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Restrictions:

May 22, 1985  
Date of Agreement

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Frank Sullivan, 5/22/85

*Typed notes from listening to tape-  
after, almost a transcript.*

Born and raised in Butte. Father orig worked for Co. in and out of diff jobs. Worked in mines for about 28, 29 years. Latter 15 years of his life, alcohol counselor for State of MT. Underground miner. Days pay most of the time. Frank about 4 years old when father quit ACM. Don't remember father being on strike w/ co, but in 2nd or 3rd grade when he changing occupations. Have lot memories of strikes, but not when father worked ACM. Remember driving by pit and mines, watching pickets in cold weather, big fires in garbage barrels. in around '69, 70, I was working for dept store, and I remember everybody saying this is going to be a long strike, will really affect business. But also I remember not getting too worried about it because Butte people were conditioned to that sort of thing. "they generally knew well in advance that hey htere's going to be one, just like we knew in advance there was going to be a fourth of July, and they were prepared for it. I'm not saying it was easy on them, but they also learned that if it was going to be, we'll survive it. We may have to change some of our habits and our life style, give up a few things here and there, but nonetheless..."

Born Dec 13, 1953.

Father not active in union; mother was in rest, she was an officer for many many years. Two brothers very active in Butte Policemen's Union; thinks they organized it. Walked the beat for a long time because of it--threatened w/ demotion. Weren't intimidated by it. Caused them probs.

Probs not so much w/ other policemen--10 to 12 hour shifts, didn't have much. Brothers had formerly been miners. Could be forced to work 24 hour shift. Model cities programs were becoming a big thing, lot of money floating around. They felt it was time.

Probably in the 60's. Surprised not organized before that. Both brothers dead--Paddy killed in car wreck--o"on the record, off the record, whatever, we don't know what happened to Micky. There's speculation he committed he suicide, there was much speculation somebody di him in." Mother has scrapbooks--year or so ago looked through it, saw pictures of when they went out on strike--policemen out in front of old city hall. Before consolidation, mayor lord and master, you didn't qauestion him. Mayor not going to be undermined by policemen; nonethless, it went. Best thing they ever did for themselves.

Financial secretary, treasurer (Mother was) of this union. Still very very involved. She retired in around 1980. Doesn't work as an officer, but still very involved in negotiations, meetings, etc. Officer at time Wendy's was organized, also Kent. Fried Chicken. Shes a warhorse. She won't compromise for nobody. Seen her go to MacDonals out of town with friends, and she won't even get out of the car. she came into this industry when she was very young, and at times she has supported five kids and she can remember what it was like. She can remember working for 75c an hour, no meals. She backs up very strongly the rights

of the members--esp in this industry, people are exploited. The fact that it not a real skilled industry--can be trained in a few weeks. Always somebody ready to come in there and cut your throat. Bosses take advantage of that w/ the employees. If you have a problem, boss will say, look you'll be out that door in a hot second, because I have 200 applications on my desk. mother very quack to get her haunches up if thinks somebody is being explited. One of her pet peeves is abuses of women. Wouldn't say she is a women's lib promoter, but she doesn't take much BS from bosses.

Probably a million stories. Probably some of the biggest problems were battles with membership, with internal problems. Internal power struggle for many many years. Trumped up charges, trial committees, etc to try and resolve some of those probls. Have seen her stand up with 30 employers in the room and their attorneys, and flat out and out call them a liar, and defy them to deny it. I have seen her stand up, like in 1981, when the employers proposed to take upwards of 40% of waitresses tips everyday-- tip credit policy. They said your members don't have enough guts to strike over this situation. And she stood up and said "I will be back with a strike vote in my back pocket. And we'll walk the picket line. You'll never lay your hands on those tips." We did take 3 strike votes, when it came down to the wire, the employers dropped that proposal.

