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Bob Brown: This is Bob Brown and I'm interviewing former Governor Tom Judge. Governor Judge was governor of Montana from 1972 to 1980. Prior to then he was the lieutenant governor of Montana and served in both the state House of Representatives and the state Senate. He was one of the distinguished gentlemen of Montana history. Governor Judge, you started your political career at a relatively young age. You were in your 20s, weren't you when you first ran for the legislature?

Thomas Judge: That's right. I was 24 when I first ran for the House. I had just come back from Kentucky. I had been working on the *Courier Journal* in the advertising department. I came back to Montana to start an advertising agency, which I ran for 20 years. At the same time, I filed for the House of Representatives and went to every house. In that time, we didn't have single-member districts so you ran county-wide.

BB: That was in Lewis and Clark County?

TJ: Yes. So I knocked on every door in Helena, Augusta, and Wolf Creek. I was nominated and I was elected. There were two other Republicans, Hank Hibbard, Dan Dykstra, and myself.

BB: Now Governor Judge, not that many 24-year-old men returned to their home state and ran for the legislature. You must have developed an interest in politics at a relatively early age.

TJ: That's right. I was raised in a very political family. My father was very active in Democratic politics. He was a contractor. He never ran for an office, but he was a very close friend of Lee Metcalf and John Bonner. They were at our house for dinner a lot. At that time, Metcalf was on the Supreme Court and Bonner was attorney general. At a very young age, my brother and I were out putting up signs for Lee Metcalf. I ran both of his campaigns for the United States Senate when I had my advertising agency. So I was raised in a political family.

My father was from Anaconda. His father worked in the smelter all of his life and died of silicosis. My father hated the Anaconda Company. The funny thing is, when he went into business, they were the ones that gave him his business break. He built 150 houses in Anaconda. So yes, I was raised in a very political family. We talked politics around the kitchen table all of the time. My father always had the philosophy that what you do for other people is more important than what you do for yourself. I guess I followed that philosophy all my life.

So I was interested in politics at a very young age. When I was at Notre Dame, we had a mock presidential election. I nominated Mike Mansfield, Senator Mansfield, to be president. We got a

lot of votes. John Kennedy was the one that won. When Kennedy came to the campus, I was given the honor of escorting him around the campus. He was my idol. I met him when he came to Helena in 1960 campaigning for president.

BB: You know there are so few people who would have a direct recollection of John F. Kennedy. You met him twice, once at Notre Dame and once in Helena?

TJ: That's right—well, three times. He came to Montana when he was president because of Senator Mansfield. He came to Great Falls. In fact, that was an interesting story. The White House asked how many people would show up. Joe Reber was running the ceremonies. He said, "100,000." They called back and said, "How can that be? There are only 60,000 in Great Falls." One-hundred thousand showed up. It was fabulous.

BB: Is there any overriding impression of John F. Kennedy—as you think back in your three experiences with him, how would you describe him?

TJ: He was fabulous. He was witty. He was very bright. He was just a polished gentleman. He was kind and considerate. He had a vision for this country that was fabulous. "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country." It's too bad he was killed because I think he would have made a real difference. He was an absolutely magnetic, dynamic politician. He was fabulous.

BB: Can you remember anything he might have said like in a conversation with you or others?

TJ: I didn't really have that much time to talk; I did at Notre Dame. He asked a lot about the campus. He was very interested in the university and things like that. He had a real interest in public power and he really was a strong conservationist. He believed in wilderness areas. He was a very strong advocate of education. He was very interested in education at all levels. He had a real big heart for the poor people too. He cared a lot about minorities and was interested in the plight of our Indians in Montana and elsewhere. He was a very interesting person.

BB: He certainly was an inspiration to you?

TJ: Yes.

BB: So you returned to Montana and you ran for the state House of Representatives successfully in the election of 1960. Briefly tell us about it. There was a little bit of a dispute involving your seating in the legislature. Tell us about that.

TJ: I had been gone from Montana since I was in high school. I had gone to the University of Notre Dame for four years. Following that, I worked in sales for a major industrial company in the Midwest for a year. Then I was in the army. I had a commission as a Second Lieutenant in the Adjutant General Corps. I went to Fort Benjamin Harrison for six months. Then I kind of

decided to follow my career in journalism. So I went to work as a merchandising director of the Louisville *Courier Journal* and was also in the advertising department. So when I came back to Montana, I had been gone since I was in high school.

When I was elected, the Republicans, when we got to swearing in the members of the House, decided that I was not a resident of Montana. They asked me to stand aside from taking the oath of office. This was not very popular with the people of Lewis and Clark County because they had elected me. Also there happened to be a senator from Daniels [Dawson] County named [James] Shaw who had been elected. He didn't live in the county. He lived six miles on the other side of the border. So the Democrats said, "Well if you're going to kick Judge out of the House, we're going to kick Shaw out of the Senate."

BB: The Democrats had the majority in the Senate.

TJ: That's right. The Republicans had the majority in the House. I had been in graduate school while I was on the *Courier Journal* staff. I was studying for a Master's degree. So you don't lose your residency if you're in school. I had always voted in Montana. I had never established residence anywhere else. As it turned out, I was seated and I served three terms in the House. Then I was elected to the state Senate and served half a term because I ran for lieutenant governor in the middle of that term.

BB: Now you, of course, from Helena [you] had some impression of the legislature. You'd seen it before. You were familiar with it. Some people when they're elected to the legislature, their first experience with it is, when they walk in the door on the day that they're sworn in. That wouldn't be the case for you. You must have had some interesting first impressions. What did you think? There you were as a young 24-year-old man. You're serving in the legislature of your state. Do you have any recollections of maybe who the very prominent legislators were early in your experience or just anything about the experience of being in the legislature that stands out in your memory?

TJ: When I was first elected, I think the negative impression was about the power that the lobbyists had, particularly the Anaconda Company. It didn't last long because they eventually sold it. They had enormous power. They had two lobbyists. One was [Lloyd] Crippen and one was [Glen] Carney. Carney was the Democratic lobbyist and Crippen was the Republican lobbyist. They could literally call the shots as far as what they wanted passed with a Republican majority. That bothered me.

Then when the Anaconda Company phased out as a major influence, they were kind of replaced by the Montana Power Company. They were also a very powerful group with their lobbyists. Following the power company, I think you had a number of trade associations and the Chamber of Commerce that were very powerful, bankers, realtors, and so forth. That was something that I was not prepared for, as how powerful the lobbyists were and how they could get their way.

Another thing that I thought was pretty ridiculous that finally disappeared was the back of Jorgenson's.

Every single room was a hospitality room. Literally, legislators spent a lot of time [there] at night. You could go from one room to the other with free drinks and sandwiches, and so forth. It got to be, I think—the legislators were too cozy with the lobbyists because every night they were down there getting free drinks and food. Things like that, those are the negative things. Another thing that was tough in those years, I always thought that the legislature worked under very, very tough timelines. You just couldn't do what we had to do in 60 days. They even played games.

