CSEA HISTORY PROJECT

LARRY SCANLON INTERVIEW

4/12/05

INTERVIEWER: Larry, why don't you start by just telling us your name and spell it for us and tell us the position you hold now and kind of run through the line of positions you held within CSEA.

MR. SCANLON: This could take a while. Lawrence R. Scanlon, Jr., S-c-a-n-l-o-n. Better known as Larry. I'm currently the political director for AFSCME in Washington and been down there almost ten years. I started with CSEA on June 3rd, 1974. I remember Tom Whitney calling me up and offering me the job and said, well, you can't work in Ulster County because your uncle is the local president there, but how about -- how about Rockland-Putnam?

I said, that's great, so I went down there -- actually I was a field service assistant and you served in that title -- I can't remember. It was either one or two years and then there was an automatic promotion to field rep. I think it was a year.

And then I was down there for about five and a half years and I can remember being at the MIMI Center for a program that CSEA sent

me to and I got a call Super Bowl Sunday, Rams/ Steelers, offering me the school district coordinator job, so I moved up to Albany in 1980 and I served in that job.

I also held the education director job on a temporary basis after Tom Quimby left. I served as a regional director for Region V when Frank Mortello was down doing the Suffolk County decert. I was the organizing director for about three or four years and I was a political edge director for a number of years and ended up as the executive director before I moved to AFSCME.

INTERVIEWER: M-m h-m-m. Before we get into some of your history in all of those positions, do you remember when you first became aware of an organization called CSEA?

MR. SCANLON: Absolutely. My grandfather, James Deppy Martin, lived with us the last year before he died. This was 1967. He was then known as the chapter president for Ulster County. He was a cop in the city of Kingston, a retired cop, and I'd run out to the mailbox every day in the spring looking for the thick package which signaled that the college

had accepted you as opposed to a thin letter where you were rejected.

So every day I'd run out and there'd be a thick package and I'd pull it out of the mailbox and it would be something from CSEA. Union stuff, right, so that's how I became acquainted with -- with the union, through my grandfather.

INTERVIEWER: What kind of stuff was that? Do you know what that was that they were sending him?

MR. SCANLON: He was like -- it was like board minutes and brochures and all kinds of assorted union paraphernalia. I didn't really pay a lot of attention to it 'cause as a 17-year-old high school senior I had other things on my mind (laughter).

INTERVIEWER: You -- so you started out basically in the field --

MR. SCANLON: Correct.

INTERVIEWER: -- with CSEA and that was in the earlier seventies, the very early years of the Taylor Law.

What was the -- what was the

environment like that -- that you were working in particularly, I assume, kind of like the local government side of things?

MR. SCANLON: I had primarily local government. I may have had one or two state stops. It was -- I'm not sure if chaos is the right word, but we were an independent at the time and -- and you're correct that the Taylor Law was -- went into effect in I think it was '67. We were being raided by a number of unions; AFSCME was raiding us, SEIU in particular was going after us, so we spent a lot of our time in the mid-seventies fending off raids, and also trying to do organizing at the same time.

And I remember my first week on the job I was still living in Kingston but commuting down to Rockland County trying to organize the village of Sloatsburg and I was very proud of myself. I got 21 out of 23 people to sign cards and ended up losing the election 14 to 7 because the employer came in and made some promises, et cetera.

So we were doing organizing, we were

doing the servicing, we were handling grievances, and then SEIU came in and they were very active in the Hudson Valley so we -- I think we beat them about 32 times straight because at that time they were really known as a service union, a janitors' union. You know, we played up all the bad stuff that they did and persuaded our members to stay with us.

INTERVIEWER: In -- in those -- in those places had CSEA already been recognized as the bargaining agent and are you basically fighting off other AFL-CIO unions that were trying to decertify?

MR. SCANLON: Correct. Correct. And the big ones ended up being the county units that we had there. They -- they were really sniffing around Rockland County which was my unit. We had -- that was about 2500 people. Orange County, Dutchess County.

And at the same time the economy, if you remember, was not in good shape. That's when Ford told the City to drop dead and the bankruptcy crisis and so we had a lot of hard negotiations at the time and that was sort of

fodder for a union to come in and say, yeah, see CSEA can't represent you. They can't get you a raise. Come with us.

We also ended up about the same time going through a lot of strikes and Dutchess County was really the first county to go on strike, followed in pretty rapid succession by Orange County, Rockland County. Putnam actually didn't go out on strike. We were so well-organized we had more staff there than they had deputy sheriffs, that the county caved and ended up agreeing to the very lucrative contract that Roger Kehn had negotiated.

INTERVIEWER: Why -- why were those strikes happening? Was it because the Taylor Law was new and it was being tested?

MR. SCANLON: No, because at that time the penalties were very severe under the Taylor Law. It was two-for-one fines, loss of job perhaps, definitely on probation, and it was really the economics. I mean -- not just economics. I'll use Rockland County as an example.

Right up to the problem with New York

City when they went bankrupt, we were negotiating a contract in Rockland County. Phil Miller was the collective bargaining specialist and they came back with a final offer from the county against my recommendation that we not take it back because I had worked the membership. I knew what their feelings were and they were really angry about this, so it split the unit right down the middle.

They rejected the offer and basically said get rid of the CBS, so they turned to me and said -- the leadership, and said, well, would you negotiate the contract? We're already, you know, at fact-finding. And I said, well, I'm kind of a rookie here but I'll do whatever you want.

We ended up actually going to a legislative hearing under the Taylor Law and we packed the town hall in the town of Clarkstown. Actually that was the night that Joe Lochner had a stroke, which was unfortunately the beginning of the end for him and we laid out our position, which was amply demonstrated in the facts and, of course, we got a hosing from the County

Legislature, got an imposed settlement.

And Nels Carlson came in several months later and the feelings were running so high in terms of how public workers were being treated by the politicians that, you know, he had 'em out on strike in a heartbeat, so it wasn't just economics. It was how workers were being treated.

INTERVIEWER: What were the challenges when you became director of local government and school districts? What were the challenges with that particular area?

MR. SCANLON: 4ell, actually that -- that was a very interesting time. We were involved in the seminal cases in contracting out. What was happening from a school district perspective was transportation and food service were really being hit with the contracting out bug.

The transportation in part because of the way the law and the rules and regs were structured. There was an incentive for the employer to actually contract out. It had to do with the cost of the retirement system. If you

were a public employer that didn't go into the aid formula, but if you were a private employer it did, so they got, in effect, a bonus for doing that.

Food service was just a problem of trying to operate in the black. You know, you're tryin' to feed a lot of kids and it's hard to make a profit doing that, so we ended up, there were seminal cases in the school districts and also in the city of Poughkeepsie that went before PERB and the courts ultimately, so we spent a lot of time doing that.

