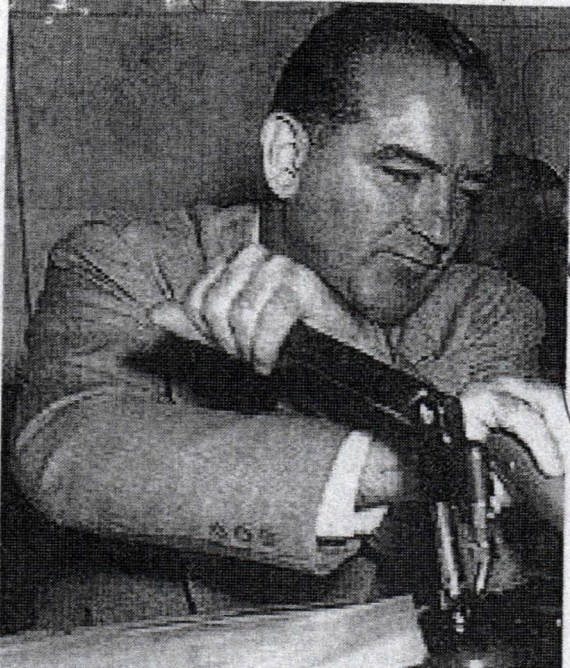




me to give a talk on the Coleman family's McCarthy connections

206

206

→ and connecting McCarthy to env. destruction etc. - showed Point of Order at the end of the talk A.

Madison-Kipp Corporation

"McCarthyism, Pollution, and a Madison Corporate Family Dynasty, 1946-2007"

In 1946, Wisconsin's Senator Robert La Follette Jr. was defeated by little known candidate **Joe McCarthy** in the Wisconsin Republican primary. McCarthy, who went on to win La Follette's Senate seat, was financed by a coalition of wealthy industrialists, including the owners of the **Madison-Kipp Corporation**.

His political career would be synonymous with rightwing repression against unions, civil liberties, progressivism, and leftism at home and abroad which would leave scars on the American political psyche to this day.

◆ **Veteran environmental activist Anne Chacon** will show the award-winning film **"POINT OF ORDER"** about the Army-McCarthy hearings, and illuminate some of the hidden history behind a major perpetrator of Madison near east side pollution.

Sunday, June 24th * 7pm (2007)

Cafe Zoma * 2326 Atwood Ave.

Free admission. Coffee, wine, beer and other beverages and snacks available.

This program (re-scheduled from Earth Day) is sponsored by
The Peregrine Forum and Lakeside Press

For more info, please call 442-8399



(This flyer was put together by...)



Maria- Please consult w/me
before using any of this in a book -
I'd want to re-fact-check if any of it
is excerpted - A.

McCarthyism, Pollution, and a Madison Corporate Family Dynasty, 1946 to 2007

Thank you all for coming tonight! Before we get to the politics of pollution, I'd like to thank the Café Zoma for hosting the talk and documentary tonight, and co-sponsors the Peregrine Forum and Lakeside Press, which produced the fabulous posters with the very revealing photo of Joe McCarthy! I'll be starting in about 5 minutes, so if you want a snack, solid or liquid—teetotaling or wine or beer—you can get it at the counter. Café Zoma and Lakeside Press have very generously donated their respective space and services, and I'm certain Zoma wouldn't mind selling you something enticing!

===== [5-10-minute hiatus]

I was a political babe in the woods when I moved to Madison in the late 1970s—although I had grown up outside the Beltway on the East Coast and lived in the South, in Europe, on the West Coast, and in Washington, D. C. before I moved with my 8-year-old son to what I thought would be the bucolic Midwest, a great place for a kid to grow up in, with no urban problems, a university with some departments found almost nowhere else, clean air and water, honest people....

In 1981 I bought a house on rustic South Marquette Street, off Atwood Avenue. Although I knew there was a factory in a very old building just over my back fence, I knew almost nothing about it: It didn't intrude on our lives; it wasn't excessively noisy, or polluting, and I figured that it was well controlled by regulatory agencies, since Madison was a very progressive, civilized city in honest, civilized Wisconsin, which would never allow an industry so close to its residential neighbors to harm those neighbors.

For the next 9 years life was good. And then, one early morning in 1990, I had a rude awakening—literally! I was jolted awake by a cacophony of pounding metal and a chemical stench that seemed to squeeze my lungs shut--both coming from the Madison-Kipp Corp., which my bedroom faced. I called Kipp to find out what was causing the new noise and fumes, and I was told that Kipp was doing some building and modification of its operations, and that both the noise and fumes would last only until the work was done—i.e., several weeks.

(I wrote this summary after I gave the talk - from extensive notes I have its informal style!

Unfortunately, the ear-crushing noise and unbreathable fumes continued. Sleeping in my bedroom became impossible. Soon a painfully loud rhythmic roar (from Kipp's new huge furnace compressed-air delivery system) could be heard all over South Marquette Street, beginning normally and building to a crescendo in about 30 seconds, and then slowly lessening before building rhythmically again, all day and all night. I began to get intense earaches and ear infections.

The Kipp Corp. was expanding, without considering its neighbors in any way. I had always accepted that living behind a factory entailed some aesthetic problems, but in a law-abiding society, rights are tied to obligations. Kipp's owners (and I didn't even know who they were at that point) were treating our neighborhood as a company-owned noise and toxic-pollution dump. Since the Kipp Corp. operated 24 hours a day, usually 6 or 7 days a week, more than 300 days a year, nearby residents suddenly found themselves unable to sleep, read or concentrate in their houses, use their back yards, or open their windows in warm or hot weather, and under continuous stress from Kipp's invasive roaring noise and toxic fumes. For the first time, I experienced intense nausea and breathing difficulties when I was otherwise in perfect health.

