is now torn down, was up on West Federal. That was about the second one in the big community,

[the] mining area. Brier Hill, they call it. Then of course, around before 1900, Immaculate Conception was built, and then Sacred Heart Church. The original church was down on the corner of Blaine Avenue and Wilson Avenue. That was built right around 1900 in that area, a little before 1900, I guess. Then, the brick church that is now Sacred Heart Church on South Jackson Street was built around 1912 or 1914 around that area.

The school, Sacred Heart School, was built in the early 1920s. I started there around, oh, 1923 or 1924, the first year that school opened up. The school wasn't all completed, though.

Sister Alberta, she's still alive and in her 90's, taught my fifth grade class. The fifth and sixth grade 106 pupils were in one room. Sister Alberta managed to maintain decorum, and not only that. I personally think I learned more in that year than any year I went to school, because I was more interested in learning what the sixth grade was doing than the fifth grade. But she was a wonderful person, very kind, in a day when teachers in general didn't spare the rod and spoil the child, she did. She had a way about her with light reign, but she kept everyone in line.

That is very funny, talking about Sacred Heart in the 1920s. I'd say about 60 percent of the children in those days were second or third generation born Americans of Irish extraction. Then they'd have about 20 percent which were pure--they call themselves Syrians; they didn't know they were Lebanese in those days--Syrians, and the other 20 percent were every nationality under the sun, Italians, Slovak, Hungarians and so on. At that time, Sacred Heart School, in eight grades, had about 700 pupils, but always you had to have two grades for some particularly large classes.

I graduated from Sacred Heart School in 1927 and our class had over sixty-some graduates. In those days, they usually flunked somebody out, and eight or nine of them didn't graduate; they flunked out. That is the way it was there.

Now, on my mother's side of the family, her name was Florence Grimm. Her mother was a Grogan. My great-grandfather, Robert Grogan, the way he landed in Youngstown, he was what they call a gandy dancer, people who laid the tracks for the railroad. I think it was the stem of the Old Erie Railroad built down through Pennsylvania and New York State. [It] came down, and the job ended up in Youngstown. This was right after the Civil War, when railroads were expanding. It couldn't have been any later than 1870, and my

great-grandfather Grogan settled up on the North Side of Youngstown. It was around Commerce Street in those days. I think it was Arlington Avenue. The home he built after he had been here awhile is still up there right near Arlington, right in the West Lake's Crossing District.

I don't know too much about my great-grandfather Grogen and his wife, because they died before I was born. But my mother, as I said, her mother's name was Katherine Grogan and she went to Apollo, Pennsylvania on a Holiday, and she met a young Swiss-German immigrant whose name was Fritz Grimm. I know nothing of his family except that he was German-speaking near the Swiss border. Anyway, he came to this country alone, oh, probably in the 1880s. He came here and he met my Grandmother Grogan. She met him in Apollo, Pennsylvania. My mother was born in Apollo, but evidently, her mother and father were both dead before she was five years old. She moved to Youngstown and stayed with her grandmother, my great-grandmother Grogan, who died in the year or so after. My mother was raised--was financially raised, at least--by an old bachelor uncle of mine named Charles Grogan. I'm named after Charles.

Charles Grogan was very talented, but he never married. My mother was raised in boarding houses. He sent her out to the Villia Marie Convent. My mother didn't like it. She was out there about a year and she came home and lived with him in a couple of boarding houses. One day when she was in sixth or seventh grade, she went home with one of her friends, a girl by the name of Grace Riley. There was only the one daughter and the mother, and she lived with the Riley's until she got married. Of course, when my mother graduated from grade school--it was a little older in those days--she was about 15, she went to work with Grace Riley over at the old South Side Hospital. And they were quartered there. She didn't get much pay, but she lived there at some kind of headquarters. And she met my dad. She was just 18 when she married my father. I was born to her when she was still 18, in April, and she would have been 19 in July. I don't remember the exact date, I think the 27th.

B: What was the location of the South Side Hospital at that time?

C: It was where it's still at.

B: The present location?

C: The present location, except all those buildings are down now, right in town, you might say. You could walk there. My mother, Grace Riley, and a number of other

girls who were her friends all their lives, lived there, and they went to dances and socials. She met my father at a dance and they got married.

My mother and father were both very fundamentally religious people. I mean, neither one of them were these Holy Joes, but they truely lived what the good book says, like, treat others like you treat yourself. They were both strong practicing Catholics and all of their children went to parochial schools. I started school in Campbell in 1919, at McCartney School. I went there two years, then I was transferred to Fairview School down on Wilson Avenue. We lived in the same house, but they just transferred me there. I went there two years and then Sacred Heart School was built, and I walked there from Campbell (East Youngstown in those days) to Sacred Heart School and carried my lunch.

One of the things about it, it was a good two and a half or three miles from Sacred Heart School. Also, I was an altar boy in the winter months. In those days, they had the first mass at 5:30 in the morning. I'd get up around 4 o'clock and dress and hike up to mass, and be an altar boy. That was one week a month you got that early mass. Of course, it would be dark when I went out, but we didn't think much of that. That was just the way it wa in those days. Always, when we lived in Campbell, you had to be at mass at 8 o'clock in the morning almost, especially Lent and advent and during religious holidays.

In those days, as I said before, they didn't believe too much in sparing the rod and spoiling the child. We were all pretty rough, tough kids, and we thought nothing of . . . if you got out of line, the good Mother Superior gave you some corporal punishment, and that was the punishment. The other method of punishment, which we didn't like, we would have to write 500 times: I promise to obey the rules, regulations, and all the statutes of Sacred Heart School. We'd have to write something like that 500 times. We'd sooner take a licking than do that. A licking was over in a few minutes.

And of course, like everything else, if I would have been bad in school and got punished for something, why, when I went home and told my parents. . . . My mother was a very gentle woman, but she told my father and I was afraid that he'd give me the same treatment. So, you didn't talk about it. Other kids, their mothers and fathers would come down and raise a little Hallelujah about it, and it didn't seem to bother them. I said, "I guess I got their share, too," but it never

bothered me. God knows, I might have wound up in the penitentiary if it wasn't for them good nuns. So, it was very interesting.

One of the interesting things about down at Sacred Heart Parish, the second pastor was a red-haired man, Father John I. Moran. As I remember him--he died when I was eight or nine years old. Let's see, I was nine years old. He died in 1922. I can still see him in his coffin, flaming red hair. He was a very, very devout man in his activities, one of them old time disciplinarians, and a wonderful teacher. He would come over and teach us children catechism, the old Baltimore catechism and of course, words that we didn't even understand. What is man? Man is a creature composed of body and soul and made in image in the likeness of God? We didn't know what that meant. Actually, six years old, we had to memorize that, but father Moran would give us a pretty good idea of what it meant. He was a teacher.

He started building Sacred Heart School around 1922. I don't know all the details, but some contractor went broke and a lot of money was wasted. It killed Father Moran, but the school was completed around 1924.

The first pastor of that church was one of the delightful people you meet along God's way, Dr. Edward Kirby, Irish born. The reason he was a Doctor of Divinity--he used to tell this story--his brother and sisters would carry him over the field before he could walk almost, to school. He was about three years old when he started, very brilliant. In those days, you had to be about 24 before you could receive holy orders, and he had graduated and completed training to be a priest and he was 21 or 22. He couldn't be ordained, so he continued on and became a Doctor of Divinity. He was a very, not too tall, robust sort of a guy with a wonderful sense of humor, and [he was] a wonderful little man.

He had some very, very funny ideas. First of all, in those days, when teachers failed kids, he believed that a student should start school as long as he could walk to school. He encouraged people to send their kids to school at four and five. Secondly, he did not believe in failure. He didn't believe in failing kids. His ideas were a lot different than the way the good nuns taught in those days and there was always an underground battle. But he was a very interesting man [with] a great sense of humor, and we used to call him Doc Kirby, he was quite a guy. I graduated Sacred Heart School in 1927.

I had been born in Youngstown on Pearl Street, April 17, 1913. But around 1917 when I was about three years old, I can still remember moving, but I don't remember all of the details. We moved from Pearl Street out to what was called . . . Platt in East Youngstown. My father was given by my grandfather, I guess, the lot. Streets weren't plotted. It was out in the middle of a big cow pasture, what became known as Piccadilly Street. It's still there in Campbell. East Youngstown became Campbell, after we lived there about a year.

Then my aunt Anne McCreary got married to my uncle Joe McCreary. They had a house right next door to us. The nearest house was about a mile down Robinson Road, which was a dirt road in those days. In back of us was the old Coitsville-Hubbard Road, along which Roosevelt Park exists now. That was a mud road in those days. I remember that area, with big houses, near the Funeral Home. That area was all swamp when I was a child.

Then, the nearest place to us directly south, which was about a mile from there, it still stands. They call it the standpipe, (a water pipe) the big steel standpipe--like my mother always called it--for water pressure. It was the highest spot in Mahoning County. Well, that's how far out we lived.

Of course, my father used to get up--he had to be at work in those days, I think--at 6:00 a.m. You worked 12 hour days. I don't know when he slept. He had to get up awful early, I guess, to walk into East Youngstown and get a streetcar, about two and a half or three miles (all cow bell roads, no sidewalks). My mother didn't like it. She had been born and raised in the city. So, we moved around the summer of 1918. We moved to Ohio Street in Campbell and at that time, there were only three children in the family. There was me, my brother Anthony Pat Carney, who is dead now, and my sister Mary, who is now Mary Spizio. There were three of us in 1918, then I started school at McCartney School the first year it was built, I think, in 1919. I went on, as I said, to Sacred Heart Grad School, graduating in 1927. And in the fall of 1927, I started at Campbell Memorial High School.

This is a great change for a young fellow that had good grades. For one reason, I was regimented; you had to do your homework; you had close supervision, close training. In the high school, you picked your own schedule. It was a lot different than the parochial school and the first year, student-wise, I got C's. I guess then, I didn't do too good. After that, I got adjusted to the system. I never wanted to work much in school. But I learned one thing, to be a quick study, and I learned to use my time valuably. I had two or

three study halls a day and four subjects. I tried to learn what I could in study halls by myself. And after my freshman year, I very seldom took a book home except maybe if I wanted to read it or I had a book report or project. Anything that took time, if I didn't learn it in school, I didn't do it. After my sophomore year, I tended to take the courses I liked rather than real strong courses. The only subject I ever flunked in my life was Freshman A Latin. I passed Freshman B Latin. I didn't like it. I never liked grammar, and I flunked Freshman A. I just dropped that and I took extra courses in the last couple years. I graduated with a couple extra credits.

The funny thing, I ended up better than a B average and on the honor roll. The last year or so that I was in school, I was on the honor roll every six weeks. That doesn't mean I was a genius, it just meant I was taking the things I like. I had a good mind for history and things of that nature, and economics, but I had no real mind for sciences. I mean, I took biology, general science, and chemistry and passed. I didn't take physics in my senior year; I took two other subjects.

I got interested in high school, though, in journalism. I became the sports editor of the high school paper my sophomore year. I had an affinity for it. And my junior year, which was rare in those days, I was the editor of the high school paper. I worked as a stringer for the old Youngstown Telegram. I fully intended that I wanted to be a newspaper man when I got out of school. I enjoyed it. I used to make the make-up of the paper, write leads and heads and things of that nature. I probably--in the long run, which was not a subject for grades--learned more in that than anything I did.

I also got active, the last couple years, in high school dramatics. We had a couple of plays in the operetta style. Although I couldn't sing, I was in the little operetta. I was in a couple shows and was active in assemblies. I think, really, in high school, I learned more in extra-curricular activities than I ever did in subjects I had to take.

I was a good student in history because I could read and enjoy history. Anything that required deep thinking, such as philosophy, was difficult for me.

Campbell was a very interesting place in those days. In those days, it was know as East Youngstown. It had originally been Coitsville Township, then East Youngstown, maybe a couple people then had settled down, and around 1900, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube started up down along the river.

My grandfather Carney was a puddler, which means making steel. He was one of the first employees in the Youngstown Sheet & Tube. Well, they built a streetcar line down there, of course, but he built a home on what was then Bridge Street, which is now Wilson Avenue in Youngstown. He built a home there around 1901 right across from the steel mills. Later, they built the old Bessemer Plant, which lit up at night and the flew was very dirty. That home was about 300 yards from the old Bessemer Plant, very, very dirty--you talk about pollution. You know graphite and other pollutants? My grandmother and grandfather lived there, and my grandfather became the first janitor of Gordon School.

The original Gordon School was at the corner of Gordon and Fall Street and it's now the Italian Hall. They built the present brick Gordon School around that area around 1910, around in there. My grandfather was the first janitor right after World War I.

An interesting story is that in 1918 or 1919, when the famous flu epidemic was on, it was probably the worst epidemic. People were dying in droves. People got sick and there weren't any hospitals. They put them all in Gordon School. The bulk of the people who went there died of influenza. Of course, everybody was afraid to be around them pretty much. My grandfather lived right at the school for the cold months. He was the only regular guy and he kept the furnaces going. He had to do it himself, night and day and stay there. That was in, incidentally, the history of Campbell a few years ago during the bicentennial.

But then, I guess about right after World War II, my grandfather went back into the mills and he worked in there until he was about 73 years old, which was around 1929 or 1930. And he had a stroke and died at 78, but was bedfast the last five years at his Judson Avenue home.

As I said, I went to McCartney and then Fairview and in 1927, graduated. I graduated in 1931 from Campbell Memorial High School and we still lived on Fairview Avenue in Campbell. That was the northern end of Campbell, a little better, not quite as dirty.

But my grandmother had moved from Campbell to what is now Judson Avenue, 536 East Judson. Uncle Johnny was a bachelor. My grandfather was still working, but Uncle Johnny built the house and my grandfather, as I said, in 1929 or 1930, had the stroke and lived until 1938.

So about 1932 during the Depression, I couldn't get a job. My grandfather had the stroke, and Uncle Johnny was not working much. So, my father decided we would move down to the old Carney homestead, which was one of the deserted houses on the South Side. And in 1932, my brother, my father, and some uncles spent a couple of weeks rehabilitating the place. We moved in there around September of 1932, and I lived there in the old homestead. That was down in East Youngstown. That was below the bridge. That was the heart of everything. I could throw a stone from my home three ways, because the fourth way, it went over the hill. Wilson Avenue was there, and over the hill was the B & O Railroad. The other three directions, I could throw a stone and hit three cat houses, which are houses of prostitution. It was that kind of neighborhood. But the funny thing is, a lot of bootleggers, they lived by the Ten Commandments. I would say the majority of our neighbors were black and other ones were every nationality under the sun.

That section is all torn down now. That area over the bridge, in the Depression, went 24 hours a day, always life, always something doing. But the funny part about it is, of all those kids that were raised there turned out pretty good. None of them were ever noted for being crooks or thieves. I don't know of any of the old gang that went to jail for anything beyond maybe getting drunk on a Saturday night. But they all did pretty well. Many of them are teachers in high schools. One fellow is a millionaire now out in Arizona. He builds motels. Another fellow and his brother, they went to Philadelphia and they've got one of the largest janitorial cleaning services in all of Philadelphia. They developed that over the years. They all did pretty good and none of them wound up in jail--surprising--being raised in a neighborhood like that. Many of the black community, they've all been pretty good friends of ours yet, and they all turned out to be pretty good citizens. So, I'm kind of proud of that.

When I got out of high school in 1931, I wasn't working; you couldn't find a job. I never got a steady job until 1934. One thing, I used to get a day's work [once] a month from the township, Coitsville Township, the only political job that ever gave me kind of a political appointment. The old guy's dead now, Mr. Sherlock was township trustee, and I used to get six hours a month, when the township goes to clean the roads up and dig ditches along the roads and clean them out. I made 60 cents and hour. $3.60, that was a lot of money in those days.

A good friend of mine who works for the county now, who owns a grocery store, Pat Cucilli, he and I used to get one day a month cleaning (honey dipping) the sewers. We didn't get any money for it, but we paid the water bill that way.

And of course, when you were on the street department--I'll never forget the first day we started working. A little Italian guy--I don't know what his name is--he was a regular employee. He drove the truck and we went down to pick up a dead dog. This poor dog had been mangled. And he said, "Pick it up." Me and Patsy looked at each other. He got mad, he said, "Aw," and picked it up with his hands and threw it in, "Come on, let's go." I still remember that.

And of course, you wouldn't have the proper clothing sometimes. If it was in the winter time and you get out and you're pretty cold, but we didn't work that much.

I passed drug samples out and do what you called boo-jack papers--I don't know how they ever became to be called boo-jack. You get a dollar a week from the Telegram to go out in their truck everyday and yell around something and try to sell extra papers, the old Youngstown Telegram. So, you got a dollar a week payroll and a penny a paper. I did that stuff off and on [to] get a little money for dances.

One of the things that stands out, Youngstown in the 1930s was known as a good ballroom dance town. We had no money, but we used to go to dances about every night of the week. That was one great from of cultural outlet you might say, and the same kind of gang--we thought we were good dancers--went around in a certain route almost. Like on Monday night, at Hamrock Hall in Campbell, you danced all night for a dime. The night to splurge was Tuesday night. Elms Ballroom, which was the finest.ballroom in Youngstown, had Scotch Night, they called it, a quarter to dance all night. They had all these traveling bands in them days and Tony Cavalier that belonged to the Music Corporation there, hooked up with them. All these goods bands came through. They'd set out a night like they'd be going from Pittsburgh to Cleveland or from Cleveland to Akron or something there, west. They'd stop in Youngstown overnight and we'd dance for a quarter. I danced to some very good bands. Kay Kaiser, Les Brown, I remember when he first got out of the University, and Tommy Tucker. Out at Idora Park in those days, were the big bands. I danced to probably every one of the big name bands you hear about, Benny Goodman, Dorsey Brothers, different bands, Jimmy and Tommy, Husk O'Hare with Genial men of the Aike, a great radio guy at that time,

Red Nickels, originally Nickel's Five Pennies--Red Nickels and his Five Pennies is what they called it--Paul Whiteman, Henry Bussey, Wayne King, Cab Calloway, Count Basey, Glenn Gray, all these big bands. Now, in the summer time, it cost you a couple of bucks to get in. That was the big thing during the Depression. We used to get in there somehow. We didn't have the bucks, but we always managed to get in for the night; there was always some way.

Then Wednesday, probably DAV out on Albert Street, then Wednesday night down at Struther's Fourth Hall, Friedman's Hall. Every night in the week we probably had a big dance, and Sunday it cost you about a dollar to go down to the Elms that night. It was rented out to clubs and all the young clubs in town had a dance. So, it kept us out of mischief. I always loved ballroom dancing all of my life. I can't go like I used to, but I still ballroom dance. My wife is a good dancer. We enjoy it.

Even in the depths of the Depression, for about two bucks a week, you went and danced almost every night of the week, and you didn't have much money to buy pop and candy and that, but I always went. At least I always did something to get a dime or a quarter or 15 cents to get into a dance, and that was the big thing of my life.

Probably if I had ambition and desire, I could have gone on and got a college education. I got a scholarship in history over at Kent State, which would pay my tuition. It didn't cost much to go to school in those days, but frankly, I was the oldest of 13 and my father, thank God, always provided enough to eat, but I had no real ambition to go to college.

Then I started working at Republic Rubber, my first steady job, around December 1934, and I worked out there till I got married in 1938. And of course, the days I got laid-off between 1936, there was no unemployment compensation. It was passed, the Social Security Act in 1934, and unemployment compensation didn't start till around 1939 or 1940. I got married in 1938 and from that time on, I was pretty lucky. I always worked and I've never gone on unemployment compensation in my life, though I believe everybody should have it.

I got active in the union out at Republic Rubber around 1936. I was in the United Rubber Worker's Union, one of the original members of it, and became active and helped organize Local 102 of Republic Rubber, United Rubber Worker's of America. I was president of the union, even though I was pretty young for it. I went

to work for the Rubber Worker's Union in 1942 and worked for them until 1950. In 1950, I went to work for the United Steelworkers of America. I also ran for State Senator in 1950 and was a labor candidate. I was lucky enough to win, and I found out that I had an affinity for politics. I was in the State Senate for 20 years until 1970, and then I was elected 19th District United States Congressman and served through 1978. So, I put 28 years in active politics as a State Senator and Congressman. I worked for the Rubber Workers eight years and about 10 years for the United Steelworkers. I enjoyed it.

B: Could you describe the theaters that were in Youngstown and the Opera House?

C: Well, let me give you some examples along those lines. I'm talking about in 1918, 1919, around when I was five or six years old. First of all, in those days, they didn't have electric traffic signals. All the policemen had a little stand. There was a sign you could turn, stop and go. A little Irishman, main cop at the public square in Youngstown, his name was Pat Kinney, was very tall. Pat had never married; very tall, handsome man, pure white hair and all the ladies thought he was pretty nice. Old Pat, he was the boss of the square. It had as much traffic, I imagine, almost as much then as it does now, though the cars were not like they are today.

First of all, what I remember about it, on the square was the man in the monument, which is still there. Across the street on that would be the north side of old West Federal Street, where the public library had a booth there, had a small library there, where the people took the books right downtown and traded them. Over in the southwest corner of the square--today where the Baptist Church is, right on the corner and where the Mahoning Bank is--McCrory's right on that corner was the original, what we called in those days, the Opera House. That had been the great big theatre in Youngstown up until 1902 or 1903. As a matter of fact, my father . . . as a boy, it used to be when the big show came into town, they call it--they had a name for it. Way up in the balcony, kids could get in there for five cents. They'd line up early and get that nickel and see some of the old time great actors in the old Opera House.

One of my father's best friends was named Bobby O'Neil. My father became a pipe fitter, worked in the steel mills and rubber shops. Bobby O'Neil was a pipe-fitter, but he worked primarily on the P&LE (Pittsburgh and Lake Erie) Railroad. The story is that my father was kind of in the lead of his little gang of the

Kilkinney Irishmen, and Bobby O'Neil was the top young guy, Irishman, from up on what they call Buck Hill. That was up around Walnut Street, up in that area, a lot of Irish lived up there. I guess my father and Bobby O'Neil were both trying to get at the head of the line or something and they got into an argument and got into a big fist fight. They became the best of friends and were the best of friends all their life.