We also got involved -- at the time we had a number of teacher aides. Hicksville was a great example where we had people, members who said: Look, we organized them and then looked at their work and they weren't really aides. They were assistants, so we worked very closely with the State Education Department to try to basically get some training and certification so that they could be licensed as teacher assistants but stay in our bargaining unit, so there was a lot of stuff happening in those few years.

INTERVIEWER: What was the relationship of the local government and school district side to the State side at CSEA at that time?

MR. SCANLON: There was always a dynamic tension. If you go back to the late seventies Jack Carey was running the State side and Joe Dolan was running the local government side and you had your State division, your county division, and there were -- part of it emanated, I think, from the way the State budget gets constructed and from a viewpoint that we had which was, well, if we have to go fight one employer, the State, that it impacts on a hundred thousand plus workers, then it's easier to manage that.

If you have to go out and deal with 57 counties in multiple school districts who are all dealing with aid cuts or lack of aid, then that gets very difficult to manage, so that was a dynamic that we felt. Everybody was competing for scarce resources.

INTERVIEWER: Back particularly in the seventies when CSEA was an unaffiliated union --

MR. SCANLON: M-m h-m-m.

INTERVIEWER: -- what was -- what was the attraction or the benefit of affiliating or becoming a member of CSEA versus joining one of these AFL-CIO unions?

MR. SCANLON: Well, that's an interesting question. CSEA has a very proud history. We were fiercely independent and my heart was broken. I can remember the day we lost the election for the Professional Scientific and Technical Unit. In fact, we lost it in the runoff. We'd won the original election but no union was also on the ballot, so we didn't have a majority, so no union got knocked off the ballet.

Then it was us and PEF and we lost the run-off. It was like crushing. I mean for all the time and effort that we had put in, you know, in terms of servicing, representing workers, for a unit of 60,000 people to walk away was -- was pretty devastating, and a lot of the leadership -- I don't remember the exact number but an inordinate amount of percentage of the leadership of CSEA came out of the

Professional, Scientific and Technical Unit so there was, in effect, a brain drain or a leadership drain when that happened.

That really provided an impetus to enter into serious discussions that I was not part of but that happened with AFSCME that ultimately ended up in a trial affiliation. That was then cemented, you know, a year or two later.

INTERVIEWER: What do you remember about that affiliation, the initial -- the initial chain of events?

MR. SCANLON: Couple things. One is the vote at the Palace Theater when the doors were locked and they wouldn't let anybody out till they had the vote. That was pretty interesting.

And also the attitude -- as I said, CSEA was fiercely independent. When you think about -- I mean here's a union that has existed since 1910, really provided a broad range of services. It was a very service-intensive model in terms of working with our leadership. They handled grievances, do negotiations, and not

like the organizing model that's used today. And so, you know, you take it personally, you know, when people say, well, we don't like your service or we're ready to move on.

So once we became part of AFSCME, it was almost like a shotgun wedding. It was like, okay, we'll -- we'll be part of AFSCME and we'll pay our per capitas but don't -- don't come into the state, don't do anything unless we ask you to do it.

So I remember everything had to be channeled up through President McGowan's office. You couldn't have any contact with AFSCME without clearing it through the president's office. Now that's obviously evolved over a long period of time to where we have a much closer relationship these days.

INTERVIEWER: Was -- was there a dynamic within the organization between people who really believed in CSEA as a trade union and others who saw it as a professional association?

MR. SCANLON: That was a real dynamic. I mean the folks who had been around for a long time, I mean it started out as, in effect, a

professional association and sort of, you know, pre-Taylor Law when they didn't have the right to collectively bargain there was a lot of effort put into lobbying and legislation and trying to advance the cause of State workers.

Then we started accreting, you know, local government workers and it was a -- added a different dynamic to the whole equation, and then, you know, as you get into the AFL, clearly the AFL is a trade movement, and so it was a matter of inculcating those values, you know, into your leaders and into your staff to make that happen, and it took a long while.

INTERVIEWER: What -- you know, given the fact that CSEA had been fighting against these AFL-CIO unions and AFSCME in particular, what was the dynamic for the staff and activities in terms of suddenly then embracing AFSCME and becoming a part of the union?

MR. SCANLON: I would say it took probably almost a dozen years, and I think the change was when Joe McDermott got elected. I mean he made a very clear decision that, you know, if we're gonna be part of AFSCME and we're

gonna, you know, pay our per capita taxes, then we really should be part of AFSCME.

We should be very active in AFSCME which is a different change from where Bill McGowan was as president and maybe, you know, in hindsight maybe, you know, Bill couldn't get there. It took a while to basically change people's attitudes and the only way you do it is experiential. I mean you have to work with them.

So I can remember doing a pay equity project before pay equity was in vogue with Steve Fantazzo. It was probably about 1982, '83, and you know, AFSCME helped fund that project and we went into some districts in Long Island and basically showed that there was -- there wasn't pay equity, and so that was sort of the precursor of a lot of programs we run today.

INTERVIEWER: You talked about the PS&T challenge being a very significant event in the seventies that led to the AFSCME affiliation.

Were you directly involved in that -- in that decertify?

MR. SCANLON: I was. I was assigned to the psychiatric hospital in Poughkeepsie and it was a little scary because I didn't really have local -- I had local government stops. I didn't have State stops and you always had the feeling when you walked into a mental hygiene facility or a prison, you know, when they close that door you're kind of locked in with everybody else.

The other part that was scary is that because it was in close proximity to Kingston, New York where I grew up, I saw a number of clients there who I knew as citizens from Kingston. That was kind of scary (laughter).

INTERVIEWER: The -- what was that fight all about? Why did -- why did they break away?

MR. SCANLON: Oh, you know, that's a very good question. I -- I'd have to really sit and think. It was a -- PEF was a combination of the Teachers and SEIU putting money in. You know, I can't really recall a lot of the specifics. I'm sure it had to do with, you know, we'll give you better representation and

your own union.

There was something about job titles that a number of the professionals felt that they weren't being properly represented at negotiations. If I was a, you know, a nurse or a doctor, that I was getting lumped in with everybody else and, you know, not treated according to my unique occupational concerns.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Do you remember the campaign to pass the Public Employee Safety and Health Act and what kind of dynamic that took?

MR. SCANLON: Not a lot. I do recall the march where we had the coffins that went down Elk Street and around the Capitol, but I -- I didn't play a major role in that.

INTERVIEWER: Okay. How about the election of Mario Cuomo when he beat Ed Koch in 1982 gubernatorial primary and what kind of role CSEA played in that fight?

MR. SCANLON: I was not doing the politics at the time. I do remember seeing bags of cash but I'll go no further on that one, which was legal at the time.

INTERVIEWER: Oh.