After about a month of this ceaseless onslaught, I was both furious and curious. But I still assumed that the formerly accommodating Kipp Corp. wasn't really aware of just how much it was affecting neighbors' quality of life and health. I invited a small group of affected neighbors, Kipp's environmental and health manager (then Katie Trachte, a nurse) and its second-highest executive, Tom Caldwell, to meet in my back yard to allow Kipp's managers to experience first hand Kipp's effects on the neighborhood. I childishly believed that once they had experienced Kipp's effects themselves, they would install noise and pollution controls—which were readily available and quite affordable—on Kipp's operations and that the neighborhood would return to its former pleasant, livable state.

Ms. Trachte (the last nurse and last woman hired by Kipp as their environmental, health, and safety manager) tried to be accommodating, and I talked to her often about installing mufflers on Kipp's air compressors. When noise and fumes were overwhelming at night, I sometimes called Kipp to let the night foreman know. One foreman (before Kipp prohibited workers on the night shift from talking to the public—or at least to me) was very open about the workers' difficult working conditions at Kipp. (Kipp, in its many

decades of operation, has successfully prevented a union from representing its workers, using time-honored intimidation.) The rest of the Kipp establishment was deaf to neighbors' pleas for controls.

In late 1990 I put together a petition demanding an end to the invasive roaring noise and unhealthy fumes, which was signed by many South Marquette Street residents. I called Kipp and was able to set up a meeting at Kipp with Ms. Trachte and the owner and chairman of the Kipp Corp.--who I learned was Reed Coleman--to present the petition. I had no idea of what to expect. I soon found out why our efforts had met with so little success.

Owner Reed Coleman, then in his fifties, had the demeanor of a man who was seldom opposed. He read our petition with quiet anger and immediately put me on the defensive. When I began to explain the specifics of the petition, he indicated to me that I had no right to "talk back" to him--that while on his turf, I would say what he allowed me to. He told me that he planned to call every signer of the petition to find out whether they really had a problem with Kipp's noise and fumes, insinuating that I might have been devious. (I later learned that Kipp did call and question every petition signer.) When I did not back down, Mr. Coleman dismissed me arrogantly and angrily. This meeting, 17 years ago now, was my first and only meeting with Kipp's owner, Madison multimillionaire and philanthropist Reed Coleman, and it was my introduction to hardball industrial corporate politics in America.

With the support of then-environmental-manager Katie Trachte, and almost daily contacts with Kipp, Kipp eventually (after many months) installed a muffler on its furnace compressor, so that its loud roar became uniform, rather than an endless crescendo-decrescendo wave. Although less irritating than before, the roar was still far too loud for me to sleep in my own bedroom (it was loudest at night), and I began sleeping in my basement with a radio on all night. (I have not used my bedroom, except for storage, since then.)

I learned that noise was "regulated" (!) in Madison by the Madison Public Health Department. Air pollution, water pollution, and soil contamination are regulated by the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. (The Kipp Corp. was, by the way, chartered in the business-friendly state of Delaware, as are many sophisticated businesses.) I then contacted many city and state noise-regulation departments and directors around the country, and ordered and distributed to Madison officials copies of many U.S. noise ordinances. I compared them with Madison's outrageously lax noise ordinance, which was

5

two decades old and vague and unenforceable, permitting continuous noise at night far louder than the Milwaukee, Chicago, New York City, and most other noise ordinances. Madison Planning Department officials said that there had been a concerted attempt a decade before to modernize (tighten, better define, and add real noncompliance penalties to) Madison's noise ordinance, but that industrialist opposition (especially from Kipp owner Reed Coleman) had prevented the stricter ordinance from even being voted on by the Common Council.

There was a new, innovative noise-control-technology company in Middleton, and I sent some of their modern industrial noise-control literature to Kipp's environmental manager. Kipp managers and executives claimed that this technology "would not work" for Kipp's operations, without convincingly detailing why.

I went to the Isthmus with the noise problem in fall 1992 after meeting only official stonewalling during two years of collection of information on noise control, letters to public officials, research into previous noise-ordinance efforts, and calls to the only entity empowered to respond to noise complaints—the city Police Department—which knew nothing about how to measure noise pollution and invariably laughed at my efforts to have noise complaints reported ("It's a factory—what do you expect?" they usually said, as if money trumped health and quality of life by divine right). The Isthmus story was the first press investigative coverage of Kipp's reckless new policy and practices.

Another couple joined my noise-control efforts after reading the fall 1992 Isthmus article. Jean Tucker and Bill Martinez owned a house behind the Central Storage and Warehouse Company, a large, prosperous refrigeration company on Cottage Grove Road, which had been rebuilt after a huge fire several years before. The new CSW noise, like Kipp's, was low-frequency compressor noise; it was so loud that Jean and Bill often slept in their basement. Like Kipp's owner, CSW's owner was a noted local dispenser of monetary largesse to very visible local causes—the American Players Theatre notable among them.

Jean, Bill, and I worked continuously—with the fearless help of then-City-Councilman Reverend Tim Kehl—to get the Madison Noise Ordinance strengthened. Public meetings and press and broadcast coverage increased. A noise committee was finally formed by then-Mayor Paul Soglin, but,

perhaps in response to behind-the-scenes maneuvering by Kipp's owners, without the amazing Tim Kehl on it. (Mr. Soglin evinced something akin to contempt for the idea that Madison needed a stricter noise ordinance.) Both the public and industry representatives were prohibited from participating in the frequent noise committee meetings, and Jill Matzke, then the Madison Health Department's environmental health director (she knew almost nothing about noise control), chaired the committee with rigidity.