As a matter of fact, my father was always foreman in his later years at Republic Rubber and for awhile, at Republic Iron and Steel. Bobby, from time to time, when the railroads got slow, Bobby took a furlough from the railroad [and] would go to work for my father for a few months. They were great friends.

When I was born on Pearl Street--I was born at 49 North Pearl--at 51, a big house in front, Bobby O'Neil at that time, lived in there. Jack O' Neil, who I graduated from grad school with, he was about six or eight months older than me, we were always good friends all through school. Then the O'Neil's moved down to South Forest Avenue. One of the great things, I'd measure, we always had a truck on Declaration Day, Fourth of July and Labor Day. All the O'Neil's and all the Carney's and all their other friends, they had a big truck and load the kids in and go out in the country and just have a great picnic.

Getting back to the Opera House, it must have been a very beautiful place, because whenever it quit being an Opera House, the famous George L. Olds, made it the Olds Market. I can remember as a boy going in there with my mother, in the stalls or the lodges or whatever they had, were still in there and the ceiling was still painted like a beautiful Opera House, but the bottom was torn out and there were bananas hanging from them lodges and that. I can remember going in there and buying things. So, I got an idea what it was like. I was never in the original Opera House, but I'll tell you, just from the ruins of that, it must have been a very beautiful place at that time, from the paintings on the wall.

Then of course, George Olds closed that around 1920, 1921 and went over down on the corner of Commerce and Hazel Street. Of course, it was famous then. George Olds had a unique style of advertising. It was: George Olds' famous this; and everything George Olds ever had was "famous", and he wrote his own copy. And I'll tell you this, anyone who was studying modern advertising, George Olds is one of the most famous guys that came out of Youngstown. He was old, bald-headed, plain, didn't have a hair on his head. He was kind of a quipsical little guy. He'd sit up and look at his

market. He had a restaurant in the center and had his own bakery. In the Depression, I can remember, you get six loaves of homemade bread from George Olds for a dollar. George Olds' famous bread, everything was George Olds' famous, very competitive.

He became Mayor of Youngstown kind of on a dare. He lived down around somewhere in Poland. He started writing about Youngstown, how bad it was, and he put his name on the ballot and got a residence, I guess, somewhere in town, a hotel or something. He was elected Mayor around 1922. He had a lot of difficulties, and he only lasted six or seven months. And he said, "There's no sense in this." He just quit. He quit and that was the end of George Olds' political career. But George Olds was a famous guy in Youngstown.

Now, one thing in those days--in the teens and that--he seeing that the people that came into Youngstown. . . . I hope I'm not racial or religious in this. I tell you, we saw it in those days the way it was. The first ones to come into Youngstown were the Welsh and the English, some higher class Germans. Most of them were Protestant groups, Anglo-Saxon, white, Protestant, as they call them. They had the better jobs primarily in the steel mills. Then the Irish moved in, primarily the Irish. They had the lower jobs and they started working themselves up the economic ladder. Then of course, right before World War I in that area, great movement from Southern Europe and Eastern Europe started coming in, Slavs, Italians, Rumanians, all the various groups. They were kind of at the bottom of the economic stratosphere.

The Irish tended to be mostly Democrats. The Democrat Party was a distinct minority party in those days. Old Bill Quinlan, who later became a county official said, "In those days, the only time they had a Democrat in the courthouse was to pay his taxes, and they had to go to a special.line to do that."

This whole area, after the Civil War, was 99 percent Republican. There were very few Democrats. As a matter of fact, in Campbell, East Youngstown, where I was raised, there were only about three registered Democrats in the town. My mother was one of them, Uncle Charlie, my grandfather, and probably old Jim Murray. Maybe five or 10 all through East Youngstown could say they were Democrats. Of course, what they tended to do for local elections, they always voted pretty much Republican, but the general election, the Democrats always got a better vote because a lot of the Irish especially crossed over.

1932 was interesting, though the Depression set in and in 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt won in a landslide. Between 1932 and 1936, this whole area changed from what was a strong Republican area to a strong Democrat area. Like down where I was raised in East Youngstown, all the guys who ran in 1931 as Republicans were running in 1933 as Democrats, same people. They just changed parties. In 1932, Herbert Hoover took Mahoning County. What you might say, in those days, both parties played strong ethnic politics. The Irish tended to be Democratic.

In those days, in the 1920s, became the famous Ku Klux Klan era, which is kind of looked back now by all of us as almost a misunderstood thing. As I said before, religious bias, bigotry and prejudice ran very strong in those days. Here comes a movement which is the KKK. It's white, Protestant Americans. They were against Jews; they were against Catholics, and against ethnics of any kind, and Blacks. Oh, practically a good organizer came in. It went for a couple of years. I can remember as a kid, I was out one night. My father had an old Model-T Ford around 1922, 1923. He was taking us for a ride in the summer. We went out Coitsville Road. We hit the bottom of Coitsville Road in Campbell--Coitsville Road and McCartney Road meet right there at the V, up where Bernard Airport was in those days, (where the Lincoln Knolls Plaza is), the sight of the old Ellis Farm (which was where Bernard driving golf course was) near the airport. We got there and the Klan was having a big cross burning. It looked to me as a boy that there were thousands of these guys in white robes. I was scared. They tried to get me out of my car. My father almost ran over a couple. He didn't give a damn for nobody, my father. They're burning the cross and these guys with the white robes, ringing the bells and that, directing traffic.

That was the only time I had come near a real cross burning, but I know there was a big riot up in a smaller place up in Niles in the early 1920s, November 1, 1924. There was a big riot up there. The Klan, announced a march through Niles. The Italians and the Irish met them head on, and I guess they had a hell of a fight.

The funny thing was, I think to most anybody, this whole movement was based on bigotry and hatred. And that thing in our American system Pluralism wasn't going to allow it to last long.

However, I think his name was Watson or Walker. He was the grand Kleagle; an organizer. He saw things were going good and they weren't going so good. So what did he do? He not only took the officers a lot of money

with him, but he had a book of all the membership. He sold that to some enterprising I don't know who, but a book came out called the Blue Book. It was a book of the names and addresses at that time, of everybody who was in the Klan in the Mahoning County area. Every self-respected Irishman, every self-respected Catholic, I guess, about had a copy of the Blue Book. That became the bible of politics and the bible of a lot of things around here. I remember they'd say, "See if his name is in the Blue Book." If his name was in the Blue Book, they didn't want to do business with him. If a guy's name was in the Blue Book that ran for political office, they ganged up on him. I can remember one of my uncles had a Blue Book, and he was always checking the book. If your name was in the Blue Book or your father's name was in the Blue Book, you were verboten from then on. It was kind of funny, but that was one of the big things about this. That's the way they got it though, this fellow, whoever he was, Watson or Walker, when he decided to blow town with their money, he sold the Blue Book to some enterprising Irishman who had it printed, printed up the list, and they sold it them days at two and three bucks a copy, which you could buy a good book in those days for a dollar, see. So, that was one of the interesting things in my life.

B: Were they very active in this area, the Klan?

C: Oh, yes. The Klan was very active in this area for about two or three years. They just sprung up and every self-respected, 100 percent American, Protestant boy joined it. The Jews and the Catholics and the Blacks--there weren't very many Blacks in this area at that time--they were against them. Feelings ran pretty high.

I can remember, as a kid, politics in Youngstown, which had a charter from 1920. And mayors, in those days, were elected for four years. During elections in the 1920s, there was always a Catholic candidate and a Klu Klux candidate or a WASP candidate, and they raged great battles in those days.

The first Irishman who ever was elected mayor of Youngstown was around 1925, I imagine, right in that area, 1923, 1925. [He] was Joseph Heffernan. He was a fellow that was a lawyer in town. He was mayor in those days. He went in and out. He was the first Catholic that was ever elected the Mayor of Youngstown in 1925, I think it was.

B: Then, there were a lot of cross burnings?

C: There was a lot. The only one I saw personally, because I was small--I was seven or eight years old--I saw that one. But they had these meetings, Kon Klaves. I don't know what they did. They clanged the horns. I guess the guys that got behind the white uniforms thought they were something pretty important.

I'll tell you one thing I remember of it, it meant a lot to the old timers--kids would play together, but if a kid's parents were in the book, the old timers drew the line. If your name was in the Blue Book, boy, old Nick gave them a hard time.

B: Is the book Is Your Neighbor a Kluxer? the Blue Book you refer to?

C: No. The so called Blue Book was not the same thing. For one thing, the Blue Book was in alphabetical order. [It] was not stolen from Klan Headquarters as the first list you mentioned. [It] was purchased from Colonel Evans Watkins, himself, before he fled Youngstown, I believe, in late 1925. The Blue Book was the complete membership list for Mahoning County of KKK members.

I think it's a good thing for all of us that today we are a little more enlightening and reject racial bigotry, racial hatred and religious bigotry in this country. But the Klan was a good example of bigotry. In all my life, that was the greatest. . . . But I was raised in a different kind of a community. That was Youngstown, but Campbell, East Youngstown . . . I was one of the two or three second generation Americans in my class. Most of the children I went to school with were born either in the United States, in Europe, or came here right before World War I. I graduated in a class of 68 kids with 17--we counted them--17 different ethnic groups and about six or seven basic, different religions. We got along good. But in those days, it was East Youngstown, then. [In] about 1925 or 1926, they changed the name to Campbell, Ohio, named it after James Campbell, president of the Sheet & Tube. But if you were from East Youngstown, later Campbell, see, you were different. You talked a little different; you dressed different; you looked different, and they knew you were from East Youngstown. You don't have that anymore, but it was that way in those days.

B: Were there a lot of theaters in those days?

C: Well, there was one theater, the original theater where the big traveling shows and great people you read about went to. It wasn't a movie house, it was a theatrical house. Then along about 1907, 1908, 1910, when I was a boy even, they had these nickelodeons, they called them. You'd pay a nickel to get in. I can remember

where the Union National Bank is now, that corner, there was a theater called the Bijou. Then, they started to develop a little better [theaters], the old Liberty where the Paramount is. There was the Dome Theater, which was the other corner. Then right down on the corner of the square was the old Strand.

Now, when I was a boy, the first run theaters were the Liberty, which later became the Paramount, and the Dome. In the 1920s, down on East Federal Street, they built a theater called the Capitol, down where Haber Furniture is now. Then, the original that got the shows a year or so after was the Strand, and down on East Federal Street was the Regent. That was quite famous. There was a couple--I don't remember the names--up on West Federal Street. But the two best theaters, originally, were the Dome and the Paramount. They ran first run theaters. Then later on came the other ones, like in 1929, the Warner Brothers, who were originally from Youngstown, Warner Brothers Theater built what's now the Powers Auditorium. That was one of the most beautiful theaters in the country at that time, beautiful.

B: Do you remember when that was opened?

C: [In] 1929.

B: I was told that when they opened the theater, there was a film made of all the big shots that went into the theater. Do you know if that's true?

C: It probably was, but I don't know of it. I know who won a prize. They had a contest, I don't know what they sold, but a friend of mine from Sacred Heart, Katherine Corbett--they had in the review of it--a girl by the name of Katherine Corbett won the prize when they first built the theater. I can remember when they opened it. I would have been about 15 when it opened up in 1929, I think that was when it opened.

Of course, along about 1931, the "talkies" came in, and a lot of theaters closed up and had to transfer over. But [it was] all silent pictures up to 1930 or 1931. When I graduated from high school in 1931, that's when talkies first started to come in.

B: Did they have piano players when they had the old silent films?

C: The old silent theaters, yes, especially on Sundays and days like that.

Another great theater in Youngstown was called the Park Theater. It was down the first block on East Federal. You would go in the long lobby, right where the central store [is] in the lobby, and come out the side. The Park Theater was also, after the Opera House closed down, the main theater where the big shows came in, the big traveling shows. Plus, they would have good movie features there. And right across, as I said, was the Capitol, across the street on the corner of Chestnut, I think it is, and Federal, the first one down Chestnut Street.

Then of course, in 1925, the B.F. Keith Alby--the Keith we called it--theater chain built a vaudeville house--it was just torn down a couple years ago--right at Public Square, at the bottom of Wick Avenue, right there at the first street up. That's Commerce isn't it? It was on the Northeast corner of the square. That was a beautiful theater. The best vaudeville acts in the country came in. I had an uncle that was in the Keith there, my uncle Bob Carney. He went into show business when he was about 15 years old, [in] 1915, and he died in 1959 at age 59. He had been in all phases of show business. I saw him a few times there. I saw Rae Samuels, R-A-E, a woman from Youngstown who was called the Blue Streak of Vaudeville, had a great singing act. She was really a show person. I remember seeing her there a couple of times. I saw Bill Robinson, Bojangles. I saw him do his tap-dance up the steps there, [and] many of the great show people of vaudeville circuits.

On Monday, the new day of change of bill, up till 2 o'clock or something, you could get in for a quarter. During the Depression, we always tried, if you could get a quarter, to go in to see the acts.

B: Was the fare normally about a quarter?

C: No, no. It was about 50 cents in the morning, and that would be about a dollar a day for the best acts in the country at night.

B: And how many shows would they do, approximately?

C: The old Vaudevillians did three or four shows a day. They have an early show, three a day most of the time, sometimes four a day, plus there would be a picture in between, an hour picture. They'd go on about 1:00, 4:00 and about 7:00 or 8:00 in the evening, between the two middle shows.

B: What kind of Irish societies were there around this area?

C: The old days, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, that was probably really Irish. Every church had its Holy Name Society, they called it, every Catholic Church, that the men belonged to. They had an Alter and Rosary Society, which the women belonged to. The big social clubs, the primary social club was the Ancient Order of Hibernians. That was the big one, though there were some other ones, too. But mostly, the Irish Clubs work through their particular parish.

B: The Irish that settled--how many areas were settled in the Youngstown area?

C: Well of course, now this wasn't exactly, but primarily Kilkinney, which I said earlier, the Briar Hill area, which [there] was a lot there. Then, up around St. Columba's Church, the North Side, there was the Buck Hill gang there, a lot of Irish there. As a matter of fact, the Irish were there prior to the Eastern Europeans coming in. They were kind of in between.

B: How many predominantly Irish parishes were there?

C: Well, the original parish, St. Columba's, was primarily Irish. Another early church that was built was built on the corner of Wick Avenue and Rayen Avenue, which was St. Joseph's. [It] was an original German parish. The old Germans went pretty much there. It's the Newman Center now. It closed down as a nationality parish right after World War II. That was St. Joseph's. Then, St. columba's was the original Irish parish. There was Immaculate on the East Side and St. Anne's up there on West Federal Street. Sacred Heart was built around 1910. Around 1918, 1919, the original St. Patrick's parish was built. The big church that's down there now was built around 1925, but that parish started around 1911 or 1912, around that area.

B: Were there any societies, other than the Order of Hibernians, that would have been more ethnically oriented to maintain cultural things of your particular county?

C: Let me tell you something, the average poor Irish that came over had no culture. He had a church and that's about the only thing he had. The only redeeming factor that most of the early Irish had, a great bulk of them, was they had a religion. Beyond that, they didn't have much of anything else.

B: Well, they didn't have any of the poetry or. . . .

C: Well, in my day, we called these [Lace] Curtain Irish, but there weren't too many of them. And those that became laced, became laced after they came here, not when they got here. That type of Irish you're talking about was in the big cities. The great bulk of the Irish immigration from Ireland was after the potato famine, 1850 to 1900. That was the great bulk of the immigration. But most of the old line Irish settled here before 1900.

B: It has been said often--I don't know if it's true or not, and you have alluded partially to the fact that as each ethnic group came into the valley, they took the low place on the totem pole.

C: Well, that's the way it was.

B: My understanding was that there were certain groups that worked in certain mills. Is that correct?

C: No, that's not correct. Maybe it was. I don't believe it. For example, I told you my uncle Charlie Grogan--the old Ohio Works they called it then, that later became part of U.S. Steel--he was a labor foreman there. This uncle of mine, he could speak three or four [languages]. He spoke fluent Hungarian; he spoke fluent Slav, and a couple other languages. He had a knack for it. He was a labor foreman. It was necessary for him to be able to speak, because these poor Hungarians, Slavs and that, couldn't. Now, there was a lot of hard labor in those days, a lot of hard work, back-breaking, pick-and-shovel work, and that's what the immigrants usually started out at. He was a labor foreman and he had to get by and tell them what to do in their native language.

Ordinarily what happened was, some of the early ones . . . you'd get a bright young Hungarian or a bright young Pole, whatever he was, if he learned to speak English pretty good [and] got a little education, he could become a labor foreman in a hurry. Not right away, of course. Like took care alike in those days. But it seemed, to get started out, the particular group started at the bottom of the shell and worked himself up. Of course, later on, a generation or so, that's all slipped over.

One of my early memories, when I was six and that, all during World War I, my father worked at Republic Iron and Steel. He was a pipe fitter foreman there. He had as high as 300 men under him. In those days, I don't know how men did it. They had two shifts in 24 hours. The day shift usually would work 10 hours a day like from 6:00 to 4:00 or from 7:00 to 5:00. The night shift worked the other hours. My father worked 13

straight days. Every other Sunday he got a day off, and every other Sunday he worked 24 hours. See, he was on that schedule, every other Sunday he got the day off, he got 24 hours off, but someone that took his place had to put 24 hours in.

Well, you've got to understand this, working conditions were different. It was heavier labor; it was hot labor, and the men in them days, who were working that 14 hour shift, they were working for 10 cents, 15 cents, 18 cents an hour before World War II. But they didn't work at the pace. No man can work at the pace 24 hours like today. If something would break down, the mechanics had to go in and fix it no matter how long they worked. But say nothing broke down in the mill. Then, they can get in a corner somewhere and get a couple hours sleep by the up system. That was part of it. You didn't have all the protocol you have now, because there was no unions in those days.

The foreman. . . . My father usually just sent the name up, hired a man, sent his name and what his wage was going to be, and that was it. They didn't have the personnel departments and all the rules and regulations that come about. It was a kind of looser system. But they did work. As I recall, I think they only worked 10 hours day turn then, and 14 hours at night. At some places, they worked 12 and 12. But there was no eight hour day. That came after the 1920s.

B: During that period, the company unions were pretty much the rule weren't they?

C: That was after the 1920s. See, in 1919, there was a famous strike, the 1919 steel strike. I know my father was a foreman, he was only about 29 or 30 then, and he had 300 or some working for him. They all went out; he went out. It wasn't long after they went out that a couple of the men that worked with my father wanted to get his job, scabs. One of them--I knew the man's name and I won't say it even here--and that fellow went in and got my father's job.

My father and his best men, [in] about 1920, went over and during the strike, went to Akron, Ohio. My father was only there two weeks before he became a foreman. My father was an excellent layer-out and planner. Figuring pipe, bending the steam pressures and all that was more of a self-learned thing than any education he got. But then, when the strike was over, they came back and sent the managers out to my father and he said, "Come on back in." My father said, "I'll never work in a steel mill again." He never did.

Around 1922, one of his main assistants, a man by the name of Bill Waylen, younger than him, had gone with my father over in Akron. He came back and went to work at Republic Rubber and became a pipe fitter foreman out there. My father, about 1921, 1922, went to work for him as his assistant foreman. Then in 1925 or 1926, Bill Waylen went up to . . . Tire in Warren, Ohio, as plant superintendent. My father was pipe fitter foreman at Republic Rubber from that time until he retired in 1953 and died a few months after.

So, my father never did. . . . But [a] funny thing is telling the stories during the Depression. A fellow wanted to take my father's job and wasn't big enough to handle it, he was out of work. My father was foreman at Republic Rubber, [and] he came out and asked my father for a job. My father looked at him. . . . My dad was a pretty fair man. He said, "I'm sorry, we're not hiring." He said, "Why should I berate the man when he's hungry and tell him what a no good SOB he was?" And so, he just said, "We're not hiring."

They had a kind of clique in those days. You never got hired anywhere else if you were a scab. It trailed you for your life an your kids' life. That's why my father . . . though as a foreman, he wouldn't have been considered a scab. He said, "Listen, my kids are young and I'm young enough to get a job somewhere. I'm not going to have them call my kids a scab. That was the way it was in those days.

B: But that was only in retaliation, because the companies black listed union people.

C: Yes, sure they black listed them. Hell, if you were known as a union advocate, you didn't get jobs. They fired you and you had no work. Now you said about company unions, after the 1919 Steel Strike, in the 1920s, all company unions started up. They called them employee representation after that, which didn't mean a thing. It gave a couple guys a title. They were theoretically to get their grievances solved, but nothing was ever solved. And that's the way it was until the CIO unions came in the 1930s which were caused, primarily, by nobody having anything in 1932, 1934, 1935, [and] 1936.

B: Following that period, there was a strike, the 1937 strike. What do you know about that?

C: The main entrance of the Youngstown Sheet & Tube in them days was right there at Twelfth Street. Go up the hill and Short Street; you go up around Short Street and across the bridge, and I was down two blocks on Elm Street in Campbell. So, I lived right down near the

heart of the steel country. By that time, I was a young man who had joined the union in 1936, as I said, out at Republic Rubber. I was at work at the Rubber Works. I had friends that were CIO steel workers and rubber workers. That's what we were, but we were CIO, Congress Industrial Organization, founded by John L. Lewis. Steelworkers came in and started to organize in 1936, and along about the latter part of 1936, early 1937, U. S. Steel peacefully recognized the union, the Steelworkers Union. And they got a contract. It wasn't much of a contract, but they got a contract. So, the Little Steel, that meant Republic Steel, Bethlehem, and plants outside of U. S. Steel, they attempted to organize. They started getting members and around in May or the latter part of 1937, they struck for recognition of the union.

First of all, scabs were going into the mill everyday after the first few days. The scabs that went in there practically lived in there, because when they came out, they had a chance of getting their head caved in or not getting back in. So, they stayed there and kept working.

Republic Steel, under a man by the name of Tom Girdler, was probably the most forefront of real anti-unionism. Down at stop five on Poland Avenue in June 1937 was the big riot. What happened, they had the ladies' night, the ladies go around and picket, and all of a sudden it got about dusk and shots started coming out from the company, which later they found out they had an arsenal in there. Shots started coming out and a couple of busses came down, and a riot started. Police came down with tear gas. Oh, the hell broke loose and I was there, just kind of support as a member of the Rubber Workers Union. A fellow that I was with named Dick Delfry--he's dead now--got 19 pieces of buckshot in his back that they had to take out. Right across the street on Poland Avenue was a little confectionery, a restaurant there, and I saw a guy--I didn't know him, but he was about 30 years old. I saw him die. He just had been shot. He just coughed and coughed up blood. The guy, in fact, died. But three or four were killed there. There were hundreds of policemen there. Men turned over a couple of busses, shots were fired, many injured, many tear gassed and stuff like that. They had a big riot there.