MR. SCANLON: CSEA and District Council 37, in the person of both Jim Featherstonhaugh and Norman Adler, who were really drivers in this, we couldn't stomach Ed Koch. I mean Ed Koch was running on a platform of, you know, we need to reform Civil Service, and his idea of reform is our idea of deform. You know, it's like a one-in-ten rule versus a one-in-three, and broadbanding and other changes, so the unions got together and really plucked Cuomo out of obscurity.

I mean -- I think he might have been sitting as Secretary of State at the time. Nobody gave him a chance and he won in the primary against Koch and then went on to serve several terms, most of which was probably contentious in terms of our relationship. It was very unfortunate.

INTERVIEWER: M-m h-m-m. Well, we'll get into that in a little bit. Tell me, does -- obviously when you started at CSEA Ted Wenzel was the president. What do you remember about him?

MR. SCANLON: Dr. Wenzel. I remember the whole ball of wax. It's one of his favorite sayings. I can remember him coming down to -- to Orange County during the strike and we ended up there were a whole bunch of us in a room and he came in and -- and he sort of sat on the floor and he took his shoes off and he sort of flung 'em and very -- very relaxed. A very well-respected man, very educated man, and he moved the union forward and it was probably at the same time that there was this drive, as you referenced earlier in terms of the trade movement, you know, Bill McGowan took him on and, you know, beat him by I think it was 17 votes or thereabouts. They may still be counting those votes.

And, you know, Bill was a trade unionist, blue collar electrician out of a mental hygiene institution in western New York and, you know, he had a different style about him. You know, he was a cigar chewing, down to earth kind of guy, and Dr. Wenzel was a little more erudite.

INTERVIEWER: M-m h-m-m. So tell me

more about Bill McGowan and how he -- how he affected his or imposed his personality on CSEA.

MR. SCANLON: Part of it was, I think, the process of osmosis. I mean he was, like I say, a very unpretentious guy, very down to earth. Guy, you know, you could knock back a beer with and have a hotdog and, you know, that's -- that was his diet.

He was very good to me. I mean I was promoted into headquarters under his watch. I can remember when Tom Quimby left to take over at Cornell, President McGowan called me up and said, hey, you know, I'm gonna combine the two jobs, school district coordinator and education director. Can you do it? And I said yeah, if that's what you want. Sure.

So I did it for a while and then they had the -- it was probably six months. Then they had the interviews for the position, so in the middle of the interview I said to him, now you're still gonna combine these two jobs, right?

And he goes, nah, he says, I changed my mind. I'm really gonna keep 'em separate.

So I said this is the interview for the education director? And he goes, yeah. I said, well, I gotta be honest with ya. I -- I really don't wanna be the education director.

And he said, well, what do you wanna do, and I said I'd like to be the organizing director. And he said, well, we don't have an organizing department. I said, well, we should talk about that, so we sat there for another hour and I just laid out some of my ideas and he said, well, put it on paper, which I ultimately did.

And that was the time when the politics, internal politics, started to get a little contentious. Joe McDermott, who was a region president, vice president, had challenged Tom McDonough, and then Tom McDonough had died after he was re-elected and Joe became the executive vice, clearly had ambitions to be the president.

I am told there was an understanding that Bill was gonna step down, but then Bill sort of felt he was being pushed, so he didn't step down. He ran again in 1985 and so that --

everyone was caught up in the swirl.

Joe had -- at that time he had a lot of support on the board. He really had the votes on the board and so he basically crafted a -- a reorganization plan and everybody agreed at the time that we really needed to have an organizing department and we never had one. I mean when I started there were several folks who were statewide organizers but they were -- they would do some organizing but many times they were an extra pair of hands filling in on vacation, sick leave or strike, whatever, and so we really had no concerted approach to organizing.

They created the department and the position and I interviewed for the job. I remember Else Adams was chair of the committee, personnel committee, and he gave me -- as a matter of fact in a soft voice he said, well, okay, if you were the organizing director, what would you do?

And I'm thinking, well, this is my plan. I laid out chapter and verse and all the heads were nodding and -- the best interview I

ever did in my life, all right? I came out. I didn't get the job. McGowan hired Lee Frank because Lee was, you know, the regional director out in the west and, you know, Lee was a big, gruff, tough guy and sort of the idea of an organizer at the plant gates that, you know, can intimidate people and get 'em to sign, so he lasted about a year.

And again, the board was up in arms the way he was doin' business and McDermott had the votes, so ultimately they -- they defunded the position, along with the executive director at the time, which was Bernie Zwinack. Now he -- and at that point he was only the third executive director.

We had Joe Lochner for forty-plus years and then Joe Dolan for a short period of time and Zwinack lasted maybe a year, so they reorganized and I was appointed the organizing director.

I -- I think I actually have about six appointment letters to the same job. I was the organizing director, then I was the deputy director for organizing, then I was the

temporary organizing director, then I was the temporary deputy director for organizing. All this is being played out in the courts here, you know. My name and salary being splashed in the front pages of the Albany Times Union, which mortified my wife.

And ultimately the courts held for McGowan and under the CSEA constitution that all the staff reported to the president, so it overturned McDermott's board motion that said that all the staff reports to the president through the vice president.

So ended up then doing the organizing for several years and we did -- we did a lot of work at that point going into the private sector because New York is pretty heavily penetrated in terms of public sector organizing and there were -- along with the privatization we wanted to follow the work so we ended up organizing a lot of people in the private sector, including St. Lawrence University, which was one of our earliest forays.

INTERVIEWER: As you're -- as you're indicating, the McGowan-McDermott fight was a

very tumultuous time. As you look back on it 20 years later what was it all about, what was it really all about?

MR. SCANLON: I think we had two very strong-willed personalities who had visions of what should be done with the union. From a staff perspective, you know, you try to keep your head down and just keep to your work but, of course, you get caught up in some of the politics.

It was -- the first time that I saw some politicalization of the staff, particularly the top staff around McGowan, who were, you know, viewing the world through political eyes instead of through operational eyes and that's understandable; I mean, based on what was going on.

And I -- I -- you know, I was the organizing director at the time and I'm -- I was just trying to do my job, trying to organize new members for the union. McGowan had a lot of support among the staff because it was an older staff, an aging staff. That's probably not a good way to put it, but long-term veterans who

had come up through the ranks. So he enjoyed a lot of support and, you know, Joe came out of the regions so he had less of a base to work with.

So there was, you know, just a handful of us who, you know, kind of liked some of the ideas McDermott had, although the first time I met him I didn't like him. I mean I -- Tom Cooby and I went out to meet with him and Jack Corcoran. Talk about some training.

And we -- we both left the meeting going, oh, this is -- was not a good meeting. I really got to know him when I had to do the staff negotiations with him in 19...I think it was 1985, the year that the staff went on strike, and we got locked up in a hotel room so I came to know him a little better.