Both Kipp and MG&E lobbyists attended every meeting, as did Jean, Bill, and I; the Madison Chamber of Commerce also regularly sent an attendee; the C of C and MG&E opposed any change in the old, lax ordinance, perhaps in deference to the very powerful Mr. Coleman. (Kipp's attendee was Jack Schroeder, who had replaced nurse Katie Trachte as Kipp's environmental manager; during his several years in that position, he was used as a lobbyist by Kipp to oppose both noise and pollution controls by Kipp, although he was their health and safety manager! After several years, Jack Schroeder also left Kipp. There have been several succeeding environmental managers since, including Joe Dufford and finally longtime Kipp engineer Jim Lenz. Mr. Lenz's approach to health and safety is more that of a PR man than of a health and safety manager.)

The Noise Committee, lobbied at every turn by Kipp and its corporate friends, finally produced a "revised" noise ordinance with a noise limit only a very few decibels lower than the original lax one's, with only ludicrously tiny fines for violation and no mechanism for the city to monitor stationary noise when it occurred at night. Watching Madison city employees and City Council members delay action, waste endless time, and make self-serving speeches at Council meetings about the need not to "hurt" business was Step No. 2 in my political awakening.

When a fairly decent first draft ordinance was finally ready for a vote, Kipp and its big business friends cried that they hadn't had a role on the Noise Committee, and the whole process of coming up with a new noise ordinance began all over again—this time with Business on the committee but not the public. By that time, Jean and Bill had moved to another state, disgusted with the large gap between Madison's reputation for fair and progressive government and its reality of slavish kowtowing to unprincipled local monied kingpins.

7

From the early 1990s on, the neighborhood's new untenable noise and pollution produced increasing neighborhood tension, and longtime (and newer) residents began to move. There were reports that Kipp was working to turn sympathetic neighbors against those of us who were trying to end the invasive noise and pollution. Formerly friendly neighbors socialized less with one another. Neighbors with work ties to Kipp (many retired) were reluctant to confront Kipp's management.

I heard more than once from Kipp executives, "We [Kipp] were here first; if you don't like it, MOVE." I saw no reason to be bullied into leaving when the Kipp Corp. was the irresponsible and unethical party. Its defiant reaction to our reasonable requests for relief made me believe that Kipp—under the able leadership of Mr. Coleman—had something big to hide. Why else would a millionaire industrialist refuse to make the affordable and responsible accommodations that would have drawn appreciation and kudos from his neighbors, instead responding with personal verbal attacks (some almost slanderous), unctuous letters to city officials, and endless delays? Did Kipp have so much to hide that admitting that any part of his operations was excessively noisy, dirty, and dangerous would open a floodgate into other present or past abuses? Unless that were true, Kipp's obstructiveness made no sense. So my research venture into the web of power and intimidation that protected Kipp began.

By 1993 several neighborhood groups (one called "Neighbors for a Healthy Environment") had formed to try to induce Kipp to control its pollution and noise. Kipp management treated all of them with disdain, often attempting to turn group members against one another and implying continually that "only a small group of neighborhood business-bashers" were concerned about Kipp's "entirely safe" environmental practices.

Kipp was still steadily expanding, still with low stacks, open windows, doors, and bay doors, virtually no pollution-control technology, despite residents' continual and ever-increasing complaints of noise and pollution and their health and life-quality effects to Wisconsin DNR's Air Management Bureau, the Madison Health Department, and even the State Health Department. Neighbors and environmental and health specialists organized and attended dozens of public meetings and DNR public hearings protesting DNR's acquiescence in each requested uncontrolled expansion by Kipp. (DNR's public hearings were really only pro-forma hearings; virtually everything Kipp wanted was eventually granted by DNR and the City.)

I began going to DNR and reviewing Kipp and DNR correspondence and memos, test results, requested new permits, complaints filed by neighbors, and other Kipp-related documents (DNR's files are open to the public, although DNR is increasingly defensive about them and Kipp has tried to have such processes as its RCI furnace "chlorine-injection formula" classified as "Secret" (sometimes as "trade secrets") by DNR). Until the so-called "Jobs Creation Act" was passed by the Wisconsin Legislature in the early 2000s, detailed and sometimes long-delayed permits were required by DNR for any new industrial process, machinery, or equipment that would substantially increase pollution.

As neighborhood complaints continued to grow, and demands and petitions by neighbors and neighborhood groups to DNR to do its job and regulate Kipp increased, DNR Air Management engineer Tom Roushar conducted a thorough unannounced inspection of Kipp in early 1994 (shortly before the "Reorganization" of DNR by Governor Tommy Thompson). On March 15, 1994 Kipp was issued its first Letter of Noncompliance by Mr. Roushar, and charged with four counts of probable noncompliance with Wisconsin Natural Resources regulations, including allowing particulate matter to be vented into factory and then neighborhood air; emitting much more than .3 lb of particulate matter from heated furnaces per 1,000 lb of gas; permitting VOC emissions (from its heated die-lubricant) to be emitted which substantially contributed to the exceeding of an air standard, and failing to control photochemically reactive VOC emissions by 85 percent. A response was requested by DNR within 14 days.