That strike dangled on and Governor Davey, who was the governor then, sent in the National Guard. He sent them in, originally, at the Union's request. When they got in there, the company said, "We want the gates opened up," and they opened them up. Most of the men

were hungry by that time. A great bulk of them went back to work and the ones that didn't go back to work, got fired.

B: Could you clarify the people who started the events that took place that night? Was some of the firing from the mills?

C: I can't honestly say that. I mean, they were prepared for shooting. I can't honestly say after 20 years, but the women were walking the picket line when some of the shots started firing and tear gas started. What primarily happened though, the police started coming out and pushed the women out to get them off the line. And then it was about dusk. I think it was old daylight time. We didn't have daylight time. It was regular time. It would be like 8 o'clock in the evening, which would be like 9 o'clock now, just getting dusk and that. And it just broke out. Police started shooting tear gas and guns started going off and people were yelling and screaming. Three or four people got killed and scores wounded. I know one policeman in town who was down there, a young policeman; he got all gassed up that night and he never was right afterwards. He got fired from the police force a year or so after for insubordination or something, and the poor guy kind of half went off his rocker, and all of a sudden he died.

B: One of the places that's often mentioned in regards to the strike is Central Auditorium. Are you familiar with where that structure was?

C: Sort of. Central Auditorium was built by the Mosse Lodge in Youngstown in the early 1920s. Then it became Central Auditorium. As a matter of fact, a great uncle of mine was janitor there for many years, my uncle Dick Moran. Why would you ask about that?

B: Well, because I had talked to Carl Beck, who was one of the Picket Captains, and he mentioned that Central Auditorium was one of the meeting places during that particular strike, which you may or may not have known about.

C: Well, I used to go to dances there in those days. As a matter of fact, although I was in the union, I wasn't married, and I was more interested in girls and dancing than I was in the union in those days. But they had union meetings there and they had union meetings many places, but they didn't have many classy places. They had meetings there. It was about the classiest place they had.

C: My old friend, Jim Griffin, was very close to Phil Murray. He was on the executive board, and Phil Murray was like a father to him. I can remember Phil Murray best in 1948 at the steel strike, which one of two things, a $100 minimum pension per month, including Social Security, which at that time averaged around $45 a month, or $100 a month pensions. They wanted some form of hospitalization, medical insurance. The way it worked out, they got the $100 minimum pension including government care and plus they got for the first time, hospitalization which was to be paid half by the company and half by the individual.

B: One of the things that has been stated that was most often heard during the shutdown of the Sheet and Tube was the idea that during World War II, a lot of money was pumped into this area as well as others to expand physical plants to give steel companies an advantage. And at the closing, it was unfair for them to just pull out because they had utilized the plant, run it down, and then had no consideration for human beings. Could you respond to that?

C: Well, first of all, the Federal Government in all the basic steel mills in the Youngstown area poked a lot of money into modernization during World War II. You go to realize that the country just came out of a depression, and much of the steel industry equipment was in bad shape. We were called upon to fight a war on two fronts, both in Europe and in Asia, the Pacific. We went through a production metamorphosis unknown in the history of mankind. We did things that nobody thought--we surprised ourselves and everybody else--like building battleships in 30 days, LST's and that, and Kaiser produced more steel tonnage than we ever had in history, turning out airplanes, reconverting the auto industry--primarily in Detroit--into the airplane industry, turning planes out like they've never been turned out before, mass production. But you've got to realize, that was between 1940 and 1945 or 1939 and 1945. We're talking about in the time frame of when the steel industries went kaput around here. [That] was around 1975, 1976. That's 30 [years] after. So any improvements that went in were all well obsolete by the time they went out.

As I see it, there are two basic things that were wrong with the Sheet & Tube divestiture and the Sheet & Tube shutting down. The first was that the Sheet & Tube was a fairly consistent, strong company. It had a large cash flow and a good balance. A small company, Lykes Steamship Company, not too large, from New Orleans, saw

it like a nice plumb sticking out for some robber baron. They got the money together and got controlling interest of it. What did they do, but [take] a lot of fat out of it. They shut the plant down, one stop, without any preliminary notice to anybody involved. I was Congressman at the time. I had been talking with some of the representatives of Lykes who were also Sheet & Tube people. They never indicated, never even gave me an indication that they would even consider shutting down. So, Black Monday, whatever that day was, September what?

B: September 9, 1977.

C: September 9, 1977 came like a bolt right out of the blue. In all the studies I've made of industries all over the world, there's no country in the world where industry is so free to shut down, and say with one stroke of the pen, "We're shutting a plant down," a plant that had a good, sound cash flow. They just shut it down to clean up. In other words, they got a plant and they got controlling interest for a comparatively small sum, sold it out and made a big buck, and got out of there leaving nothing to the people. So that's the sad part of it.

What they did was legal; the government trustee partner had approved them taking over the Sheet & Tube, the consolidation. But what they did, they put no strings on it and it was within their legal rights when they shut the plant down, and they shut it down. The people didn't mean anything to them, no consideration whatsoever. So that was the sad part.

The funny part about it is that many people in this town anywhere are pointing their finger, blaming some politician, pointing their finger, blaming somebody else. The fact is, the culprits were the Lykes Company, the Executive Offices of it. They decided to shut a going plant down without any struggle. The year before, they promised to put millions into rehabilitation of equipment, air pollution equipment and plant. They never lived up to their word. The only ones to blame are the Lykes Sheet & Tube and there's no use pointing the finger at anybody else.

B: Were you ever consulted by the Justice Department about the merger? Did they ask your opinion?

C: Never had any contact with the Justice Department or Lykes Sheet & Tube whatsoever.

B: What I'd like to do is back up and cover that period of time when you first joined the Rubberworks and work forward from there.

C: All right. I started working at Republic Rubber [on] December 26, 1934. During the year of 1935, you must realize the Wagner Act wasn't in existence. There was an attempt to start what was called a Federal Union or an union made up of all one craft, and we organized into a local--I don't know what the number was. A local can never seem to do much. Some men will get active in the union and get to be a leader of it, and all of a sudden he was out of a job; he was laid off for some mysterious reason. That union folded up towards the end of 1935. Later it was discovered by the Investigations Committee, which made studies of labor relations in the United States that a man by the name of Campbell, who had been President of that AF of L Local Union was a company spy. There was a detective agency in Youngstown at that time called McCuffen Agency. Mr. Campbell was getting a lousy $30 a month to report all the activities in the union he was President of.

Well, early in 1936, the United Rubberworks formed in Akron as a CIO affiliate under Jon L. Lewis, which then was called the Committee for Industrial Organization, the original name, CIO. It had been formed by John L. Lewis around 1936, later part of 1936, to attempt to organize the workers of mass industry. Up to that time, they primarily had craft unions, primarily the building trades, yet the plant was organized and in the old AF of L system. They wanted to put the pipefitters in one local, the electricians in another local, and they never had that much use for any plain factory workers anywhere (Industrial Workers).

So John L. Lewis, towards the end of the Depression, came in. President Roosevelt indicated that he was interested in people having "New Deal." John L. Lewis outside the structure of AF of L, set up a Committee for Industrial Organization that was to organize rubber plants, auto plants, aluminum plants and so on, electrical plants. The rubber workers, early in 1936, organized the United Rubber Works of America, a CIO union.

I had seen enough--not that the AF of L Union was done--it just seemed to me we had nothing to lose and everything to gain. The first day they started to organize, which was around springtime, a man who happens to have the same last name, Billy Carney--he's dead a good many years--he was a fiery one of the Rubberworks for Goodyear. He came over and passed out hand bills, announcing that they wanted to invite us to go to a meeting to become union members. That day, the labor rate at that time in steel mills in Youngstown, in Republic Rubber where I was working was 45 cents an

hour. That day the company announced they gave us all a 15 cent an hour raise from 45 cents to 60 cents minimum, that's the minimum wage. I said to myself, "If the union gets this through passing a hand bill out, I'm going to join the union. It must mean something." So, I became a charter member of Local 102 of the United Rubberworkers of America. As a matter of fact, that charter is still somewhere in town. Myself, I think there was one other guy; I don't know if he's still living, a couple years ago, we're the only living members left. Of all those charter members; they're all dead; they're all gone to Old Glory. I was a kid, 21, 22, among men much older. I was gung ho. I would have, in those days, died for the union, but I was single. I really had no responsibilities. I couldn't understand why grown, married men were apprehensive about joining the union. But back in those days, they could fire you, or lay you off any time they chose.

One of the things that caused me to be a union man--coming to this time, June now--there was a fellow; he had a family; he worked pretty good in the wintertime. They laid him off in June. Why? To bring in the bosses friends in who were going to college, let them work the summer, and get the money to go to college and lay the married man off. Those days, you had no grievance procedure. If the boss didn't like the way you looked; he got up on the wrong side of the bed, he could send you home; he could fire you. If you were a pieceworker and the machine broke down, you had to wait till the machine fixed up. You didn't get a cent for it. You had to go out and do a lot of extra work before work that wasn't really yours in order to do your piece work. Us guys used to have to report an hour or so early every day to get the stock to the old guys, and we didn't get paid for it. After work, you might work a half an hour or an hour overtime just to get something done and no pay for it, no vacations, no insurance. All you got was an hourly rate of work and they could lay you off or fire you anytime they wanted. They had the upper hand and human nature, being what is, some foremen in particular were tough guys and always trying to work for free while there was pipe work. You worked hard trying to get some money, and then the company arbitrarily cut your rate. They had people that they used to call speed demons. They had guys that were good workers and anytime you get a rate, the speed demon would come in, break the rate, and then he'd go out for another job and you were forced to work for bare minimum wage. You had to work hard, very hard, and that's the way it was. So, I joined the union.

We organized the Rubberworkers in--it might have been 1937, 1936. We were organized three years before we had enough men to even apply for a labor board election. That meant you had a percent of the factory's name and signature go for a vote. In 1937, the company announced for each year of service, you got one day's vacation for each year of service up to five years; if you had five years, you got a week, and that was the tops. Yes, that was 1937. In 1938, we came out and the company said, "Business conditions are bad. We're going to take the vacations away." We had eight or nine due paying members. We just all went up to the big boss's office and forced our way in and told him, "Look, either we get some vacation or we'll shut your G.D. plant down tomorrow." We couldn't have shut the plant down, but we told him that. So, the next morning we come in and there were signs on all the bulletin boards, "The company has reconsidered and they'll give you your vacations back." So, we thought it was a big victory. It was a victory and in a sense, gave us courage to carry on.

We were organizing from the latter part of 1936 and 1937, up until August. We had a labor board election in 1940. And at Local 102--I can remember that as plain as day--we got 398 vote, the company got 296 and about 40-some, no union at all and the independent union got 298. So, Local 102 won by 102 votes. After that, we started negotiating the Wagner Act--went into law and the company had to negotiate with us--around the first of August. We negotiated up to Halloween, October 31. They wouldn't give us anything, wouldn't agree on anything, so we struck. We were out about three or four days, and the first morning they came in and busted our picket lines. Some men got through. We got tougher. We got the assistance of the teamsters. They helped us out with some picketing. There were only about 100 of us in the union that would picket. We had to picket 24 hours a day. We just lived out there and getting a little cold. We had coke jacks and laid around in cars all night. We had to be there 24 hours a day. We had three main gates, the main entrance or Albert Street entrance, then there's a railroad entrance around back, and we had some people back there.

We struck on Sunday night. On Wednesday, the company tried a big back to work movement, and we stopped it. There was a murder that day. That day, the company caved in. They had us in an injunction hearing to stop the strike. The company gave in and said they would negotiate a contract with us by the first of the year. We had one by the first of the year.

We got about 3 cent an hour raise and a contract with a little seniority rights and that was about it. But it gave us the inducement and within a few years, we had the first maintenance of membership, which meant that you had to join the union and you had to maintain your membership. From then on, it went on and the company became quite a company.

But even in those early days, we realize--us younger fellows that were starting to get interested in unionism--that to pay good wages and have a good company you had to have a competitive company. You had to have modern equipment. We kept after the company to spend money on improvements.

Now this plant was Lee Tire. It had two plants, a tire plant in Conshohocken, Pennsylvania and Republic Rubber Division of Lee Tire here in Youngstown. Each had about 800 men. Now, what the stock was worth to the companies was about $16 million. The company always, especially during the war years, put money aside. And here they came up after the war--and though the company, on the books, is only worth $16 million--they had $22 million in undistributed profits sitting out there for one of these hot shots to take hold of.

A guy whose name I don't recall specialized in taking over plants in cash. He came in and took control of the company. He spent about $8.5 million and got control of the company. He wasn't interested in producing. He was interested in laying his hands on that $20 million and getting rid of the plant. So, he gave an ultimatum. The union had to cut everything back it has ever had and when they didn't, he just shut the plant down. The plant was down three or four months, and he sold the plant for around $12 million. On the books, he took a $12 million loss, but then he got a little better than half of the $22 million plus half of the $12 million is $6 million. He was in the clear.

Now the funny thing about that was, talking about employee justice, the foremen--which they had to do in those days--most of the foremen gave us a hard time in trying to organize the union. At the time Republic Rubber shut down the Lee Tire Company, the union had a pension signed. The company men had a pension, which they put in half of the pay, and then they had the benefits of what the union pension was, too, same amount, but they didn't have it in writing. The union, after a long lawsuit, declared that the union did maintain a pension right. When they sold the plant after a court decision, the union's rights to pension were protected, and they had to kick that money into the union. The union men retired and those about to retire were covered by the pension plan.

The poor foremen, these guys that opposed union organization, many of them lost their pensions. They went to court. They had nothing in writing. The judge ruled against them; the court ruled against them. So here, many men that had been good company men for many years, worked for the company, done their bidding, they're out in the cold without anything.

In 1941, after we won our first election, Red Doran who had worked there for many years, the President of the union, he moved on. He was a guild electrician. He left town. I was elected President of the local. I was President of the local there about a year and a half. I was studying a lot. The first time in my life, I ever did much reading and studying. The union was in my blood. I learned a little bit about parliamentary procedure and became a little better public speaker, not that I'm that good, but at least to express myself. I was President of the union for about a year and the Rubberworkers offered me a job with the United Rubberworkers of America. In October, 1942, I left the plant From October, 1942 to January 1, 1950, I worked for the United Rubberworkers, and I left them and went to work for the Steelworkers with Jim Griffin in District 26 as a staff man. I left the Steelworkers January, 1950.

B: During that time, from October, 1942 until January, 1950, you worked in the plant as well as filling out a union position?

C: I worked in the plant. I started off in what's called the Liner Room, which is part of the . . . before they get rolls of cloth to go between the rubber. Then I went out and worked on the floor, and I was the third cantler man, mill man, which stir hot rubber and collecting dope samples. I did a little bit of everything. I worked eight years in the rubber plant, full-time. Then in 1942, I went to work for the United Rubberworkers of America.

B: What did your duties as the staff representative include?

C: Well, when I worked for the Rubberworkers as a staff representative, I negotiated contracts. I was in on the stage of grievance procedure where the International Union came in for about 10 or 15 plants. From time to time, I was put on organizational drives and organized new plants. When we went to arbitration, I represented the union for arbitration.

B: So, you went through the three-step process.

C: Well, the Rubberworkers were four steps when the union went in. First step is local; second step, the grievance committee; the third step, the president of the union; and the fourth step, the international came in; and then the fifth step, if necessary, was arbitration.

B: How long did you hold that position as staff representative?

C: A little over eight years. During that time, I worked all over four or five different states. Most of my work was in Ohio. During the latter part of the war years, about seven or eight plants worked full-time in Buffalo and three plants in Erie between Buffalo, New York and Erie. I did a little work in Michigan up around St. Joe, Michigan. Twin City is up there. What is the other city? St. Joseph is another. Benton Harbor or something up in Michigan, way up there by the lake. I worked down along the Ohio River. I was trying to organize some Goodrich Plants down around Marietta, Ohio. I worked all over Ohio, some in New York State, some in Pennsylvania. And Maryland, I've been there a couple of times, too.

B: What change in your employment brought about your leaving this staff representative's job?

C: With the Rubberworkers?

B: Yes.

C: Well first of all, I was away from home most all the time. The Rubberworkers only had one plant in Youngstown, and we had to come in a couple times for that. So, if I went to work for the Steelworkers, first of all, I'd get a little home life. That was my primary reason, because I had worked for eight years. And during the war years, I used to get home--my wife and two little children--I used to get home about once every six weeks for a couple of weekends or what. I got pretty tiresome. And the Rubberworkers, you lived out of a suitcase most of the time. You'd be all over hell's acres going from town to town. You lived out of a suitcase. And I had the opportunity. Jim Griffin who had been my friend before the war had become the Director of the United Steelworkers of America.

Up to that time, the Steelworkers had dwelt mainly on strictly hourly wages and hadn't done much on fringe benefits.

Now basic steel wasn't bad, but Jim Griffin had organized four or five diversified plants up along Lake Erie, different types of plants, no basic steel. One was a maker of various farm equipment, American Fork

and Hoe; another one made bow sockets, made parts for bicycles; another one was a hardware supplier; one was the static microphone, which wasn't actually too much steel. They made microphones--a number of diversified companies.

Jim thought that, first of all, because I knew a little bit about fringes and that, he diversified, and most of his men were just plainly old fashioned steel makers and didn't understand that we wanted someone outside steel. So, I went up there as a Sub-district Director, they called it in those days, and I had about eight or nine plants up there. I worked up there from about 1950 to about 1960. I was Sub-district Director. Then in 1960, I came down here and put eight years in Youngstown. I probably--and I don't mean to brag--but when I was elected in 1950 to the State Senate of Ohio, in those days, you were only down there about six months out of the two years. Then, I came home. In the early days, I'd just have to do as much work as I could on the weekends. I was down there three days a week and it was up to me to get my work done in three or four days. So, on a seven-day schedule, I kept up pretty well. It was a part-time job, so I actually had two jobs, one I liked in politics, and the other one, of course, was a job to make a living for my family. I did that from about 1950 to 1968, 18 years. Then I was elected minority leader, and I took early retirement from the Steelworkers so that I could devote full time to politics.

B: Who first urged you to run for politics?

C: Well what happened was, the unions, in the early days, they found out that you can win things at the bargaining table and lose them by law. We early discovered that we wanted to secure our gains or to get the things we thought were necessary. In many instances, we had to do it by legislation rather than by direct collective bargaining. We started--first they called it PAC, Political Action Committee. Later on it became COPE, Committee on Political Education.

But I wasn't in the union too long when I was still at the Rubberworks, when I first started to plan. We started doing our part to elect people favorable to labor. As a matter of fact, Bill Spagnola was one of the early candidates as Mayor of Youngstown. And if it hadn't been for Bill Spagnola, we might have lost that strike out there because he kept the police from pounding us over the heads after the first morning. I was always active trying to help somebody get elected. In 1950, when I came back here, we had a bad experience in the legislature. We hadn't been able to do much and there were two incumbent state senators from this

district, and they were cut back to one. The labor boys gathered around, I came from an old line family here; I had been active in a couple of civic organizations and had a big mouth and was always popping off. My family tree was in the valley and the name was pretty well known. So, we decided that we were cut back to one state senator, and local boys asked me to run. I was fortunate enough--with all of Trumbull and Mahoning County in the district--to be nominated, very narrowly on my first try, and I've stayed in politics after that.

And the funny thing, some of the things I ran on [that] were very progressive programs, now look almost like nothing spectacular. The funny thing, within 10 or 12 years, all of those things have been accomplished, not only by me, but that's the evolution of man. Things that were considered very radical in the old days are just accepted now.

B: Everybody has a mentor, somebody who helped mold their character. Is there anybody politically that you always aspired to be like or you always wanted to be like?

C: Not so much politically. My family were always political minded in the sense that they always voted. My mother who, rest her soul, had 13 children, never missed a vote in her life up until in the rest home the last six years she lived. About six weeks before the primary and six weeks before the general election, she hounded me until I got somebody up there for her absentee vote.

My earliest memories as a little kid were of East Youngstown, in those days, Campbell, Ohio. My poor grandmother lived down below stop 10, about two blocks from the Hamrock Hall. They always played real gut politics in Campbell for local elections. I remember my grandmother taking me by the hand when I was four or five years old, and we would go to a political meeting. She was a pretty vociferous woman. [If] somebody said they did this or that, she'd jump up and give them hell. That was my early memory.

When I was a boy reading about politics, I liked the title State Senator. I don't know what it was, I just said, "Boy I would like to be a State Senator myself. That's a very important sounding job." When I graduated from Sacred Heart School in 1927, we had one of the first school busses of anybody. They bussed from Lancingville and out in Scienceville, bussed the kids in, in those days. The church and the school paid for the bus. We were going up to Geauga Lake Park in 1927, June. I was sitting there and [there were] two girls

sitting in back of me. One was Anna Marie Lucas, she had married Joe Gorman, just deceased not long ago. And the other one was Virginia Acanlon, a good kid. I said, "You girls better treat me nice because I'm going to be Congressman from this district one of these days." And I don't know why I said it, but that's what happened.

One of the things, when I went to Sacred Heart School, the early pastor of the church when the school was built was Dr. Edward Kirby. He was a Doctor of Divinity, [a] very, very, progressive man in education. He used to come every month to each room, present us our report cards and review them. Whenever he'd come to mine, he'd say, "Well, see what the Mayor of East Youngstown is doing this month." He always called me the Mayor of East Youngstown. He said, "You're a born politician. You're going to be a politician when you grow up." So I guess some of that might have rubbed off. As I said, I wouldn't have been interested in being a city councilman. I wouldn't have been interested in being a state representative but that word State Senator, that sounded real big to me. Then when I got to be state senator, I devoted my time and I thought my career was congressman. I started to get on in years and I kind of groomed myself that maybe one day I would be able to go to Congress, and I did.