A very bright guy, very opinionated, you know, how he wanted to do things, but you could sometimes move 'im on issues when you had to.

INTERVIEWER: So McDermott becomes the president of CSEA and you become the political action director. What did you know about

political action at that time?

MR. SCANLON: Well, you know, I -- we -- I knew some...I always followed politics. I like politics, and I can remember using -- when Tom Haley was the political director I'd have him come down trying to leverage like in Rockland County, leverage our politics to get things done for our members, but the -- Feathers had really pushed for the political action trustees, and this is like 1983 perhaps when they first formalized our political structure.

And so it was only about five years old and they had been through a couple of directors. Bernie Ryan was, I think, the first political director, and he sort of ran afoul of some people and got fired. And then Tom Haley was the next director and Bob Haggerty was there as an assistant director. He ran afoul of a couple folks and he ended up leaving.

And Tom Haley came and he says, I'm gonna retire. He said, I'm gonna open up a B&B and I thought to myself, well, interesting job but I wanted to find more about it, so I can remember being in New York City talking to Danny

Donahue and Bob Lattimer who were trustees on the political action funding, kind of quizzing them about how it worked and whatever.

Based on that conversation I decided I really didn't want to be the political director, you know, so I'm just doing my business and then Joe McDermott gets elected in 1988 and he called me from -- I think the convention was in Anaheim and he asked me to serve as the chair of the transition team and I said I'll be happy to do that, and he said I'd like you to be the political action director and I said, well, I don't wanna do that and he said we'll talk.

So when he came back we sat down and every day I'm in his office, several times a day, you know, going over transition stuff and he's say, when you goin' to that downstairs, because political action was on the first floor. I said I'm not going downstairs; I don't want that job, and he said I need you to do it.

I said I don't wanna do it, so finally he said, well, what's the hangup? Why won't you do this?

I said, look. In order to be

successful at that job, in my opinion, you know, you gotta hang out over there with those guys; you gotta eat with 'em, drink with 'em. I said, you know, I don't wanna do that. You know, my marriage won't survive. It's not worth it. I don't -- he says, what if I hire you a lobbyist?

I said finally, look -- I'll never forget. It was my mother's birthday, August 8, 1988. I said I will -- I'll take the job, but it'll just be a temporary job, right? That I will go down there, we'll straighten it up, and we'll make some staff changes, do all that stuff and then I'll go back to the organizing, and he goes, yeah, that's a deal.

So I was sittin' there five years later in this temporary job when he came to me and said I want to talk to you about the executive director's job and I said leave me alone. I'm ten days out from the presidential election. I don't have time to talk about that and so he laughed and then said, okay, we'll have breakfast afterwards, and so that's how I got into the political department, against my better judgment.

INTERVIEWER: Now, the time during which you served as Director of Political Action were very difficult times for CSEA and for the State of New York. Can you talk a little bit about the environment at that time and particularly with a Governor who we had helped elect but wasn't particularly friendly to CSEA?

MR. SCANLON: We helped elect him in '82 and my recollection that was the year that in the general -- the guy that owned Rite Aid, Herb --

INTERVIEWER: That was Lou Lehrman.

MR. SCANLON: -- lou Lehrman ran. If that election had gone on probably another week, Lehrman probably would have been the Governor. I mean he was -- Cuomo was really sliding at the end and hung on to win.

Then he ran in '86 and I think he ran against -- I wanna say Spano. I think he was the Westchester County exec...

INTERVIEWER: That was O'Rourke.

MR. SCANLON: O'Rourke and it wasn't much of a race. And then I got appointed, as I said, August 8th, 1988. I think it was like two

weeks later that Dan Forsyth who was the budget director for Cuomo came out with what they call a call letter and he basically said we're about two billion in the hole, all right?

Now, making up $2 billion is not easy and we got involved in some very contentious exchanges with the Cuomo Administration because they were looking to, you know, cut jobs and cut salaries and furloughs, and then the worst thing was they tried to go after the pension system and they had this harebrained idea called PUC, and it's projected unit credit.

And what they wanted to do was change the -- basically the way they calculated the pension payment so it would project off into the future the costs, and we said, look, we're not gettin' PUC'd, no way, no how. We ended up, Joe and I went over and we met with Drew Zambelli -- no, I'm sorry, Jerry Crotty. Jerry Crotty was the Secretary of Administration for Cuomo at the time.

We went in loaded for bear. He said, no, the Governor agrees with you guys. PUC is off the table; it's a dead issue. All right.

Great. And then two days later we see it's out in bill form. Ultimately, if my recollection's right, they passed it, we sued and we won on it, but it -- and then relations with Cuomo really went downhill after that.

We're in -- the budget got worse. I mean in the next couple years they were talking about $5 billion in the hole and so we got to the election in '94 when he decided he was gonna run for a fourth term, which is very, very difficult for any Governor and, you know, when you look at -- at the way the -- the economy was going and budget deficits and all that kind of stuff, we had no contract and we couldn't get a contract and we had some very unpleasant previous experiences with Cuomo because in '92 our union endorsed Bill Clinton for President and it happened on the day when Cuomo had to make a decision whether he was gonna run for President.

And if you remember those years in that whole cycle, he was like Hamlet on the Hudson. Should I run? Should I not run? I don't know. What'll I do, and they literally

had the plane on the tarmac at the Albany County Airport revved up waiting for the $500 check, the filing fee for New Hampshire, so the day that this is going on, we had decided -- we had leaked our endorsement of Bill Clinton so all the satellite trucks were ringing the Capitol and the big news and the headlines in the Albany Times Union the next day were "State Employees' Union Slaps Governor in the Face; Endorses Little Known Southern Governor," which he didn't take too kindly to.

So we had all that, you know, leading up into the '94 election and we had no contract, right? Russ Hanna was negotiating the contract. We were, I don't know, probably 18 months beyond the expiration. Things were not going anywhere. Zero was on the table and they were looking for our support and we said nah, so Dave Weinrab flew out to our convention, which was in Rochester that year, and this is probably, you know, a month out from the election and we had not endorsed.

And he said what will it take, and I said three fives. Well, I don't know if I can

get three fives. I said you asked what it would take; that's what it's gonna take, three fives. We want a contract.

So he goes back and then he calls me and says, well, I got one five and a four and a half, and the other one's either four and a half or a five. I'm not sure.

I said, well, wrap it up and let me know. Then I get a subsequent phone call a couple hours later, no deal. I said, you know what this means?

He goes, yeah, I know what it means. You know what it means. But "they," meaning Cuomo and his advisors, don't know what it means. They're concerned about, you know, the perception. All the sections are caving to the unions and whatever.

I said, well, he's gonna lose the election, you know, 'cause we're not gonna endorse and we didn't endorse and he did lose the election and George Pataki, a little known assemblyman-senator from Westchester County.