The Kipp Corp.'s response to this Letter of Noncompliance was to foot-drag and deny through its corporate lawyers that it was in noncompliance. Further insistence by DNR that Kipp take timely action on this Letter was met with further foot-dragging. In fact, DNR did not find Kipp in compliance with this Letter until mid-1996 (after DNR had been "reorganized" and the DNR Secretary made directly accountable to the governor, rather than being an independent agency head). By then, several more multipart Letters of Noncompliance and a more serious Notice of Violation had been issued to Kipp; the Notice of Violation included modifying an aluminum furnace to permit injection with the hazardous air pollutant (HAP) chlorine gas, without a DNR permit—a very serious violation, especially adjacent to a residential area and without pollution controls.

I think this should be mid-1997 -
to be safe, I'd say "until several years later" -

In mid-1996, all the Letters of Noncompliance and the Notice of Violation were finally pronounced satisfied at a public DNR meeting at Olbrich Gardens.

The public at that meeting was incensed by DNR's insistence that Kipp had corrected its violative operations. In fact, since 1995, Kipp had been permitted by DNR to greatly add to its pollution. In the mid-1990s, DNR allowed Kipp to install a diesel-powered (diesel fuel is a carcinogen) generator with a low stack (and no scrubber) about 70 feet from my house—again, over public protest. The Olbrich Gardens public meeting, scheduled as merely “informational” by Kipp, DNR, the City Health Department, and the State Health Department, became a verbal free-for-all, with a debate over Kipp's potential to produce dioxin and a very angry and participatory public.

The Environmental Defense Fund has reported that Kipp's total air pollution (including chlorine and hydrochloric acid) was approximately 22 times higher in 1997 than in 1990—and during all that time DNR was constantly investigating Kipp and finding it in violation of state environmental laws!

DNR has the right to fine a company in violation of environmental statutes up to \$35,000 a day for each day (after a grace period) in which it remains in violation. Yet DNR has never fined Kipp a penny, although Kipp has been in noncompliance or violation of MULTIPLE state statutes for as long as 2 YEARS. DNR gets tough with many companies all over the state; what kind of hold does Kipp have over state regulators?

Everyone who lives on the East Side knows something of the special treatment Kipp has gotten since 1990 by the City of Madison and Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. It was allowed to operate under an “application shield” (i.e., without a permanent operating permit) between the mid-1990s and 2001, while DNR air-pollution modelers worked assiduously with Kipp-Corp. executives and engineers to show (unconvincingly) that Kipp was a “minor” pollution source not subject to the much more stringent controls required of major polluters. (In 1989, even before Kipp began purifying low-quality molten aluminum in on-site furnaces with reactive HAP chlorine gas, a DNR Air Management analyst rejected another DNR employee's assessment of Kipp as a “minor” pollution source, stating that it was an “A-1, major source” of pollution. (I heard later that this analyst, Dale Ziege, had been

transferred by DNR to its Parks and Recreation or Forestry Department!) And eight years later, in 1997, when Kipp's pollution was c. 22 times greater than in 1989, Kipp was STILL classified by DNR as a "minor" source of pollution!)

DNR and City of Madison (which in the mid-1990s promised to conduct a health survey near Kipp but after a year decided not to, saying that such a survey would be inconclusive (HERE PERHAPS READ FROM TOM CALDWELL'S LETTER TO DNR SECRETARY GEORGE MEYER)) have actually CONTRIBUTED to the toxic and hazardous pollution of Madison, in knowingly giving Kipp free rein to pollute at will, producing new permits after tests showed Kipp in violation so that the allowed pollution would match what tests showed Kipp was actually producing! There is evidence in DNR's files that DNR Air Management engineers were themselves extremely frustrated, and even angry, at being required to "put up or shut up," but to my knowledge none of the Air Management engineers who have worked with Kipp has ever resigned from DNR in disgust. (An exception may be Biren Patel, who, several days after the close of the public-comment period on the most recent Kipp permanent operating permit, permitting Kipp to quintuple its aluminum-salts emissions and double its particulate emissions—one very similar to the previous pollution-increasing permit withdrawn by Kipp because air-monitoring was required by the Administrative Law Judge's decision in Clean Air Madison's Contested Case Hearing in 2005—declared the permit approved "after careful consideration" [several days of consideration!] and immediately transferred to the Wisconsin Department of Administration! However, Mr. Patel never betrayed any dissatisfaction with Kipp's rampant pollution increases during his years with Air Management, so the reason for his departure remains a mystery.)

Kipp bought the former Madison Bus Barn property on Fair Oaks Avenue from the City of Madison in the mid-1990s, under a land contract with the City, presumably without having the soil checked for gasoline and its breakdown products. My request of local Alderwoman Judy Olson to hold a public hearing on whether Kipp should be allowed to expand on Fair Oaks—while it had still not satisfied its Letters of Noncompliance and Notice of Violation—was rejected by Ms. Olson.

(In 1970, the former Madison Bus Barn property (almost 16 lots) had been bought by the City from the Madison Bus Company for one dollar (\$1.00), it must be assumed because both the Madison Bus Company and the City of

Madison were convinced (or knew) that gasoline contamination was present in the property's soil. It was—but this contamination was discovered too late—in the 1990s—by workmen, after Kipp had covered the formerly empty field with prefabricated metal buildings housing industrial processes—again, next to houses.) No matter WHAT Kipp did, to the City of Madison, was just fine.