They'd put a towel over the clock and pretend like they weren't there. The journal would stay on the 60th day. So it was way too much work for 60 days, plus the fact that in those days, they didn't have any kind of facilities. Their computer system wasn't like it is now. They didn't have the staff. They didn't have any kind of office space for legislators or the leadership. I formed a committee called Montana Citizens Committee on State Legislatures. I had a guy named Charlie Cooley from Lewistown, an auto dealer, as the chairman. We had a group of 30 outstanding individuals around Montana to study the legislature. We had help from the national legislative groups.

They made major recommendations in terms of automatic data processing, in terms of staff, in terms of facilities, time. A lot of those things were adopted. The legislature today operates under much better situations than it did back in the early '60s. It was really horse-and-buggy-days type of an operation. Today, it's very modern. I think legislators today are there really to work, not just to have a good time spending 60 days in Helena having a party.

BB: You know you mentioned legislative modernization. I remember in one of my interviews, in fact more than one, being told that the Anaconda Company that you mentioned before, and perhaps other lobbyists, but those for the Anaconda Company would help legislators draft their bills?

TJ: Oh, yes.

BB: This was before there was a bill drafting service such as the modernization idea.

TJ: Oh, the lobbyists drafted all the legislators' bills.

BB: Was that an important part of their power and influence?

TJ: Yes, absolutely. In fact, they even found legislators rooms and places to stay. The lobbyist, was it the telephone company?

BB: Al Regal?

TJ: Yes he found people rooms for them. It was just like having a bill drafting service. The corporations did draft the bills. You'd want a bill on this and take it up there. They'd draw it up for you.

BB: So when you talk about the lobbyists, Governor Judge, it sounds as though the Anaconda Company was part of a network that maybe included other business interests in addition to themselves, that they cooperated with each other?

TJ: The Anaconda Company was the—I really think the Anaconda Company ran Montana for 100 years. When you consider the wealth they took out of this state, and they paid very little taxes, and they fought against anything that would give workers better benefits or workers compensation benefits, they were very powerful for 100 years. They elected governors. They elected legislators. Finally in about the '60s, their influence waned as they sold out. I was at the very end of that. Then the Montana Power Company was very, very powerful.

Then I said, today there's a whole group of business organizations. I think they do work together on some things. They all have their own special interests. They all work on whatever it is. I'm not just against lobbyists because lobbyists do provide information to legislators that is valuable. They shouldn't have the kind of control or power that they do. I think it's nothing like it is on the national level. It is crazy back there. There are 62 lobbyists for every member of the Congress.

They spend two billion dollars a year in lobbying. I've seen that firsthand where it's easy for a congressman to just have a lobbyist put out a little fundraiser and make 100,000 dollars. It would be awful hard to do that in his home district. He can just have one little party. They do this all the time. There's lobbying firms in Washington that do three or four of these a week.

BB: When we talk about Montana and you mentioned that the Anaconda Company had this huge power and influence in the state for maybe as long as 100 years that was kind of in decline in your late years in office.

TJ: They owned all the newspapers in Montana except for *The Great Falls Tribune*. The Anaconda Company owned every major daily newspaper in Montana. The only one that wasn't owned by them was *The Great Falls Tribune*.

BB: So if you were an aspiring politician and you wanted to run for some important statewide office, it was probably important that you try to have, not the support of the Anaconda Company, at least their neutrality I suppose. Wasn't that the case?

TJ: That's right.

BB: How did you work around that?

TJ: I'll tell you, the Montana Power Company actively campaigned against me. John Lahr was following me around the state when I ran for lieutenant governor. I finally told him, I said, "If you guys don't lay off, I'm going to get elected. I'm going to remember this." They did, but they were actively campaigning against me. I told them, "I don't want you to be for me, but if you're just going to go out and smear me then I'm going to remember it." My predecessor Forrest Anderson, he thought you couldn't get elected without the support of the Anaconda Company. I disagreed with that. I told him, "If I have to march over to the sixth floor of the Hennessy Building in Butte to get elected, I don't want the job. I don't want to be beholden to the Anaconda Company and the Montana Power Company. I'd rather not win." I won without them.

BB: I'm fascinated by that because you knew Governor Bonner. We both knew Governor Aaronson a little bit, Governor Nutter a little bit, and Governor Babcock a little bit, and Governor Anderson. Do you think those guys made their peace with the Anaconda Company before they ran? Do you have any way of knowing that?

TJ: I don't know. I think that most people elected for governor for many years in Montana either had the support of the Anaconda Company or they were neutral. They just stayed out of it. Because they had so much interest in the state, and the tragic thing is that of all of the billions of dollars that were taken out of Montana, we don't have anything to show for it. We had the largest superfund site in the whole country. What else have we got to show for it? The money went to the Corcoran Galleries and the San Francisco Symphony. What did Clark do? Build a 60 million-dollar house when he left Montana. When I came into office, coal development was just starting.

I said in the first State of the State Address, "We are not going to develop coal unless three things happen. One, is that the people of Montana want this; number two is that we can mitigate the economic, social, and environmental consequences of this; and number three, Montana is going to get something out of it not just today but forever." So I passed the highest coal severance tax in the United States, 30 percent. We were taken to court. We went all the way to the Supreme Court and won on a six-to-three vote. The utilities—Rogers and Wells—Mr. Rogers had been Secretary of State, took us all the way to the Supreme Court.

We won that. The Congress tried to knock us down. We won that. That has brought billions into Montana. The state investment board has eight billion dollars today; 150,000 dollars a year goes into economic development. Fifteen million dollars goes into that every year. They spend about 150,000 dollars in economic development. It used to be 30 percent, but Schwinden cut it to 15 percent, which I think was a real mistake. The utilities are passing it on anyway. The coal companies got a pass to reduce it to 15.

It has cost Montana people millions and millions of dollars for a long time. At least Montana is benefiting from that. We never benefited from—show me anything that we can show for the

Anaconda Company except the worst looking mess that has ever been created in this world and the largest superfund site. We polluted the whole Clark's Fork River basin and clear cut thousands of acres of timber. So anyway, they were a part of Montana history. It's fascinating to go back and read the Wars of the Copper Kings. Clark and Daly had tremendous power. Anyway, that's how I think...

BB: Let me ask you a couple of questions because there are some extremely important historical events during the period during when you were governor. You just mentioned one of them. Before we get there, just a couple more preliminary questions first. I'm interested to know as a young legislator whether there were other legislators who might have particularly stood out in your memory? Were there others, as you think back, you thought were remarkable for whatever reason?

TJ: Oh, there were many on both sides of the aisle that I thought were exceptional. We were just talking on the Republican side. Jerry Anderson was absolutely outstanding. We're good friends to this day. Jim Lucas was a very attractive guy. If it hadn't been for the sales tax, he probably would have been governor. He was a very attractive guy. There were a couple on the Democratic side that were absolutely unreal. One of them was Francis Bardanouve, who was the most dedicated legislator I've ever seen.