INTERVIEWER: Why did the -- to go back to Cuomo, why did the relationship

deteriorate considering how much he had -- CSEA had done in the first place to help get him -- you know, help him get elected?

MR. SCANLON: That's a very good question, very interesting question. I'm not sure if I know the answer, although Mario Cuomo is a very brilliant man and he'll tell you that. He has a pretty high regard for himself, and I don't mean that in a bad fashion. I mean that's just who he is.

I mean I can remember we were in Lake Placid for a CSEA event and we got this panic phone call: You gotta be down at the Capitol. Russ Hanna and I had to drive back from Lake Placid, so we get there after everybody else and we walked into the Cuomo -- there's the Governor's Office in the corner and there's a big anteroom that has a -- it's funereal. It's got these huge dark blue drapes and it was torn shut, long table with chairs around it.

So we get in late so I'm sitting at the head of the table and Russ is right here and all the other labor lobbyists are lined up in these chairs, and then Cuomo comes in and he's

at the far end of the table and he must be, I don't know, 30 feet from me and he starts talking about the budget deficit and what are we gonna do and we need revenues and I need some help and there was no response made by the labor lobbyists.

So me being me said, well, Governor, I think maybe we need to raise taxes. Well, he went off like a Roman rocket, starts screamin' and yellin'. That's why we're in this problem in the first place, raisin' taxes, losin' business, so he got done and I'm watching.

All the labor lobbyists, they're all pushing their chairs away from the table, so I'm sittin' there like, you know, one-on-one with Cuomo and I said to him, well, you asked me for my opinion and here's my opinion. We oughta raise taxes.

Then he went off on another tirade, so that's the kind of guy he was. I mean, he just -- he was very opinionated. He was very smart. He had a vision of what he wanted to accomplish. He had, as you know, a history of calling up reporters at five or six in the morning and

engaging in a tirade against them for articles they had written, right, so that's just the way he was.

INTERVIEWER: What was his -- what was the dynamic of his relationship with McGowan?

MR. SCANLON: You know, I don't know the answer to that because I didn't really travel in that circle at the time.

INTERVIEWER: Well, then, take it to McDermott. How did the two of them get along?

MR. SCANLON: Oh, pretty much like oil and water. I mean Joe was very smart and opinionated and Mario was smart and opinionated so they -- there was a lot of clash.

INTERVIEWER: Okay. And you talked about, you know, a contract fight. Do you remember a hot day in February --

(Laughter.)

INTERVIEWER: -- and how that came about and what --

MR. SCANLON: Boy, do I. I -- I -- that's indelibly etched in my brain. I can remember when we first started talkin' about it, I was like, no, no, we don't really wanna do

this. The logistics, whatever, we'll do somethin' -- no, no, we -- we're gonna have a small demonstration.

I said, but what if we can't get enough people? I mean, you know, we'll work on it. So then, you know, we put the call out. We started, you know, we told people you gotta write in, tell us how many buses you're bringin', you know, and we thought there was a lot of fluff in the numbers and we thought we'd have maybe 5- or 7,000 people.

Well, the numbers kept comin' in and Ed LaPlant, who was my deputy in political action at the time, he kept -- every day he kept saying, more buses, more buses, and I said this is growing out of control here and we ended up, I think there was like 25,000 people. It was a magnificent site.

First of all, we were in the -- we rallied in the Armory. In the Armory it felt like it was about 130 degrees there. McDermott was up on the stage and Joe Puma and some other folks and, you know, givin' the speeches and gettin' people fired up. Then we marched.

In the meantime, the Albany police were berserk because we said we figured we'd have 5- to 7000 people and there was like 25,000 people. Albany was at gridlock, and this massive piece of humanity marched, you know, down Washington Avenue, snaked around the Capitol. At one point it sort of bifurcated like a snake's tongue and then came back together and we ended up marching over to the Governor's Mansion.

And we had a flatbed truck and we're poundin' on the gates and we're yellin' and screamin' and it was one of the best things we ended up doin' -- ever doing, I mean, but from the getgo it was, like, well, I'm not sure we want to do this, but it was immensely successful.

And the best part was, we got everybody home except one guy missed his bus and we ended up having to fly him back to somewhere in western New York but everybody else we got back to their buses which were parked over in Lincoln Park. I mean it was -- it was amazing.

INTERVIEWER: Did it have an impact on

the Governor?

MR. SCANLON: Well, you like to think it had an impact on the Governor. I mean, to have that many people show up and protest and say, hey, you know, you're not being fair to us. But with the Governor, you never know.

INTERVIEWER: It did -- it did ultimately lead to a resolution of the contract --

MR. SCANLON: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: -- is that right?

MR. SCANLON: Yep.

INTERVIEWER: The -- what -- what would you -- how would you look at the Joe McDermott administration and look at what Joe McDermott's legacy is for CSEA?

MR. SCANLON: Joe had a -- his vision of the union was to really try to instill a lot more professionalism in how things were done and he was also noted for being, I don't wanna say tight-fisted 'cause I loved Joe McDermott, but he was -- he was very cautious with the money and he was very concerned -- you know, we had a fight at one of the conventions to -- to change

the dues structure and part of the fight was really when the money came in that the (inaudible) were paid first and then the locals got the rebate on the remainder, which was a change, and that didn't go over too well with the locals.

But he used his political capital, you know, to get that done. That was -- if I remember correctly, that was in Lake Placid the year we had the early snowstorm and it just was a blizzard. Everything was paralyzed up there. We were sleeping without heat and light and it was kind of interesting.

But he -- he really moved the union forward. He was very involved, for example, I mentioned, you know, the PUC issue, but we also got involved in -- he was chair of the first pension advisory committee for the AFL-CIO and he took a very active role in that and in terms of driving how we do investments and also using money -- and I won't say social investments, but it was -- it was good investments that had a social impact as well.

We got involved with -- with the

mortgage program, you know, looking to basically free up some pension money to allow people with lower incomes or their credit wasn't quite right, more liberal terms to get a mortgage and that was, I think, a very significant accomplishment.

So he did a lot of good things, I thought, as president of the union.

INTERVIEWER: One of the significant -- from an internal perspective, I think, especially things that he did and it was during your time as well at political action was to get the local government agency shop legislation passed.

Can you talk a little bit about that and the difficulty --

MR. SCANLON: I can.

INTERVIEWER: -- in making that happen?

MR. SCANLON: I can. There's a story, I don't know how true it is, that Feathers had cut the deal. Remember now, the Republicans had control of the Senate for something like 99 out of the last 100 years and so you had to do

business with the Senate Republicans.

And supposedly Feathers had -- had cut the deal but when the blow-up came, which I think was 1986 when McGowan and his folks said, well, we're gonna get rid of the law firm, which was a real big split in the union at the time, that deal disappeared, so McDermott got elected in '88 and he said -- oh, that was the other thing when I took the job.