Tip credit policy--employer takes as much as 40% of daily tips and adds that on to a certain figure to bring that up to a union tip. Giving it to him, he gies it back to hou, but its just that much less out of his pocket. Problem with it is, a tip is not a wage--it's a givt, in gratitude. However the employer takes the posn sometimes that that particular money would never reach your poket if you had not been working in his establishment so he has a right to some of that money. Fails to recognize that godly employee is an asset of his business. His cut is figured into the menu price. Neogtiations in 1981.

Clela Sullivan is mother. Maiden name Bhuel. (?) Father dead since '72. She worked--"Hell, probably everywhere" Last F remembers if 4B's. Also, Community Hospital, Shanty cafe. Probably worked at a dozen different restaurants. Had a tremendous raport w/ owners.

Past officers--had the "unknown bluff"--we hear that you are making this waitress clean out the Johns. Quit or we will slap a picket line on you. In fact we have a sign in the car. And the owners would quit it. With me, they are more likely to say, do it. We'll get our attorneys and do it. So we have to approach sitn's more and more from the legal aspects instead of from the bluff. And I really don't know if that's due to some rapport I do not have. I can talk to a group of women and leave the room and tell them to discuss it, and for some reason they cannot discuss it in the same way as when I'm there. And I have seen that consistently. I think she was a little different. She could approach the membership with the tone of hey, it's not the boss, it's you. And you better straighten up young lady. If I do that, I'm hit w/ discrimination or some other goofy type of thing. But she did had good rapport w/ the employers. One instance--manager of the War Bonnet said, I don't care what you do, I'll fire these

people, bring in people from Billings. She said, go ahead, and I'll have a picket line up here and you're the first head I'll bust picket sign over. She is not a violent person. But 2 things in this world she would fight you to the death on. One is beliefs in religion, other if beliefs toward union. Knows that neither is perfect, but believes very very strongly for both. And only violence I've ever seen her is bluff--I'll hit you w/ a picket line.

Last picket line I saw her on, up for 31 days, 30 below zero almost very single day, she was there every single day. People who would deliberately cross it, make jokes, she wouldn't say anything, ignore it, get on w/ peaceful demonstration, that sort of thing. Only violence I've ever seen is she has taken a broom after me a number of times. I don't think she ever had a broom that wasn't taped back together until I was about 22 years old.

Picket line at Sean O'Farrells. Employer paying sub standard minimum wage. Substandard to other rests in Butte. Probls w/ employers asso--hey, the union is letting this slide. And other prob was that he would let this thing slide. he a plastic surgeon. (Talks about discussion w/ surgeon) At that time, Frank was president. Carol Driscoll was financial secretary. Won. December of 82 (?)

Not strong public support for that strike. If a dog had kittens, they would blame the union in the community. Some would. Also, at that time, a little campaign, "We love Butte." Part of the idea, we love Butte and we want to build it. And part of that idea was that anybody who wanted to impose "limits" (what they call limits, and what we believe are standards) that this was wrong. Some believed this. Some thought we were driving this poorgby out of Butte. Little did they know that he had income of over \$800,000 that year. Then on the other hand, there was very very strong community support. There were people who would stop their cars and get out, walk the picket line for an hour or two. A few fights. But nothing out of the ordinary.

Organizing Wendy's--when being built, officers contacted owners and set up meeting. Explained contract. Owners came up with attorney--Mr. Robinson, one of top anti-labor lawyers. Called a union buster. One of top in the country. Very very effective.

I respect him for the work he does in that he does his job. On the other hadn, we are rivals. But he seems at times to be a fair man. They contacted him, set up negotiations, unionized before they opened doors. I think he just explained it to the, said this is a very fair contract. I think man who owns that store is a reasonable person, ot out ~~xxxxxxx~~ to make the quick buck.

Robinson is 'hot on' our side"--but he realized that it is his responsibility to advise his client--lets sit down, lets ot fight them. He seems to be fair. Only gripe I might have with him is that he is a very busy man, very hard to get to the table to talk.