He was head of the Appropriations Committee in the House for many years. Another one in the Senate that was real interesting was Bill Groff. In those days, Bill Groff in the Senate, who was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Norris Nichols in the House-- they ran the whole state budget. You didn't get anything passed without the approval of those two guys. If you tried to amend on the floor of the Senate a bill that was an Appropriation Bill, forget it.

Once Groff, Nichols, and the budget director of the state decided on the budget, that was it. That was all there was to it. Groff had it all on the back of an envelope, the whole state budget. It was incredible. Another one that was good was Jean Turnage. There were many good legislators, very interesting people that were dedicated and smart. It was interesting when I was lieutenant governor, I presided over the Senate. One of the most interesting guys we talked about earlier, who just died was Pete Story. He was very conservative from Park County. He was a good friend of mine. I used to fish and hunt on his ranch. I don't know. I could go on all day about legislators. There are so many.

BB: You know that many of us have a recollection of the Butte delegation as kind of an interesting and colorful group of legislators that didn't always fit the mold. Do you have any thoughts or recollections about them?

TJ: Very definitely. See the Butte delegation-- they were powerful because they would tie up with Dillon. The people from Dillon would go with the Butte delegation, which was usually all Democrats. Maybe Deer Lodge and Dillon, a few areas around there, when you put them all together, they were pretty significant. They didn't go along always with the Democratic

majority. They could split off from the Democratic majority. My first session, I had a Democratic majority in the House. It was awful because you had...

BB: Your first session as governor?

TJ: Yes. You had the Missoula people and they didn't get along with the Butte people at all. They were all staunch environmentalists and they were going one direction. The Butte delegation was going another direction. Then there's everybody else that's somewhere in between. It was tough to put that group together, I tell you. They were my own party. So yes, they were very interesting. One thing I didn't like, they were always close to the Montana Power Company on almost any issue Montana Power had.

BB: The Butte Democrats were?

TJ: Yes. Some of them were very good friends of mine and worked hard for me. Joe Quilici was a really good friend of mine. There were a number of them that were really good supporters of mine. Butte was very good to me. I carried Butte by big margins in every campaign. They were a very interesting group. Now some of them are all lobbyists.

BB: Let me just ask you because when you started in the legislature, Don Nutter was governor. He died early on. Do you have any impression of him? Do you remember meeting him?

TJ: Yes, of course I met him. I didn't know him very well. He was a very conservative, way too conservative for me. He made major cuts in the university system. He was the only governor in the country that would not proclaim United Nations Day. He was pretty extreme as far as his cutting the budget. He died pretty early in his administration so it's not fair to judge what he could have done. He beat Paul Cannon pretty easily. Paul Cannon was the Democratic candidate for governor and had been the lieutenant governor.

BB: Then after Nutter's death, he was succeeded by his lieutenant governor, Tim Babcock. For the period of time that you were a state legislator, Babcock was governor. So you probably had some contact with him. Any thoughts or impressions on him?

TJ: Tim Babcock is a friend of mine today. Every year I see him at the Governor's Cup golf tournament up in Bigfork and Whitefish. Tim was way more conservative than I was. I wasn't a far-out liberal, but I was a businessman. He was way too conservative. He vetoed a couple of bills that I passed. I had one that reorganized government and put economic development and things together, like what is now the Department of Commerce. He vetoed it. I don't know. From a personal standpoint, yes, I like Tim Babcock. From a political standpoint, we have very different political views. It was interesting. They asked all the governors what they thought about the new constitution. Every one of them had nothing but good things to say about it except Tim. He didn't think there should have been a new constitution.

BB: His wife was a delegate.

TJ: That's right. Betty Babcock has done a lot for Montana. She was a delegate. She was a legislator. She was the one that pioneered the renovation of the capitol. She raised the money to renovate the state capitol, which today is magnificent. It's just beautiful.

BB: Governor Anderson. You were lieutenant governor under Governor Anderson and you were a legislator when Anderson was Attorney General. So you had to have known him very well. He's already surfaced a little bit in our interview. Any other thoughts or observations about Governor Anderson, his leadership style, things he was especially interested in, anything you can say about him?

TJ: Yes, I knew Forrest Anderson very well. The governor and lieutenant governor then were elected separately. I ran for lieutenant governor and got no help from Governor Anderson. He was running on the Democratic side. He won a very close primary against Gene Mahoney from Thompson Falls. I had a tough campaign against Fred Barrett and Eddie Dussault. I won. We weren't really running as a team like today when you see the governor and lieutenant governor you vote for one. Then you could have had a Democratic governor and a Republican lieutenant governor and it happened.

Paul Cannon was lieutenant governor when Governor Aronson was governor. It was awful. Every time the governor left the state Paul Cannon would call out the National Guard, hire somebody, fire somebody. Even when two Republicans were together, it didn't work very well. One time Babcock left the state and Ted James was lieutenant governor. He appointed Ernie Steele to the Public Service Commission. Babcock was furious. Anderson was the kind of person that hired excellent people. He didn't like to work very hard. He had a little cabin out at Craig. He spent a lot of time out there.

He absolutely came up with some of the biggest, most progressive ideas that we had. He was a big influence on passing a new constitution. Executive reorganization, we got that thing through with the constitutional amendment that reduced the size of government from 168 boards, bureaus, and commissions. In fact, they couldn't even find them all. There were agencies that didn't even know what they were supposed to do. It was unreal.

A governor had no control because a board like, you might have to be governor eight years to get control of a certain board. The boards selected the department directors. The governor had no accountability, no responsibility in terms of power. It was spread out and it was terrible. It was a fiasco. So we had an executive reorganization commission headed by [University of Montana law professor] Duke Crowley and we finally made recommendations. It was tough to get this through. The agriculture side fought so much. He gave each of them a department, livestock and agriculture. We got that through. That was a big, big change for state governments that made a tremendous difference. Forrest got some very important things through. I wasn't part of his clique, so to speak.

BB: Would you see yourself as more independent of the corporate interests in the state than perhaps he was?

TJ: Oh, of course, definitely.

BB: Because you mentioned that he didn't feel it was possible to get elected to an important statewide office without...

TJ: Without going over and telling the corporations that you're going to be on their side on stuff. I wouldn't do that. I'd rather not have been elected [than] to do that. Anyway, Forrest was sick. That's why he didn't run again. He made a big mistake. He had a hiatal hernia and he went off to Seattle and had the operation. It turned out poorly. He couldn't keep food down. He got down to where he was only 100 pounds. He finally took his own life. I don't know how many people know that. It was awful.

BB: This was after he had served.

TJ: He did not run for re-election. He served one term.

BB: Did he tell you beforehand to give you an opportunity to...

