

Bruce and Carol Chamberlain

Bruce and Carol Chamberlain, interviewed in their home in Elko, Nevada by Teresa Jordan, June 23, 1986. Bruce is a supervisor for Newmont Gold Company (formerly Carlin).

Notes taken from tape. Not a transcript except where noted.

C was born in Butte. Her father is not a miner, but her grandfathers and the rest of the relatives were. C is an only child. Her father was a truck driver for Consolidated Freightways -- a teamster.

Bruce was born and raised in LA; met Carol there in school. When they got married, they moved to Butte and B got a job in the mines. They met in high school. When C was 11, her family moved to LA. C's father had taken a temporary transfer to LA; he later was reassigned to Butte and they moved back. B & C would go there on holidays and vacation. They both wanted to move there and did so the first chance they got. B was drawn to Butte by the country, the town, the friendliness. It was a drastic change from LA. Also, Carol's family was a factor. They moved before B had a job. But when he got there, it only took a couple weeks to get on at the Anaconda Co. He hadn't known anything about it before.

They moved back in June, 73. It was still fairly easy to get on at the ACM; they had an in, somebody who helped them. A cousin's wife's brother-in-law helped. Clayton Berry. B hired on as a laborer on the salvage crew underground. He started at the bottom. He was a Steelworker. He went from the salvage crew to being a contract miner. Then the ACM sent him to school to become a work-study technician, which was a salaried position. From there, he spent two years as a work-study technician, then was laid off for a few months, then went into the Arbiter Plant in Anaconda as a security guard for about 2 months. From there, became a shift supervisor for two years. The Arbiter Plant was a hydrometallurgical process for copper. They didn't smelt or have retort furnaces, but leached the concentrate with ammonia, then put it through a solvent extraction. Then it went into the tank house, electro-winning cells. Copper has a double plus ion; and that put a negative charge in it, so it plated copper out at about 98% - pure. It was a pilot plant, production-scale experiment. It worked, but the price of copper kept dropping and the cost of the chemicals kept going up due to inflation, and finally they began losing money instead of making it, so they shut it down. B

was at the Arbiter plant all together a little over 2 years. B had about 2 years on hourly or contract underground, about a year and a half on salary as a work-study tech. and then another 2 years as a salaried supervisor at the Arbiter.

He was laid off from the Arbiter Plant in '78 about a year after they shut down. He was kept on because they had anticipated starting it up again in two years. He took a voluntary layoff for another job in New Mexico. That was a general production foreman's position just out of Albuquerque, N.M. for a uranium mill, Bokum Resources. By the time he left, he was operations superintendant. He was there two and a half years. It was primarily under construction. They were there until November, '80.

Then they went to Phoenix, AZ with Heflin-Harrington. They were a construction outfit that had done all the special linings at the uranium mill. They offered B a job when they found the mill was closing. He became field technician with them. He was there about two years. Then they moved to Tooele (pronounced two-wella), Utah with Getty Oil Co, which had a gold mill there. That was as a shift supervisor. They were there about two years before coming to Elko. Came to Elko in March of 1985 as a leach supervisor for the dump and heap leach facilities.

Q: When you first moved from Butte, how did you feel about the move at that point?

They didn't want to leave Butte; in fact, they've often talked about how they would like to go back. But they have been away long enough now that they've gotten used to being away, and there is not much work in Butte, so the desire is beginning to lessen. C's family lives there -- grandmother, parents, cousins, etc.

About the time they left Butte, people were laid off all over the country; things were bad; they had started a family, and they were glad to have another job. C loved Albuquerque, so it made the move easier. They had never been there before. They had never been to any of the places before they got a job.

C's parent's kid them -- keep moving, kids. We'll have seen the whole United States by the time you retire.

Q: In the major layoffs, you were one of the first to leave, weren't you?

Originally, when B was underground, they were laying off, and that's when he went into the salaried program. After a year and a half, he was laid off again. Then he was rehired at the Arbiter. He was fourth from the last to leave the Arbiter Plant. But he was in the first wave of being laid off, then hired back, then laid off again. Everytime he was laid off, though, he came back to a better job, so he didn't feel

insecure. He would just turn up at work one day and be out of a job. He sold cars for awhile in Butte, then got rehired at a better position. Eventually, with the whole system beginning to shut down, they left Butte.