This same scenario will not play out iwth McDonalds. They refuse to even talk with us. To be totally ignored is agression, in my book. McDonalds is notorious for being organized. Have been

(dont quote) that corporate headaquaters will subsidize employer to fight us. Beacue it's there philosophy that they will not have one shop unionized. Particular employer here also owns one in Helena, F thinks he's building another one in Helena. So we're not talking bout a ma and pop outfit trying to make a living. He's a former Butte person, very welathy family. Fails to realize that it was union dollars that suported his business. his parents own Bartells insurance Co.

Wendy's organized--early 70's. (Thinks)

McDonals will use local, union contractors (at first, rumored they wouldn't). But problem is with us. If you buck trade union, it won't get built. But once it's built, hard for me to go in and reason w/ high school kids who don't rely on that money to support their family. Just a little beer money for the weekend. So the realization that in the long run they are cutting their own throats is not there yet.

But if they don't know ~~whxxxxxxx~~ we're here, they will.

Not involved in picketing of Exerdance--that carpenters Union. Don't have much background on it. Nature of carpentera and nature of our busines s is just so different. But I know this--part of the problem there was employer's attitude. When you're faced with drop dead attitude, it creates problems. When they refudse to talk, you've got a problem. I don't have a large background on that--over and done with in a hot second. I would venture to speculate, though, how many union paychecks are paid in that building every month.

Master's Pantry is union shop. John Isaakson very open and understand- ing of nature of industry--looked on as second class citizens. He knows that only way these people can get help is to help them- selves, and only way they can help themselves is through union. Also knows industry is hurting for skilled cooks, etc. Been there several times--whole thing is to be congratulated.

Other businesses are threatened by Master's Pantry. The biggest threat is that he is doing a good business.

H.E.R.E.--has belonged for 16 years. Used to peel potatoes and watch dishes and help make raviolli for Louie Bartolletti and Sandy Keath at the Acoma Supper Club. 14 years old. Joined Union. Mother made sure I was in union before I ever went to work. Went to 4B's. Came to work for this local in February 1981. At that point, hired by the internat'l as a business agent. The local was under trusteeship at that time. and they told us if we could get it back on its feet, keep it running, that in 18 months, they would turn it bsack to local autonomy and we would have to run for offices. Trusteeship is when you have probls w/in the local, or financial probs, or when general pres decides that it is in best interests of local for natl to seize control and they appt trustee. Officers that were in--don't really know exactly what their probls

prob biggest problem was just stress and strains. Very stressful, thankless job. Many hours, lot of burnout. International took trusteeship, hired me and Carol Driscoll, and at end of 18 months, we ran for office, Carol for Finacial sec/treas, I ran for president, business manager. July 16th, three years ago. 1982. And we will have again July this year. First male to hold office in 457. Believe me, I was met with some resistance. "He's too young, he doesn't think like us, he will not look after us in terms of what's in our best interest because he doesn't know; he's discriminatory. Basically, in a lot of it, I just feel flat out and out man haters. I really don't know, other than when there is a change, some eople are very reluctant to accept change. and that might have been a lot to do with it. They just didn't want no men involved. I've been sued for discr. Cases thrown out of court. Also had many many letters written into gneral president re my policies. They were all investigated, and there was nothing there.

Definitely personality disuputes. Two biggest probs came from past officers--they got along with nobody. Other is that supervisors in past were predominantly male. I don't play games, with all due respect, with what women might be willing to do, because of conditioning, stick together when they are dead wrong. But basically, I think the bigget thing was power struggles with old personalities. I want a lot of advice. Seek it, But sometimes have been used. They couldn't manipulate me, and that was a problem.

Going to stand again? Know that June 4.