TJ: Yes, he did tell me that. He invited me over to the mansion. I was considering running for the Senate because Lee Metcalf didn't want to run again. Metcalf wanted me to take his seat in the Senate. He did not want to run for another term. Then Governor Anderson said, "I'm not going to seek re-election because of my health. I can't go through another campaign." There are so many funny stories about Forrest you can fill a book full. He was cocky. He was feisty. He was a good looking guy. He had served in all three branches of government, legislative, judicial-- he was on the Supreme Court-- and executive. He was a smart politician and a crafty guy.

He knew the thing that was going to elect him governor was not his popularity, but the fact that people hated the sales tax. That's what he knew. He ran on that. That's how he got elected. He was sitting in a bar having a cup of coffee. He campaigned them all to a fair-thee-well for about 15 minutes. Judge [Gordon] Bennett told me this story. They went downtown to a hotel, the Great Northern Hotel and had a cup of coffee. Some rancher was sitting on the bar. He was half bombed and drunk. He said, "Are you Governor Anderson?" He said, "Yes." He said, "Are you running for governor?" He said, "Yes I am." He says, "What do you think of that sales tax?" Anderson said, "I'm against it." He said, "Is that sales tax going to go on baling wire?" He said, "Yes it's going to go on everything." He said, "Okay, I'm for you." Forrest turned to Bennett and said, "Multiply that by 100,000 and that's why I'm going to win."

BB: He was a remarkable fox.

TJ: Yes they called him the fox, the sly fox. He was something. You'd walk down the street with him and somebody would say, "Well I'm for you, Forrest." He'd say, "Well I haven't seen your contribution yet." He was smart and he was cocky. He delegated authority. He had smart people under him. I kept a lot of his people as department directors because they were terrific people. People like Ron Richards and Fred Barrett and [Ted] Schwinden, Keith Colbo were there. Keith Colbo was through five administrations. Keith Colbo had about five major jobs.

He was my executive assistant. He was budget director. For a while I think he ran SRS. He ran Highway or Fish and Game. I counted them up one time. I think he ran like five or six major departments. Any time there was a problem some place, you could send Colbo there and it would be fixed. We had some terrible management problems over at the Boulder River School and hospital. I sent Colbo over there to try and figure it out. He said, "This is so bad. I'm going to be here six months." He was there six months or a year. He finally got it straightened out. It was a mess. He was terrific. Now he's a lobbyist. Keith was not [a] political type.

BB: He started out with Governor Babcock.

TJ: He was a budget guy for Babcock, a budget analyst. He had five or six major jobs under me. The most important job a governor has is the executive assistant because that guy is your right-hand man. I had three. I had Ron Richards, Ray Dore, and then Keith Colbo. Keith was a numbers man. He was fabulous. You'd walk and see his desk. There wouldn't be a thing on it. He was very organized I would say.

BB: Dave Lewis was also a part of your administration.

TJ: Right.

BB: Then he changed political parties and surfaced again as a Republican. He worked in your administration. Then also Schwinden was the Commissioner of Lands?

TJ: That's right.

BB: Of course they both went onto other things later on. (unintelligible) with either of those guys?

TJ: See when I was running for re-election, I wanted--Bill Christiansen had been lieutenant governor. We had run separately. I wanted Bill to run again as lieutenant governor because he was very, very knowledgeable about coal development. He did a wonderful job. He had some heart problems. He wasn't sure if he wanted to go through with another campaign. I think he would have run for governor if I hadn't. He would have been elected too. He was very popular. Anyway, he couldn't make up his mind. It finally got real late. It was almost April. I said, "You have to make up your mind, Bill. What do you want to do?" He said, "No, I guess I'm not going to run." So I thought and thought who would be the best.

BB: I wonder why he decided that.

TJ: I don't know. I invited two people over to the governor's mansion. One of them was Ron Richards and one was Ted Schwinden. Ted was a director of State Lands, where he had been appointed under Governor Anderson. He had been a legislator. He was from eastern Montana and had been a legislator. I was from western Montana and I thought, "This would be a good combination." On the other hand, I felt I was going to win that election. It really wasn't that important who lieutenant governor was.

I knew that a guy who would be very helpful to me if I was governor was Ron Richards. He was my right hand man as my executive assistant. I asked him a very strange question. I said, "One of you I want to have as my lieutenant governor and one of you as my campaign manager to run my campaign. Do you guys have any thoughts as to which would want which?" It was kind of interesting. They both kind of decided that Ron would run the campaign and Schwinden would be the lieutenant governor. We ran against Bob Woodall and we won by a good margin. His worker's compensation investigation had blown up in his face. That was what he intended to ride into the governor's office. He never convicted anybody and spent a whole lot of money.

Anyway, then what happened is in about the middle of my term, I think to be honest with you, I think Schwinden was running for governor the minute he got that lieutenant governor's job. I split up the cabinet because it was easier than trying to deal with 18 directors every day. So I put Schwinden in charge of all the natural resource areas, coal development, and energy. That was the big thing in those years. He was in the press all of the time. I had Keith Colbo kind of run the administrative agencies. Judy Carlson was the human services and the health agencies. Then it would be easier for me to coordinate with three people than 18 people.

It worked out fine except it took Schwinden from about a two-percent name recognition to about a 90 percent. Had he ever just walked across the hall and said, "Governor I'd like to have your job." I would have gone out and worked for him. Instead, he stabbed me in the back. He was out undermining me. I went through a divorce at that time. He had a lot of bad rumors circulating about me that we tracked right back to him. So I decided, "All right. I'm going to run for a third term." It was a mistake I shouldn't have made. I jumped back in again. I lost. Schwinden won. So he was elected twice.

The interesting thing is I had doubled support for education. I had doubled support for the universities, tripled the support for the state institutions with better pay, better staff, better facilities, and I cut property taxes 100 dollars a year. I cut the income tax surcharge. I left \$100 million surplus. Two years later, the state was broke. I vetoed a bill called indexing that I thought was a bad mistake. Schwinden used that against me. It destroyed the state. That was a ridiculous bill anyway. He passed it.

BB: The bill that you vetoed--what did it do, index?

TJ: Indexing. It gave a bunch of tax cuts to people that were jumping into higher income brackets because of inflation. It broke the state.

BB: But you vetoed it.

TJ: I said, "This bill is going to break the state of Montana."

BB: But then Schwinden apparently signed it?

TJ: Yes. And it did break the state. His first term he signed it and it was a disaster for the state. So anyway, that's the story about Schwinden. He could have had my support if he had just walked across the hall and said, "I'm ready to run." I was ready to go back into the private sector. I had been governor. I was tired. It's a 17-hour-day job seven days a week.

BB: Did he declare his candidacy without telling you?

TJ: Yes. I never was informed that he was running. He never talked to me about it. I had been on a trip to China when he was announcing to run. I was one of seven governors who were there, first ones to go to the People's Republic of China and meet Deng Xiaoping and go on Air Force One. It was a two-week trip. I was on the executive committee on the National Governor's Conference. They took our whole committee over there. It was great. He was campaigning for governor while I was gone.