Q: That was still five years before the final shutdown. Was there any talk at that point of you moving into any other part of the operation?

No, after the Arbiter Plant, it was "leave for survival, really." B: "At that time, it was pretty much aware [there was awareness], especially in the salaried ranks, that it was dying, it was time to go."

Q: I've talked with people who were there until the final shutdown in June of '83, and people have told me often that they *knew* it was coming, but they just couldn't believe it would get up to them. But for you, you had the sense it really was going to shut down?

B says yes. B: "By the time the final layoff came, we had been through it three times. The old saying goes, 'third time's a charm. It's time to quit playing games and get on with it.'"

C says that it was a whole different story then. They had a child, they were worried about being able to sell their home. "So we got out when the getting was good." Their home was on the corner of Ottawa and Sherman. They did very well on their house, made much more money than what they had paid for the house.

Q: Do you have friends who worked for the Company who are still in Butte?

C has lots of relatives who worked for the Company who are still there, but they can't think of any friends. They can think of an acquaintance, but no friends.

Q: When you left in '78, what did friends who were still there think about your move? Did they think it was premature?

C thinks so; B disagrees. He thinks that people thought he was lucky to have something. The relatives thought they were premature, and should stay in the Anaconda Company -- the Anaconda Company will never die; it's a temporary setback. Some of the friends thought they were fortunate to have a job to go to. Moving to Butte with C's family being most of their associates, the family thought they were premature. "Just tough it out and things will be OK."

Q: Do you think that the ones who thought that way tended to be older? Did it seem to be age related how people looked at that?

B says yes and no. In some respects it was. C's mother and father didn't feel they should stay, but cousins and aunts and uncles in the same basic age bracket as C's parents thought they should stay.

Q: Were there other friends of yours at that time who were moving?

Yes. Some had left prior to B and C. In fact, a friend aided them in getting them the job in New Mexico.

Q: Where you have worked, have there usually been other Butte-Anaconda people?

Yes, just about everywhere they have ever been except for the Hemplin-Harrington Company. That was a special linings contract, but any other mining industry B has been in, there have been ex-Butte people there.

Q: What's the reputation generally of Butte workers?

In general, it's good. But anywhere you go, you have your good and your bad. It depends on who you talk to. Salary-wise, it has a tendency to be good. Hourly-wise, it has a tendency, generally not specifically, to be somewhat lax because the strength of the union kept people from learning the broad spectrum of skills. You weren't allowed to overlap skills as much as other workers, even other union workers. But it really depends on the attitude of the people. Especially the older hourly workers tend to be looked upon as not quite the better workers because of the tightness of what they were allowed to do in the union.

Q: That was a matter of skill? If you were a boiler maker, for instance, you might not have the breadth of skill that a person in that same job somewhere else might have because they wouldn't have been limited by the jurisdictional lines?

No. B says that in his opinion it was more a matter of attitude than skill.

Q: Have you run across a fear of Butte because of the labor reputation? That Butte workers would put unrest in the labor force?

B says no, never. As a matter of fact, in Elko, there are more Butte workers than anywhere he has been in the past, and there is no fear of that at all.

Q: What did you feel about the Anaconda Company as an employer?

In general, he thought they were very good. He thought the Anaconda Company was great. When ARCO bought them out, they changed a lot of policies and had a

lot more restrictions that the Anaconda Co had had. They were still the Anaconda Co, but they were a subsidiary of ARCO. At that time, B began to feel that they were too big and they felt less of the individual employee and more of groups and classification.

Q: Can you give me a specific example?

You work for the Anaconda Co, especially in the salaried ranks, you could be promoted or extended or the hourly could advance on the discretion of your supervisor. When ARCO bought them out, it became a computerized qualification classification that would allow you to advance to a specific stage according to the computer's qualifying, like a point system. "You must have *this* to reach this level." The original Anaconda Co didn't have that. When ARCO bought it, they also seemed to become more strict in their union negotiations. They were not as liberal. But in conjunction with that, the price of copper was dropping at the same time, so it's hard to say if it was ARCO or just good business -- we've got to cut it off because the price of copper is dropping.