But I'll tell you one thing, I never did anything the easy way. The first time I ran for Congress, Mike Kirwin died and there were 16 filed, 15 state and every politician of any importance in this valley ran. The second time up, I had a man with a lot of money and he had campaigned for two years. It was a real tough election. The third election was a mess. Always had opposition after that in the primary and general election. I've run through, probably, more rough, touch political battles, knock-down, drag-out, than anybody ever did in this district. Nothing ever seemed to come easy. I don't know why, but that's the way it was.

B; And so, in 1970, then, did you run or were you appointed to fill Mike Kirwin's term?

C: No, this might be interesting. No one can appoint a house member. In case of a vacancy, the only way it can be filled is by a vote of the people of that district. Now, United States Senator, if he quits or dies or something, the governor of the state can fill that spot until the next general election. You can't in Congressional races. Congress, the House of Representatives, is the house of the people, and the only way a man can serve there is being elected. For example, Mike Kirwin announced he wasn't going to run for reelection in 1970. So, I ran, as I said, in a field of

15, and I was nominated. Margaret Dennison was nominated by the Republicans. Mike Kirwin died around in July. The Governor had to set up a special primary, but I had been nominated, and they talked to other people. So, I was the nominee of the Democrats by acclamation because no other one ran, though I had to file for it. Margaret Dennison was the nominee of the Republican Party. On election day of 1970, I was elected twice, once for the unexpired term of Mike Kirwin, which was only about two months and once for the full term.

The funny thing about that, you talk about people. There was 3,000 or 4,000 votes difference in the two elections on the same day side by side. But that's the way it was. You wonder why it would be that way, but that's the way it was, 3,000 or 4,000 difference. I know I won both ones, but one [was] by a larger margin than the other.

B: During your service, you've had a lot of concern about the steel industry, of course, being vital to the valley. Could you comment on house resolution 1247?

C: Well, I've learned in the houses of the United States that beyond passing legislation, the legislator had to provoke topics, and try to create discussions on various things. So as a result, I introduced a lot of legislation. Now, maybe in one sense looking back from a personal, political success, I would have been a lot smarter if I would have concentrated on two or three things and go at that, because the fact is, the voter's attention span is short. They don't necessarily grade you on the day to day things a congressman has to do. They grade you on one or two of the more important things. The funny thing, my grades are just one thing.

In the 1960s through the early 1970s, there were a lot of plant closings all over the country. None of them were as abrupt and as sharp and as quick to my knowledge as the Youngstown Sheet & Tube situation. However, there were a lot of plants shutting down. Under the law, there's no requirement of the company to do anything. So I, on January 14, 1975--that's a long time before Sheet and Tube announcement--introduced an act that's called To Regulate Interstate and Foreign Commerce In Order To Provide Early Warnings of Plant Closings and Relocations. This was a bill I introduced. A lot of plants were closing down.

This would have done two things. It would have provided that when a person had a plant for any reason and he was going to shut it down, no matter how old the plant was, he had to give intentions to the community and to his employees at least a year and a half before. I

said one year and 180 days, I guess that's the legal way you have to do it. Such notice shall include an explanation of the reasons for the closing.

Then I put another section. Section two provided that whenever an owner of a plant or other business facility, which was in operation 10 years or longer or which employed 200 or more people and did interstate commerce, it was the duty of the owner of that plant to give actual notice to the employees, not the community, the employees of the plant. Then, give reasonable notice to the community in which the plant was located as to where they were moving to and why they were moving. This would have given people a time to adjust.

I saw on TV a while ago about that plant in Massachusetts closing down. But that showed that these people were given notice. They went out to get a plant in the Midwest [and] attempted to buy them. They gave the people in the community a chance to readjust. We had none of this in Youngstown. Now, the fact that the company shut down was tragic, but when they shut down this quick without any notice, they just cut peoples' legs out from under them. It was wrong. It's legal in this country. I think we should have something like this. But this will show that I was thinking of these things long before I had any idea Sheet & Tube was closing down, because I just basically thought it was wrong.

We had a hearing or so on this, but the thing about the American people, we don't scream much until it's too late. That's what happened to this. I got very little backing from anybody, unions or companies that would deal like this. But after it happened, then they say, "Why don't we have something?"

B: That happened a full two and a half years before the shutdown of the Sheet & Tube.

C: Yes, sure. That's just one of the things. There's many things like that.

B: In 1976, President Ford initiated a review of Specialty Steel, and you lobbied very diligently to put an end to some of specific items in that. Could you comment on that whole Specialty Steel situation?

C: Over the years, first of all, after World War II, American Industry went in and rebuilt Germany. It was all bombed out. We built, from the ground up, the Japanese steel industry. We started finding out, in certain types of steel very long before mass steel, they could make special types of specialty steel, both Japan and the European countries, and they were aided

and subsidized in many ways by their people, by their countries. Then we find out that when things got slow, they would come dump these specialty steels on America. They were actually selling for less in America then it cost them to produce it. That was their unemployment compensation; we were paying it for them. So, the specialty steel people are involved. We kept nagging away at this.

Ford and his administration, they set up a Steel Specialty Trade Commission. They set up certain protections to protect the specialty steels. So, after the big bulk of Sheet and others, these specialty steel still had been working a while in protecting our steel industry. The time came that the bill was going to run out. It was only for a two year period or something. So, one of the early jobs of our Steel Caucus was, when we met with President Ford, we pressed upon the importance of the thing. We were fortunate enough to get the deregulation surrounding specialty steel, which gave them some protection, renewed.

Now in talking about this, we were going pretty much off the cuff. I started the Steel Caucus. Ford was not president then. But President Ford, he was a guy, he had been in Congress. He had been a house member. We could get a meeting with him, but when I started the steel caucus, members of my caucus met with President Carter. We pressed upon the idea and out of that came this steel study, which was the Solomon Report, and then, Carter called a meeting of all of the top steel companies plus some of the big manufacturing companies. Tom Murphy of General Motors was there and some of the leaders of our caucus. We met with summit sessions. Now I read in the paper that President Reagan has been president about the first two years now, and the Steel Caucus has never met with him. They've been begging him for meetings, the steel caucus, which is a bipartisan caucus, and he has absolutely refused to meet with them on the steel situation. If the steel industry was in bad shape when I was in Congress, it's in a hell of a lot worse shape now.

I've talked to people, and we're cutting the very heart out of this country. Sure we're shutting the steel down, but U. S. Steel, they're divesting themselves of many steel plants. They're going into chemicals, energy business, motor oil business, Marathon Oil. They can make more money that way. Nobody's worried about the responsibility of the country. Somebody better start thinking of it, because if we don't, where will we be? It was bad enough after the Depression in World War II.

B: On September 14, 1976, there was an important announcement from your office. Would you comment on that?

C: Well, this announcement was that the Western Reserve Economic Development Agency, WREDA, which was primarily oriented towards management, the United States Department granted them $1,627,000. The overall program was worth about $2,171,000. This was to do two things. It was to aim in helping the industry and the communities to improve production facilities. This was primarily to be used to establish an experimental Unitrain System to determine whether transportation costs could be reduced bringing various raw materials into the steel mills, and it was to analyze the feasibility of constructing a big blast furnace to turn out pig iron for all the steel mills in Youngstown and to assist local communities in meeting the cost of the services during unemployment. That was just one of the many things. [When] you get the damn irons in the fire, you've got to keep moving them. When one gets good and hot, you try to get it out. So, we were able to help them get that money and, I don't think it ever came out as well as we thought it would, though.

B: The next area--to kind of give a diversification of some of the roles that you played--concerns a letter and Black Lung. Could you comment, on this particular letter and your efforts as far as in the field of Black Lung.

C: Well, first of all, Black Lung Legislation is primarily. . . . People that worked in the mines, they got a disease. It's pneumoconiosis or something. It's Black Lung. The various dust and things in the mines get into a man's lungs. He gets sort of an asthma and spits up black. They call it Black Lung.

In earlier congresses, we had voted to give money to people who had come down with that disease, to give them a pension. Like all laws to help people, we set up an elaborate organization [with] testing and all this. We got many people. You'd be surprised the number of people in this district that came here from West Virginia or Pennsylvania. These fellows had Black Lung, a lot of them. So we would get a lot of applications from our district and we'd process them. It was a slow and laborious measure. I wrote to Carl Perkins, the Chairman of Labor Committee. I pointed out some of these things to him and I was offering to him, and a number of other congressmen, to try to set up legislation which would cut a lot of this red tape out and take care of people with Black Lung a lot quicker. We passed some legislation, not all I wanted, but that was just one of the sideline things in the district.

B: One of the other things you also did towards the end of 1976 was you had written to Mr. Murphy, the General Motors Chief, concerning Lordstown. Could you give me some background on this?

C: In 1976, we first started getting the low-down on what was happening to the auto industry in this country. The Lordstown plant of General Motors had a great lay-off at that time, right in the summer and the fall of 1976. I knew at that time--and maybe even yet--it was the most modern plant of General Motor's in the country, had the youngest working force, overall, of any General Motor's plants. I wrote to Thomas Murphy. I said, "General Motor's Lordstown Plant is one of the most modern, efficient, automobile-manufacturing plants in the world, and we should put it to better use." I urged him to do something for these people. He acknowledged a letter and over a period of time, some things happened. When you're a congressman, you try to do everything you can to help everybody. That was one of the things, employment in our valley; I saw that big plant going out there to waste, and I tried to do something about it.

B: Were you approached by the United Auto Workers?

C: They had complained to me. They didn't ask me to write a letter. That was on my own. They had written to me and told me they had problems, and that's why I became aware of it, even more aware. I read the local papers. They had written me letters: "What can you do?"

I found out one thing. If you want to do something, you don't go to some subaltern, you go to the top man, and that's the way we did it.

B: In 1977, you announced that you were going to co-sponsor the Investment Tax Credit Act of 1977. Could you elaborate on that?

C: One of the things we found out in the steel industry and American industry in general is, we found out as we went along, that other countries, Japan for example and European countries, they could write major installations off quicker. We had, primarily, about a 15 year period to write them off in America. I, with others, wanted to introduce legislation to permit industries that made these large investments, first of all, for improved production, give them a faster write-off, and also sponsor legislation [so] that things like air pollution and other regulations required by the government, they could write them off in very short time. I think this was necessary. I might say that out of these things, today, we've gotten a little better chance of doing that than we did then.

B: The next date that comes to mind is April 22, 1977, when you contacted President Carter concerning accepted foreign imports, particularly concerning the U.S. colored television industries. Would you comment on that?

C: Primarily it was this, after World War II, we had a thing called free trade, which theoretically meant that we just let trade flow where it goes best. That sounds awful good, but we're the only free traders in the world, the United States. Everywhere else, people's industry is backed by the government, the trading companies are backed by the government, both the European Common Market and the Japanese. They've taken a lot of our business. We've modernized their plants, as I said before, and then we find out they've won a big thing.

What happened? We found out that Japan started almost entirely dominating the colored television. And during this time, there were only one or two companies left in the United States producing its own colored television. I wrote to President Carter and asked him if we could put a quota on Japanese imports of colored television to keep down to 1,100,000 units a year, which was about the peak of that time. Of course, what I wanted wasn't done, the dangers of the television set made in the United States, some are assembled, but all the parts and everything are made in Japan.

B: The recommendations, I believe, of the Trade Commission of 1977 were coming up as far as specialty steel. Could you tell me what your feelings were about that particular issue?

C: Number one, we have a number of special steel companies in the State of Ohio, some even in this district. And as I pointed out previously, both Eropean and the Japanese were cutting into the specialty steel industry, which I felt they were doing it unfairly. Not only our steel caucus went to this, but we got every congressman from the State of Ohio, three United States Senators, and every congressman of both political parties to write to President Carter and ask him to look into this problem and do something for us. Some things were done, maybe not what we would have liked to be done, but improved.

The Steel Caucus met with President Carter early in 1977 and asked him to do something about the specialty steels. This work is done by the United States International Trade Commission, which has to do with them;

they're expertees and were headed by Mr. Strauss who wrote to me, and he said that he was going to look into it, but that it was going to exempt bearing steel. So I wrote to Bob Strauss and I told him [that] bearing steel had as much problems as anybody else. I wanted some action on it.

B: On June 16, you wrote a letter to the president concerning a lack of public works funding and noted, I believe, that it showed little as far as round two. Could you comment on that letter?

C: Number one, without a lot of study, and I haven't got the time nor the inclination to worry about these things. I met my job as well as I could when I was there, and I tend to go on and do some other things.

But one of the things is, we had these various aides to the cities of government. My district had always done well. We made it a point to see to that. But once in a while you think you have a little more coming. I'll say one thing for President Carter, he always was willing to talk to you about them and to meet him and talk to him and his representatives. And so, June 16, I thought that some of our cities hadn't got what they were entitled to, primarily Campbell, Struthers and Lowellville. And I met with various members of the government, including Mr. George Karas, who was a deputy assistant secretary of Economic Development. We went over and had charts filled up, and we tried to get more money for Campbell, Struthers and Lowellville and eventually got it.

B: The round one allocation was $6 million and on July 21, the figures released show that your district gained--the total for that was $12 million. Do you feel that the letter had any direct implication there? Did that help?

C: Let me tell you something about being a congressman. You've got to put all the wood in the fire--you can when you got something. You use any angle, legally, you can. I mean, there's no set formula for it. And sometimes you get caught short and sometimes you get tough with them, sometimes you plead with them, sometimes you threaten them. That's what a congressman has got to do. You have to plan your strategy. We were never satisfied with what we got the first time; we wanted more. It wasn't for me, it was for my district. And records will show that our district in the State of Ohio, we shared pretty well, comparison-wise.

B: On July 18, 1977, there was a meeting in Senator Glenn's office. Could you tell me the subject discussed?

C: Well, that meeting at Senator Glenn's office was primarily what we called Unitrain, which was an attempt to set up big unitrains between the steel mills in Youngstown and Warren with Lake Erie where they unloaded the iron ore pellets and that, and try to get transportation cheaper. Senator Glenn and all the Ohio Congressmen were interested in this. And this is one of the --not routine--but one of the things we did regularly that we met and we tried to do something, and we worked together. This meeting was for that purpose, to try to promote the Unitrain understanding.

B: On Friday, September 9, 1977, there was a meeting in your office. Could you describe who was present for that meeting and the topic of discussion?

C: Well, you must realize this was September 9. This was our first week back after summer vacation. During the summer of 1977, it became quite apparent to anybody reading the newspapers and following things that first the steel industry--all over the country--was in bad financial shape. Secondly of all, they were just starting to shut down plants and laying people off all over the country. This is prior to Sheet & Tube. I read these things.

We came back in on a Wednesday, I think it was. Labor Day was Monday, September 5, I guess it was and on Thursday, September 8 was when we had the actual meeting. On my own, I called a meeting in my Washington Office with representatives of the steel industry and the International Union Office of the United Steelworkers. At that meeting were Hans Blockland of the Washington Office of Youngstown Sheet & Tube and the Washington representatives of steel industry were present. There was Mr. Harold Kelly, Republic Steel; Mr. George . . . of U.S. Steel; Mr. William Rickert of Bethlehem Steel; and there was a representative of Inland Steel--I don't remember what his name was; and Mr. Jack Sheehan of the United Steelworkers of America.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the possibility of creating a coalition of industry, labor and congress to come up with basic solutions to the problems of foreign imports, tax incentives and federal water and air pollution regulations. At that meeting, I told the steel industry if they would sit down with the Steelworkers Union and then come up with proposed legislation to control unfair imports, and recommend other things to the steel industry, fast write-offs and things they needed, I would be supportive. I urged that industry and labor get together and then work with us. I said, "If you'll do that, I will attempt to organize a caucus of members of congress from both

parties to help you in gaining these ends, not only on imports, on tax legislation, anything affecting the welfare of the steel industry and other basic industry in the United States."

B: That was the first time, I believe, also that you used the actual term, the idea of the Steel Caucus.

C: That's when I got the idea of the Steel Caucus.

B: There was a subsequent memo that you issued September 14.

C: Yes, well, what I did, I met with these people. And I want to point out one thing. Our system of business is very strange. First of all, I found out that all these big steel companies, though they have very common problems, they were always hesitant about doing anything. They thought maybe the other guy will get an edge on them. And competition is all right, but the American industry better start working together.

I also found out that labor and management, they are very apt to take a dim view of cooperation with each other. They talk a lot. For example, when I suggested at this September 9 meeting, I told them I'd organize a steel caucus. But they never, I don't think to this day, the industry and labor guys never came up to me with any real, sound, written proposals. Oh, they could tell you a lot, individually, but they never put anything in writing.

So out of this meeting, I started laying the groundwork and calling my friends. Before the next Friday, which I issued a release on September 14, I called a bipartisan meeting of the congressmen on September 21 to discuss the possibilities of forming the Steel Caucus. I had been working on this. I said, "Excessive foreign steel imports are causing serious damage to the domestic steel industry." I said, "Production is down; overall employment is decreasing; costs are escalating." That steel was a raw material and every major sector of our economy was dependent upon steel. The problems affecting the steel industry are national problems; they're not local, parochial, they are common problems for all of us. I said, "In view of this alarming trend, the time had come. And we have to get together and do something about this and use more forceful action to stem the rising tide of foreign steel imports."

I want to tell you something. I was in Congress for eight years, many caucuses. This was a quickly formed caucus. It was the one caucus of any size that had bipartisan leadership, bipartisan support. When I

left--and it's even more so now--we were the largest caucus in numbers of any caucus in the Cokngress. Not that I was a great promoter or organizer, but these people from all over the country, whether they had specialty steels, big steel mills, little steel mills, steel fabricating companies, they all were getting this mail from their districts. There was a real problem and it was the point where somebody had to get them and say, "Let's do something." And at that time, I was the guy that stepped down and said, "Let's do something."

There are a lot of these members that were far more better educated men and smarter than me in many ways, but I just happened to be the guy that got it going. And because of that, they made me the first chairman and we did some great things in short time. I never knew of a caucus in my life--it may sound like bragging--that ever got quicker action and got in to see the president quicker than we did. We were right in with that president, called him everyday and we got action.

B: Where were you when the announcement of the shutdown of the Sheet & Tube took place?

C: The shutdown of the Sheet & Tube, the announcement was made on a Monday morning. I was flying from--I had somebody drive me to Pittsburgh--I was flying from Pittsburgh to Washington when that announcement was made. When I landed in Washington right around 12:00 noon, Tony DeStephano of my staff was waiting for me and he said, "Boss, the Sheet & Tube announced that they're shutting the plant down in Youngstown. Eventually 10,000 or 15,000 jobs." Tom Cleery, Washington, of Sheet & Tube had called me on Sunday night at home. He said he had something to tell me and he'd tell me when he saw me. Well, that's what he had to tell me, but he knew about it and he wouldn't tell me on the phone. So, that's what happened.

B: Do you recall what time you met with Mr. Cleey?

C: It was after lunch, 1 o'cloock or 2 o'clock. I don't know the exact time.

B: Was that meeting cordial or did you chew him out?

C: No, I didn't chew him out. Mr. Cleery hadn't made the decision. It was not time to be chewing out. I wanted to find out what was wrong and what we could do. No, the thing was, once again, if we would have had time to prepare things, we could have adjusted better, but not time to do anything. Everybody was going off in 48 different directions.

B: Did you fly back to Youngstown after that or did you stay at the Capitol?

C: No, I stayed and did my duty in the Capitol, got my Steel Caucus working on it. I was in constant touch with my staff in Youngstown, my assistants kept abreast of it the best they could. That week--that was on September 19--on September 23, I called a meeting in the Higbee Auditorium in Youngstown, which I invited steel mill representatives, union representatives, companies, the whole business, and steate legislators to see what we could do to alleviate the situation.

B: Approximately how many people, to the best of your recollection, attended that Higbee meeting?

C: It was by invitation, and as best I can rememer, there was over a hundred there. There were all the state legislators there and people from Pennsylvania. Everybody had a chance to have their say. As I look over here, people that talked were State Representative George Tablack, State Senator Harry Meshel, Representative Fee, a State Representative from Pennsylvania, State Representative Tom Carney of Ohio, Wes Jonstone, Youngstown Chamber of Commerce, Mayor Katula of Campbell, Mayor Centofanti of Struthers, State Senator Thomas Carney of Girard, County Auditor Stephan Olenick, George Bindas of the County Commisioners representing the Mahoning County Commissioners, Walter pestrak [who is the] Commissioner of Trumbull County representing them, Bill Lyden who is head of the Building Trades in Youngstown, Mr. Howe who represents management of the Building Trades, Rosemary Durkin [who is] the Clerk of Courts, Mr. Fergus who heads EDATA, Danny Thomas [who is] Director of Steel in Warren, Jim Griffin who was at that time the retired Director of Steel in Youngstown and probably knew more about the steel industry than anybody in the Valley, Tom Cleery was there representing management, Emanuel Catsoules who was President of the Council there representing him, and the Mayor. So, these are the people that spoke. We had township trustees. They were all people interested. And it was by invitation primarily, and my staff worked that in three days. I was in Washington. This was on a Friday. We tried to get organized to do something.

B: The next event that I have noted here is the September 27, 1977 letter to the President. Could you comment on that particular correspondence?

C: Yes, this is September 27. I wrote to President Carter at the White House and told him we had formed the Steel Caucus, and I asked for a meeting with him. We told him the meeting would be conducted in an orderly manner

and we would only have two or three designated spokesmen there. The President granted that meeting. We had it shortly after that, early in October. I don't know the exact date.

B: The next correspondence was dated September 29 of that year and it dealt with your concern about the environmental case, I believe, that was pending at that particular time. Can you tell me the substance of what was involved in that?

C: Well, the substance of it was that the Environmental Protection Agency of the United States was coming out, time and time, with things they wanted to do in the steel industry all over the country, both water and air pollution. And many of the people in our district thought they were trying to go too fast. This was the Iron and Steel Industry in Mahoning Valley. There was a third circuit court with a complex decision involving the technical pollution, obeying the regulations in addition to the Mahoning Valley exemptions. I wanted to know more about it and I wrote to the President, and the Department of Justice wrote me. Mr. Mormon was going to tell me something about it and arranged for a meeting with me.

B: [On] September 30, 1977, there was a news release from your office. Could you comment on that particular piece of correspondence?