BB: You say you were kind of at the point in your life where you were inclined to go back into the private sector?

TJ: Yes.

BB: When you felt challenged, then you felt as though you couldn't just walk away?

TJ: That's right.

BB: And you chose as your running mate Joe Roberts. Were there other people that you considered? Was there kind of a process there?

TJ: Actually Joe was a good guy, but he didn't work that hard. I think I could have made a better pick. He was on my staff. He was a lawyer in my office. He had been a state senator from Lincoln County. It's hard to decide on somebody like that. I went through a real process when I ran in '87. [Schwinden declined to seek a third term and Judge ran to succeed him.] I ended up getting Barb Skelton, who was a rancher from north of Great Falls. She was dynamic. She was terrific. We didn't win that election. Stan Stephens won then.

BB: That was 1988. So we talked about your term in office as governor, but it's been characterized in the 1970s as Montana's second progressive era in the history of Montana. There were some pretty noteworthy things that occurred while you were governor. Before our interview here today, we talked about some of those things. I'm going to just ask you of the accomplishments that occurred while you were governor. Are there two or three that you're proudest of, that you consider to be the most significant accomplishments of that eight-year period during which you served as our governor?

TJ: I think the constitution and executive reorganization, the tremendous improvements we made in the state institutions, the environmental laws that were passed.

BB: There were many of those.

TJ: Major Facility Siting Act, the strip mine reclamation...

BB: The 30 percent coal tax.

TJ: The Resource Indemnity Trust Fund. I made some major land acquisitions. I don't think you could ever do that now. We bought 550 fishing access sites so that people could get on rivers and streams in Montana. We bought Wild Horse Island in Flathead Lake. We bought the Mount Hagen game range over in Anaconda, Lake Elmo in Billings. We fought for the Absarokee Beartooth Wilderness Area and the Scapegoat Mountain Wilderness Area. I think I'm very proud of what we did in education. We served under the first time there was a Board of Regents and a Commissioner of Higher Education.

We had a study, a blue ribbon study, on higher education which led us to major improvements. We passed a campaign finance act. We had wage and classification. The pay plan, we modernized state government. We made major reforms in the workers' compensation program. We have a workers' compensation judge. We made major improvements in the water. We adjudicated all of Montana water so we can protect Montana water. We have a water use judge now. We were always fighting the federal government for preemption of states rights. The federal government was always cutting back on funding for the state program. I spent a lot of time in Washington. I was also proud that Governor Lamm and I...

BB: Governor Richard Lamm of Colorado?

TJ: Yes. We realized that the federal government was going to pick us off one state at a time on the energy development thing with massive coal development. The Project Independence under Nixon was 30 power plants in Montana diverting the Yellowstone River to Wyoming; massive development of coal in Colorado, oil shale. We set up an 11-state commission. Lamm was the first chairman. I was the second chairman. We were able to bring together resources, financial resources, to hire a staff and to present the West's point of view in Washington.

We had 11 governors. They were all Democrats at that time. We had 22 United States senators. We had a voice. We were effective. We got things done. We finally got a Federal Strip Mine Reclamation Act, which had been vetoed twice. So the Housing Board resulted in housing for 42,000 Montana families. I don't know. Those are a few of the things. There are a lot. Those are some of the most important: institutions, education. Another area that we really did a lot in is economic development, tourism. We finally got a tourism budget that promoted Montana. I heard yesterday that ten million people are coming to Montana this year. It's a two billion [dollar] industry. We really promoted the tourist industry.

BB: By buying advertising in other states?

TJ: We did a lot of things. We cooperated with other states in regions. We had regional programs, the Old West Trail Commission, and Pacific Northwest states. I even went to Hollywood and brought the movie industry to Montana. We had a part-time guy in Hollywood named Pat Matthews. He got 17 movies in one year. We had commercials, movies, and it brought tremendous amount of revenue to Montana. Then we did a lot in international trade. No other governor has done that since.

We had a wheat deal with Taiwan, coal study with Japan, Taiwan, and Korea. We had a wheat-for-oil exchange with Algeria. We did a couple of agricultural experiments with Saudi Arabia with Montana State University. I think the first governor that is going to be really effective as far as international is our governor right now. He's had a lot of international experience, Governor [Brian] Schweitzer. Anyway, those are some of the things. We really made a difference.

More people were working at higher wages in those years than any time in the history. We had surpluses. The state was doing great. It was a wonderful time. There was a whole new attitude of the people. Because of reapportionment, it brought a whole new bunch of people into the state legislature. Even from the Constitutional Convention, a lot of those people became legislators. Before that, it was like the corporations run the state and what could we do about it? There was a whole different attitude that came in that said, "It's time the people took over Montana. It's our time to decide our own destiny. We're going to pass a modern constitution. We're going to elect legislators that care about people, that are responsive."

We did 72 public forums when I was governor, in 72 cities, towns in this state to bring government to the people to find out what the people were thinking about the issues. We didn't even give a speech. We just went and said, "Okay, here we are. Tell us what you're thinking. What do you like? What don't you like?" We were in every town, every television station, every university in the state, every county seat. We had open government. The press could interview me any time. I had regular press conferences. We had the first citizen advocate where anybody could call a number.

Kathy McGowan would give them answers to any questions they had about state government. Several other governors continued it, the public forums. We called it public forums. Schwinden called it "Capitol for a Day." Even the current governor has been to every county in Montana in his first year. So anyway, I think the idea of bringing government back to the people and letting the people know they have a voice, that they count, the governor cares what they think, their voice makes a difference--that never took place before the '60s. The corporations ran the state. Boy, it was a whole change. I don't know what happened, but about the '80s, it all started going back again to corporate control.

The corporations were running the show. The Republicans had control of both houses. They were running the show. It was all "tax cuts for corporations and forget the needs of the people of the state." Education was one issue. I served at a wonderful time, a very unique period of Montana history. I wouldn't have liked to have been in there before and I wouldn't have liked to have been in there in the '80s.

BB: There are some people who say that the times make the man. There are other people who say that the man makes the times. You became governor in 1972, the same time we got the constitution. Montana's constitution is regarded as the most progressive constitution in the United States. I don't think it would be a mischaracterization of you-- correct me if I'm wrong-- but I think you regard yourself as a progressive.

TJ: Yes, I do.

BB: I think you see that your predecessors in office and your successors in office as perhaps less progressive than you. What explanation do you have for why the '70s brought in you and the new constitution? What was it in Montana that made it possible for the new constitution to be adopted and for you to be elected governor? Did you help to bring that about?

TJ: I don't know. I would hope so. I would hope I helped. I certainly don't take full credit for that by any means. I worked hard to pass the new constitution. That was a fabulous group of 100 people who came to Helena and adopted the most progressive constitution in country. It made major changes in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. They did it in only 54 days. It passed, not by much. It was very close, but I don't think there's anybody today that doesn't think that has been a big help in Montana. I don't know, I think the time was the right time.