Q: How about work comaraderie? Was there a difference under ARCO?

It's hard to say because the price of copper was dropping so everyone began to tighten up and fear that. Unions began to lose their leniency with overlapping skills. There were really too many variables at the time to say if it was ARCO affecting things.

Q: You have been a supervisor for ARCO and also for several different work situations. From your end, in terms of getting things done, how did the work situation there compare to others you've been in since?

B: In general, it's been better almost everywhere I have been other than Anaconda. An example would be if you had a pump impeller go out on you, it took up to six to seven people that all had to do their stage one at a time. In other areas, it would take two people to do the entire job. So I would say that Anaconda was much too strict on the skilled labor it took to do each step of a single job."

Q: This is not the first time I've heard that. I've had good union men tell me it got to be really cumbersome. A lot of people, it seems, thought it was difficult to work that way. On the other hand, how do you turn it around and change it so it's less cumbersome?

By allowing overlapping jurisdictions. Not to allow one person to do everything needed, but to allow the lines of skilled labor jurisdiction to overlap somewhat. In other words, an electrician can come and do his part -- and non union or whatever.

B would not want a mechanic to come out and disconnect a 480 pump motor. But the electrician could come out and disconnect the motor and then have the pump mechanic be allowed to disconnect the suction pipe and the discharge pipe and replace the impeller, put the pump back together, put the pipe back together that is associated directly with the pump, and then the electrician could come back and do his job. With Anaconda, it took the electrician to disconnect it, a pipefitter to take the pipe off, a mechanic to open up and change the impeller, then the pipefitters to put the pipe back on, and then the electricians to put it back together. And you also had to work two at a time. So there were 10 people it took to do a two-man job. And that hurt. B feels that there are skilled laborers that need to have their skills, but there are minor instances that could overlap and make it into a better situation.

Q: At the end, how much of a factor that was out of all of them in Butte -- at the Arbiter Plant, and then at the other operations.

B says that in his opinion, he thinks it was the main factor that shut Anaconda down.

Tape 1, Side B

Q: A lot of people also say that Anaconda was management heavy.

B agrees with that. B started out hourly and had the majority of his career on salary, but he agrees with that wholeheartedly. Anaconda was tremendously management heavy. The short crews they had at the Arbiter Plant were 6 to 8 man crews, but they had three supervisors for six to eight men. Per shift. They were labor and management heavy -- personnell in general was tremendously heavy.

Q: Again, should it have been changed, and if it should have been, how could it have been?

It should have been changed. It would most likely be up to management to take a closer look. When B was in the work-study program, it was primarily for method studies and hourly labor work. They should have first taken a look at the salaried and management ranks prior to the hourly ranks. But they were more concerned with wages paid per hour than to unnecessary money paid to the salaried management.

Q: One thing that hapened in the auto industry is that the UAW gave up a lot in terms of concessions. That was fine, the auto industry got back on its feet again. And then a couple years down the road, all the presidents of the auto companies

took three or four million salaries and there were big wage increases in management. And it made labor mad. Did you see some of that in Anaconda at all, the feeling among labor that they didn't need to clean up their act if management didn't clean up their own?

B never had that feeling. B thinks that both sides felt that there was an overabundance of each other. But he doesn't think anyone thought that anyone was getting paid any outrageous amount more than the next person.

Q: I didn't mean so much in terms of wages as much as productivity. When the company wanted better productivity from the unions, were the unions looking at all at management and saying wait, you guys aren't playing by the same rules and being lean in management.

B would probably say yes. The Company did not look at management first, and they were not being fair in that.

Q: What was the ratio when you worked underground?

It was a great deal different. There were many people underground to one supervisor. There were so many people underground that you wouldn't even see your supervisor every day. But a lot of that was contract and piece work, so a supervisor wasn't necessary. You either put out or you didn't get paid. So the supervision was not as necessary as it was in the mills and process plants.