More or less problems because you are male? Less, because they can't polay the games with me they could before. They have no dirt on me. In the event I do make mistakes, I try to address them very quickly, get them on the table, as opposed to pakcing a grudge or trying to intimidate anybody with it. I would hate to check my reputation out. It's questionable in some areas, I'm certain. I have been associated, I shouldn't say officially, but I've had mafia thrown in my face many times, gets the hair up on my neck. Basically a lot of that stems from my brothers. My brother Micky died a questionable death and a lot of people said, well, I think the mafia did it. And I don't believe that. A lot of them said, how do you go from nothing to the head of a union in two or three years--what they fail to recognize is that while they were out there dirnking beer and having a good old time, I was working--hard. Believe me, I've fought for everything I've got. I love to fight. I'm not afraid of one at all. That talk has bothered me abit. I don't allow it to interfere, but it's there. I also had a marriage that was, ended very quickly. To be very honest about it, it lasted from Saturday until Wednesday. And a lot of people tried to throw that in my face, tried to scandalize me with it. Got me down. But it's not reflected in my work, and they don't know the circumstances, and they can feed on it until they choke.

So you get a gal who's mad at you--she owes a couple months dues and you go down to collect--and you kno more than turn your back and you hear...something's a matter with that guy. No wonder you were only married a week. But I just take it in stride.

Do you like your job? Yeah I do. At times I could put my fist through the wall. It's the personal attacks that wear you out. Get phone calls from people who go out and get drunk, call you up, don't tell you who they are. Get a lot of hate mail--that was very distressing at first. Personal attacks. My family has gone through a lot of trauma over the years. My father and my other brother, they were both killed, two weeks apart. Father died, Paddy was killed. Just prior to that, my other brother was under investigation, some sort of crap going on that they were smuggling guns to Ireland. So all this happening, very difficult on the family. And then later, personally, I had a divorce. And then I come in here, and if they couldn't write to me, they'd write to other members of my family-- my mom and tell her--I see you have another of your gun running sons up there... He's going to get killed too. If not for support I received, and mainly from Carol. And it got to the point that when it come in--it was all from past officers, we knew that==it got to when it come in, it was written on a certain typewriter, and they wouldn't even open it, they wouldn't let me see it. Cause they knew, he'll go through the roof today. But a lot of that has gone by the wayside in the last year or so. I addressed it a couple times, told them, I know who you are. I don't let it get me down anymore. I knew their motive was to force me out. To quit would have been playing their game. So I just said I wouldn't let it get to me. And there will be more. It's all part of the game.

As a whole, since shutdown, things difficult for unions because people tend to forget the good and focus on the bad So the other unions have hurt. Difficult time getting members ==because there is nothing going on. As far we we're going, we've held our ~~own~~ own, grown somewhat, dropped somewhat, and we're into a growth period now. The diff is just the diff in nature of industries. Whenever time of trouble, esp in Butte, people have to put something int heir ouths--cigarettes, food, booze. And they have to be entertained. So industry slumped, but surviged, and is beginning to grow again. However, structure of national labor relations board and their policies has changed. Reagan has control of that, Reagan sppointees. Reagan wants substandard minimum wage. R says we should all do our part and bite the bullet and give in. So some people listen for anything--esp RR, just like Paul Harvey, some people say Paul Harvey is Lord and master. And what paul says, that's the all mighty word. And I think that's what has happened in the last couple of years, a lot are listening--well, we tried this and it didn't work so now we are going to try this. I defy them to attack us in terms of trying to put someobdy out of business because we have not. We try to make vevvery effort we can to try to cooperate. But we are not going to roll over and play dead, either. "you might screw me, but it's going to cost you . That's kind of my philosophy. I feel I have a duty to repr the people in this org, and I don't feel it's in their best interest to give away what they have fought for because it seems to be the thing to do now. That's beside the point. The point is we have gained this, we can live with it, and we are not putting the squeeze on any employeers in this comm. Our wage scale is not that high. So some has been good for us--we have been involved in two major city-wide contracts

, we have frozen our contracts, we have given concessions to keep things rolling. And we have not had a major strike --that I know of--have not had a major strike in Butte Montana since 1948. 97% of all our problems are settled at the table. We don't go out and rabble rouse, stir up trouble, look for it. We don't have time for it. We service between 1000, 1400 members and we don't have time to create other, featherbedding problems.

