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Interviewer: Bob Brown
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John Lynch: I was born in Butte, Montana in 1947 on September 17. To those interested, that's six months before or after St. Patrick's Day. I was born in the old St. James Hospital and I live in the same house where I was born and raised. I've been there 61 years except for a short move across the street. My mother's maiden name was Lynch and she married a Lynch and they were not related. Her first name was Queenie, which caused me a problem in grade school. They would come to me and say, "What is your name?"

I'd say, "Johnny Lynch."

They'd say, "Okay what was your mother's maiden name?"

I said, "Lynch."

"No, no, no. What was her name before she was married?"

I said, "Lynch."

So they went on to the next question, "What is your mother's name?"

I said, "Queenie."

They said, "No, no. Her real name."

I said, "Queenie."

So the nun at St. Pat's called my mother and said, "We have some very bad news." I think this was either in kindergarten or first grade. "We have an idea that your son John is a little slow. He thinks your maiden name was the same as your married name and he thinks that your real name is Queenie." When she informed them that her son was in fact okay, the nun should have realized and then apologized.

That's where I grew up and went to St. Pat's grade school my entire life, which was only a block in one direction. Then I went to Butte Boys Central High School, which was a block in the other direction. So I've always told my children throughout their lives that I walked back and forth to school every day, which of course was easy for me to be able to do. Then I, of course, got out of Central and went to Western Montana College, where I served as student body president there and also served as governor of College Kiwanis—Circle K—while I attended Western Montana

College. That's the prelims, kind of, until we get to when I lost my mind completely and ran for the legislature.

Bob Brown: Well that's great and that's great to have that background. I'm interviewing J.D. Lynch, whom you just heard from. J.D. was a state senator and state representative from, what, '70 to '78?

JL: Yes.

BB: From here in Silver Bow County and then a state senator from—

JL: Eighty-two to '99.

BB: To the election of 2000.

JL: Well, to the election of 2001.

BB: Okay. And the interview is being conducted here at Montana Tech in Butte, Montana, on September 25, 2008. So we've got you through college. You're back here in Butte. What did you do for a living?

JL: I came back to Butte immediately. I was fortunate enough, because there was some movement in the school district, to get a job at Butte High School. From that day forward, every time I was asked what I did in Butte, I always told them I taught English as a foreign language at Butte High School. I taught English Department there for eight years and then I went on and taught at the Vo-Tech and then again at the alternative school. I spent 32 years in the school districts here in Butte.

BB: And in the very early beginning of this time, apparently when you were an English teacher in the high school, that's when you first ran for the legislature?

JL: No, actually I ran for the legislature prior to getting a job.

BB: Oh really?

JL: Yes. I graduated from college in 1969. I ran for the legislature in 1970. I was nominated, which virtually in those days was the election in Butte in June of 1970. And I started my teaching career in September of 1970.

BB: That same year?

JL: Yes.

BB: So as your first year as a teacher, you spent time over in Helena as a legislator?

JL: Yes my first year as a teacher I took a leave of absence in January. Those times, we only had the 60-day sessions.

BB: Except that particular one, that was a long one.

JL: That was a special session. The special session was in June.

BB: Didn't it go past March?

JL: Not very long because we stopped. You'll have to correct me if I'm wrong, but we had a 21 day session in June.

BB: Yes, that's probably right. So what motivated you to run for the legislature?

JL: I think that I came from a fairly political family. I was watching Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower and I was fascinated by politics. I had an aunt—I called her "aunt," but she was my mother's aunt. My mother had no sisters. Her mother died when she was two. So she was raised by what I always called the matriarchy of all aunts. One was an aunt named Loretta Sullivan whose husband Dan Dee had been a county commissioner. Then he had died in Butte. That was very common that the wife did take over and she ran on her own right and won. So I knew we were a "political" family. Then, without a doubt, the thing I think that most motivated me and so many people of my generation and your generation was in 1960. I was, of course, an Irish Roman Catholic. John Fitzgerald Kennedy truly inspired a whole generation of us, not only with his ideas, but I think with his oratory, his charisma, and his looks. I mean, I used to imitate him forever, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country." I'd go on and on and on.