Q: I've talked to a lot of people who worked underground and then moved into the pit operation. It was such hard work being a contract miner, but for those who liked it, they will talk about it with great enthusiasm. And then they talk about moving over to the pit and the whole tone of their voice changes. It wasn't exciting to them. Certainly a lot of people drove themselves too hard on contract, cut corners with safety, etc. but there seemed to be some real satisfaction that the harder you worked the more you were paid. Is there any way of using some of that in a pit operation, or in something like the Arbiter Plant?

B says that in the process plants, the mills, no, because of the technology -- the machinery puts out, not the man. In the pit, it probably could be used somewhat in being paid by the haul, the length of the haul. When B was in the work study program, they did try to institute in the mechanic and truck shops a piece-work system. If you could overhaul an engine in 12 hours instead of 24, you would be paid bonus. The union and the people involved in it were not too receptive to it, they didn't want to accept it.

Q: Did they fear loss of jobs? Fewer people needed to do the same work?

That's difficult to say. It could be that. B doesn't believe that they liked the idea of being told that this is how many hours you have to do a job.

Q: Carol, you grew up in a union family. Did your feelings toward unions in the Anaconda Company change over time?

She thinks they did a little, especially after Bruce became salaried. It wasn't of great interest to C. Her father is a very strict union man and he always has been. C was never a real union advocate, but she believed that they should be protected and have rights but she thinks that the unions have a lot to do with the destruction of the Anaconda Company and were much too rigid.

Q: You have been with several mining operations. How do they compare in terms of how streamlined or efficient they were?

Each one B has gone to was more streamlined at each stage, both labor and management, than the previous one. Carlin is the most streamlined. As an example, like he said, at Anaconda, he was the shift supervisor and had two foremen under him for a six to eight man crew. Now he has 20 people working for him in four separate facilities. It is a 24 hour a day, 7 day a week operation and there is one supervisor -- which is why he has received so many phone calls during this interview. He is responsible even after hours. He has three levels between himself and the president.

Q: So you have no levels under you. In the Anaconda Company, you had two levels under you, and how many above you?

Six to eight levels above him. That would be in Butte. If you were to extend that beyond Butte, it would be greater. Here, the president-general manager is the fourth level above B.

Q: For instance, if you needed a design modification, how much quicker could you get that done here than in Butte?

It may be somewhat contradictory, but with Anaconda, the shift supervisor had the authority to make that change. At Carlin (now Newmont), it must go two steps above B unless it is an emergency situation. So there are more upper management people involved in modifications than there were with the Anaconda Company. Yet there were more layers there. It seemed that the higher you went, the fewer decisions you made, in Anaconda. Presently, what B considers minor things have to go to a higher level than they did with Anaconda Co.

Q: Does that slow things down?

In some respects. If it's a direct emergency that directly affects production, then he makes the decision, but then he must justify it after the decision is made. So in some respects it slows things down, but in others, it doesn't. It helps.

Q: For total quality of life -- attitude in the workplace, benefits, work situation, etc -- how does Newmont compare to Anaconda as an employer?

The salary is much better; medical benefits have decreased over what Anaconda offered. In enjoyment of the job, it is better. He has added responsibilities, additional authority. The possibilities of advancement are greater. The jobs that he has had between Anaconda and here have not been nearly as nice as they are here. B was not laid off at his last job; he left voluntarily due to the possibilities of advancement and recognition here. In the previous job, upper management took total control. So there have been ups and downs since Anaconda.

C adds that another important thing is that they feel secure here. C: "We feel some job security, as secure as jobs are these days. They at least feel like they can plan for tomorrow.

B says that Newmont has a 25 to 30 year project that he is involved in now as well as continuing expansion. It has expanded twice since B has been there and there is a possibility of three more expansions, which allows for job security. But until he got on at Newmont, the job security has been as weak as it was with Anaconda during the time he was there.

Q: Carol, you just said "as secure as any job is today." Did you have a different sense of job security when you first started working with Anaconda?

B says that when he first got the job he felt secure. But Carol says she never felt that way. She had been through strikes; she grew up with her grandfathers. She never felt the Anaconda Company was a real secure place to work. She says that Butte is just glorious for rumours about layoffs and other things.

Q: Are you surprised by how often you have moved in the last few years?