Area--local 457 is strictly Butte. In process of --Livingston would like to merge with us. Dope'n't know.

97% unionization. Again, not brag, fact--we are the biggest local in the state of Montana in this industry. And I would venture to say that we are probably the biggest in the world per capita.

T: you hear that Butte's labor history hurts. How do you react?

In terms of some of the other crafts, perhaps. They have had their problems. We've never stopped anybody from coming in. You see this stuff in the paper about McDonalds--but McDonalds has never spoken to Frank Sullivan. So how can they say that we are keeping them out? We are on our hands and knees right now, saying we want to sit down and talk! Just like anything else, you push a guy into the corner, he's going to come out swinging. As far as any other employers in this community, if they were to make that accusation, I would have to say, they are either imagining, or flat out lying. Because it's not in my best interest to run them out of the community. The nature of our problems is different than the other crafts. we can't walk out, just whip down everything and say hey, we're on strike. With the mines, yes, it was different. That rock is there, it's not going anywhere, and it's going to be there. Ten years from now, if they decide to open it up and go after it, they can do that. It's still there, their objective is there. Ours is different. Ours is service and it's gotta be and it's gotta be now. When we have a problem, you have to do it. If the boss says, you get out there and sweep that parking lot to a waitress, she's gotta go do it. We get in there and stop it the next day or as soon as possible, but let them try and say, we'll strike, and you're hit with, you've shut this guy down, he's losing money. that's a different story as opposed to the trade unions, a hard rock miner or something of that nature. There's is on hold, it's not going anywhere. But ours is similar to an escalator or a tread mill. It's going all the time and you've got to stay with it and stay on top of it. and live w/ the problem. But, like I said, we've had no major strikes, as far as I know, since 1948. It's my belief that a strike is the last thing you want to do. sit down and talk it over

Tape 2, Side B

T Other thing you hear is that unionization provides quality labor you don't get w/o unionization, unified, dependable labor force. How do you respond?



Very true. If you have a toothache, you don't go see the guy at the shoe shop, you see a dentist. By the same token, if you have a house to build, if you use a carpenter, you're going to save money cause the guy knows waht he's doing, uses the right materials. Same in our business. If you come in, see a new girl, she's stupified, doens't know what to do. but once they are there for awhile, they are very adept at running that business when the employer isn't there. They know nature of industry, dos and don't, ins and outs. Notice sometimes in any organization where they will wipe the slate clean, start over. But in Butte, if you watch, when a business goes through a change of owndership or management, often will keep the employees. Because employees are an asset to them. They may be screwing up, but if they are, and that problem is not being addressed, that's management's fault. And those empoyees do what management tells them to do. And I defy any of them out there to say anything different.

I, for instance, this morning, I had to go down to a hotel that right now is in a transition period in management. And the maids from the housekeeping dept were told, you go out and clean the parking lots. I went down and yeah, they did it. I telld them, do it now, grieve it later, unless it's absurd. But use your own judgement in terms of how petty it is. But in that particular case, that employee was doing what they were told to do. If that employee would have said, we ain't doing it--"You're insubordinate" and they're out the door and we got to go through a million dollar grievance over \$9 to clean that parking lot. So I try to preach that. But like i say--if a business fails, they try to blame it on the employees, a lot. And if that's the case, 9 times out of 10, it's because those employees are doing what they were told to do and managemet failed to recog their own mistakes and then when they did, they were trying to say--it's the union's fault.

Antoerh thing that is a big thing in this day and age--prob about 90% of white collar crime--embezzelment, misappropriation of funds--you don't even here about, or if you do, its very little. But let a union leader screw up--you have got big problems, blown out of proportion. that's distressing, too.

You hear a lot of static--well, unions this and untions that. They say, we don't need the union. Well, a belief as a belief, wehter its right or wrong. It's true to them because they believe it. The way I try and address that is --yeah, without one [union] what would you have. they sit down and feel sorry for themselves because they don't have no shoes, but then they are going to feel a lot more sorry for themeselves when they bump into the guy who has no feet.