Perhaps most egregious, Kipp, the City of Madison, and WDNR covered up the fact that Kipp had (perhaps deliberately) leaked the hazardous chlorinated solvent tetrachloroethene (PCE) from an (illegal) bottom vent in a storage tank in its back industrial yard, into a ditch about 120 feet from my yard, in the not-too-distant past, and had since the early 1990s been being investigated about it by DNR's Bureau of Remediation and Redevelopment. The concentration of PCE in Kipp's soil exceeded DNR standards by as much as several million times; the highest concentration of PCE was 6.4 million micrograms per kilogram—SEVERAL MILLION TIMES the concentration permitted by state law! (Other contaminants found in high concentration included trichloroethene, dichloroethene, and trimethylbenzene.) For years, while DNR was overseeing a required investigation and cleanup of these hazardous compounds, neighbors who had heard about them from investigators were repeatedly told by DNR and the City Engineering and Water departments that “no such contamination had occurred”—a direct lie.

The groundwater was also enormously and illegally contaminated with these chemicals, and tetrachloroethylene and trichloroethylene (among other VOCs) have been listed in the Madison Water Utility's last two (perhaps more) water-quality reports as among the volatile organic compounds now in a number of Madison drinking-water samples (the most recent maximum tetrachloroethylene concentration was 3.1 ppb). These are EXTREMELY hazardous industrial volatile organic compounds; THEY SHOULD NOT BE IN OUR DRINKING WATER AT ALL. If they did not originate with Kipp, it is difficult to see which industry might have leaked them into our groundwater, the source of all Madison's drinking water. The stir about manganese is a tempest in a teacup compared with the existence of hazardous VOCs in our drinking water.

Following the 2004 Clean Air Madison Contested Case Hearing against Kipp, the company acquired space in a new, modern industrial park in Sun Prairie, about 10 miles away. It decided to place its new operations there, and told its employees, neighbors, and DNR that it planned to move its existing Atwood Avenue operations to that park soon. But in a deft switch, in January of this

year, DNR announced that Kipp had requested (and it very quickly received from DNR) an expansive permit for the same old facility on Atwood Avenue—a permit very similar to the draft one Kipp had withdrawn following the Contested Case Hearing decision in 2005. (READ FROM MY COMMENTS TO DNR.) I have heard that Kipp recently told devastated neighbors on Waubesa Street that they were in the process of “moving out.” But they’ve said that before; in fact, they’ve made multiple promises and statements that were later retracted. So East Side residents will believe it when they see it; until then, we’re all skeptics.

So that’s an overview of “the Kipp problem.” Kipp has been allowed to get away with putting the health and lives of East Siders in jeopardy—especially the most vulnerable—children, the elderly, asthmatics, and people with fragile immune systems. DNR’s files contain thousands of health and quality-of-life complaints, from hundreds of people, over more than 17 years. And it has for much longer than 17 years contaminated the area around it by indiscriminate dumping—in the air, soil, groundwater, and waterways—of toxic material and substances. (Mention, and perhaps read from, the chemical & metal fact sheet.)

Kipp also has frequent dangerous fires, worker accidents, and worker collapse from toxic fumes. A worker recently lost fingers in a Kipp accident; a resultant federal OSHA investigation was followed by numerous serious safety citations of Kipp by OSHA. Workers are sometimes evacuated during these incidents, but to my knowledge, NEIGHBORS ARE NEVER EVEN NOTIFIED OF FIRES, much less the hazards of chemical fumes from those fires. (I have lived adjacent to Kipp for 26 years, and I have never been notified by Kipp—and rarely by DNR—of a single fire or hazardous spill or emission. Almost all my information about Kipp’s operations comes directly from DNR’s public files on its investigations of Kipp. I have also experienced their fires first hand—big ones are dangerously evident to adjacent neighbors.)

Kipp fact sheets (which Kipp dispenses liberally at public meetings) are usually primarily PR blurbs, and sometimes contain outright, usually easily disprovable, lies. If you’ve lived in Madison for long, you know that Kipp has

received a lot of (mostly negative) press coverage. Yet STILL, like the Bush Administration, it continues to take dangerous action that harms its own reputation as much as neighbors' health. Again, there is a smoking gun somewhere, just as there is in the Bush Administration. Perhaps having been unprincipled once, a reckless disregard for other human beings (at least for nonmillionaires) becomes a way of life. And secrecy, behind-the-scenes power, and official "anonymity" have certainly been a way of life for the family that has owned Kipp for almost 90 years—especially for the present Chairman and owner, J. Reed Coleman.

Let's look at the history of Reed Coleman's family:

In the early 1900s, present Kipp owner Reed Coleman's grandfather came to Madison from Chicago and worked in the 19th-century building that is today one part of the much larger Atwood-Waubesa Madison-Kipp Corp. complex. (Various industries have been housed for about 120 years in the building(s) on that plot of land.) He gradually bought into the existing business, and by the early 1920s was the president and controlling owner of the Madison-Kipp Corp. (I believe that its previous name was the Mason-Kipp Corporation; that name is still on the back of one of Kipp's oldest buildings.) At his retirement in 1927, his son, Thomas E. Coleman (born in the 1890s), became the president and controlling owner of the Madison-Kipp Corporation.

Thomas ("Tom") Coleman, often described, as Thomas C. Reeves wrote in his McCarthy biography, as "[t]all, handsome, gray-haired, genteel, and domineering," had managed Republican Walter Kohler's successful 1928 gubernatorial campaign. By the 1940s, and probably earlier, he was the major figure in the Wisconsin Republican Party, leading the more conservative Stalwart wing of the party. Tom Coleman's critics—and others—called him (a title he despised) "Boss Coleman." Thomas C. Reeves, in his book Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography, wrote penetratingly of Tom Coleman:

A friendly political commentator observed, "There is no other man in Wisconsin politics who has worked quite as long, or as consistently or as loyally or as shrewdly for his chosen political cause as has Coleman, and who has never

betrayed any motive for personal gain in the process." At any rate, in party matters, he almost always got his way.