Yes. Very much so. Each place they have gone was "the last one. They have been fortunate, though, that they have never really been out of work. B: "But it takes that relocation to maintain work." C adds that he has saleable skills.

Q: How do you feel about that necessity to relocate?

Until recently, B says that it never really bothered him. But at this stage, with children in school and so many moves behind them, it's difficult to get into a home and get set up and just about the time you have settled in it's time to move. It's a financial burden that is very difficult to catch up with. They don't want to move again. C says that they have made less and less on their homes each time they have sold them. They lost some money in some instances. The first time, they made money. But now it's become a burden, not only financially but family-wise. B: "It's become a major problem as opposed to a minor one."

C: "And we just recover from one move and we make another one."

B: "In fact, the last three moves we have made, we have boxes in our basement that have never been unpacked yet. They are not your everyday used things, but if you stayed in one place long enough, they would get unpacked and put away, but they just don't make it."

C: "It's just a standing joke -- as soon as we do the landscaping, we'll be looking for a new job. This is about our fourth new house."

Q: How have the kids dealt with the move?

Well, until this last one. Christine had difficulty adjusting to this one. But they are still young enough. She is 8, and she realized the change with this last move. But the rest of the kids are so young that it really hasn't affected them. But if they were to move again, it would. It would make a big difference, not just a minor thing they could get over in a few weeks.

Q: Carol, have you worked outside the home?

She hasn't since Christine was born, but she tutored at West Junior High, and taught pre school in Albuquerque. She would like to work outside the home again sometime down the line.

Q: Have there been any benefits of moving around so much?

For C, she has made some very good friends every place they have lived. They made some of their dearest friends by moving. They aren't close to any of their friends in Butte anymore.

B says that some of the benefits were learning the different cultures and ways of life in each state. They really are different when you live there; you wouldn't notice it just visiting. That's been good, but if he had his choice, he wouldn't do it anymore.

Q: How about in terms of raising your family? Do you think that broader experience has been beneficial or something that you wouldn't choose?

At the age and status of their children, they feel it's had very little influence up to this stage. The only negative influence is that Christine would really like to live near her grandparents.

Q: You have not had any time actually unemployed?

No. Relocation has been paid by the employer every time but once -- they moved themselves with Heflin Harrington. C was pregnant.

Q: would you go to work for Washington if he gets the mining operation going in Butte?

C says no. B says he would if the position and the salary was there. He'd like to return to Butte. But it would depend on what was offered. C says they would have a family discussion over that, but she thinks it would be absolutely foolish. A friend of theirs, Paul McCue, just went back. But C fears the job security, especially moving to a depressed area.

B enjoyed the lifestyle and environment in Butte more than in other mining communities. He liked the people and the lifestyle, relaxed atmosphere, the mountains, the clean air. People are very friendly. Other cities they've lived in until here have not been as friendly. Elko is friendly. The relatives are in Butte.

Q: Carol, how much would you like to get back to Butte?

C would love to go back because of her family, but she doesn't know if it would be worth risking the security they have here to go up there for three years and find themselves out of work again. B says that right now they feel the most security they have felt anywhere in the past in the mining industry.

Q: Is that security a function of the company, or of the fact that they are mining gold rather than copper or moly.

It's a combination, but the majority is the fact that the product is gold. This will be the second biggest gold mine in the country. It started 26 years ago; the present project is good for 25 or 30 years; they expect to expand again in the summer of '87. There are many future explorations going on. They have found gold and have not found the limits of the ore deposits yet, so they don't know how many additional years. Of course, it's very dependant on the price of gold. But it's felt to

be more secure than the other metals because of money being based on it. Before Christ himself, there was a value for gold. So whether they use it or just store it, it is still bought, whereas copper needs a use, it's a supply and demand metal.

Q: You once thought you had a job for life; now you know, from experience, that a job can end. Has that made any differences in the way that you plan for the future in terms of major decisions like buying a house, or a savings plan or anything else?

B says that jobwise, no, but agewise and maturity, yes.

Q: C, you have relatives in Butte who worked for the Company who have not moved away from Butte. Are they working at this point?

Yes, not necessarily at steady jobs they like, but in jobs.

Q: Do you think they made the right decision to stay there?