Think it's harder for younger people in unions who haven't fought the battles through the years?

Yes, extrememly difficult. people say, "what's the union done for me. They don't realize that people worked for 50c an hour, 70c an hour, only way they got an increase was to fight for them. To put it this way, you don't miss something until it's gone.

They have been born and raised and weaned on, I call it, the silver spoon society. And they take that for granted. Also kids are taught today, I think, a lot--you're taught to have a positive self image. That's great. But by the same token, you can't come into the world with the idea that everything is going to be handed to you on a silver platter. Somebody out there is going to take care of you. And those who don't believe that think, "Well, I don't need nobody to keep care of me because I'm this great and famous person and I've got all these qualities because they told me this in high school. I know that from experience. I was 21 years old, I made more money then than I make now. I

I can remember saying, hey, I'm not going to even work--I made \$375 dollars a week. That was a lot of money back then. I can remember saying, I'm never going back to work again for less than \$350 a week. About five months later, I was working for a hell of a lot less. I can't necessarily apply that to everybody, but I do think that though is entertained and that causes some discrepancies in people's minds--why should I belong to a union.

\$375--used to be asst manager of Golden Rule Department--now J.C. Penney's store.

W/ shutdown of hill, end of \$12+/hr jobs, how have people's attitudes changed? Values have changed, ideals have changed, attitudes have changed--everything's changed, and its going to continue to change until the cows come home--probably at that point, they'll tell us, the cows aren't coming home. There's a tremendous unrest out there. People are grasping for security and the American dream has changed. Don't think it's an ideal any more to raise a family with five kids and have a little picket fence around the house. More an idea of, I would call it a fast food life, live in a condo on a busy street. This is fine for some people. Nonetheless--people's basic need to survive has not changed. No matter what your ideals and preferences might be, the bottom line is to survive. And the attitude out there is the same in terms of the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. And if the rich people--best way to help a poor person in a lot of ways is not to become one. so if we can maintain our standards of what we have now and not allow ourselves to slide back, we are in effect helping. We don't become a burden to ourselves or anybody else. I don't know what ideal in society is, what they want--especially the younger. But I am not willing to give up what I have gained, or ~~give up~~ be a so-called do-gooder citizen because somebody in Washington believes I should give up something so we can create more jobs. To me, that's fine, but what we're doing, is, we're telling these poor people, you're in a hole--here's a shovel, get yourself out. And just creates a situation where they dig themselves in deeper and deeper. I'm a firm believer in being flexible--I'm not a hardnosed, rigid personality. Have to bend, but maintain principles, not compromise our values away.

With change from industrial to services, high tech, and info, almost expect HERE, a service union, to thrive? We are going through changes in that area--not tremendously right now in Butte. Thought of it happening in the future is there [change of economy] and it's going to happen. But, as a whole, we are beginning to organize into other areas. Yale University--international just organized 2700 white collar clerical employees there.

As I understand it, aides for school bus drivers have just begun to form a union. So, nonetheless, the move is still on, and it will continue to grow. Last year, major striem in Las Vegas--27,000 people on strike. When pickets went out, that set the pattern for the world. Went directly to the memebers, convinced them that YOU have the power to do that. Problem that in this period of low self esteem, don't feel worthy, and intimidated by that. Intimidated everytime they turn that TV set on, or the radio. In Las VEGas--whole fight over 20¢. Owners said they were losing \$3M a day--on 20¢ on a health and welfare package! Their objective was very clear--to destroy the international. And we get faced with the same type of sitn here.

Had people come in who had been operating engineers, or miners union? Have any working for you now?

Yes--have some now who are cleaners. A few of them out there washing dishes, whatever they can get their hands on.

We have jurisdiction over all food and beverage, hotels, restaurants, motels, hospitals, we have contract w/ MT Power, theaters, etc etc--where food or sleep is served and bars.