C: [At] this meeting, I announced that I had scheduled a meeting in my office in Washington with officials of various federal agencies in order to get maximum assistance for our district and see how we best could go about helping. I called the Feds, fellows in from the Department of Labor and all the various agencies, Commerce Department and that, to get ideas how we could do something about beating the situation--we found out the steel industry shut down. Once again, I want to repeat: they didn't give us any time. We were hit with this, and I did everything humanly possible. I worked night and day to try to get people together and move things. I can't say we did them all scientifically, but we sure as hell started picking things up.

B: In the interim before you had the second meeting, there was a so-called Tokyo announcement on October 2, in Mayor Hunter's office. Can you tell me what you know about this particular incident?

C: As I recall, first of all, when this thing happened, I went down to--now deceased--Mr. Bill Brown who was the Editor of the Youngstown Vindicator. He was interested naturally in Youngstown just like us. Mr. Brown was not only a capable man, I found him to be a very fair,

understanding man. I went down and talked over with him and tried to get him to help point out the things that we were trying to do, and ask [for] his cooperation. So out of this, we had some meetings. We called it the Youngstown Area Task Force Meeting.

The Sunday Vindicator on Sunday, October 2, 1977, some fellow nobody seemed to know from out in California, he said that he had contacts with the steel men in Japan and he said, "Why can't you do something about these steel people in Japan? See what they can do to help us out." He indicated in this letter that they had contact with these people and they might just need us. Well something about that just didn't seem right to me. And it was announced in the Sunday paper that Mayor Jack Hunter of Youngstown, Mayor Centofanti of Struthers and Mayor Katula and a few other were going to go to Japan. They were going to get that Japanese lined up and they were going to do something for Youngstown. That was announced in the paper.

So on Monday, I saw the town this fellow was from--I don't know what his name was now--but I started checking around and got his phone number and called him. I asked if he was going to set up the meeting. He said, "I can't set up the meeting. I just bought some little specialty items from a Japanese trading company. I have no connections with the Japanese." I said, "You haven't set up a meeting for these people?" "No." So I called Mr. Brown back on the phone. I said, "Mr. Brown, this is a big hoax." I said, "This man has no connection with the Japanese industry. If you went over there, you wouldn't even know who the hell to meet with. There's nothing set up." I said, "I'm not anxious to blast anybody. I think at this time it would be foolish for us. I just don't think this is right." "Well, he said, "Let me get back to you." I don't know who he called. I have an idea who he called. He called and said, "Well, that idea is down the drain." Now I understand I made some people unhappy. If they would have gone to Japan, that would have been the biggest fiasco in the world. I have never publicly--it was very private--ever said anything about this until you asked me the question now. But the point was, there was never anything to that story, and I wasn't out to blast anybody. So, that's the story on that, as I see it.

B: On October 10, you had a follow-up meeting to the original Higbees meeting, but this one was held at Youngstown City Council. Could you tell me the purpose of that meeting and what transpired.

C: I had talked to Mr. Brown and he pointed out that Studibaker had shut down in South Bend, Indiana in the years before, and some people out there seemed to do a good job bringing new industry in. So, I started checking around and a man by the name of Mr. Al Batt, he was instrumental in designing and carrying out the program in the Studibaker plant, which worked out well. So I invited Mr. Batt and another government official. We set up a meeting [and] saw best to have it in the City Council room. And Mayor Hunter, we set up a task force and I asked Mayor Jack Hunter--because they said this was a political thing--to be chairman of it. He had run against me the year before for Congress. I thought this was to try to do something for the Valley, I honestly did. I asked Jack Hunter to--this was prior to the election [and] I didn't know who was going to be elected--I asked Mayor Hunter to be chairman of it. Mayor Hunter spoke and Al Batt spoke, and then there was a Dr. Harold Shepard who was the Federal Coordinator for the South Bend project; he talked. At that meeting, we had a Mr. Chad Cochran who was with Governor Rhodes. He was part of Governor Rhodes' aide-de-camp, and he promised us the Governor's support. And Mr. J. R. Lambeth, who was President of the Sheet & Tube, he was called on. He made a few remarks. I talked and Mr. John Gibson, who was of the EDA in Chicago, Economic Development Systems Program. He discussed what should be done and pointed out that we needed cooperation. They received views from the Western Reserve Economic Development Agency, which Mr. Sullivan was the head [and] the Eastgate Development and Transportation Agancy EDATA which was headed by Mr. Fergus. There was a Mr. Tony DiRoserio, he was with a group called the Federal Regional Council, and he talked. Mayor Hunter directed a question to Mr. Gibson. Mr. William Dulaney was there. He was with the Trade Adjustment Assistance, the Department of Labor. He advised that the workers in this area were ceritified for trade adjustment. So then, in addition--the people they laid off from Sheet & Tube--in addition to their unemployment compensation, they were allowed the maximum of $215 for a period of about two years, because they were displaced because of the foreign imports. Then we had Charlie Lucas of the HUD, Housing and Urban Development office. He said they were to work with us. Mr. Ken Kasterline of the Department of Labor, he pledged their cooperation. We had Mr. William Morrison of the General Services Administration. All these gentlemen practically advised us what to do.

Mr. DiRoserio said his agency could assign one person to Youngstown. And Mr. DiRoserio indicated, the Chairman of the Council could be the logical person. So, we had more government brass at that one meeting than I think was ever at one single meeting. And what came

out of this, all these gentlemen said, the only way that they could get Youngstown back on the track at all is to get all these government agencies. But to have one person so you could talk to one person--so that you won't be falling over each other going five and six different places. . . .

Mr. Brown pledged the Vindicator support in every way. We had Ron Daniels, who was a Black leader in the community. He wanted to know what the mechanism was coordinated and how it would be chosen. Where would the funding come from to pay for the staff and the expenses? Mr. Hunter offered that perhaps community development money could be used. Frank Lesiganich was there from the steelworkers. Mr. William Fergus and Laird Eckman who was with the Youngstown Chamber of Commerce and the group that brought industry in here; George Bindas, the County Commissioner; Robert Bannon and John Gibson; Phil Richley was there, who was running for mayor; and Mayor Cenofanti of Struthers was there.

At that meeting, I appointed a committee. There'd be no objections on the four. I made Mayor Jack Hunter Chaiman of the committee; Clarence Barnes of the Urban League; Jim Griffin, retired steelworker; Ida Renz of the League of Women Voters. I said the organized labor group could appoint one person who they wanted because they had the AFL-CIO thing there and that Mayor Hunter would be the temporary, ad hoc chairman.

Subsequent to the meeting, I appointed Mayor Anthony Centofanti and Mayor Michael Katula of Campbell and Struthers as Ex-officio. That means Ex-officio by viture of their office.

I want to point one thing out to you; we tried to get something going, to do something. I don't know of any one meeting out of this town where more government brass was at to do it. Everybody wanted to get into the act. Everybody wanted to run it their way. I thought--maybe I wasn't--I thought I would be straight. I wasn't trying to push myself. And out of this meeting in November, Hunter completed his term and Phil Richley took over. Though it's a couple mayors later, Phil Richley is still the chairman of it. They've spent a lot of money, but I don't know what all they've done.

B: That's the point I was going to follow up with. That was the foundation of the Mahoning Valley Economic Development Committee?

C: Yes. Out of this group, subsequent that I appointed these seven people,they hired a fellow from the Batelle Institute to work a program up. This type of thing, you just don't say, "We're going to do this." It takes a lot of work, a hell of a lot of study, and a hell of a lot of cooperation. And unfortunately, maybe I wasn't big enough. I thought I did what I could, but everybody wanted to go in a different direction. Out of this, that group started; that's right.

Now if I would have had a chance, once again, harping, if the Sheet & Tube would have given us notice six months or so and we would have been able to bring all the people like this in, we would have been able to have a more orderly transition. The facts are, when a guy is working out at the mill and he's told, "You're done," he's not in the mood for reasoning, he's mad. That's what happened. And they're looking for instant solutions and there is no instant solution. All I know is it's hard work and you've got to do it, and you've got to try to do it the best you can. You've got to move people.

B: On October 13, the Steel Caucus met with President Carter. I wonder if you could tell me the result of that particular meeting.

C: Well, the basic result of that meeting was, first of all, it made the President aware that the steel industry had problems. Out of that meeting, for the first time in United States Government, they set up a task force for one industry. That had never been done. And he set up a Steel Task Force. A man by the name of Anthony Solomon, who is a very well-known economist, and the very man whom I learned I respect very highly, he was made chairman of it. And out of that came the so-called Soloman Report, which did have a lot to do with steel import quotas, basic price fixing and things of that nature.

B: What role did the congressional steel caucus play with Mr. Soloman in arriving at a final report.

C: First of all, we didn't reach a final report. We kept abreast of it. We were inconstant contact with him. And the day before the report came out, he met with the Steel Caucus and explained to us the basic facts, and he answered questions for us.

B: If there was one thing above all else that stood out as far as the final report. What would you say that was?

C: I think the main thing that came out of it was for the first time in the history of the United States, a task force was set up and special attention was given to a

specific industry. That's important. And I think out of that, some good things came. But some people wanted to criticize and never offer anything. That's what happened. So, by and large, I think we did a pretty good job.

B: The Trigger Price Mechanism that was a result of that, do you think that was effective?

C: Well, it was effective for a couple of years and it slowed down imports. The record will show that imports have slowed down after that passed.

I want to tell you one thing, some people don't realize that they've got problems, too. We've got to modernize the plant equipment in the United States and do something beyond just prices. They've got to get more competitive.

B: In November 1977, you went to the Middle East. Could you give me some background as to why you were there and what the highlights of that particular trip were?

C: Well, my trip to the Middle East in November 1977 was one of the most exciting, thrilling, satisfying and also enlightening experiences I ever had. I would say it ranked, at least in my years in politics (I served 28 years) as probably the most significant in the manner of what happened. I was invited on an inspection trip with James Wright, who was the majority leader of the House of Representatives and 14 other congressmen--some of who took their wives with them for a 12,000 mile trip to review primarily, to start out with, our relations with Egypt, Israel, and to see what was going on in Northern Africa. But it seemed like we were on a trip of destiny.

First, when we went over, we stopped in Spain. Spain, at about that time, had just gone from a strictly fascist military dictatorship under Franco to the growing pains of becoming a democracy. It was very interesting. We met with the head of the Spanish nation at that time. The funny thing, we met in the outskirts of the city and the place where we were at, the next day, guerrillas came along and shot bullets where we were 24 hours prior.

From there, we went on to Egypt and while we were in Egypt, we were invited by the last President Anwar Sadat. Anwar Sadat was one of the most charming, literate and I might say for lack of a better word, peaceloving man that I ever met. Now I've read about Sadat that he was tricky and so on. I think Sadat would have been a success in politics in most any democratic country or semi-democratic. He was

intelligent. He was charming. He knew how to handle people. I think, basically, he was a decent, good man, at least of what I've seen of him.

Just maybe, serendipity or stroke of luck, while we were there, Sadat issued his initial invitation in which he announced that he would be prepared to meet with the Israeli people. He was willing to go to Jerusalem, he announced, which came like a bolt out of the blue. The first people he announced that to was our congressional delegation. I imagine it had been in preparation for some time and maybe he was working for the apropriate time to spring it. So we met with him. We spent two or three hours with him in his place right outside of Cairo. So James Wright, who was a very able man, James Wright of Texas, the majority leader, he said, "Would you meet with the Israelis?" He said, "Of course, I would." This was on a Tuesday. I immediately--when we came out of that meeting, Mr. Wright contacted our ambassador in Cairo, Egypt and he in turn contacted the American ambassador in the United States. Through them, it was relayed to the Iraeli Government that Mr. Sadat would be willing to come there and speak. Now this is on a Tuesdsay.

On Wednesday, we went down to the Nile River by plane, 300 or 400 miles, and we saw the ancient tombs of the pharaohs and many of their escavations. We saw all the sites. It's remarkable, you think we've got a civilization. Some of the engineering feats there, like the great pyramids and things of that nature, they don't even know how, without machinery, these things were built. They were very large. They raised stones, big pieces of stone weighing hundreds of tons. Down in the valley of the kinds where the pharaohs are buried, many of the escavations there have uncovered cities. They have paint and you can see the paintings on the wall yet. This is after they have been buried thousands of years and they still can't figure out how these paints were made or how they kept so well over a period of time. It almost takes you into that time of history. You see how insignificant a lifetime is. We think a man who has 80 years in this world is a very old man. Occasionally we've got a centenarian, and we can't figure out why. Well, a hundred years of our time is just a one little speck on a desert of sand of years, one little drop of water in a gigantic ocean. So, though we tend to take ourselves seriously, we do find that there have been great civilizations of the past and people had many, many things that have been lost to antiquity. Who knows, with this atom bomb now, we may be starting that kind of situation all over again.

Getting back to my story, from there we went on, Wednesday evening, into Tel Aviv, which is about 40 or 50 miles, I imagine, from Jerusalem. We went by bus from Jerusalem. I want to make one observation now. The Israelis, what they've done since World War II there, they've taken it from a desert into a virtual beautiful place. They've planted trees. They've converted lakes, streams, and marches, and turned them into fish places. They've done a wonderful job. But one thing you find out there when you get there. First of all, Israel extensively is a democracy, but there's probably more deep resentment there than anywhere, openly spaced, than anywhere in the world. For example, the way of the cross, the Via Dolorosa, where Christ took before he was crucified, you go along there now and it's very commercialized. All along the way is stores, souvenir shops and that. But if you go in one of these and they are usually run by Christian Arabs, Palestinians, the native people there. They know opretty well when you go in there and when they say a few words to you that you're not a Jewish person. They just come out and there's hate, distrust.

B: Against the Jews?

C: Against the Jews, primarily. There's a lot of hate there. When I got there, where Christ was cricified, that's right out where we were. That was out at the walls of the old city. It's part of the new city now, but it had been taken in one of those wars back 10 or 15 years ago. That was not part of Israel and was grabbed in one of those wars because it's usually on high ground. If you go there, you can see why the Israelis are apprehensive. In four or five minutes the planes of the Arabs can be over bombing them. Many of the heights, for example, where the cross was, they had cannons there a few years ago. Cannons could shoot right into the heart of the city of modern Jerusalem. So, it's a very mixed up situation.

But we met with Mr. Begin on about Thursday, and he announced to us that on Saturday evening that President Sadat of Egypt would fly into Israel, and on Sunday, he was going to address the Knesset, which is Irael's parliament. Their Knesset has about 100 members. They have a beautiful state house, and we met there with Mr. Begin. We stayed at the famous King David Hotel. The American Delegation was on the top floor. The word went out on Friday that everybody had to get out of the hotel because that was where Sadat was coming to and all his guards and people from Egypt. Well, we were lucky because they made a special concession just to the American delegation there. They moved us from the

top floor, fifth or sixth floor, down to the first floor, which I liked a lot better because it's got a big balcony. They moved us down there and made the arrangement for just Sadat on the top floor and the other people that traveled with him from Egypt.

So on Saturday, you never saw such turmoil. First of all, both ends of the street looked like an armed camp. Both Israeli and Egyptian guards were all carrying sub-machine guns. You had to have an identification to get in or out of that area. In the hotel itself, every floor had armed guards with sub-machine guns, primarily Israeli soldiers. To a certain extent, the King David Hotel is like many of the European, especially England. You get your breakfast as part of the cost of your room. You buy the other two meals.

B: The continental breakfast?

C: No, no. They gave the greatest breakfast you ever want to see. They had everything there. Like on Sunday morning when we came down, we went in with all these Egyptians. I've never seen people eat like these men ate. They ate like it was going out of style. They must have never eaten some of that food. I'm a pretty good trencher, but these fellows ate! We had bagels and locks, many things, hundreds of items, sort of a smorgasbord. I don't know what they charged the Egyptians, but the way they ate, they had to lose money.

I'm primarily speaking to you about the political trip. While we were in Israel, we tried to do two things. First of all, the Israelis were anxious to show us what their problems were. We went in helicopters. There ordinarily were some troops out to what you hear about where the famous hills are. You can look across and see the Syrian soldiers over there. With a good rifle and a telescope, they could shoot from there over to where you were and in return, you could shoot back. We saw many things like this. We saw, not only what the Israeli had done in rebuilding the land, we saw what the military problem was, and it was very interesting.

In addition, we were Christians most of us, and we wanted to see many of the sights that you read about in the Bible. The funny thing is, you read the Bible about the travels of Christ and they seemed so long and that. They always walked and the reason was that it's not that far apart. There's not that much land. You read, for example, we went up to the Sea of Galilee and right up at the top of the hiss, that's where the pasture of Christ turned the fish and bread and fed the multitudes. Down below the Sea of Galilee where I walked, that's probably a half mile from it. And then we went to Jerusalem. Fourteen miles from Jerusalem is

Bethlehem where Christ was born. You make your stations of the cross, and one of the great things about that is up there, it seems that the Eastern Orthodox Christians were primarily the early ones there. That's the Greeks and the people of that nature that were converted by Paul, and they were probably, from what I see, the oldest entrenched there. Then of course, the Roman Catholic Church, which was headed by the Pope and there's many Protestants there, the Lutherans have some places there.

I made the stations of the cross and at the top of the station where the tomb of Christ was, stands a big church over it. People there alleged it to be the tomb where Christ was buried. Because we were congressional congressmen, we went right in the tomb and saw it. Where the stations end across, the Yen is the old wailing wall of the Jews. The wall was torn down and got thrown out. It's a place of great religious significance to the Jewish people. The Wailing Wall, part of it is still there, and that's where the good Jews go and pray. About 300 yards from there [is] the second most important mosque of the Islam people. Next to Mecca, that's the second most famous mosque. That is about 200 or 300 yards from the Wailing Wall. Then about a little over a half a mile the other way, up on the top where the cross was, they have the church of the Sepulchre, where Christ was buried. So you see, the three main religions of the world are all pretty much founded right there in that general area and it gives you something to think about.

So in addition, we kept busy. We were going probably 12 to 14 hours a day to catch everything. But in addition to seeing the military problems, plus the successes and the great things the Israelis had done, we saw many of the things that are remarkable to Christians. We went to Bethlehem. Palestinians mostly live there. We visited the Christian Mayor of Bethlehem and some of his aides. They're very anti-Israeli. We saw in Bethlehem where Christ was born. Both Sundays I was there; we went to church at the Garden of Olives, where Christ prayed before he was crucified. That's about a mile outside of the walls. The center of the church, the walks where Christ alleged to have prayed. They are right inside the church. It's very beautiful, and it's run by the Franciscans. The olive trees are probably one of the longest life trees. They're over 4,000 or 5,000 years old, those trees. The very trees under which Christ prayed the night before he was crucified, the night before he was captured and taken, they take the leaves off of and they put them in little cards. You get them from the Franciscans.

B: Do they press them like they do over here?

C: They press the leaf in. I got a hundred or so of those cards and sent them to many of my Christian friends when I came home.

But anyway, getting back. Mr. Sadat and his entourage came in on Saturday afternoon and of course, that's the day of Sabbath for the Jews, and it's also a big day with the Moslems, which Mr. Sadat was. Mr. Sadat was a very religious man. When he came in, shortly after, he went right to the mosque, and prayed as we pray. One thing about when you go to the mosque, you leave your shoes at the door. You can't wear your shoes in there. I must have had a very, very mean mind, I looked at all of them shoes and I said, "What would happen if somebody would mix all of those shoes up?" It just struck me. There's probably hundreds of shoes there.

B: Then your delagation went to pray in the mosque with President Sadat?

C: No, we didn't go with him. We had been there before him. We were through there. They have certain hours when visitors are allowed to visit. You've got to take your shoes off, of course. They tell you that. Other places, when the Moslems go into their religious ceremony, only Moslems can go to that, the followers of the Moslem relition. Mr. Sadat went and did his duties as a Moslem and then prayed. Of course, Mr. Begin did his praying at the synagogue that day.

And on Sunday, we started getting people from all the news agencies from all over the world in there. And Walter Cronkite was at our hotel. We had a small bus on Sunday to go out to get out to the Knesset, because traffic was heavy and you couldn't get out there with cars and that. Mr. Cronkite sat beside me. It wasn't a full size bus. The bus was probably a 22 to 24 passenger bus with us 15 congressmen, maybe 28. [He was] a very nice man. When we got out to the Knesset, we were the only foreign delegation permitted inside. We were sitting in the balcony. But their balcony has bullet proof glass between the balcony and in where the Knesset meets, because they've had a history of violence there. But, you could hear everything. It had the best acoustics and there. That afternoon, we saw Mr. Sadat make the speech plea for peace. And Mr. Begin answered him.

Out of that, later on, Mr. Carter, Mr. Sadat, and Mr. Begin came to the United States to the Camp David Accords. Out of that came ball work of what we hoped would be peace. Of course, we see right now, that's broken down. It's broken down primarily, I think, because the PLO, Palestinian Liberation Organization,

they are dedicated that there will never be a Jewish state, and they're taking that land back now. And of course, you've got the other side, the Israelis and the Jewish population that are determined to hold their own. And this is the situation.

Well, I want to give one instance of the type of man Mr. Sadat was or seemed to be at least. One member of our delegation, when we originally met with Mr. Sadat in Egypt, said to him, "Mr. Sadat, isn't it dangerous to your life what you are doing to try to bring peace about in the Middle East? " He said, "Yes, but the last 20 years, there have been three or four wars between Israel and my county. My country can't stand another war, and I don't think the Israelis can stand another war. What's the life of one man mean if he can save the lives of thousands of others and save countries. I'm prepared to face that possibility because I'm a man that wants to leave behind a record of peace." This he said, and I think he's sincere in saying it. Of course later on, some Egyptians murdered, because although there are peace makers, there's also peace haters. And you find out that there are people that fanatically hate.

And this has been going on since Christ, probably before Christ, since year one. Even at that time, Israel was overrun by what was then Latin Romans who, as you know, when Christ died, were in control of Israel. So if you read the history of the Bible, you can find out that area has just been plagued with wars, wars, and more wars since the beginning of time. It gives us something to wonder about. That's where the religion started. Is that where the religion is going to end? I don't know. Right now, what I see, the war in the Mid East going on currently, the tinder box there and somebody just lets one of them atom bombs somewhere, or hydrogen bombs, it's not impossible, the whole world could go up in flames. And civilization as we know it now would be a thing of the past. Maybe sometime, millions of years from now, they develop another civilization and revolution takes it part. I don't know. That's too deep and too big for me.