For them, maybe. They are truly Butte-ites. But it wasn't the right decision for C.

Q: In Butte, you hear that there are no jobs out there; that people spend all their money looking and can't find anything. It's been a surprise to me on this trip to see that people do have jobs -- of course, I've been talking to people who have found jobs -- but they have the sense that there are other jobs around, and they seem to be pretty happy with their work. Why do you think there is such a deep reluctance among some people in Butte, and that all the news that gets back to Butte seems to be so negative about what's out there.

B says that his feeling is that it is people who down deep inside don't want to leave Butte. He thinks that if you really put forth an effort, especially with the experience the Anaconda Company provided, that there are jobs available. For instance, C has family who wouldn't leave Butte, but B has gotten their kids jobs here and they like it. The older men, though, the fathers, wouldn't relocate. The offspring would and they have. B has gotten jobs for a couple of Carol's family in Elko.

C: It's just a situation where people's parents are there and their grandparents are there and that's [the only place] they have ever been and that's all they ever know, and I think they are a little bit afraid, too, to try it. I think that that's half of my uncle's problem -- my grandfather worked all his life for the Anaconda Company, and my uncle worked most of his life for the Anaconda Company, and it was almost like he was afraid to go anywhere else. And he is a very good machinist. I'm sure he could have found something else. But there seems to be a real fear of relocation

for a lot of people in Butte. I think there is, anyway. Because his daughter and her husband have relocated down here. Bruce got him a job down at Newmont."

B: They may have found jobs or could have jobs, but it wasn't good enough and I think that the reason behind that is that they really don't want to leave Butte."

C: "It's the older -- I wouldn't say older people, my uncle is only 44 -- but most people of our age that worked with Bruce and [who] we were friends with are out of Butte. I can't think of anybody that is even left. They are gone."

Q: I suppose it makes a difference too if your house is paid for, and such. But there is an irony about Butte in that at one time, everyone was an immigrant. Everybody came to Butte to get a job, they came from someplace else. But two and three and four generations later, it's really hard to uproot, to move for a job.

C: "And I feel different than like Nancy [Rae -- see interview notes]. She's real committed to Butte, and if she felt secure in going back as far as a job went, I know that she would love to do that. But I think that those ten or twelve years in Los Angeles kind of pulled me away from Butte, especially in my kind of developing years, so I think that I don't feel quite as loyal as she does. But like my dad, for instance, he was transferred to Los Angeles when he was 38, and he did live there 10 years, but every day of that 10 years, his major desire was to move back to Butte. They didn't even sell their house. My grandmother lived in it. He was really one of those people who were committed to going back to Butte and he wasn't even with the Anaconda Company."

Q: If you were travelling, say in Idaho, and somebody asked you where you were from, where do you say you are from?

C: From Eiko, from Nevada.

B: Right now, we would say that, but people that we associate with now, there are many people at work that think and feel and probably due to my discussions and response say I'm from Butte, when in reality, I was born and raised in Los Angeles until I was 22 years old. There are many people that I work with right now that consider me from Butte. And I've offered that same response to friends and co-workers, that I was born and raised in Los Angeles, but I'm kind of from Butte in the mining industry. And that is what sticks, that [I'm] from Butte. Even though I only lived there not quite six years, ... But I think that's a sense of pride. I think Butte has that tendency to give you that, that you should be proud, that it's a praise to be from Butte, Montana. And you carry that with you. I mean, so far I've lived in New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada since Butte. But you talk to people and they say, he's from Butte."

Q: Do Butte people stand out in the workforce here? Is there a mark that they wear? Do other people who aren't from Butte recognize Butte people?

Here, they do. In anywhere else B has been, no. But at Newmont they do.

Q: Is that because the head of Newmont is from the School of Mines, or because there are so many Butte people, or what?

The head of Newmont is not; one of the general superintendants is, Walt Lawrence. [Bruce goes to answer the phone.]

Q: Is there a close community of Butte people here?

C & B are real good friends with the Raes, but C doesn't think that has too much to do with being from Butte; well, she says, it might; she grew up with Nancy. She thinks that Butte people like to get together, but that the fact she is from Butte doesn't have anything to do with the friends she has made here. She has made as good friends from people outside of Butte. But it's fun to get together and swap stories about mutual friends.