People were sick and tired of corporate control of government and the corporations trying to shove a sales tax down their throat, which they didn't like, and taking the tax burden off of the corporations and putting them on the backs of low-income and senior citizens. I don't know. I think people just got fed up. They voted for delegates to the Constitutional Convention and reapportionment was a very big thing. Up until that time, a senator from Yellowstone County had one vote. A senator from Petroleum County that had 600 people had the same vote.

Reapportionment was a big change. Dan Kemmis, who is at the University of Montana, says that's one of the biggest changes there was in Montana state government.

BB: Was the single-member-district reapportionment or the one-man, one-vote...

TJ: Both. That made people go out and knock on doors. They didn't do that. I was one of the few that did that when you ran county-wide. That's very hard to do. Single-member districts is not hard to do. You can knock on those doors—some, like Tom Towe—and knock on those doors three or four times. People would get elected too because the people felt that if they care enough to come talk to me, then I'm going to vote for them. There were a whole lot of things that happened all at once.

Women's issues were very important in those years and had never been important before that. There were big changes in environmentalism. There was a group in Missoula of ladies that got together to fight the pollution of the Horner-Waldorf. They became effective. Some of these citizens groups realized they could get together—League of Women Voters, people like that that made a real difference. I don't know. There's not one thing. I think it all came down to a whole bunch of people that just woke up and realized, "Hey there's a better way to this." The corporations were running Montana forever. I'm not against corporations. I've been in business all my life. I don't think they ought to run the state either.

BB: Why do you think that Montana's second progressive era was relatively short lived? It seems to abruptly correspond with your term in office.

TJ: Is Dixon the first one?

BB: I think they think probably in the 1890s, turn of the century. It might have started with Governor Robert Burns Smith and ended with Governor Joe Dixon.

TJ: Governor Dixon was a very progressive person. I can't answer that question. Schwinden was way more conservative than I was. In fact, some people said he's the best Republican governor we ever had. He really didn't build a party like I tried to do. He was much cozier with corporations than I was. The state went through some bad economic times in those years. It wasn't his fault, but the oil and gas thing declined. So revenues were short.

Montana went through some very serious economic problems in the '80s. I guess I have to give the opposition credit that they do a better job of organizing people than the Democrats do. The right-wing for some reason or other—a good example is the Flathead. You could always count on the union vote. They were the guys that were working in the sawmills or they were working in the aluminum plant. They became involved with a Christian right-to-life movement. They became very conservative. Their big issue wasn't wages or worker's comp, but abortion. People got involved in single-issue things.

BB: Gun rights.

TJ: Gun control. They convinced the people that Democrats were for gun control. They convinced the people that Democrats were for environmental laws and the environmental laws were costing jobs. That really hurt. That hurt the Democrats. They weren't very effective in coming back and fighting it either.

BB: So the Republicans managed to move in on the blue collar vote like in Flathead County directly by issues such as abortion, gun control, and environmental laws.

TJ: That's exactly right.

BB: That occurred in the 1980s perhaps. Your period in office was when some of the major environmental reforms were enacted in the '74, or maybe '77, legislative sessions. Do you regard yourself as an environmentalist?

TJ: Absolutely. I'm a member of the Sierra Club. I'm a member of the Wildlife Federation and the Wilderness Society. I don't believe that environmental protection and a good economy are mutually exclusive because we had good environmental laws when I was governor. We had a very good economy. In fact, environmental laws created a lot of jobs in Montana. There are a whole lot of jobs down at Colstrip because of strip mine reclamation laws that are reclaiming the land that wouldn't be there if that law wasn't.

It would just be a horrible mess like it is in Kentucky and West Virginia. Montana has a beautiful environment and our recreation in the state is an economic asset. The worst mistake you could make would be to drill for oil and gas in the Rocky Mountain Front. That is the most spectacular area. I've ridden through there. It's got more wildlife than any other area in the whole country. To go and wreck that, spoil that for two weeks of natural gas, it would be insanity. I was interested that finally [U.S. Sen. Conrad] Burns came out against drilling up there.

I guess he's worried about getting re-elected. I am an environmentalist and I believe that you can have a good economy and a beautiful environment. Once we destroy this environment, it's gone. Once we cut all the trees down, we pollute all the rivers—that's going to destroy our economy. Who's going to come to Montana for fishing when you have polluted streams and rivers, or mountains that don't have any trees on them, or lakes that are all polluted? We're cutting our throat if we keep doing this. Right now the developers, the development that's going on in Montana is creating a lot of jobs. It's also greatly infringing on the beautiful pristine environment that we have. Every piece of open space land is being carved up and subdivided now.

I don't know how you stop that, but at least I hope they can make it so that it fits in somehow with Montana. Another thing that I ought to say, my son works for the Environmental Information Center and it's time that we got serious about getting off oil and getting on solar

and alternative forms of energy, ethanol, hydrogen cars. It is insanity that we are still importing 60 percent of our oil from countries that hate us. I don't know if you've seen the movie that Al Gore did on global warming. I'll tell you that's pretty scary that if something isn't changed pretty fast, New York and Florida, part of the east coast is going to be under 20 feet of water in ten years.

These are very serious problems that we are just putting our heads in the sand at the federal level. There are a lot of cities that are doing things and a lot of other countries are [also]. We're the biggest contributor of CO2 emissions in the whole world. We're bigger than the next five countries. We've got to start doing something about that. To just rely on coal for our power is just crazy. We've got a big wind generation thing going on in Montana now. Those things ought to be encouraged in supporting and funded.

BB: Does it seem to you that maybe Montana is getting more back on the right track again now to you? In the direction that you feel it should go?

TJ: Yes, I do. I think that was true with the election of a Democratic legislature this time. We have a Democratic Senate. The House is tied. You would have been a good governor. Governor Schweitzer is too. At least the people think so, with high ratings in the polls. I don't agree with his big coal development project he wants to get going. I do support the fact that he's been outstanding on alternative energy and making utilities buy a certain proportion of their electricity from alternative sources in the future and conservation, things like that. The answer is yes.

The Republicans have been in a long time. They had both houses of legislature and the governor. Like we talked earlier, I just think Montana isn't moving any place. Judy Martz was not very popular as a governor. So we tried somebody new. I do think that Montana is changing. I think we were kind of in a rut for a while. I'm not just saying that because it was Republicans, but we were. I think that there is more interest in things like the environment. I think there's a lot of concern about global warming, things like that. I do think we're going on the right track again.

BB: Now there were some important environmental pieces of legislation that were enacted when you were governor. Some of those have been amended somewhat since you left office. They've been changed and amended. As you look back, based somewhat on what comments you just made, is there a piece of legislation that occurred while you were governor that you signed into law that you think was especially noteworthy or important?