But I did feel privileged to be at this meeting which was historic. And as I said, that in itself wasn't planned. The trip was planned because congressmen are expected to know and vote on problems world wide. We spent billions on foreign military aid. And people, of course, always say it's a junket. I want to tell you something, that I went on with the other congressmen what they call junkets. You usually put in 14 to 15 hours a day and although there's some exciting things; you met ambassadors, heads of state, and people and that, I think, ordinarily, the money is well spent

because you understand better the people and their problems. There's very few people that spend billions on things they've never seen before. And congress, 435 House members and 100 senators, they spend billions for America, billions for foreign defense, and I think sometimes, the people help to bring this up and use it for ulterior pruposes. Sometimes, I read, like J. Edgar Hoover, who was never out of the United States. I read that Wilbur Mills was a great congressman before he got into trouble, a genious, and chair of the Ways and Means Committee. A talented man and he never went out of the country because of his duties. He did too much work. But with all his genius, I just think he would have been a better man if he had traveled. I think Hoover would have been a better man had he seen some of the rest of the world. That's the way I feel. I feel that any time I was in congress and when I went overseas, I worked hard and always came back a little smarter and a little more able, I think, to do my job. And I think that people should put things in proper perspective.

But the trip to Egypt and Israel in November 1977, I think, is one of the highlights of my life, at least in seeing the world, being a part of history, and meeting a man like Sadat. I had my picture--it was in the Vindicator--an individual picture with President Sadat and a picture with Prime Minister Begin. And you meet these people and you appreciate their devotion and what they've done. It's just a wonderful memory that I'll always have until the good Lord takes me.

B: Did anybody ask at the meeting with President Sadat what his solution would be as far as the Palestinians?

C: No, he didn't give, not that I recall, any definite solution. He realized that Israel was here to stay. He realized that the only way that there could ever be any progress in his country or in Israel was that they had to have peace. They couldn't be fighting all the time. He said that. And I think he very well realized that there has to be, some day, a solution. There are Palestinians and they've lived there, and they are people native to that world. There's got to be some solution as to giving them some self form of government and also to give them some place where they can have peace in their own way. It's a very complicated problem. Frankly, I don't understand it at all and I don't think too many of the people in the world do, but at least Sadat understood that the only way you could settle these problems was by curtailing guns and bullets and men of goodwill trying to work things out together. So, he had no formula, at least if he did, I don't remember it.

B: Were there any conclusions that you reached either regarding that or the overall situation after that trip that you recall?

C: Well, when I came back, it was a better understanding, I think, of both sides, the problem of the Israelis and the problem of the Palestinians. The problem of the Israelis is that they're set there and they are surrounded by people who are determined to whip them off the map. They are just as determined that they are going to hold it. That, plus there was a problem that there were displaced Palestinians and there are many displaced now. They live a very poor life.

Now the solution, and I don't have it, would be to guarantee Israel, within it's borders, freedom. Give within their borders, safety that they can live there in peace. And then found the best way to insure the Palestinians a homeland and insure them safety too. And I'm not that much of a statesman and I don't know how you do that, but I'll tell you when you go there, the Israelis will take you and they did as I did the day we went. They threw you in different places and they showed you teh problem of their safety. And they're happy and they want to move out, which they are doing right now, move out their enemies out so that they can't retaliate very easily. And of course, the otehr side is just as determined to be there and wipe them out. I don't know what the end will be. But I know this, as I said before, Christians and Moslems originally started there maybe that's where it's beginning to end, too.

B: January 1978, you wrote a letter to the President concerning specialty steel relief. Would you comment on that?

C: Well, I've told you previously that we were instrumental with many other congressmen of both parties, in setting up the Bipartisan Steel Caucus. WE were organized together as trying to take care and do what we could to enhance and help the American industry and the American worker. I think that the Congressional Steel Caucus had and is still playing a significant role in the formation of a national steel policy designed to bring recovery to domestic steel industry and bring about some worldwide order to the steel industry. The industry, from time to time, urged the administration of President Carter engaging in separate steel negotiations with our trading partners for the purpose of trying to reach longterm, multilateral solutions to the world steel problems.

Some of the things we did for example, worked out. As I told you before, for the first time to our knowledge in the history of the United States, there was a policy set aside for one industry. We think that we were very instrumental in the formulation of the National Steel Policy. Our caucus met with the President a few times and we urged the President that the steel crisis, both immediate and long-run, had to be adressed. In answer to us, the President convened a White House Conference in steel. This conference was on October 13, 1977. The caucus delivered a . . . position paper to the President, and we recommended that the President take action to restrict steel imports and to provide assistance to communities like Youngstown, Struthers, Campbell in this area that were hit with steel problems and plant closings. We asked him to consider tax measures which would stimulate investment and increase the cashflow in the steel industry and to guarantee long-term, low interest loans to help the plants, which needed to modernize.

The President appointed an emergency agency task force and instructed them for the first time--I want to stress again--to develop a comprehensive program for the Steel Caucus. And my Steel Caucus met frequently with this task force to offer advice in preparation and to answer questions. Out of this, the administration adopted the recommendations of the task force, which was headed by Anthony Soloman. The implement was called the Trigger Price Mechanism and was designed to provide relief from unfair trade practices and thereby reduce steel imports to the United States by 50 percent. We didn't intend and I don't think the President did, that the Price Trigger Mechanism was meant to be forever. That was an immediate answer to an immediate problem to take care of situations and start doing something.

Basically it worked this way, they found out through studying that the most efficient plants in the world were the steel plants of Japan. They were to figure out what the basic cost of a ton of steel would be to produce in Japan and sold to the Japanese on their market. To that, we were to add the other costs, including the cost of transportation to what happened. And anytime that the steel was unloaded here at less than that price, the Trigger Mechanism was to go into effect and immediate action was supposed to be brought upon the foreign countries to solve the situation. It did a lot of good. It wasn't the entire answer. I might say, the steel industry was never entirely satisfied with it. Of course, they wanted a "blanket", a protection tariff, which never came about.

The Economic Development Administration worked and they had millions of dollars they put in eight communities which had been economically distressed by steel closings. And I might say that when the religious coalition of the Youngstown area under Bishop James Malone was formed, that failed to do something for our people here in the Mahoning Valley. I with every bit of person power that I had on the line, also worked with all the steel companies, steel lunions, steel caucus, and we had a series of meetings with various officials, religious coalition, community leaders and with other people in the attempt to get the Federal Government to put money into reopening the steel mills in Youngstown.

Along about the fall of 1977, in December, we got a promise from the administration that they had $3 million set aside, which they would put into a viability, emphasizing the word viable, steel project. The Federal Government is no longer interested and I don't blame them. They expected the local people, working with expert's help, to bring about a situation where a plant or plants could use this money to reopen. They had $3 million set aside. Well, to my knowledge, that $3 million has never been expended here in the Youngstown area due to a number of reasons. One of the main reasons was that instead of going about and bringing viable steel projects here, that the McDonald, Ohio Works Plant shut down and it goes from chaos to worse. So, that was the end of that.

We also urged the President to do something about specialty steels. Specialty steels are high alloy steels that cost more money, specific steels are used in specific industries. We had been hit hard by that. The country originally gave aid to them, put restricitons on foregin imports, and when that ran out through our efforts, it was renewed again. And to my knowledge, the protection for the special steel quota is still there, which is doing some good in the country.

We worked with various organizations and we tried to do something about helping the industry. Many of our members [were] promoted by Buy American Act, to promote the buying of American steel and American products. We found out that not only in government, many industries were squawking at many other groups, and companies were about imports while buying everything they could at cheap rates from foreign companies and were promoting it. It's kind of hypocritical. You find out soon enough that people cry who want protection and still at the same time of the American worker who wants protection, goes out and he buys Toyota or Volkswagon. And then he goes to the companies who say, "Hell, we can build them cheaper overseas or parts overseas while screaming for tariffs." You can't have it both ways.

I would say that the American workers are as guilty as industry and in reverse, say that the industry is as guilty as the American workers. I think if we want to promote, buy American, we've go to do it through our own eyes. It just wasn't done to that extent.

I might say that I introduced some Buy American Acts which passed, which set conditions to enhance American buying. Congressman Benjamin from Gary, Indiana, U.S. Steel out there, he introduced a number of bills. He introduced one bill requiring favoring United States products procurement by state and local government. He introduced another one which imposed a 25 percent surcharge on foreign steel products until 1983 or until the emplyment rate went below three percent in one year and so on. Congressman . . . from the Bethlehem area in Baltimore. I think we helped arouse workers all over and begin coalitions. We were responsible, I think, for the adoption of the trigger base system.

Then, I left congress when I was defeated. I know that the steel caucus is still in effect. And I've talked a few times with some of their officials, and they indicate that they haven't got the best cooperation primarily from the steelworkers. Some say they haven't got it from the steelworker's union, too. I don't know the facts, so I'm not in a position to intelligently assess what happened, but I do know that we've got to do something to protect the United States industry, not only those of us living, but our kids will have a much lower life style than we had a few years ago.

B: What was your relationship with the coalition?

C: Well, the religious leaders, I think it was amiable to an extent that all the major religions, Protestants, Catholics, Jews and Eastern Orthodox, met from time to time under Bishop Malone, and their main goal was to do something to protect the workers here that lost their jobs. That was understandable. I did what I could to help them. I can't say that I was successful and I can't say that maybe my efforts were always appreciated. I don't know.

I had started in the meantime, as I told you before, a coalition of political leaders here. We gave one of the officer's seats to Father Stanton, who was the bishop's right hand man, so that we could work together. Then when this $3 trillion was promised, we had a meeting in which the religious coalition said that they would do everything to raise the money, but the actual running of it, running the steel mills and the new industry, would be pretty much under the control of MVEDC, Mahoning Valley Economic Development Committee, which they had members on which wasn't that many. I

think the Bishop well realized that, number one, the great displacement, the great unrest and the unhappy things that the loss of the steel industry did. I think he realized the leaders, they were a fulcrum to point this out and give the people hope, but they knew that when money came in they weren't set up to run the steel mills. And I don't think they ever intended to do that. I think that they did a wonderful job as far as it goes. Finally the Bishop came to the conclusion, I guess, that they did all they could. They announced that they've abandoned the project.

B: But one of the things when the final decision that was made, I believe, in March or April of 1979, it was decided that they were asking for too much money and that the Federal Government just didn't see it as being a viable project?

C: I don't agree with that assessment. What they did, they were instrumental. A man, Alpervitz was his name, he had a planning organization. He wrote to the New York times and he had ideas that the government should step in, stimulate, act, and help people in all areas where people have spent their lives in an industry and they were going to move out. He was called into Youngstown by some of these religious leaders, and out of that he got a sizable sum to make a complete research and recommendation. He did that, recommending the Federal Government take certain steps. Out of that came this promise not only out of his work, but the work done by the Steel Caucus, done by the religious coalition and other groups. There was a promise, as I said that $3 trillion was set aside for a--let me repeat again--a viable steel project in Mahoning Valley.

You find out what the sad part was, at the same time we went down, the same time we were trying to get this $3 trillion, the same time we were trying to stimulate industry, we find people like U.S. Steel, other companies, closing plants down all over the country. Anyone they got that wasn't a big money maker, they sold it. See what's happening now? U.S. Steel has bought Marathon Oil and they find out that they can make a hell of a lot more money for the stockholders in energy products and oil than you can with steel industry. They shut down steel mills all over the country. So at the same time that the $3 trillion was promised to do something in Youngstown, plants all over the country are going down and the steel industry, I'm sad to say, as an industry, appears to be a hell of a lot worse off today than it was when Youngstown Sheet & Tube shut down as an industry.

B: What was your opinion of Mayor Richley's idea on the Mahoning Valley's Economic Development Committee's proposal for a Steel Research Center?

C: Well, that was a stopgap. That will be a nice cosmetic thing, but that wasn't substantial. The research center would have been great.

B: Thank you for taking the time this afternoon.

C: I want to say, just for the record before we get done that unless you keep after these things and do a lot of study, sometimes your time frame warps a little bit. Of course, I have time to thank you for some of this stuff that I've left office and never thought too much about. You were kind enough to come over here and we went down and found some old records. When I read them, it refreshes my memory. (End of Side One)

I was saying before the tape ended that you were kind enough to come over here, and we went through some old records and revived many memories and very busy days. That last year between the Steel Caucus, problems in congress, political problems trying to get reelected, I don't know how I held up under them, actually. I've been absorbed in other things since I left political office. And you come over here, and so you brought back a lot of memories, some bitter, some sweet, and some in-between.

I can truthfully say that I know. . . . Many of the things I hoped and wished I could, we didn't do. I can say that I did the best with the talent and the ability I had, and I'm not ashamed of it. I think we did a pretty good thing. I honestly feel that if I were reelected--and of course, this is once again where personal values come in--we would have got a major part of that $300 million. But, it's gone, and it's history. I don't think, unfortunately, that the basic steel industry will ever start again in the Youngstown area.

Many of the problems which were predicted by my predecessor 36 years ago, came true. We work in an area which by nature had no water transportation to transport things, and although we weren't far from coal figures, many years ago, 20, 30 years ago, we determined the cost of $5 a ton more to assemble raw materials in the Youngstown area than any other major steel area in the country. By the time the Sheet & Tube thing happened, it was probably $20 to $25.

We were blessed over the years with some of the finest steel men. Men from Youngstown were always considered A-1 steel employees, A-1 steel men. We developed some of the greatest leaders in the world on technology.

In World War II, the Government put money into the Youngstown area, and we were an arsenal democracy. And us old-timers can be proud about the role of Youngstown in steel industry. At that time, we were about the third largest steel producing area in the country.

After World War II, the honest money factors weren't there, and it cost us more. Youngstown tended to become, over a period of time, a stand-by area. The era I came in, when they wanted water and pollution improvements and there just wasn't the profitability, the steel industry thought to put the money in, not only to modernize the mills, but to putting these factors in, the air and water pollution facilities and all the environmental things that the modern world has today. There just wasn't that kind of profitability in the Youngstown area due to the cost of the assembly of raw materials. So as a result, over the years, the steel industry didn't put in the improvement to keep pace with modern technology, plus they always dragged their heals, and I can't understand why, to put the environmental water and air pollution facilities in that the government and modern industry required. I had a steel man tell me--and it's the truth--they said, "Chuck, it's a lot cheaper for us to go out to a green field operation and build a modern brand new steel plant, automated, which would take about 50 percent of the employees we use now, completely modern, than to disrupt the old plant, to mow it over. And when you get done with all these things, you still have an old plant."

This is hard for us to realize. What I think is--and I hope someday that I try to do--we've got to have a governmental policy in this. What does industry and government owe to an area? What will they do when they want to shut down? And I repeat again, I'm very bitter. I can understand why Lykes in the long run shut down, but I think the way they did it, just boom, shut down abruptly, was pure inhumanity to me. Now I can understand what Lykes did. They came in and they cut out a lot of the fat in Sheet & Tube and got pretty much a profitable basis for a couple of years. They found out that they needed about $500 million just to modernize the mills. They said, "We're not going to." The money boys shut off over night. This is the sad thing. It's legal in the American System. It could happen any other place in the world. And this goes beyond the steel industry. This goes on beyond the steel unions. This goes on to what kind of government we're going to have and what we're going to do for our people. So, it was tragic.

And I wouldn't have been surprised had the U.S. Steel Company after that shutdown, announced that they were shutting down the Ohio works. As a matter of fact, a few years before that, you remember, they shut down the Ohio works for six months, and then they reopened it. But, they found out that they could rest their dollar somewhere else and make a better return. Mr. Kirwin that worked at U.S. Steel, he had an agreement from them that if they paid to weigh their steel, they made a little money, but they didn't make the kind of money that U.S. Steel wanted to make as return on their dollar. The big boys of the corporation cut it out. I say again, I would have been much less surprised had the Ohio Works announced they were shutting down.

For all intensive purposes, the Sheet & Tube was a pretty viable company. Although it needed money for certain improvements, it was working good. It had a good cash flow, and it had been making a little money right along. But the money boys, they're not worried about the people, they're not worried about the town, they're not worried about anything except their profit, their dollar. They said, "Look, it's cheaper for us to get out of here, cut and run." And, they cut and ran.

And the sad part is that many people blame every body but the Lykes Company, which shut it down. Nobody else did. Because by the time the Lykes Company got there, they had done away with all the local management at the Sheet & Tube over a few years, they had cut corners right and left and had a few profitable years. They saw their opportunity, and they sold their coal mines and they sold their iron ore mines. They sold their insurance company that they owned, and they sold some other things. They cut and ran and had tax advantages, which we give them doing it. All these things coupled in the demise of the Sheet & Tube, the demise of the steel industry in Youngstown. And I think the long run area for the Youngstown area is that we're going to diversify over a period of time, we will. I don't think that the Youngstown area is dead.

A little apropos. I started out as a boy in the rubber industry. I worked eight years for the Rubberworker's Union. Prior to and right after World War II, 75 percent of all the tires made in the country were made in Akron, Barberton environments. Today, there's no tires made in Akron at all. All the companies: Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich, Siverling . . . the last to make tires in Akron was the General Tire Company, which was the third or fourth line. They're not making tires anymore in Akron. They found out, they build these plants, green field plants, and they have less delivery problems if they build them all over the country. It's the modern way, build plants some where out in a green

field. But one thing about the Akron area, they didn't do this with one fell swoop. They did it over a period of 30 to 40 years. And it gave the Akron industry, it's people, a chance to absorb, to bring new industries in. Though Akron is far from a garden spot, if you go over to Akron now, they've got a beautiful downtown area. They've put a lot of Renaissance, and there's a lot of diversified industry which has come in.

And the sad part--one thing I always say, "The sad part. . . ."--they did that over a gradual period of time, they could work their way in on it. The Youngstown Sheet & Tube was shut off, one sweep of the pen. And people got disheartened and discouraged. I personally believe--and I'm 69 years old--I won't live to see it. I think that if the people in Youngstown stick together, work together, and cooperate, I feel that we've got a good future. We're centered well, we've got good transportation, roads east and west, north and south, and in the heart of the industrial area of America. So I think we've got to have confidence in ourselves and do it, but there's no quick fixes. I'll tell you that right now. And it's going to take time. And the people we have to have faith in ourselves.

I've got grandchildren. I hope they go to college. And even if they don't go to college, when they go looking for a decent job, they're going to go somewhere else for a while. I don't think there is going to be those kind of jobs off the bat.

I think if we wouldn't have shut Sheet & Tube down, Youngstown, over a projected period of time, would have had a chance to work things in. Now, of course, every politician in town is trying to give something away to get some jobs in here. I say this, that I see something fearful in that. There's just so far that we can go. It's nice to bring industry into town, but when you give them land for nothing, say they won't have to pay taxes for years, and they're subsidized primarily by the Federal Government, that's good for them, but in the long run, I just don't see it's good for me to talk that way today. It's almost here, see, but when we look at the facts, that's it. I think that industry owes an area a certain amount of responsibility. And I would say, I hope over a period of time, we'll get jobs back.

B: Thank you again.

C: Okay.

END OF INTERVIEW

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Various Topics

Personal Experience

O.H. 1062

CHARLES J. CARNEY

Interviewed

by

Philip Bracy

on

November 21, 1983

O.H. 1062

YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Various Topics

INTERVIEWEE: CHARLES J. CARNEY

INTERVIEWER: Philip Bracy

SUBJECT: senate, Parkinson's Disease, various topics

DATE: November 21, 1983

B: This is an interview with Charles Carney for the Youngstown State University Oral History Program, on various topics, by Philip Bracy, on November 21, 1983.

Congressman Carney, you were involved in the state senate race in 1950. Could you tell me a little bit about the issues and the race itself?

C: 1950 was the first time I ran for any public office. I was fortunate enough to be nominated and elected state senator, which I subsequently served 19 years and eleven months in the state senate. By that time, the state senate in Ohio was on a floating population basis. This district was called the 23rd state senatorial district. For four terms, we would have two senators in that district. Every fifth term, which was the end of the census year, we would be cut back to one because of the population basis. In 1950, we were cut back two senators, the two incumbent state senators, Klingan Jackson. Jackson was the political editor of the Youngstown Vindicator and had been chairman of the finance committee the previous two years. Nicholas P. Bernard was the other state senator. He had been chairman of the taxation committee. To be honest, at that time--at least, in politics--I disagreed very much with Klingan Jackson. That was one of the reasons I ran. The word around town was--and it turned out to be partially true--because the district was being cut back

to one senator, Nick Bernard, who had been one of the chairman of the taxation committee, he was supposed to get appointed by the then Republican Governor to be the tax commissioner of Ohio. This would leave Klingan Jackson, who was the political editor of the Vindicator, practically unopposed for the state senate.

The party was strong in Mahoning County then, their nomination was ordinarily 10. Because we were cut back from two senators to one senator, both Bernard, who was a good Democrat, and Klingan Jackson, who was the Vindicator's voice, had a lot of strength. The party did not endorse one of the two; they recommended them both disqualified, which gave me a hell of a lot better break in Mahoning County, where the party was strong. In Trumbull County, the majority of the party people were favorable of Bernard, but they didn't make an open endorsement at the time.

My differences with Klingan Jackson at that time were political. I was a union man, [and] Klingan Jackson was conservative. He had voted in some bills to increase unemployment compensation and was generally a very conservative Democrat.

Nick Bernard, who was a union member, who worked at Sheet & Tube, was a good senator back then. He wasn't bad, but the word was around that he wasn't going to run.

I was young and active and inexperienced, so I started passing my petitions. I knew that sometimes legalisms were pulled on you, so I filed two weeks early. Evidently, the deal that had been made between Jackson and Bernard was reneged, the reason being that the conservatives thought that Nick Bernard and I were cutting the union vote and Klingan would win. It was a very, very rugged campaign, my first time in politics.

I was about 36 years old. I had a lot of vinegar in me, and I didn't know what it was to be tired. I went up and down that valley and worked my can off. The conservatives thought I had a tough job, and I didn't know whether I would win or not. I had never been in politics, but I had worked hard. They rallied the union movement as well as they could. In Mahoning County there was some opposition to the union, because Nick Bernard had a pretty good record. If I had know Nick Bernard was going to run, straight out, I wouldn't have filed, but the word was around and the deals were made. It was reneged to Nick ran and it was a three way race.