Q: Are there things you miss about Butte aside from family?

C says no, not at all. C says that she has lived in many more desirable places than Butte.

Q: And what is that based on for you?

The quality things she can offer her children -- education, artistic things, new experiences.

Q: How about people? Do you find a difference in people from place to place?

C says definitely. She loves the people in Butte, they are real friendly. In Albuquerque, they were great, wonderfully friendly people. Phoenix they were a little less friendly, but it was still a nice place to live. Utah was a nightmare, an absolute nightmare -- the most cliquish, unfriendly people she had ever met in her life. It was a combination of living in a small town, the LDS influence, and the fact that they weren't born and raised there. They had come from out of town to take jobs of local people. A very unfriendly experience there, on the whole. People in Elko are very friendly.

Q: What have I missed? What haven't we talked about?

C says that she thinks both she and B are grateful to the Anaconda Company for instilling in him a good background, a lot of saleable qualities and job skills. They have never had to be out of work like other people they know, for years and years. He had no skills when he went to work for the Company.

Q: Any regrets that you moved?

No.

Q: When your kids talk about what they want to be when they grow up, what directions do you try to lean?

Christine is the only one who can remember all the moves. When she plays with a neighbors' child who has lived in the same house all her life -- one day she came home and asked what gypsies were. C said they were people who move around all the time; Christine said, 'well, that's what we are.' They laughed. But when she wants to know why they can't just go back to Butte and live by Grandma and Grandpa and Daddy find a job and those kind of things, they have explained to her why they've had to move. And C thinks she understands as well as an 8 year old can.

[Bruce returns]

Q: Bruce, I guess that the one question I still haven't asked is, when you look back at the time you spent with the Anaconda Company, what stands out to you? what did you take away with you from that time? What did it mean to you?

The progression in his career would be the most important thing. Within a short amount of time, five years, he went from being a bottom laborer on the salvage crew all the way up to a shift supervisor, which was second line management, so he thinks the Anaconda Company was a great training field and a major career advancement for him. He has been in salaried supervision ever since.

Q: Did you feel that that sort of opportunity was open to those who would take it.

Yes. B feels it is very open. He thinks that one reason he advanced so well is that for many, if you started out in the union as labor, you were supposed to stay there. He was an individual who felt that if you could advance and go up the ladder you should take it, and he thinks that it was a matter of attitude. For a lot, if your father or grandfather worked for wages, then you were supposed to. You might move up into a skill, or go to a contract miner, but you normally didn't cross the line. But B feels that it was completely open to anyone who wanted to; and he

thinks the Anaconda Company wanted people within the organization to be brought up within the ranks. They wanted people who knew both sides of the fence. But there weren't many who were willing to cross.

Q: Did you find that your experience there, and the fact that you had worked specifically for the Anaconda Company enhanced your employability.

Very much so. Especially being able to work for the Arbiter Plant. In the mining industry, it was looked upon as a tremendous training experience and field because it had so many of the various facilities that make up the mining industry all in one plant. So if you knew leaching, grinding, solvent extraction, filtration, counter current decantation, electrowinning, you knew it all, you could go almost anywhere and get a job, because the rest of them normally took two or three of those facilities to do their entire process. When B first started to relocate, Anaconda was very much respected, especially in the management ranks, because of the stiff unions. If you could handle that, you could manage just about anybody.

Q: Were jurisdictional restrictions stricter at Anaconda than at the other big companies like Phelps Dodge and Kennecott?

Kennecott was reasonably equal, but the Butte Anaconda facility was the most strict in labor skilled jurisdictions of anywhere else B has ever been. And the union was backed by the employees, which made it that strict and that tough.

Q: What stands out to you that I've missed? What's important we haven't talked about?

What stands out most to B is that when Anaconda was Anaconda and not ARCO, your chances for advancement and progression -- you had a sense of being unlimited. When it was ARCO Anaconda, your limitations began to show. Anaconda had, for their era, very good wages and benefits. They exceeded most. But of course through the years, other companies have somewhat caught up to them.

End of interview