He said -- I said, okay, well, you know, other than like restructuring a new staff, what do you want to get done? And he said I want a local agency government shop. I said, thank you very much, Joe. I mean you've given me an impossible task here.

Anyway we set about, you know, we started lining up our votes and Jim Lack, who was a Republican Senator from Long Island, was very helpful. Nick Spano, Republican Senator from Westchester County, very helpful. And ultimately Joe and I, we drove down to Long Island and we went out to Ralph Marino's office and we basically made the deal in terms of agency shop.

And the Republicans were very concerned about redistricting and losing control of the Senate which they'd had, as I said, for 99 years, and we had a lot of Republican friends and we support a lot of Republicans so we said, you know, we'll be there with you.

So we went into Session, and at that time Kenny Shapiro was our lobbyist, and I remember being at the AFSCME convention in Miami and right at the end of the convention Kenny calls and says, well, the Republicans are ready to move the bill. I said good.

He says, well, I'm not sure. I said what do you mean? He said, well, I don't know if we have the Democratic votes. I said wait a minute. You come out of the Assembly. You're friends with Mel Miller, the speaker. I mean -- he says, yeah, we should be able to do it, but he said I don't know if Cuomo will sign it.

I said what do you mean you don't -- he goes, hey, you know, he's had a bad relationship with you guys and there's no commitment there. And I said, okay, pull the bill. And he said you sure? And I said, yeah,

pull the bill. We'll take another run at it.

So two years later, now I'm in Nevada at the AFSCME convention; it's always bad timing, and Tom Hartnett was our chief lobbyist and we had again wired it up and, you know, we knew we had so many Republican votes that they would deliver, and he called me. He was on the phone with Jim Lack and he said, well, we got a little glitch.

And I went, oh, not again. What is it? He said, well, the Senate Democrats are saying they're not gonna vote for the bill. Why? Well, they think we should have permanent agency shop and I said, yeah, and I should be a millionaire. I said, run the bill. He said are you sure? I said, yeah, they can't afford to vote against us. So they ran the bill and we got 19 or 20 Republican votes and we passed it and that's how we ended up getting local government agency shop.

INTERVIEWER: You referenced earlier the fact that you thought that Joe McDermott did an awful lot to really solidify CSEA's presence in AFSCME. Can you talk a little bit more about

what some of the things were that he did to bring CSEA more fully into the AFSCME orbit?

MR. SCANLON: Well, if you recall, he -- CSEA was really the deciding votes when McEntee got elected after the death of Jerry Wirth, and I don't know all the intimate details but I know that McDermott was -- was supportive of McEntee and obviously looking out with an eye towards the institutional interest of CSEA.

And so when he assumed the presidency -- I mean he had been active, he had become a vice president of AFSCME, but clearly he saw the role that CSEA should play within AFSCME and we were the largest affiliate that AFSCME had, by far, right, by almost a two-to-one margin over DC 37, so he said we need to flex our muscles and, you know, we should be helping drive policy and decision-making, so he played a much bigger role and he had a pretty good relationship with McEntee, although at times there'd be some yellin' and screamin' but that's natural in this business.

And so he really -- he really brought AFSCME -- he really brought CSEA into the AFSCME

family.

INTERVIEWER: I'm asked this of other folks, too. How do you think CSEA has changed AFSCME and how do you think AFSCME has changed CSEA?

MR. SCANLON: Oh, that's a tough question. I think CSEA being active in AFSCME has really helped expand CSEA's world view; that we're not just a New York State union but because of our clout and size and a lot of the programs -- I mean, you know, we should be very proud of what CSEA has accomplished over the years. I mean a very progressive union on a lot of issues, a leader compared to even some of the national unions and we're bigger than a lot of the national unions.

So -- but by playing within AFSCME, you saw the bigger scope there, like -- particularly the national politics and the national, you know, dealing with Congress, with legislation. That you were in a period, you know, we went through the eighties and the nineties; very difficult years because the Feds were devolving government, right, so a lot of

the responsibilities were being pushed back on the State. There were budget issues that are out there, so I think that really helped CSEA's world view.

From an AFSCME perspective it is the largest affiliate. I mean CSEA can throw their weight around saying we think we ought to be going in this direction or that direction, so part of it is -- is mental in terms of what you have to offer, in terms of programs. Part of it is financial. I mean there's a lot of dues money that goes into AFSCME that helps drive program, so it's been a very, I think, real symbiotic relationship.

INTERVIEWER: You talked a little bit about the endorsement of Bill Clinton --

MR. SCANLON: M-m h-m-m.

INTERVIEWER: -- primarily in the context of the relationship with Mario Cuomo, but certainly as you look at the Clinton endorsement, CSEA did it before AFSCME did it and so it became a very significant event for both the international and for CSEA in the way it worked out.

MR. SCANLON: Yep.

INTERVIEWER: What were some of the origins of how that actually happened in terms of the relationship established with Clinton that led to the endorsement?

MR. SCANLON: It's a very interesting process. I happen to have been at an AFSCME board meeting when they brought in the candidates to interview them, and there was -- Clinton showed up, Tom Harkin showed up, Bob Carey showed up. Doug Wilder, Jerry Brown and Songas did not show. And I can remember -- and I was, you know, a staff person.

I was just standing in the back and Harkin came in first and, you know, Harkin's a good labor guy and we had a very close relationship with him and he sort of laid out his plan and fumbled a little bit like, well, who are you hiring for staff, what's your fund-raising, but great on the issues.

Bob Carey came in, nice presentation, and Bob said that, you know, he was talking about, if I remember correctly, national health care, and every answer was, well, we need

national health care. Okay. Well, how about our, like, missile defense, whatever. No, if we had national health care we'd be able to afford missile defense; you know, those kinds of -- so people are, ah-h-h.

Bill Clinton came in and I'll never forget. I mean, this guy worked the room. And then when he spoke he said, here's what I'm gonna talk about and then he talked about it. And then he said and here's what I just talked about. I mean, you know, your quintessential teaching tool, right? Three times?

Then he worked the entire table and I said, boy, this guy's got it. Now I had seen him speak before. Joe and I and Bob Lattimer, we had gone down to the DLC meeting in Louisiana in, I don't know, '90 or '91, and he was very impressive. I mean -- and I remember seeing him speak at the convention where it was like -- it had to be about the worst convention, Democratic convention I've ever seen. It was like you wanted to reach into the TV screen and grab the guy and just yank him off the stage. And it was a great disappointment because I had heard him

speak before that and he was very good.

So we -- he clearly had won over the board. The problem at the time was that there was an AFL rule that said that they tried to build consensus with their endorsement and only upon failing to reach consensus would individual national unions be allowed to make endorsements.