Coleman's authority was based largely upon his ability to tap wealthy industrialists for campaign contributions. There were other successful Republican fund-raisers.... But they all deferred to Coleman's zeal and persuasiveness. One close associate contended that he [Coleman] could raise \$100,000 over the telephone in a half hour without the slightest difficulty.

A lot in the 1940s and 1950s!

Funds were channeled into G.O.P. activities through the Republican Voluntary Committee, an organization created in 1925 to permit Republicans to avoid the financial limitations upon campaign expenditures placed upon the regular party organizations by Wisconsin's corrupt-practices act. By 1945 the Voluntary Committee, headed by Coleman, was in firm control of the party's patronage and purse strings. Anyone who sought to run a serious, well-financed campaign on the Republican ticket would have to acquire Tom Coleman's personal endorsement.

He [Coleman] was outraged in 1944 when moderate Republican Gov. Walter E. Goodland invited Senator La Follette to rejoin Wisconsin Republicans, and he and other Stalwarts pushed a bill through the legislature forcing Progressives to run on their own party ticket. When Goodland unexpectedly vetoed the bill, Coleman added the elderly governor to his list of party enemies. (page 65)

Tom Coleman (present Kipp Chairman Reed Coleman's father) headed one of the most powerful political dynasties in Wisconsin. But his reach extended much farther than Wisconsin. When right-wing Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, co-author of the infamously anti-labor 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, died in 1953, Tom Coleman collected money from wealthy industrialists all over the country for a memorial to Senator Taft in Washington, D. C.

From the earliest days of the 20th century until 1934, the Wisconsin Republican Party was bitterly split between the Stalwarts and the Progressives, led by the brilliant and charismatic reformer Robert M. La

Follette ("Fighting Bob"; Wisconsin governor, 1902-06, and then a Wisconsin U.S. Senator until his death in 1925), and then by his sons, Philip (Wisconsin governor, 1931-33 and 1935-39) and Robert M., Jr. (U.S. Senator, 1925-46). During the Depression, the Stalwarts accused Governor La Follette of promoting a revolution in league with Communists, socialists, Jews, and other traditional scapegoats. In 1934 the La Follettes withdrew from the Republican Party and formed the Wisconsin Progressive Party, which continued as an independent party until 1946, when Senator Robert La Follette, Jr. rejoined the Republican Party, re-igniting the longtime hostility of Tom Coleman, who was determined to find a Republican candidate who would defeat the long-serving Senator La Follette.

In large part because of a dearth of potential promising right-wing Republican candidates, a smart, unscrupulous, highly ambitious young Appletonian and World War II Marine veteran--Tenth Circuit Judge Joseph R. McCarthy, pursued and gained the support--political and financial--of Boss Coleman as the candidate thought most likely to be able to defeat Senator La Follette ("Young Bob") in the 1946 Republican primary. Tom Coleman considered the brash, ill-mannered McCarthy socially more than a cut below him and his Stalwart friends. However, with Coleman's support, including financial, McCarthy's genius for self-promotion, frenetic campaigning, and reckless insinuations about La Follette, and La Follette's lackluster and in absentia campaigning, McCarthy very narrowly defeated Young Bob in the Republican primary and went on to defeat the Democratic candidate, former Congressman Howard McMurray, in a landslide.

From that time until Joe McCarthy died in 1957, Tom "Boss" Coleman ensured that McCarthy received all the financial support he needed. Although he seemed to be consistently nervous about McCarthy's reckless, unfounded charges of Communist connections against an ever-widening swath of American institutions and individuals, his ability to raise money for McCarthy was essential to McCarthy's career. In many ways, McCarthy's reckless charges of "Communist!" were a front for the vehemently anti-labor opinions and activities of the corporate right wing in the United States.

However, there was another, perhaps finer side to Tom Coleman. He was a close personal friend of the renowned Wisconsin conservationist Aldo Leopold, and in part responsible for Leopold's appointment to the Wisconsin Conservation Commission and Department in 1943. The Tom Coleman family spent leisure time with the Leopold family at the Leopold Shack near Baraboo. The friendship may in part have been one of convenience—Coleman's money helped Leopold (who died in 1948) in his projects, and Leopold's name gave Coleman a softer, "conservationist" image. But it can't be denied that there has been a 'land ethic' (sullied by Reed Coleman's activities in the 1990s and 2000s) in the Coleman family for several generations.

Reed Coleman, Tom Coleman's son, was born in the early 1930s. He took over the chairmanship of the Madison-Kipp Corp. in 1964 when Tom Coleman retired. Reed Coleman received a bachelor's degree in ecological sciences (!) from Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. He is a former U.S. Air Force intelligence officer. As a child, Reed Coleman spent time with his family at the Leopold Shack (time that Reed Coleman says was "a strong and important early influence" on him). He loves bird-hunting and fishing. His former wife is Jane Coleman, who chaired the philanthropy the Madison Community Foundation. They were divorced in the 1990s. His present wife, Ann Coleman, is a realtor. Reed Coleman's children are not, to my knowledge, involved in the running of the Madison-Kipp Corp.

Reed Coleman's past and present affiliations reveal something about why he is feared. He has been "actively involved" in civic and political organizations at the national, state, and local level for more than 30 years. He has served as the Chairman of the Republican Party of Wisconsin (like his father!); as Campaign Chairman of the United Way of Dane County; as the Director of the Madison Club, and as Director of Wisconsin For Research, Inc. He is a former Trustee of the University of Wisconsin Catholic Foundation; a former Trustee of Beloit College, and a former Trustee of the Taft Institute of Government. He is a present or past Trustee of the Norman Bassett Foundation (whose listed address is Kipp's Waubesa Street address).