I can remember in 1960 in October, the biggest game of the year—I don't remember the exact date—was Butte Central playing Butte High School. Here I am, 13 years old, handing out J.F. Kennedy cards to the folks going in and out watching the game. I was also handing out Lee Metcalf cards, Paul Cannon cards, and Arnold Olsen cards. I can remember the whole crew. I was especially offended by Paul Cannon's because they were orange and black. An Irishman handing out an orange card sets a little something against him. I did it anyway.

BB: He was here from Butte.

JL: Yes. He ran a haberdashery, a women's store—Cannon's Women's Store—in Butte.

BB: What do you remember about that first campaign for the legislature?

JL: I think that when I was student body president in 1969 at Western, the big issue then—and I think it's a legitimate issue today, although I think we fouled it up miserably, the federal government along with the state governments—was the Vietnam War and whether or not a person ought to have to go to war. There's a key word there: "have" to. And die before he or she ever had an opportunity to vote for the people who sent them. So we were, of course, suggesting that 18 year olds had a right to vote. As the student body president, I joined the other student body presidents from the various campuses. A couple of them were from Butte. I remember Eddy Leary was U of M's student body president. I'm trying to think. There was one other that was from Carroll. We went there. I was a little upset at the lack of respect that the officeholders of the student campus received from the legislature. In retrospect, maybe it wasn't as bad as I thought because after 30 years in the legislature, I realize how those are. They gave us very little time and said, "Thanks, but no. Thanks for coming." I was a little upset. I might also add that while at Dillon, I became involved as Tom Judge's campaign manager on campus for lieutenant governor.

At those times, we nominated governor and lieutenant governor separately. Dillon at that time had very few Democrats. I kind of realized how Republicans felt in Butte, later on, having their huge meeting in a telephone booth. That's how it was in Dillon. Judge did very well. He was the Jaycee president—former president—and a fellow named Jim Flynn in Dillon asked me. Tom Judge and I went to the Labor Day rodeo together. He was successful for lieutenant governor. Then again, he ran for governor in '72 and won that. Forrest Anderson didn't run again. Then I went to Boy's State also and was extremely surprised when I met Governor Babcock and how short he was. You know on TV you think people are different. Both he and Forrest Anderson, who ran against each other, were of very short stature. Of all the political slogans in my lifetime, that all said the best four words ever in election—then or now—is probably: "Pay more, what for?" Whoever came up with that virtually elected Forrest Anderson governor of the state of Montana.

BB: Being against the sales tax?

JL: The sales tax.

BB: In 1968.

JL: I learned a great lesson being opposed to the sales tax. I used it as my base for many years in the state legislature.

BB: So you were motivated to run for the legislature by years of interest in politics that went back to—

JL: I think the rejection—or what I perceived to be a rejection—by the legislators of young peoples' voices. A lot of people accused me of never having been young, that I was born old. When you're 19 or 20 and you go there with the expectation of being treated...not my

delegation, and I'm not being specific about anybody. I thought the general tenure of the legislature in those years was, "Yes, so what?" Also, I told my mother I was going to run for the legislature and she said, "Oh, don't do that. Please don't do that."

I thought, "What have I got to lose? I'm 22 years old."

She said, "People think we might have a little influence when you get (unintelligible) show we don't have any." So that spurred me but it also spurred her to make sure I didn't lose the election.

BB: So what about that first campaign?

JL: Most interesting because we didn't have single-member districts. There were three open spots. That's one of the reasons that it looked attractive.

BB: How many elected from Silver Bow?

JL: Seven.

BB: And there were four incumbents.