So I'm -- sure as I'm sittin' here, I don't have the proof, but a scheme was hatched between Jerry McEntee and Joe McDermott saying, hey, you guys aren't a national union but clearly you're a major union. You're a big force, big political force. If you endorse, that's a clear signal where we're going, and I think that's how the endorsement came about.

Mike Moran and I got called into Joe McDermott's office and Joe said, hey, let me try somethin' out on ya. What do -- what do you think we -- how about endorsing Bill Clinton? And Mike and I just looked at each other and said, yeah, let's go, baby. And then Joe said, oh, we probably oughta ask Ross because he's negotiating with Cuomo.

As I said earlier, Cuomo was debating

whether he was gonna run, so Ross came in and we were in the conference room next to the president's office and Joe lays this out and then Ross looks at me and he looks at Moran and he goes, well, you guys have already decided this and I'm gonna get my lights punched out here by Cuomo but, yeah, oh sure, let's do it. So that's how we ended up making the endorsement.

INTERVIEWER: What -- in retrospect what did that mean for CSEA?

MR. SCANLON: Well, what it means is Clinton has never forgot that -- that CSEA was first out of the box. Not only out of the box in terms of endorsing but we sent people over to New Hampshire. We sent staff over to New Hampshire, we had volunteers, we had van loads of people come from other union -- other AFSCME unions, DC 37, 1707. We sent people to Michigan, which was an early primary state at the time, so he got a lot of support here.

He had been here, one of his first trips into Albany, at St. Rose. He came in and Hilary was flying in from somewhere else and she

was a little delayed so we were waiting, and they made a joint appearance and I believe this was -- I think it was after New Hampshire, but I'm not positive. It could have been just before, but it was one of the first times that they were really together on the campaign trail.

Did a great job, obviously, speaking to the audience and so it really, I think, vaulted CSEA. I mean everybody knows that CSEA was the first union out to endorse Bill Clinton.

INTERVIEWER: Come back to another figure in that -- kind of that same time frame and that's Carl McCall.

MR. SCANLON: M-m h-m-m.

INTERVIEWER: He was appointed as the State Comptroller. CSEA shortly thereafter joined with him in a lawsuit over another attempt to raid the pension system and he stood up to Cuomo. Did that really solidify the relationship between CSEA and Carl McCall?

MR. SCANLON: Yeah. We always had a good relationship with Carl, but he certainly was a stand-up guy, you know, on the pension stuff and we had been fightin' -- and Ned Regan

had done actually a good job as Comptroller in terms of our relationship with him, but when the -- when the system started to get really flush, he was basically giving rate decreases to all the employers and we said, well, wait a minute. We got people paying three percent of their salary. I mean, we gotta do something for the folks as well, and he wouldn't do that and he moved on.

Actually it was interesting because just before that, Carol Bellamy -- and I'm tryin' to remember. She -- she held some kind of financial position. We backed her in the run for Comptroller and we thought we had her elected. It was a very close race and she worked very hard and she actually out-polled Cuomo in, I think, 23 of the 26 Upstate counties and we were all over for her and she'll never forget that.

And we were down in New York for the vote count and the numbers were comin' in and we went, wow, this is great. I mean, you know, these -- these are like Upstate numbers and the City comes in later, so we're gonna win big.

Well -- and that was the usual practice but, as it turned out it wasn't. The early numbers were the City numbers and even though she won some of the counties Upstate, it wasn't enough to -- to offset like Erie County, so she lost by a very narrow margin.

We've always had a great interest because New York has a sole trustee for the pension system. Immense power, and it was sort of the precursor to what's going on now in terms of activism by unions in terms of pension fund investments and leveraging your -- your pension monies to get done what you have to get done, and I think Carl was really on the cutting edge of that.

INTERVIEWER: When he ran for re-election, CSEA really formed the backbone of his election campaign, what -- you know, what went on in that particular fight that he went under?

MR. SCANLON: Well, one thing I remember was we were not happy with the way the campaign was being structured and run and we had a meeting at a restaurant over here and we

basically said to him, if you don't -- we're gonna put some of our people in to help run this thing and if -- if you don't run it the right way we're pullin' out. We can't afford this, and he said, no, no, I understand, and they shaped up the campaign and he won it.

We've had to do that with -- with a number of electeds where they are not -- they're good campaigners but they don't have a good campaign operation, and we think it's our responsibility, if we're gonna endorse somebody, to get them elected, not just give them a paper endorsement. So we put staff -- we did the same thing with Maurice Hinchey when he first ran for Congress and the campaign was muddled and we had -- had put a staff person in and I said -- I said if you don't get a campaign manager, we're pulling everything out and he said, no, no, I understand. I got problems and Eleanor and Ash Brown came in and so I think from a union perspective, you know, when you commit money, marbles and chalk you gotta be serious about it.

INTERVIEWER: How did you see Carl McCall cultivate his relationship with CSEA?

MR. SCANLON: A couple of ways. One is he had an excellent relationship with his staff people. I mean they really liked him and he was a genuine person and he's held a number of positions. I mean he comes from an interesting background and he -- you know, he was a UN ambassador and school board chancellor or whatever the title was. I mean he -- he really is a man of many talents, but he really had a feel for the common working person and that's very impressive.

INTERVIEWER: You -- you've mentioned earlier that besides yourself there have really only been three executive directors in CSEA's history. What is particularly challenging about being the executive director of CSEA?

MR. SCANLON: Well, it's a -- it's an interesting -- as you know, staff members, people who work for the union, are not union members, so I've never been a CSEA member. And there was always this dynamic tension between the elected leadership and the staff leadership.

And there was some sort of -- maybe some resentment and people said, well, I'm

elected to an office and I'm elected by the members and I oughta be leading the union, which we agree with. We said from a staff perspective our job is to make sure that the union functions, so there was always that -- you know, and Joe Dolan was a pretty large personality. Joe Lochner had been around a long time. I mean he was the union for a long time. I think it was himself and a clerical basically when it started, I mean, and he built quite an operation.

Bernie Zoonak came in from the outside, from a federal union, had really no understanding of what CSEA was all about and he didn't last long.

I came up through the union. I mean I -- I had served, I don't know, 18, 20 years of the time and I -- I always viewed myself as someone to get things done. I had no desire to be out front, you know, to be like an elected, so I think it worked very well that way.

That, you know, Joe was the elected president and he was very hands-on, and I was sort of, you know, behind the scenes making sure

that -- that the trains were on time.

INTERVIEWER: What -- well, what is uniquely challenging about CSEA in terms of trying to, you know, in terms of trying to move an agenda forward? What are the real challenges of that?

MR. SCANLON: Well, the -- you have -- there's physical challenges in terms of -- first of all, it's a huge state. I mean when you talk to people, and I travel through the country a lot, and I'll say, you know, I'm originally from New York, and they'll say New York City? And I'll say no, I'm from Kingston, New York which is 90 miles north of the City. It's like in another planet.