Reed Coleman serves or has served on numerous boards of directors, including the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation (one of the country's largest and most powerful funders of right-wing causes), the Wisconsin Policy

Research Institute, and Competitive Wisconsin, Inc. He is (or was) the Chairman and Director of the Sand County Foundation, Inc., and serves or served on the Boards of Directors of Kemper National Insurance Companies, Regal-Beloit Corporation, Lunar Corporation, NIBCO, Inc., and Xeruca Corporation.

He is a major contributor (often or usually anonymously) to Madison and area institutions, including the Wisconsin Union Theater, Olbrich Gardens, the Barrymore Theatre, and many other Madison institutions. (An anonymous donor—often a pseudonym for Reed Coleman—has given more than \$600,000 to the new Atwood/Goodman Community Center; unfortunately, the center, only feet away from Kipp's industrial yard, may already have serious uninvestigated environmental problems.) In the mid-1990s, Reed Coleman was a major contributor of money to candidates for the Wisconsin Legislature, presumably all of it to Republican candidates.

In trying to understand why Reed Coleman's aluminum foundry and die-casting company, which makes die-cast parts for the automotive and other industries and has roughly doubled in size over the last 15 years, has been allowed outrageous exemptions from state environmental regulations and city ordinances, his involvement in well-known conservation activities also has to be considered.

In 1967, when in his thirties, Reed Coleman established what is now called the Sand County Foundation. At that time he was also managing a land tract bought by his father just south of Aldo Leopold's land. To prevent recreational development (a growing threat) in the area, he persuaded the other owners of land surrounding the Leopold tract to pool their land in a cooperative wild area which would memorialize Aldo Leopold. The reserve, in place by 1968, was to be under common management funded by the Sand County Foundation.

The Leopold Reserve's goals were to continue Leopold's land rehabilitation program, create diversified habitat for native Wisconsin species, develop appropriate management techniques, and begin educational programs on the area and its management. In 1976, Nina Leopold Bradley and her husband, Charles Bradley set up a Study Center, with the first four Leopold Fellows beginning a comprehensive inventory of the area in 1978. (I believe that ornithologist Mike Mossman, then a student, was one of the Fellows.)

Since Reed Coleman attempted in the 1990s to sell the Monona school forest property, which he had held tax free for many years in return for allowing it to be used in perpetuity as an educational school forest, for a price many Mononans felt was outrageously high (Monona ended up buying the forest as a public property), I understand that the Leopold and Bradley families have disassociated themselves from the Sand County Foundation.

Reed Coleman is a master of public relations for himself and for the Madison-Kipp Corp. As neighbors began to file numerous complaints of unfettered hazardous and toxic new pollution and property-intruding noise in the early 1990s, Reed Coleman was prominently featured in an October 1993 Wisconsin Trails magazine article entitled "CEOs Favor the Environment." The article touts Coleman's Aldo Leopold family connections, but also refers glowingly to the Kipp Corp's recycling program, possibly a source of some of Kipp's most dangerous pollution! Coleman intimates that government regulations may drive manufacturers out of business (the same old corporate line) and indicates that while he supports protection of some land and wildlife, he doesn't at all mind fouling the nest in which he makes his fortune with hazardous pollution capable of killing all life within miles. Hypocrisy is the keyword.

I'd like, finally, to try to briefly tie the hysteria of mid-20th-century "anti-Communism"—exemplified most flamboyantly in Senator Joe McCarthy but by no means merely McCarthy's territory—to big business's desire to weaken or destroy the American labor movement. It is significant that Tom Coleman, owner of a family-owned metal industry that three generations have managed to keep unions out of (the UAW has tried and failed), was the pivotal figure in the demagogue McCarthy's rise to power. It is also interesting that Tom Coleman's son, Reed Coleman, has demonstrated, in his use of highly dubious techniques to hurt the reputation of neighbors who have asked Kipp to control its pollution, the kinds of tactics referred to since McCarthy's day as "McCarthyism." Hurling reckless and controversial charges at people who are working for important goals—like labor justice,

pollution control, and economic equity—has quieted many once-strong efforts.

It is evident that since McCarthy's 1950s reign of undocumented charges of Communist taint, the American labor movement has been decimated. And why is the label "Communist" so feared in the U.S.? The labor movement is really an extension of the Communist ideal of fair working rights, and many of the country's most effective labor activists were members of or affiliated with the American Communist Party. The more effective they were at union organizing, the more nervous big business became. Big business's fear was that their profits would fall if workers became too powerful—and unions were resisted with underhanded tactics and extreme violence during the first half of the 20th century, and with even more underhanded tactics from the 1950s through today. (See the 1947 anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act.)

In 1937 Sen. Robert La Follette, Jr. was a major member of a Senate subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor's hearings investigating "Violations of the Right of Free Speech and Assembly and Interference with the Right of Labor to Organize and Bargain Collectively." These hearings covered Labor Espionage (informing) at General Motors; Open Shop (union-obstructing) Activities at the American Bridge Company, and Industrial Munitioning (weapons procurement by government entities for industry to use against its own workers in labor unrest) at Federal Laboratories, Inc.