TJ: I've said that the passage of the coal severance tax is the most important piece of legislation that's been passed in Montana in 50 years because it's provided enormous amounts of revenue to the state. Then if you combine that with the Strip Mine Reclamation Act, which is doing a great job, you can't even tell where they've mined. Those two were very important. The Major

Facility Siting Act, that was important because you had to show need for a power plant. You had to show that it was the right location for a power plant.

When you say that these things have been amended, that's putting it mildly. They have been trashed. The Major Facilities Siting Act is nothing now. I think you could put a power plant on the shores of Flathead Lake right now. It's been emasculated. A lot of these bills I've passed have been weakened, amended, and watered down. The Republicans have had the idea that environmental laws are anti-business. That's wrong. They did a study that showed that all of the environmental laws that have passed, not one of them has cost any jobs in Montana.

So that's a real misconception. They've sold that idea to people, a false idea. I hope that we can combat that. They've done a better job putting out their side of the propaganda than we have. Those two are very important. The land acquisition things that I did with the fishing access sites and Mount Hagen and Wild Horse Island were very important. The wilderness things were good that we had to protect some of our wild areas in Montana.

We had some good people directing the Montana Fish and Game. We made major improvements in our state park system. We created a new state park in Three Forks on the Missouri River. We did a lot of stuff that was important as far as the environment. I guess to answer your question, the one or two most important was severance taxes. That thing is going to perpetuate revenue for Montana for many years. Also the fact that we're cleaning it up and putting it back into a beneficial use and not just making soil banks and polluted water and everything else is good.

BB: You mentioned a sales tax earlier on. Do you remain opposed to the sales tax?

TJ: No, I don't. I was opposed to it because I didn't think we needed it. I also thought it fell hardest on working men and women and low-income people. I was very instrumental in fighting the sales tax. I think that Forrest Anderson's election as governor was very much related to the sales tax. It's been on the ballot three times. The last time you had both candidates for governor, Marc Racicot and Dorothy Bradley, both of them supported it. The MEA supported it.

We kind of have a sales tax now. Judy Martz put on some taxes on things like rental cars and we have a sales tax on rooms now, which has been very helpful as far as the tourist industry is concerned—the bed tax. We have it on gasoline. I think it could be put in and exclude people who are in low income brackets as far as on food is concerned. I'm not as opposed to it now. I don't think you can go any further on the income tax in the state. The property taxes are getting out of sight. They're just getting ridiculous. People can't even afford to stay in a home in the Flathead they've been in all their life because the taxes are getting so high. Montana has got to look for a third leg of that stool other than just income taxes and property taxes.

BB: A couple more things I want to talk to you about and hopefully we'll have time in this interview to take care of it. You were defeated in Democratic primary in 1980 for governor. Then you got back into the picture again, got your party's nomination for governor in 1988 and ran a spirited race for governor in that election. What are your recollections about the campaign of 1988 and what are your recollections of Stan Stephens and his governorship?

TJ: Well, I had not planned to get back into politics. I had been a partner in an investment banking firm. We were syndicating real estate limited partnerships. I was selling them all over the country. We had just got our first public offer. We had done limited partnerships, limited to 30 investors now. We had our first public offering that was going to be sold nationally where we combined money managers with real estate. It was a fun job. I made a lot of money. It was a lot of fun.

Then all of a sudden they passed tax reform. It wiped out our business, not just our company but everybody who was doing what we were doing. So I came back to Montana and I hadn't quite figured out what I wanted to do yet. I hadn't really planned on going back into politics but a group of people approached me and said, "Will you run for governor again?" I thought I'd get rid of them by saying, "If you come back with 10,000 dollars so I can take a poll, I'll run." So they did. The poll showed that I would win easily in the Democratic nomination. I did. It was Frank Morrison and Mike Greeley. I carried all but one county in the primary. Morrison carried McCone County because of his lieutenant governor, Helen Waller. So the candidate that the Republicans were supposed to have had died in a plane crash.

BB: Jim Waltermire.

TJ: Yes the Secretary of State. The interesting thing was that I would have beat him because he had his high negatives, as I did. Anyway, he died. An unknown, Stan Stephens comes in. I attribute the loss of that campaign as much to myself or our campaign. I've run a lot of campaigns. I've always had a pretty good gut feeling about how a campaign should be run. I had a committee in that campaign, some good friends. They said that what I should do is run negative ads against Stephens on his voting record. I hated that idea because I'd never ran a negative ad.

All we did was promote Stan Stephens with our ads. People didn't even know who he was. It was stupid. Stan kept saying that he voted against the sales tax. The record was very clear. The press wouldn't do it. But here it was, right in the journal that he voted for it. Stan was also a very good speaker. He was a broadcaster. He was articulate. We had more debates. He was effective. He was a good speaker. He knew how to handle himself very well in a platform. So I guess I just give him credit. He did a better job than we did. We even switched campaign managers in the middle and hired a guy that was—oh, he put us in debt 50,000 dollars. He was terrible. It was awful. We had a very poor campaign in that campaign. I think that's one of the reasons that I lost. Anyway, it would have been fun if I was governor again. I went on and did well in the private sector.

I had a very successful real estate firm. I'm still working with a developer down in Phoenix. So anyway, it was interesting and it took a year out of my life to campaign. As far as Stan is concerned, I guess I'll leave that up to the voters. In one term, he had about a 30 percent approval rating. One of the biggest problems he had was his people. He had about ten people that he appointed that had to resign or had one problem after another. His appointments killed him one after another.

They all got into trouble. So I guess that if there's a reason why he didn't run again, that was it. I don't think it was his health. He's healthier than I am today. He's playing golf up in the Flathead all the time. I like Stan. We even went to the same prayer group meeting up in Big Fork every weekend. He's a nice guy. Obviously, the voters felt he wasn't doing the job because the Republicans literally pushed him out and brought in [Marc] Racicot because they didn't think he could win a second term.

BB: Something else I hadn't intended to bring into the interview, but you mentioned that you ran for governor four times. You mentioned that when you were lieutenant governor, you had thought about running for the United States Senate. So apparently that was something that had interested you at some point in your life. I know that when Senator Metcalf died in 1977 [1978], I believe, you appointed [Paul] Hatfield, the [Montana State] chief justice to the U.S Senate—you were governor at the time—to fill that vacancy. Had Senator Metcalf not died and he not run for re-election in 1978, do you think you might have run for the U.S Senate in that year?

TJ: I'm not sure. Yes, I did want to run for the United States Senate. It's a great job. I think a governor can get lots more done in one governor and there's 100 senators and 435 congressman. You've got to work your way up into the seniority system. I would have probably run. I had a very tough decision my second term. When Metcalf died, John Melcher, the congressman from the eastern district, announced the same day that he was running. In the polls, I had a lead over Melcher because I had run statewide and he was only known in the eastern congressional district. It was a tough decision. I opted to run for re-election as governor. Some people urged me to appoint myself when Metcalf died. I wouldn't even consider that possibility. Timing in politics is everything. There's no question about it in my mind. The other time was when Metcalf called me into his office and said he didn't want to run for a second term. He was tired. He wanted to come home. He wanted to plant a garden.