And the further you go Upstate, it's really different. I mean it's a beautiful state but it's -- it's huge in its dimension, it's varied in its social and economic classes. We have -- at the time I think we had about a thousand contracts that we were responsible for negotiating. We were in every county. We had the State workers who were dispersed all over the state. You know, we have -- you know, a

little DOT barn in an area that's off by themselves but they deserve the same kind of representation that a, you know, a thousand people at, you know, Central Islip site deserve so, you know, it -- the logistics of getting it done was amazing.

Big staff. I mean I don't remember the exact number but I'm gonna guess that we had like 400 staff people and a lot of them were decentralized out of headquarters, they were all over the place, so you're trying to manage staff.

You know, you're trying to build esprit de corps, which is hard at times because there was a staff union that had been on strike several times, and I was in the staff union. I was on strike. I was their strike leader. I was the grievance steward. I was on negotiating teams. In fact, I was about to run for vice president of the union, staff union, when I got promoted out of the bargaining unit. Not that I'm suggesting there was anything nefarious in that, but...

So it's -- it is a challenge. I mean

it's -- you have any range of different occupational titles, you know, thousands of 'em all over the board and, you know, the job is -- you do this because you wanna help people improve their lives and that's why you work for a union and there's a lot of lives out there to improve.

INTERVIEWER: As you went through your career at CSEA were there things that surprised you about the organization that kind of like caught you unexpec...you know, you were sort of like not expecting to discover certain things at different times?

MR. SCANLON: Strangely, when I started I literally went from my house into the field, never had any training or orientation. We finally got called up, Quimby and I and I think it was George Sinko, to headquarters and we got our briefcase, which was very large, and when you packed stuff it was very heavy. We got an old -- like a Victor adding machine. It was a huge -- or a calculator. It was like one of the precursors to what we have today and we got a Civil Service Law book and that was it.

And our parting shot was we got called in to Joe Lochner's office and he said I have two things to tell ya, so we're on the edge of our seat waiting for this man of wisdom to talk to us. And he said, number one, don't cheat on your expense accounts. Number two, sell that insurance, and I sat back and said, oh my God, what have I gotten myself into, because I had no interest in insurance.

Well, it turns out, obviously, we had a very -- I didn't know at the time -- lucrative but also very good insurance program for our members, but I was more interested in social justice and I was coming -- I was a child of the sixties, you know, out marching against the Viet Nam War and there was race riots and civil rights and all that stuff, so I wanted to change the world. I wasn't worried about selling insurance, so that was sort of a splash of cold water in my face.

But once you get out there, you know, working with the members, it was a blast. I mean they're just great people and you -- you feel fulfilled when you're out there and you

negotiate a contract, you win a grievance, you save a job. I mean Belle McKeiser sticks in my mind, that woman that was a Civil Service Commission employee actually where they tried to fire her illegally. We saved her job.

And I can remember one of my union presidents, Norma Condon, called me up one day and said the superintendent wants to see you. What should I do? I said, well, what does he want to talk about and she said about the contract. Well, I said, go see him. She said, well, what if he makes me an offer? I said, well, you know, don't make any commitments but take it in and give me a call, so she goes in. An hour later she calls me and she says he just offered me a three-year contract, ten percent a year. I'm gonna take it.

I said, no, no. I said does that include increments or is that plus increments? She goes, well, I don't know. I said, well, go back in and tell him its ten percent plus increments, right? She says can I do that? I said, yeah, go do that, so she goes in and he says, yeah, of course.

So that -- that negotiation was done in an hour, one-on-one, I mean, to the benefit of our members, right, so, you know, it's all those anecdotes when you look back.

When I first decided I was gonna go into the union movement, it was I wanted to -- to leave my footprint in concrete, not sand; to make a difference in the world and the union movement has allowed me to do that and I can look back and see how -- and not just me. A lot of people have really made a difference in people's lives and that's what it's all about.

INTERVIEWER: Why do you think CSEA has been able to endure for a hundred years?

MR. SCANLON: I think they've had good leadership. I think they've had a democratic union. It's one of the few ones where members actually vote for their statewide officers. You know, a lot of unions have -- they elect delegates who go to conventions and elect officers but CSEA is a direct democracy, which is something I hope they keep. I mean it's a pain in the butt at times to administer and people argue, well, only 20, 25 percent of the

people vote but, hey, 100 percent have the opportunity to vote, right, and it's been very progressive in terms of its leadership.

It's hired good staff and staff have done their job so it's a combination of factors that -- and I think they have a sense of purpose. You know, it's like when you're marching an army into war, they have to know what they're marching for, and I think the CSEA leaders and staff and the members understand what they're fighting for.

INTERVIEWER: Are there any major events and actions that we missed in our conversation that --

MR. SCANLON: I'll tell ya, it -- you know, when I think about it, I've been working for the union movement now more than 31 years and when you look back you say, wow, those were great years. When you live them, they could be tough years. As I said when we started out it was -- we were an independent, we were being raided, so part of the marching orders were that, you know, you wine and dine and you develop relationships with all the leaders out

there.

So I would be out every night. I mean it was interesting. When I worked in the field I would be out every night, many times till 11, 12, 1 o'clock in the morning, either negotiating contracts or going to a school board meeting or, you know, wining and dining a local or unit president. Didn't work a lot of weekends. At that time, you know, we didn't have a very extensive training program. We'd only work weekends if there was like a strike. There weren't that many membership meetings on a weekend.

And then when you go into headquarters it's exact opposite. You know, you have a more defined work schedule during the week and, you know, you get home at 6, 7 o'clock. A lot more weekend work because you're going out to different meetings, so it was -- it was really tough, you know, if you had a young family.

You know, if you look back at the -- the history of leadership and staff, I mean there was probably a lot of alcoholism, a lot of, you know, broken marriages and it's a

mentally -- you have to be mentally committed to do this and some people handle it well and some don't.

But it was tough. You had young kids, you know, you didn't see 'em as much as you wanted to. You know, you have to do what you gotta do.

INTERVIEWER: Anything else you'd like to add or --

MR. SCANLON: I'll have to go back into my files and see -- there's all -- I mean there's such great stories.

(Laughter.)

MR. SCANLON: Some of 'em, you'd have to change the names to protect the guilty and some are probably -- some illegal things went on, but I think I'll save those for my memoirs.

INTERVIEWER: Sounds good. Well, Larry, thank you very much.

MR. SCANLON: Steve, thank you.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

MR. SCANLON: This is a great project. I really --

INTERVIEWER: Covered a lot of -- a

lot of territory, yeah.

MR. SCANLON: Yeah. You know, it's --

(Conclusion of interview of Larry Scanlon.)