I think at the beginning of that primary I didn't know a hundred people by their first name in Trumbull County. I never went around there much. I was pretty well-known in Mahoning County. I had been born and raised here and enacted in the Rubberworker's union in the early days of the CIO. I was old enough to start working and supporting people.

Two years before, I supported Paul Langley, who was sheriff, and worked heard for him. I always voted. I was at the Rubberworker's union as president, then I was active in getting union men elected at city council and places like this. I had a lot of friends and in addition to that, at that time, I was president of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, a local group that had about 2,000 members at that time. It was pretty big. I had been active in the community and known. I also had a favor that my grandfather and grandmother had come here and a lot of aunts and uncles and all of those very decent reputations. We knew a lot of people. My mother was an old Mahoning Valley Youngstowner. We had groups that I didn't even know myself, that people knew my family and that, and it helped out in the election.

The labor movement came out and spent some money campaigning for it. They put a good campaign on, and we worked like hell. In Trumbull County, the union movement got together and they united pretty strong. I had committee men in all the plants. I had a brain in those days and I don't know if my brain was flushed or not, but I could go on the road and meet 50 or 60 people that I never saw before, and I could guarantee the next day I could remember 40 or 50 of their names. I can't do that anymore, I can't even remember guy's names that I know.

I worked hard in Trumbull County. Our feeling was this, that we could hold our own in Mahoning County, break even, and load up in Trumbull County and probably get elected. It turned out that that is the way it worked. On election day, the final vote was that I had around 17,000 votes, Nick Bernard had a little over 15,000 and Klingan Jackson had not quite 8,000. As a matter of fact, both Bernard and I doubled him. In Mahoning County, Bernard won the election by about 200 votes, but I took Trumbull County by over 2,000 and it was the key to the election. I thought in my own mind that I had done my duty when I got rid of Mr. Jackson, who later became a friend of mine, but at that time, I thought he was the enemy for everything I stood for. I thought when I had beaten him that I had got my work done.

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There was a guy who was a steelworker by the name of Chester Crosby, who had not been the best union man, I guess, and he was pulled on. He was a Republican candidate. The day after I was nominated, I have the editorial around here somewhere, yet, the Vindicator ran an editorial on something like this: Nomination of Charles J. Carney for State Senator Yesterday was One of the Unexplained Emphasis That Sometimes Happen in American Politics. He used the tactics so well earned from his communist friends. They went on saying the judgment of the people of Mahoning County was justified, and I would be beaten in November most humbly. After that of course, I decided I wanted to win in November.

I might recall that some of the old party heads came to me and were giving me advice to cool off on this and cool off on that. I told them in rather undiplomatic terms where to shove it and that I would run the kind of campaign in November that I ran in the primary.

During the general election they ran a poll, Klingan Jackson's famous poll, and they had me losing everywhere. Two to one, I was always getting beat and I was going to get beat in the Democratic party and in the general win. Election day had come, and I was about the second strongest Democrat on the ticket, and I won.

I might say the Sunday before making their predictions they said that I ran behind the poll and that I might win by a narrow margin. I won by a large margin. I went to Columbus, I knew parliamentary procedure, I thought, and I could get off my mind what I wanted to say, and people understood me. I thought that I used the best king's English, but they knew where I was coming from, they knew what I was saying. I found out that I liked politics and the political game, and I spent 20 years down there and had a lot of fun. I think I did a pretty good job over the years. That was the story of the first campaign. I still want to show you that editorial in my scrapbook which sometimes when I get to thinking of the big Saturday I have to find out where I came from.

B: Were there any early experiences that stand out in your mind from that 1950-1958 period?

C: One of the things that sticks out in my mind is that when I worked at the state senate, there were 33 members, 26 Republicans and 7 Democrats. I was the low man on the totem pole, and I think all the other 6 members had been in before and had been reelected.

Five of them were from Cleveland. There was Art Blake, an old senator from down around the Ohio River, and myself with seven Democrats. Art Blake used to call us the seven mules.

Actually, we didn't have a lot to say. The Republicans ran the show pretty much as they wanted. Each Democrat served on two committees. I wound up on the Health and Education Committee and the Civilian Defense Committee. I thought civilian defense was something we did once during the whole session. I became secretary of that committee; I though I got a big deal. The chairman was an old man by the name of Legett, he was a veteran of the Spanish-American War. This was 1950, and the Spanish-American War was in 1898. He was over 80 then. He was a nice, old guy, but he was "gonesville." He had been on the state senate a long time. He was chairman of the committee, and I think we had one meeting the whole time. We never acted on any legislation. I was secretary of that committee which meant doodley doo nothing. There were nine members on the committee, and a bill came up. There were four Republicans one way and four the other. There was a locked vote, and I didn't know what to do with it. That's another story.

I found out that I enjoyed politics. The speaker protempore was a real guy of the courts, and he wore these bow ties and conducted himself very much the leader. He was a nice, old guy, kind of a pompous guy, but he was a fair-minded man. One day, there was some kind of bill up, and I got up to speak against the bill and move the previous question, which meant a seized debate. I said, "Mr. Chairman, when I came down here--I'm just a steelworker and don't know much--but, I heard a thing of senatorial courtesy, what you just did to me, my senatorial courtesy, I'll take vanilla." Stanley Walcott jumped up and apologized to me in a motion some way I could debate and I had my say, and they beat us in a party line. But, at least I had my say. That kind of stuck out in my mind because it was one of the first things that happened.

Jack Sauley worked with me at Republic Rubber, and he was county chairman. Jack worked up in the hose department, and I was downstairs at the counter room. I knew Jack not real well, but I knew he was active in the Democratic Party. When Jack was leaving the plant when the war broke out, he came down to me and said, "Chuck, you did a lot of things, and there is one thing I want to tell you. You're going to have to educate these members." Jack was right.

I served 19 years in the state Senate, and I enjoyed every bit of it.

B: You mentioned the dead lock vote. Could you elaborate on that?

C: As I said, there were nine members on the Education and Health Committee, eight Republicans and one Democrat. Nobody would usually pay much attention to me as the new man. It was good for me, because our committee met after the session, and we hoped that we would be out of there by 6 o'clock. We had a good time. There was a building code bill for all education facilities. We had pretty much agreed to it. It passed the House but there was one provision in it, the use of acoustical tiling for ceilings of auditoriums. The monopoly was that Owens-Corning got asked to make a product that couldn't be burned, and that's what the code called for, acoustical ceilings. Some other group came in and they said you could put a blow torch to their tile and it wouldn't disintegrate. I was saying that if they didn't get this acoustical tiling, they were going to put every kid's life in Ohio in jeopardy, and they were saying that was a lot of bologna. I was sitting there messing with this stuff--I don't pay much attention--and I found out I suddenly got very popular. All these lobbyists were coming over talking to me. It was probably the most heavy thing in that session. When I got to check it out and got smart, I found out that Sherman and three other members were with Owens-Corning Glass, and one of the other members and three other guys were for the other group. The lobbyist who was a former state senator, former congressman, lobbyist for Owens-Corning Glass took me out and told me that they had been watching me and that I was a real comer, and I had a lot on the ball. He suggested that if I would be interested in taking a job with industry, he knew that I was a union man and said that they had a great union in their plant. He said he thought something could be arranged that I could go in management up there. I told him I wasn't interested in that, so he dropped it.

The other side lobbied me also, and finally a man, a silent figure in the Democratic party who was one of the biggest lobbyists in the state of Ohio, asked me to come over to his office. I thought, boy, they're starting to recognize me now. He said he had been watching me and that I was a comer and I was on the ball and that he liked the way I worked and the way I handled myself. He said that he was working for the other group and he would like it if I could see it in my wisdom to--he didn't threaten me; he just tried to talk me into it. He pointed out that this guy's thing cost a lot more money and his would be good for the tax payer and save him money. He said that he thought that

I heard enough, because I heard the evidence. And he said their product wouldn't catch on fire. He knew that I was a smart man and that I was interested in the public and wanted to save money.

I learned with his group, because I thought that the thing would be safe and save the taxpayers a lot of money. I kept the thing going in that I didn't make my mind up, and they kept waiting for me to see what I wanted to do. Finally, it got to a vote and I voted with this group, and that was the end of that. That was the only bill for many sessions that I can say my single vote decided what the state of Ohio would do, that's when I was out-numbered eight to one.

B: What year was that?

C: That was 1951, my first term. I was elected the fifteenth and took office January 1, 1951. I had the deciding vote in that, and I voted my conscious because I thought that that group, that type of material, was the safest. I didn't know of any children that were burned up since then in high school auditoriums, but that was a new building code for schools, and that was the only part that wasn't agreed to. I learned a lot and I was popular in a hurry.

B: I'd like to digress a little bit for a period of time . . . the Democratic party used the rooster for a symbol, and I believe the Republicans used an eagle. Was there a reason for that?

C: I don't know what the reason was. In the old days, prior to 1951, we had the paper ballots, and most parties had an emblem. The Republican party had an eagle up there and the Democratic party had a rooster. There were many foreign-born in those days, and if you put an X at the top of the ballot under the eagle, that meant that you vote for every Republican. You could vote with an X under the rooster and that meant every Democrat. Republicans didn't mind that in the days after the Civil War when all the Republicans fell sway for many, many years, especially here in the state of Ohio.

Robert Taft was the United States senator, and he was coming up for reelection. The Republicans knew that many foreign-born and many Democrats had just put one X under the rooster and the vote was over. They figured out that they stood a better chance reelecting Taft if they took that away, and you had to vote for each office on the list. They put the Democrats on one side and the Republicans on the other. In my first session in 1951, they did away with the rooster and the eagle and they called it--I don't know why because it wasn't

the Massachusetts Bill. What it meant was that each office had to be individually elected. They got that through 26 to 7 in the senate and they had the same majority in the House of Representatives, maybe even better overall. They had the legislature and they did away with the rooster.

Tony Celebreze made a speech not to take our rooster away from us, but they did. He served three or four terms as the mayor of Cleveland and it was his first term like me. He sat right in back of me.

B: How was that decision made?

C: By vote, it was a law. They just changed the law. They changed it by vote of the people. They got 26 votes for it in the senate and 100 and some in the house, and it passed. The funny thing is that it worked good towards the Democrats for this reason, a few years later, they had Mr. Eisenhower, the Republican nominee, and they had the new type of ballot. If they had the old type of ballot and they voted for Eisenhower with an X under there, a lot of us guys would have been wiped out. Eisenhower took Mahoning County. Over the state they would have wiped a lot of us out, but the system changed, and we voted individually and got reelected. Sometimes in politics when you try to pull these shenanigans with the ballot, you find out your hurt yourself and help yourself in the long run.

The Republicans did a couple other election reforms, I can't remember off hand, I'll think of them later on. They too boomeranged on them. It was good for one election, but over the years. . . . Now, even though I opposed that type of ballot, I got to appreciate it over the years.

B: What issues were you involved in, you mentioned a couple of bills?

C: I was always, in the early days especially, progressive, way ahead of even the Democrats on issues. I was always for goosing up unemployment compensation very greatly. I was for workman's compensation, ratifying the laws. I worked for progressive laws and education, for roads, highways in Ohio, and things that I have achieved early in my career. Today, they would be considered mundane and in those days they were considered quite radical. That's the way society operates. I was kind of an innovator in many things. For example, I was very strong on things called FED, fair employment practices. I later became the author of the Civil Rights Law of Ohio, senate bill 1058. In 1951, 1953, 1955, and 1957, I sponsored civil rights bills,

and you never get them anywhere. In the 1958 election, we changed around and the Democrats got control for the first time. I had the civil rights law of Ohio, which at that time was the strongest civil rights law in the United States, senate bill 10. I was the principle author, and we got it through by March in both houses.

B: During most of the period that you were there, from 1950 until about 1958, both houses were dominated by the Republicans?

C: Yes, but despite that, I got to know a number of people. And I didn't get many of the major bills I wanted, like civil rights law, but we chipped away at unemployment compensation and passed a lot of side bills. They were comparatively minor, but they meant something to somebody. I worked hard and enjoyed it. In the 1953 session, I was voted one of the outstanding seven senators in the senate and a couple other times during that period, I was elected as an outstanding senator.

In 1958, we took control and I was whip. Those two years I think I did more than all the other 20 years I was in the state senate as far as the type of legislation I wanted. I was always good at getting noncontroversial or progressive legislation. The real thing that separated the men from the boys was that we had to get power to do that.

B: During most of that period, did the conservatives rule both bodies?

C: They ruled both. In the 20 years I was in the state senate, my party was only in control two years and that was 1958 and 1959. We were close in 1960 and 1961. There were 16 Republicans and 16 Democrats, but the lieutenant governor was Republican. I think 1960 and 1961 was enacted, and it will go down in history as a very good period because we had to work together and compromise. We had a system. It took 17 positive votes. We voted 16 and the Republicans voted 16, and the lieutenant governor broke the tie. He never broke the tie once, do you know why? When we would get close to a tie, we would just take a walk with a couple of them and they wouldn't have 17 positive votes so it couldn't pass, even with him. If we walked two guys, there wouldn't be a tie anyway, there would be 16 or 14 or something like that. There wouldn't be a tie, so we couldn't vote. The lieutenant governor of that session never voted. The funny thing about that session, as I look back, is that it was a rather progressive, effective legislation. We passed a lot of good legislation in those two years. I was a floor leader, and Frank King was my majority leader.

B: Can you tell me a little bit about the right to work?

C: All my adult life my working rights story was about 1934 when I got my first permanent job at Republic Rubber. I was active in the early days of union organization. I think I am previously alluded to in the "Little steel strike" and some of those things.

In 1950, I transferred from a full-time staff representative of the United Rubber Workers in Akron to the staff of district 26 United Steelworkers of America, which at that time was headed by James T. Griffin of Youngstown, who was the district 26 director.

I became active and was elected in 1951 to the state general assembly as state senator. I was elected in 1950 and took office January 1, 1951. I worked until nineteen years of November 1, 1970. During this time the structure of unions after World War II became rather firmly abased, at least around the Youngstown area and northeastern Ohio. I worked for the United Steelworkers of America. There were forces that had always fought unions and they were headed by what was called the National Right to Work Committee. In 1948, which was a general election year, certain top proponents of anti-unionism represented the primary in the state of Ohio by the National Manufacturers Association and somewhat by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce. They were active in getting signatures to put a right to work law, what they called a right to work law, we called it a right to scab law, which would have made it impossible for unions to have any type of union security contract. In other words, they said the people who didn't want to join the union would have to and that security clauses like maintenance and membership were a union shop where you have to belong even before you could go into work. They would have outlawed them. This was strongly backed by John Worker, who was a United States senator at the time and had previously been a two-term governor of Ohio. Bill O'Neil, who is now dead and was the governor at that time, personally did not want the right to work law on the ballot. He was up for re-election, he had served two years. The governor's term of office at that time was still two years. However, they succeeded in placing it on the ballot and the Republican party as a whole strongly supported a right to work law. It was a very, very active campaign. The labor unions in Ohio really mobilized and did a great job. Billions of dollarls were spent by both the proponents and opponents in getting out the vote and putting over their political view points on the subject. On election day, which was the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November 1958, the right to work law was defeated disasterously,

that is Burker was defeated. Billy O'Neil was defeated. The only Republican on the state wide level that was re-elected was a man by the name of Ted Brown, he had a magical political name in Ohio. He was re-elected. For the first time in many years a democratic legislature was in both the house and the senate majority. I had been the Democratic whip, the minority whip. We got them 20 to 14 majority in the House of Representatives. We needed 18 to have a majority, to pass a bill.

I was a candidate for the position of minority leader. My best friend in the senate, Frank King, was a good labor man. He was the representative of the brick layer's union. He lived in Toledo. The governor of Ohio elect was Michael V. DeSalle, who was also from Toledo. We jockeyed around and I would have liked to have been the majority leader, and naturally Frank King would like to have been, also.

At the preliminary caucus, I had received the backing of the party in Cleveland which had seven votes, seven Democrats. They all were elected on a county-wide basis. Ray Miller was the county chairman in Cuyahoga County. I succeeded in getting his backing and I had the votes pledged to me to become the minority leader. However, Governor DeSalle intervened. He didn't think much of me, I guess, for one thing. Secondly, he was a friend of Frank Kind and intervened on his part. The labor boys, I was out of the labor movement, talked to me, and succeeded in getting me to withdraw from the race, which if I ran, I would have been elected. I realized that had I been elected with strong labor opposition, I wouldn't have been able to achieve the things I would have liked to do. I don't know, maybe I wouldn't have stepped aside for anybody else. Frank King was a good personal friend. I like him. We were college coaches together. When he got the votes, I stepped aside and it was a bitter pill to swallow. Frank King was elected the majority leader, president pro-tempore.

At that time, the party chairman appointed his assistants, we elect them now. Frank appointed me to work as the number two man in the Democratic forces. We did a good job. In that two years, most of the things that Governor DeSalle bragged about when he was up for re-election were bills that I had sponsored. I probably sponsored more important legislation during that two-year period than I ever did in history.

I was in the state legislature 20 years. Two of those years, 1949 to 1950, we probably produced more fast-moving legislation than had been done in all the years.

For example, I had been fighting since 1951 when I first got elected, for a fair employment practices bill, which is called civil rights now. We could never get on a committee. I was a chief sponsor of senate bill 10, which was the Civil Rights Law of Ohio and Fair Employment Practices Act. We had that out in both houses and adopted it by March, which is a record in legislature. At that time, the Ohio Civil Rights Bill FEPC was considered the most progressive law in the United States. Prior to that, they had a FEPC law in New York, and it was considered the most fast-approven in duration. Of course, now people take civil rights and that pretty easily. In those days, it was a controversial issue. We succeeded in getting bills to increase unemployment compensation, approve the workman's compensation laws, passed vast laws and federal education. It was a rather productive session, though a highly controversial one.

B: When the senate bill 10 law passed, was that 1949?

C: 1951.

B: Could you clarify one point, and that the units of legislation was passed. . . .

C: Your memory goes on you, but I was elected first in 1950. 1958 was the Right To Work Law, so the session would have been 1959. The records show around March we got that bill done.

B: Who approached you about withdrawing?

C: That's a long story, I don't want to go into it, but pressure was put on and I got out of the race. We had a caucus, and I had to promise to vote. Primarily, DeSalle prevailed on people in the labor movement who talked me out of running when I did.

B: They were mainly labor people?

C: From my sources, they were primarily labor people.

B: Was there any reason why the governor should have backed him over you?

C: There were some reasons. I had some differences of opinion with Governor DeSalle when he was running. Frank King had been a lifelong friend of his and he backed Frank in politics. Although I supported the governor for election, I didn't agree with him at all on his policies. I guess he thought I was a little too radical.

those two years?

C: As a majority whip, first of all you got into a legislature. We didn't have a lot of men that had legislative experience. We have four or five, but the big bulk of our membership were first-termers. You never know what they're going to do. They haven't got the experience. Frank King and I said we had pretty much the same ideas, so he appointed me on what we called the Blue Ribbon Committee. On that committee we had all experienced legislators, some of the oldest men on the legislature. It was a strong committee. Frank would refer the bills when they were introduced, and anything that he wanted to pass he referred to my committee, and any he definitely wanted defeated he referred to my committee. If he wanted them passed, we got it out of there, and the ones defeated were never heard of again. That's the way legislation works.

As the whip, I not only did that, but when we got controversial bills on the floor, I handled most of the floor work on them. That was my job. Frank was the planner and programmer, and I was kind of the guy that made fancy speeches.

B: For your consideration, were you at war in any committees?

C: No, they talked to me and they said that if I stepped out, I could have what I wanted. I told them to go to hell and I would step out, but I don't want anything.

Frank King and I, as I said, we were personal friends and we are still friends. Frank knew he had to have somebody who thought like him and he appointed me, but it wasn't promised to me, the majority whip, and it worked out well. In retrospect, it was probably better that I hadn't been elected minority leader because the overall good of the state was better with DeSalle as Governor. Frank was a very able and good guy.

B: How long did the Democratic majority stay?

C: Two years. In 1953, we lost control of the senate. In the election of 1948, we got a fair four-vote edge. The form that they used then, we complicated. I won't go into that. We were cut to 32 senators in 1960 election. And in that election, we wound up with 16 Democrats and 16 Republicans. The Lieutenant Governor who had a vote in the senate at that time, was a Republican. They got control of the senate with his vote. It took 17 positive votes to pass a bill in that session. In Ohio, you could have a majority, but you have what is called a constitutional majority, that is over

50 percent of the elected members of the body. We had 32 members and it took 17 positive votes. If there was a tie vote, 16 to 16, the Lieutenant Governor could break a vote, but we would, too, with a controversial bill and if we didn't want it to pass. Two of our guys would take a walk and the vote would be 16 to 14 or something. In the entire two years, the Lieutenant Governor never had a chance to break a tie vote.

One of the things that came out of that session, we had to bargain on everything, and probably we produced some of the . . . it was one of the best legislative sessions that has ever ran, because both sides had to get along to get anything done, and we did.

B: What other legislation are you proud of that was passed?

C: In that period, we increased unemployment compensation payments and what is called supplemental unemployment benefits, which were benefits that are paid by the company and employed to a fund. The state of Ohio was the only state in the union where the Ohio Supreme Court ruled that the way the Ohio Unemployment Compensation law was passed that you could pay supplemental unemployment benefits. For example, if you got a $50 a week unemployment compensation and $20 a week supplemental unemployment benefits, in Ohio law they took the $20 away from you. It was the only state in the union that had their constitution so advised. We handled that legislation which legalized and cleared the law up so that there was no misunderstanding. As I said, we increased workman's compensation, we raised the gasoline tax by two cents, which enabled Ohio to take part in federal funds. In Ohio, they're like children, every one of them is a little different. One of the great things about serving in the state senate of Ohio was that we had between 31 and 34 members. You've got to know what the other people were like. You served on committees with people and got to know them and knew when they had a fight with their wife or how their children were and when they were going to graduate and that. In some ways, you became a family. That was the great thing about the Ohio state senate. It was small enough, especially committees, you had eight or 10 on a committee, and you meet day after day. You got to know people pretty well.

B: Were there a lot of committees that each senator served on?