BB: When was that, in 1970 when you had that conversation with Metcalf or '78?

TJ: It was when Metcalf was running for his second term.

BB: Second term, okay. He was elected in '60. So it must have been in 1966?

TJ: He then decided not to run. He went to the Democratic Convention. The AFL-CIO were just—his speech was that he was retiring. That was his speech. The most shocked people on the

stand were saying, "No. Run, Lee, run." His wife was shocked. He had told his staff and his wife that he was going to announce that he was quitting.

BB: That was in 1966, or '72?

TJ: Maybe it was '72. Anyway, I thought Lee did a good job. The problem that Metcalf had was that he was always under Mansfield. He was a power. He did a lot on conservation and federal aid to education, wilderness bills, and labor issues. He was a big supporter of public power and an opponent of the Montana Power Company. We'd always win elections by the skin of our teeth. It's interesting how he beat Orvin Fjare. Lee did not agree with polls. I said, "We've got to have a poll, Lee." He said, "Well, I'll probably lose Yellowstone County by 10,000 votes." I said, "If you do, I don't think you're going to win." The poll showed that Yellowtail Dam was very popular because of tourism and recreation, business. Fjare had voted against it. Metcalf voted for it. So we put a lot of money in that county in supporting Yellowtail Dam.

BB: That was when they were both members of the U.S House of Representatives.

TJ: That's right. What's funny was Fjare did better in western Montana than Metcalf thought he would. We did lots better in Yellowstone County than they thought we would. Because we did so well in Yellowstone County, Metcalf won that election by only about 4,000 votes at two or three o'clock in the morning. That's why he went to the Senate was that Yellowtail Dam issue.

BB: As his campaign manager, you had advised him to take the poll?

TJ: I was his manager. I did his advertising.

BB: But your advice was to take the poll which showed a vulnerability to Fjare in the Billings area that you could identify as something you might be able to gain ground?

TJ: That's right.

BB: You're named for Lee Metcalf?

TJ: The next time he ran, he was against state Senator [Hank] Hibbard. He won that pretty easily. My middle name is Lee and it's because my dad was such a good friend of Lee Metcalf's. They were very good friends. I was putting up Metcalf signs when my brother and I were little kids.

BB: So you had to have known him very well.

TJ: Yes.

BB: How would you describe him in a few sentences?

TJ: Heart of gold. He had a temper. He could yell and scream. He was very smart, well respected by his colleagues. He had an injury in the war that came to haunt him in his later years. It was very painful. I think it was a knee injury that he got in Germany in the Second World War. He was very progressive, liberal. He was one of the few that were outstanding. There were some that were like McGovern and Frank Church and some of those guys. They were very effective for a while. He was a good friend. We had great times together. I testified before several of his committees. He was a very close friend of my father's. He had a great sense of humor. He'd laugh and he was a very partisan guy. He lived under Mansfield's shadow. It was always Mansfield. If he had stayed in the House, he would have been the Speaker of the House.

BB: I've heard other people say the same thing. You had to have known Senator Mansfield somewhat too. Was Mansfield a little more distant, guarded? How would you compare Mansfield's personality to Metcalf's?

TJ: I don't think there's any comparison. Mansfield was very guarded. He would come to Montana and never tell a soul that he was coming here. He'd run around the state. He'd be met in Great Falls. Somebody would take him to every town. He'd do the television interviews and the newspaper interviews. He'd be gone before anybody ever knew he was there in the state. He was gone. The interesting story is that I used to see him in Washington. When I was running my advertising agency, I represented a number of state trade associations. They all had legislative meetings. So we'd go back to Washington. They'd all have to go see the congressional delegation. We'd make the rounds of congressmen and senators.

Every time I did this, they would say, "You've got to go to Peggy DeMichele," his executive assistant. So instead of seeing him in his office, she'd say, "Go over to the Senate. He's over there. I'll notify him. You just give a page a note that you're there. He will come out and visit with you and talk to you." There we'd go. You can't see in the Senate from the Senate reception room. So we would go over there and give the page the note. He'd come out and he'd say, "How are things in Montana?" He'd ask everybody how they were. That would take five minutes. Then about the time that they started talking about their legislation, the page would come out and say, "Senator, you're wanted on the floor for a vote."

I saw that happen a dozen times. I almost would watch my watch and say, "Okay in 20 seconds, a page is going to come out." The funny thing is, these people would walk out and say, "Oh isn't it great we got to see Senator Mansfield?" I would say, "Yes, but what did he say? He didn't say anything." They wanted commitments, are you for our bill or against it, you know. He was very interesting. People criticized him because they thought he should have been a Lyndon Johnson and brought more to Montana. He did a lot. It was Libby Dam and the wilderness areas, education, Montana Tech was his favorite. The Magnetohydrodynamics Project in Butte was his project.

So on and on; he was one of the people that said, "Get out of Vietnam," early. He did a lot. I saw him in Tokyo in the embassy there when I was on trade delegations. He endorsed me. He would come to Democratic fundraisers the last week. He'd make the Democratic Party the last week. He'd come out the last week of the election and throw his support for the Democrats and have his picture taken. He didn't spend a lot of time in Montana talking to people.

BB: I get the impression from your comments, Governor Judge, that you felt a greater closeness to Metcalf than you did to Mansfield.

TJ: I was raised with Metcalf. I liked Mike too. I liked them both. They were very different people.

BB: We've got just a short amount of time left on our tape. I'd be interested to know if you could, maybe what you see in Montana's future. You've lived a life of being involved in our state's politics and being a close observer of what's happened from the late 1950s and this is 2006 as we conduct this interview, July of 2006. What do you see in the future?

TJ: I think the economy is going to do well. You've got so many people around the country that have a lot of money to spend. They've discovered Montana. They're coming here by the droves. I saw this because I sold ranches when I left the governor's office after I ran against Stephens. I had a real estate brokerage firm. It was interesting then. The rich and famous were coming. Now it's everybody. You just look and see what's happening. I hope that Montana retains the kinds of qualities it had when I was a kid. It's changed a lot. I remember you could go and knock on a farmer's door and ask if you could hunt. He'd say, "Yes, sure. Go here, but my cows are over here. Shut the gate when you leave." Now it's all leased up by outfitters.

I hope Montana retains the beautiful beauty that it has and it's not destroyed by irresponsible development. We've got good laws now. I think we've got good people in public office that really care about the state. I have an optimistic view of the state at this point. I think the economy is going to do well. I've touched on the problems I see, the global warming issue, the reliance on foreign oil, and Iraq and Iran are big problems. I think North Korea is a big problem. Anyway, just to summarize, I think the state of Montana has a good future.

BB: Thank you Governor Judge and thank you for your public service.

[End of Interview]