Our present weak-kneed Senators should read these transcripts of absolutely brilliant questioning (especially by La Follette) of company employees and officials on company tactics used in opposing unions in the 1930s. It is not surprising that the powerful owner of an ununionized factory in Madison detested and feared the La Follette's support of unions and economic justice. It is instructive that the man Coleman decided should replace La Follette is considered synonymous with anti-Communism. (Robert M. La Follette, Jr. took his own life in 1953.) An excellent source for analysis of the relationship between anti-laborism and anti-Communism, and for much obscure information on the part American Presidents of both parties played in attempting to stamp out "Communist" activity--and for detailed discussion of the real keeper of the country's "secret files," J. Edgar Hoover--is Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America, by Ellen Schrecker (Princeton University Press, 1998). [READ PP. 48-49 OF THIS BOOK.] This book digs

thoroughly and in great depth into the benefits to the powers that be of the pursuit of "Communists" and the deliberate instillation of fear into poor immigrants and workers to control them. I highly recommend it.

The infamous documentary Point of Order, coming up now, by Emile de Antonio, was made in 1963 from original footage of the Army-McCarthy Hearings of 1954. McCarthy had since 1950 claimed to be weeding "subversives"—Communists and 'fellow-travelers'—out of the federal government (beginning with the State Department in 1950), the professions, Academe, the entertainment industry, and everywhere else. (He concentrated especially heavily on writers and other intellectuals.)

By 1954 McCarthy, a heavy drinker, was in very poor health and increasingly reckless. When he began to insinuate that the U.S. Army was "soft on Communism," and openly insulted upper-level Army officers who he claimed were pampering Communists [see p. 139, Tom Wicker's book], the Army, President Eisenhower, many Senators, and the public had had enough, and McCarthy's own Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations held an investigation (with McCarthy denied a vote in its conclusions)—the Army-McCarthy Hearings of 1954—into whether McCarthy and his counsel, Roy Cohn, had arranged for special treatment for Roy Cohn's boyfriend, the wealthy Army inductee G. David Schine.

This documentary is a brilliantly entertaining exposition of McCarthy's outrageous tactics, his reckless personality, and his lack of integrity. It presents the dramatic moments of the hearings, which lasted from April 22 to June 17, 1954 and led to his condemnation by the Senate later that year—the real end of McCarthy's reign of terror. (McCarthy died, probably of cirrhosis of the liver, in 1957.) This man was the symbol of repression, fear-mongering, and injustice in mid-20th-century America. It is perhaps fitting that he was supported and financed throughout his career by the father of the present owner of Madison's most irresponsible industrial corporation, the Madison-Kipp Corp.

Some sources used for this talk:

Aldo Leopold: The Man and His Legacy (Thomas Tanner, Ed.; Soil Conservation Society of America, Ankeny, Ia., 1987).

“Environmental Stewards: Why Four Top Executives Have Taken Leading Roles in Preserving the Good Green Earth” (Jennifer Sereno; article in Wisconsin Trails Magazine, Vol. 34, No. 5, October 1993; pp. 21-23 [Reed Coleman]).

Herblock Special Report (Herbert Block; W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1974 (cartoons and text)).

Ike’s Spies: Eisenhower and the Espionage Establishment (Stephen E. Ambrose; Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N. Y., 1981).

Joe McCarthy and the Press (Edwin R. Bayley; Pantheon Books, New York, 1982).

The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography (Thomas C. Reeves; Stein and Day, New York, 1982).

The Liver and Cancer: A New Cancer Theory (Kasper Blond, M. D., F. I. C. S.; John Wright & Sons Ltd., Bristol, England, 1960).

Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America (Ellen Schrecker; Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1998).

The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit: Walter Reuther and the Fate of American Labor (Nelson Lichtenstein; BasicBooks, New York, 1995).

New Theatre and Film 1934 to 1937: An Anthology (Herbert Kline, Ed.; Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Orlando, Fla., 1985).

Newspaper clips and broadcast transcript regarding Madison-Kipp Corp. history, noise and pollution, early 20th century to present.

Packing the Courts: The Conservative Campaign to Rewrite the Constitution (Herman Schwartz; Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1988).

Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918-1974 (Philip S. Foner, Ed.; Citadel Press, New York, 1978).

RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (Richard Nixon; Touchstone, New York, 1990).

Point of Order! (Video) (Emile de Antonio, Director; Emile de Antonio and Daniel Talbot, Producers; Point Films, Inc., New York, 1963; B&W).

Shooting Star: The Brief Arc of Joe McCarthy (Tom Wicker; Harcourt, Inc., Orlando, Fla., 2006).

Thinking Like a Mountain: Aldo Leopold and the Evolution of an Ecological Attitude toward Deer, Wolves, and Forests (Susan L. Flader; University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1974).

V. I. Lenin: Against Dogmatism and Sectarianism in the Working-Class Movement: Articles and Speeches (V. I. Lenin; Progress Publishers, Moscow, U. S. S. R., 1968 [English edition]).

Violations of Free Speech and the Rights of Labor: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, Seventh-fifth Congress, First Session, pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Congress): A Resolution to Investigate Violations of the Right of Free Speech and Assembly and Interference with the Right of Labor to Organize and Bargain Collectively. Part 7: Labor Espionage, Open Shop Activities, and Industrial Munitioning (Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., February and March, 1937).

Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources files regarding the Madison-Kipp Corp., Madison, Wisconsin. File material from Bureau of Air Management (South Central Region and Central Office) and Division of Remediation and Redevelopment, Madison, Wis. (1970s to present).

Talk and showing of Point of Order!, Sunday, June 24, 2007, 7 p.m., Café Zoma, Madison, by Anne Chacon ((608) 333-6814).