C: Most senators served on three committees, two or three depending on the make up. Committee appointments were primarily by seniority. What you would do when you started a session is say how many committees there are,

and you write down on a paper what your first choice is and what your second choice is. Ordinarily, most everybody got their first choice and second choice. One of the things about the state senate is that there were only 33 members. Everybody was pretty vital in the end as far as serving on a committee. Most people, as I say, got their first choice eventually. It was very interesting. From the time that I was in the state legislature, I think I served on every legislative committee with the exception of the judiciary committee, which was made up entirely of lawyers, and I was a non-lawyer. We would get a diversification of problems. Things that you thought you may not be interested in were very interesting.

The great thing about the Ohio legislature was that you could introduce a bill and you could follow it through with your personal work and integrity, and you could see that bill in fruition. It wasn't that way when I went to Washington. I was on the interstate and foreign commerce committee, and there were 49 members on that one committee. When there was a new guy, they would start and have a general meeting. The Chairman of the committee would speak, and then the minority, and they would go back and forth. By the time they got down to you if you were 43 or 44--very seldom they got to you, but when they did get to you--everything that could possibly be said was already said. A freshman member of the Ohio legislature, if he got something on the ball in the works, he can push it through, but not in congress.

B: When you decided to run for the 19th congressional district, was it just because that you were interested in it? What were the circumstances that lead to your running and what were the primary and general elections like?

C: When I went to the state senate and found out that I liked politics and that I had some ability in it, I decided that some day, the time I came, I was going to run for congress. Mike Kirwin had been along in the years and had been a congressman for many years. I would never run against Mike for two reasons. First of all, I didn't think I could beat him, but even if I could beat him, he had service in the legislature. I knew I was going to run when the day came so early in 1970, I ran for congress. About the latter part of 1969, Mike Kirwin had been in the hospital almost a complete two years before that, and he was pretty sick. He announced that he wasn't going up for reelection. He had been in congress 36 years. After the city election in 1969, early in November, I wanted to get out front and move. I announced publicly that I was running for congress.

It so happened that when Mike decided he wasn't going to run ever, and any politician in Mahoning County it seemed, Trumbull County announced for election. It wound up there were 17 or 18 announcers that were going to run and we wound up in a 15 file. It was quite a ding-dong race, and I ran first. The man who ran second, Richard McLaughlin, he just kept on running. He announced that he was going to run again and he ran again two years. He had to meet me and him, and I went head-on for the nomination and beat him by about 15,000 votes.

I loved politics up until Watergate. People, I think, appreciated you, but after Watergate, people's attitudes towards government officials changed, and congress was looked on as a bunch of buffoons and crooks and thieves. Your mail got nasty. The last two years were tough years.

B: It fascinates me that that many people would run in one primary. What percentage of the vote did you carry, do you recall?

C: I remember on election day, I had around 24,000 votes. The nearest man to me had a little over 15,000. All the other ones in the race ran below 10,000. There were some pretty strong government officials there. Frank Crison, who is now a judge, a former mayor of Youngstown, announced--though his name was on the ballot--he announced and had dropped out before the final election day. He didn't campaign much. Richard McLaughlin ran second. There was Gary Thompson who was the county commissioner of Trumbull County, he ran. John Hudsick, now deceased, was the former coach of Ursuline High School and had been president of the city council. Two years after, he got elected county recorder. He ran. Tom Gilmartin, who had been the state representative many years, ran. A colored fellow by the name of Lockett, who was active in black affairs and veteran affairs, ran. There were 15 that ran and most of the fellows that ran were at least known and held some type of a political office. One of the ones that ran, a woman, was Violet Whitman-Campana-Whitman. She is still county recorder up in Trumbull County and had been elected many years, and she is still being elected. She's got over 30 years public service now. You don't know what the effect of a woman was. She had 7,000 or 8,000 votes. A lot of people ran.

B: The various people that ran, did the party unite after the primary?

nominee and she had been state representative of Trumbull County. The campaign spent a lot of money on Margaret, she was a millionaire in her own right. They spent a lot of money and she ran a pretty decent campaign, but the democrats in general came home, not all of them, a few. The bulk of them voted for the Democrats. I won substantially with 23,000 votes.

B: Were there any outstanding issues in that particular campaign in the general election?

C: That was before Nixon got into trouble. He was president then before he got into trouble. A lot of the colleges had riots. That was in the 1960s. Law and order, a lot of people thought, had broken down. Margaret Dennison ran a law and order campaign. She had television emphasizing law and order. Then she started something that I had never heard of, which is called a position paper, her position on various issues. She came out with that gimmick, and we matched on them I think. We had some people, the university went with us, and Paul Stevens, a public attorney, he was my campaign manager. We answered position papers with position papers.

B: Did she issue many of those?

C: She issued one at a time. That was the big gimmick. After a position paper you would have a big press conference. She issued six or seven of them.

B: Law and order was the main theme?

C: Her main theme of her campaign was law and order. A lot of people at that time felt that law and order had broken down and it was kind of a big issue. I remember when we were nominated on Tuesday, May 7, 1970. The day before than, on Monday had been that great riot at Kent State. Three or four people got killed and there were many injured. The night of the nomination, she was nominated and I was. The first thing the televisions asked was what was your position on the Kent State riot. Evidently out of that, she felt law and order.

Margaret and I had been in the legislature and had been personally friendly. When we got to the Kent State thing, I thought I would pull first on that. I said it was tragic that it had happened and it was inevitable that we had these confrontations. I took a neutral position in the sense that I wanted to look it over. I thought it was tragic that kids had been killed. Margaret didn't say too much either way. Evidently, her campaign committee thought that this was a big

issue and they concentrated on law and order. That was the primary basis of her theme, whereas I took a broader stand. I stood on my record as a state senator and things I had done or attempted to do over the years. I ran a more broader campaign, I guess. Anyway, we got elected.

B: You think that was one of the pressing issues on that campaign?

C: To me, law and order, I didn't think that was the biggest issue. She chose to emphasize her target on it. I thought it was one of the things. . . . But in my position papers, I talked about bringing money back into this valley for housing and things of that nature. We talked about our position on labor legislation, which I've always been pro-labor. We emphasized our record of what we had done over the years. That's the type of campaign we emphasized and we thought we had the experience and the background, the training to carry on where Mike Kirwin had stood over the years.

B: What I would like to do is now go through more of your elections.

C: I don't know anything about those damn things, I just ran. Hell, the details I don't remember.

B: I mean who your opponents were.

C; I want to tell you, you're going to find out something. When you lead a busy life and you're doing a hell of a lot of things, you remember highlights. A lot of the goddamn details, you don't remember. You think you do, but you don't remember them. I can remember most of the guys I ran against.

In 1976, George Beelen ran, a professor of history at Youngstown State. He ran a very negative campaign rather than a constructive campaign.

B: The 1976 campaign, you ran against Jack Hunter?

C: Yes.

B: Do you recall any of the issues or anything about the campaign that you feel is important?

C: Campaigns after a certain amount of time tend to become pretty standardized. You emphasize your strong points. I was never one to worry too much about the other guy. I had emphasized what I had done and what I tried to do. I tried not to run a negative campaign. I didn't run against a guy tearing him down, I emphasized what I thought were my good points.

B: How many Democratic national conventions did you attend?

C: I was a delegate in 1960 when Kennedy was nominated. I was a delegate in 1964 when Johnson was nominated. I was a delegate in 1968 when Humphrey was nominated in Chicago. I saw the riots out there.

B: For people that aren't familiar with the Democratic national conventions, how are they organized? In other words, what takes place other than the general meetings that you see on television?

C: You see a lot of it on television now, you didn't in those days. People were elected in a state and each state, in those days more so than now, elected their delegates a little bit differently.

B: I guess, most important to most Americans is why people go to national conventions.

C: The national conventions are the party leaders of that particular party from all the states. You go to the convention for a number of things. The primary basic thing is to appoint or elect the person who is going to be the presidential candidate of your party. Ordinarily whoever the presidential candidate is, is a matter of course. Invariably, who he wants to be his running mate for Vice President, he gets. For example, in 1956, I think, Kefauver was the vice presidential candidate and Jack Kennedy and him ran against each other. That's when Kennedy first became known. Kefauver was elected, and Adley Stevenson was the nominee. Ordinarily, the man who was the nominee for President pretty much held the stand of the Vice President. You went to the convention as a matter of party policy and procedure.

B: Is the platform arrived at during the convention?

C: The platform is arrived at by the committees months before the convention. Whoever the party chairman is at that time, that's a different job, usually appoints based on proportion representation delegates in the various states. They hear people pro and con. They have meetings a month or two before the convention. They hear people on party issues and public issues both national and international. They pair a platform for recommendation. Then they present the complaints or sections, and they can be voted up, voted down, or amended.

B: That's on the floor?

C: That's on the floor. Very often on controversial issues, the delegates decide the party's position on a particular issues, what the party policy should be.

B: If you have a situation where you have several presidential candidates and maybe one person doesn't have enough votes to arrive at a majority so they can get elected, what kind of things are going on in terms of trying to sway votes?

C: In 1960 when I was a delegate at the convention, Kennedy was eventually the nominee, but it wasn't certain when he went to the convention. I remember that election, Stevenson was very active, and they nominated him. They paraded and raised hell for about an hour in there. With all the noise, you thought, "Boy, this Stevenson is tough." Before they got to Ohio, the nominee was set on Kennedy. While you're there and the various candidates are trying for the nomination as President, your party meets. Your delegates are usually in a certain hotel and you have meeting rooms there and at the convention. All of these fellows that wanted to run would come in and talk to you. For example, at Chicago that year, Johnson wanted to run for President and he came in. He was a very impressive guy. George McGovern--that's the first time I ever met him--he was in the background and he spoke to us. Adley Stevenson spoke to us. John Kennedy spoke to us. I think Fauvus, who was the Governor of Arkansas, and a couple of other guys spoke to us. They wanted to meet you and they would promise the delegation what they wanted to hear and that. The primary function of the convention is to first, drop the platform, and second, to elect the party's nominee for president.

B: How does a situation like the 1960s convention approach a platform, considering that the platform probably tries to match philosophically the individual who is going to run as President, when there is no clear candidate?

C: Party platforms are to run on not to stand on. The parliamentary system, particularly in England, you run on the issues and you have a platform. Anytime you can't deliver the vote on your platform, you have a new election. That's the parliamentary system. Though I used to think that was a little laborious, I think maybe we ought to start doing a little bit about that. Our parties, which is the two-party system, tend to be so vast within parties. You have a broad variety of views. For example, the Democratic party, the primary in the northern states have been what you might say in the liberal block. The farm states are a little more conservative. You find out very often that you're forming the one-party states in the south. They were

mostly Republicans, and it was kind of a national disgrace for many years, but the coalition of the conservative Democrats in the south and the Republicans, they ran the country.

B: These are Dixiecrats or whatever they called them?

C: Yes.

B: Could you generally give us an idea of how you would spend an average day at the convention?

C: You're there early in the morning, and there are not seats. You're invited to a number of parties and receptions and drinking and hell-raising. You get up early in the morning, and you don't get much sleep. Between the social activities and the activity of the delegates, you're on the go 20 hours at least.

B: The majority of social functions were sponsored by candidates?

C: The majority of social functions are for one view, to influence your votes towards a certain policy or towards a certain candidate.

B: You mentioned how diverse a party is because of their national scope. do you think that because of this sort of specialization that is going on now, these political action committees, that perhaps it has gone one step too far?

C: We're attending whether we like it or not. People want issue people, the abortion people, the pro-abortion, anti-abortion. They don't care what you do in other races. If you don't vote with them on their view of abortion, they tend to oppose you. Many other one-issue things, I think primarily abortion, but there are many other things. People are worried about what your position is on one issue, and they don't look at the overall man. That's one of the things that happens. Primarily, they're interested in what you're going to do in their issue and nothing else. The National Rifle Association, a guy could have a good record, but if he doesn't vote the way they want on gun control. . . .

B: Do you think the proliferation of political action committees is actually hurting the system, paralyzing the system?

C: I wouldn't say that; however, it's not so much these political action committees, it's these issues. They often tend to become one-issue oriented and they concentrate on that. You find a number, as I said, the rifle control, abortion, things of that nature, not

necessarily in the mainstream of overall government. People contaminate them very strong on one issue. Women's rights, for example. I found some people have local women's rights and they vote against all other progressive things.

B: When somebody is elected to Congress for a first term, how do you select a staff?

C: There is no road to that. First of all, there are 435 congressman. You can enter your staff within certain boundaries any way you want. You have a total fund and you allocate that fund.

When I went to Congress originally, a man was allowed 14 members on his staff at one time. By the time I left, it was up to 17, that's people you could have on. You could hire a person for a few months, take him off, and put someone else on. Over the year, you might show 30 different employees, but no more than the total number you're allowed at one time.

For example, when I went to Washington in 1970, you would get a competent beginning help, a secretary or typist for $7,000. When I left there, it was probably $11,000. Minimum for a competent typist and stenographer probably pays $14,000 or $15,000. When I went there, the top salary you were allowed to give to an administrative aide was about $28,000. When I left, it was close to $38,000. Every year, the cost of living would increase the amount congressman could pay his help.

In the district I had full-time, one office girl in the Warren post office. I had two full-time ladies, a stenographer and an assistant in Youngstown, plus I had a full-time staff representative, which is Paul Stevens, who takes care of many things in the district for me. I also had other people I put on part-time. For example, I had a woman in the Nile's office and it is open three afternoons a week. I usually added a person in the district to do legwork, to carry out things you wanted delivered or to go and see someone about an issue. I usually added one person on at a time though I might sign up between three and four people a year.

B: When you first come to Washington, do you draw from a pool of defeated congressmen and retired congressmen? In other words, is there some reference point, like if you needed an administrative aid?

C: First of all, when you go to Washington, when you're nominated, they have indoctrination courses. They give you an idea of how the legislature is run and what your purposes are and things of that nature. This first

thing that you want to do, at least what I want to do, is find out who knows the score down there. Very often, administrative aids particularly are Washington oriented. You have to get a person, because it is very complex. You've got a lot of paperwork to do, and staff and that, and a lot of details. Many people have a full-time press man to take care of the press. I never did. A man could cut his staff the way he wants.

Every three months, two lists come out: everything you paid monthly out for anything, plus you have a list of employees and what their titles are and what you pay them.

B: Just to know your way around, did somebody from the democratic caucus or somebody give you a list of democrat people?

C: I was fortunate. When I went down there, Mrs. Messerly, who had worked for Congressman Kirwin for many years, was very helpful in getting my first office set up. I was fortunate to get a competent guy, Thomas Keys, who was recommended to me from a friend. He had worked for a couple other congressmen and he became my administrative aid. He was a very capable guy and he knew his way around Washington. You have to decide what type of staff you want and what you want to do, and you hire them accordingly.

B: Could you tell me a little bit about your personal encounter with Parkinson's disease?

C: In 1934, I got my first permanent job at Republic Rubber. I was 21 at the time. I got out of high school in June of 1931, and that was the depth of the Depression. In our area, that was probably the low spot. Though the market crashed in 1929, it was about the middle of 1930 before the Depression really started hitting Youngstown. The steel mills were in really bad shape. I was living in Campbell, Ohio, which was a one-industry town. Sheet & Tube, that was it, practically. I worked at Republic Rubber in what was called a calander room. What a calander is, is a big machine with rolls in it which has both hot and cold water, and you can gauge the rubber down to a thousandth of an inch on it. You mix the hot rubber and use it for various products and various gauges. The part of preparing the rubber for the calander machine was pretty heavy work. Most of the men on them were pretty good size men. I weighed about 130 pounds at the time; I wasn't very big. Before the union came in the company wouldn't even give me a chance at the job, they said I was too small. After the union got established later on, they had to give me a chance, and I did it, but I took it out of my hide.

I got married in November, 1938. I was 25 years old at the time. My wife previously worked at Republic Rubber for many years. At that time, she had an accident and had been sick and left Republic Rubber.

Right about the time I got married, maybe a little after, I noticed when work was extra strong that I would tremble in my left arm. Originally, it only trembled when I did certain efforts. This was around 1937 or 1938 when I started shaking a little more. Nobody paid much attention to it. The only time I would shake visibly for any length of time was when I did heavy, physical work. Then of course it started trembling a little more, and I got married and started noticing it. About 1939, I started going to a local doctor. Medical science wasn't where it is today, and people my age, younger people, very seldom got Parkinson's. It was pretty much known medically. I went to a couple of local doctors. My family doctor sent me to a local neurologist, and they didn't know too much what was going on.

Finally, I was referred to St. Elizabeth's Hospital. There was a neurologist who used to come to St. E's every couple of weeks and look people over that had neurological diseases. He was an expert from Cleveland. I was referred to him, and he gave me about a two hour examination. At the end of this time he said, "You have Parkinson's Disease." I said, "What's that?" He tried to describe pretty much what Parkinson's disease was, which is a tremor, and you lose strength in your arms and they sometimes stiffen up and things of that nature.

B: Is it a nervous disorder?

C: It is a nervous and muscular disorder. It is due to a lack of certain fluid that comes from a part of your brain. The brain doesn't produce enough of this dopamine, which is a short name for a long medical term. You don't get enough of this fluid to take care of the nerves, and this thing happens.

It is a very devious disease. You can have 12 or 15 people all diagnosed as Parkinson's, yet though they are similar, no two are alike. Some people have a lot of stiffness, and some people have a lot of tremor, and some people have mask-like faces. Some people have a terrible time with it, it is different in everybody.

In the last few years, medical science started to make some progress which I have been fortunate to take part in. When I was in Washington, the National Institute

of Health, in Bethesda, Maryland made some studies, and I've been on the experimental list out there for some time. Due to that, I've been able to get medication. I'm taking medication now called senemec.

The first medicine that really did much good in supplying this lack of hormone or nerve thing was called aldopa. That's a short name for a long name. It was developed by the Japanese. The aldopa, when you took it physically, it helped control this tremor, but it was hard on the stomach. You had to take such great quantities of aldopa that, although it helped Parkinson's, it affected your digestion and that. Over the years they've developed an accelerator to that called carbodopo. A combination of carbodopo and aldopa makes what is called senemed, the trade name of one of the companies.

Senemec takes a lot less of the aldopa, because the carbodopa tends to drive the aldopa through your system fast enough to the brain, so that it is in a position to control the disease. It works differently in different people. It has been pretty helpful to me. I've been taking it about the last eight or nine years. As a matter of fact, before senemec was officially approved by the United States drug section of the government, I was on the experimental list. I took aldopa, I took the carbodopo, and they called senemec MK486 for experimental purposes, and I was on that for two years before senemec was approved, which was around 1972. They're making progress on it.

At the International Institute of Health where they keep an exhaust of records, I have had diagnosed Parkinson's longer than anyone they have a record of. As I said, I developed it at age 27 or 28 and I'm 70 now, which is 43 years. I've been very fortunate, though I've had bad tremors at times, I haven't had too much rigidity and too many other symptoms that other people get. I consider myself rather fortunate and now since I've retired from pretty much active political life, I ordinarily--unless I get really tired or understrained--when I take my aldopa regularly, the tremor is much better now than when I was working every day and had a lot of tension.

B: You are also responsible for helping set up the Parkinson's support group?

C: While I was in Washington, D.C. at the National Institute of Health, naturally most of their patients were in the vicinity of Virginia, Maryland, within 50 miles of Washington, D.C., I used to go down there for a week every year as an outpatient for a checkup. And because I had to go out there three or four times a year to the

clinic for further checks, I got to know a number of people who had Parkinson's in the Washington area. About 1973 or 1974, a group of Washington people, most of them with better than average education, started the first Parkinson's support group in the United States. PSG, Parkinson's Support Group of America, they called it.

Their purpose was to get people with Parkinson's together to compare notes and help each other and keep people abreast of modern physical problems and modern medicine, plus to try and organize a group to be active, to lobby Congress and other agencies, to get more medication, more support, and more studies on Parkinson's.

I met a couple of people, and they started a local group. I gave them a pretty good write up in the congressional record. When they developed by-laws, I had them printed for the education of the people in the United States. I got to know these people and throughout the years since then, Parkinson support groups have sprung up all over, particularly some in Texas and out on the West coast. They've had three annual conventions of Parkinson Support Groups of America.

Like all organizations, there is a shape down period. They had a difference of opinion on what way to go, some rivalry for people who want a little more attention and notice. Now, it is settling down. I have worked with Mr. Gary Packwood, who is the executive secretary of the Youngstown Speech and Hearing Center, and you find out most people with Parkinson's have certain speech difficulties. Plus, Gary's family had Parkinson's, and he was very sympathetic.

We were attempting to start a Parkinson's support group in this area, and it has been like pulling teeth because there is no clinic, no central clearing agency. We have 30 or 35 people now, and most of us meet every month. We're trying to get organized an develop with the purpose of doing two things. First of all, to help one another understand Parkinson's better. Secondly, to try and help people out with what modern techniques and improvements are being made. Thirdly, to try and organize the group to be a mutual health benefit, plus their families, so they can better understand what Parkinson's is.

I've been a guinea pig for practically every new modification. I've been on 10 or 15 experimental medications, and some of them did me some help, some didn't do anything, and some damn near killed me. I never thought it was too much. I never had time to baby myself, no matter how much I shook and shivered, I just

kept on going. I was fortunate. I was doing something I liked to do, and the purpose of what I was trying to do was better than me sitting around worrying about what I had and trying to find excuses for it. As a result, I just kept right on moving. Some people say I'm lucky, I don't know. It has just been that I haven't had time to worry about Parkinson's. I've been aware of it, and I try to keep abreast of what is going on. But basically, I had to do something and keep on going. I never thought of babying myself; I just kept on going and did it.

B: Nationally, the support group is still in its infancy?

C: This is the third year. They haven't got much money and don't have any real organization. They haven't got the money to do a real bang-up organizational job. Most of the workers are volunteer and do it out of the goodness of their heart. For example, there is a Parkinson's support group in Dallas, Texas that is doing very well. Some oil millionaire left them about half of a million dollars. That is in the bank and they have it invested at about 10 percent. They run a very fine organization off of the interest. On the West coast, they have some very fine groups.

B: Is there anything I should have asked you about the Parkinson's Support Group or something that is relevant?

C: There are probably a lot of things you should have asked me and there are probably a lot of things I should know. Basically, it's just starting an organization to help Parkinson people understand what they've got and also to interpret our feelings and our needs to the general public. That's basically it.

END OF INTERVIEW