JL: Yes. Pat Williams was not running that year. Ray Wayrynen was not running that year. I think one of the Tracys was running for the Senate. So those were the three open seats of the seven, and 15 ran. With very few exceptions, certainly 90 percent of every door in Silver Bow County...I wasn't teaching, remember? So I had the entire spring to hit the doors. I think the filing fee was ten dollars?

BB: It was ten or 15.

JL: It's still 15 I think. So I had a few small cards printed up. I mean there were a lot of small little handout cards. Then there were a few posters of what would be described as "ancient" now. I also had hair then. So I had a picture that I was quite proud of at the time. The campaign in Butte—I liked campaigning. I would go to the corner of Park and Main in Butte. You couldn't do it now. But remember, there were three shifts of miners getting off every eight hours and so you could virtually give out 1,000 cards on the corner of Park and Main. On Friday you'd go up to North Main Street where the pay office was and before to they got to Packy Buckley's Classic Bar, and you would hit probably 1,500 miners getting their paychecks. So you could do a great deal of work in a short time.

I didn't want to go too early, so every morning about 10, I would go out door-to-door and stop about 5 o'clock. That's when you hit the housewives. I remember that one lady—in fact, her

husband later became a legislator—they were for [Ed] Lefty Winters, and I went to the door and it was Kathy Pavlovich, whose husband later joined us in the legislature. It was pouring rain out. Well, when I'm already five blocks from the car, it doesn't make much sense to walk back five blocks in the rain to get in the car. So I just kept trudging away and Bobby [Pavlovich] came home that night and she said, "I'm voting for Lefty, but I know who my second vote is, that young kid that came to the door in the middle of a rainstorm. He must want it pretty bad." Remember, at that time you could vote for up to seven. So if you gave two votes, that's better than—so it was a fascinating race. I've always liked giving a speech. I was on the speech and drama team in the college. I was a thespian. I always have to make sure you know what I'm talking about. It reminds me of this story about a fellow in Florida when he ran against, what was the old congressman's name?

BB: Claude Pepper.

JL: Claude Pepper, what was it? Smileys...Smiles?

BB: [U.S. House Representative George] Smathers.

JL: Smathers told everybody in the back hills of Florida that Claude Pepper's sister was a thespian and his brother is a homosapien. Everybody said, "We're not voting for that guy in a million years!" So I enjoyed it. And at that time Butte was key. This is kind of interesting historically, I think. To my knowledge it was the last big campaign dinner prior to the general election. It was at the Columbia Gardens in a huge pavilion. It closed down, I think, the following year. That was a big gathering place. That's when you got to meet—not only that you were running, but you were excited. Then you got to meet people. My god, here's Forrest Anderson, or here's Mike Mansfield. He was a giant in my mind and my mother and all my aunts. And Lee Metcalf, and here I am rubbing shoulders with the big people. So it was fascinating and I loved it. I think I loved the campaign more than I liked winning. I won that night in November.

BB: Do you remember where you placed?

JL: I came in fourth.

BB: Right in the middle?

JL: Right in the middle of the pack. I beat one incumbent, I forget which one. I think [John] Healy might have come in first and the other three incumbents beat me. I was fourth in the incumbent and then I think Joe Quilici was the fifth or sixth and Bob Harper was running at the tail at seventh. I think we had three or four Republicans who thought maybe if they think a little—especially county-wide—they weren't going to win any place. That night I asked to leave my victory party, which was at my house. I came up here to the School of Mines, where we're

doing this interview, all by myself, and I looked over this railing to see all of Butte. I went, “Oh, boy.” I wasn’t sure. I really wasn’t sure how important a legislator was. I knew I had some ideas but I said, “Gee, there’s Butte, and here I am representing it.” I felt very proud and at the same time very fearful of hoping I could do a good job because there had been some in the past who tried to do a good job and they kind of messed up in Helena. Here I was. I wanted to make my family proud, but I also wanted to make all of the people that supported me proud. I was a young voice. I was the youngest ever elected up to that time out of Silver Bow County. I would have been—if it had not have been for this jerk in the Flathead [Reference to the interviewer, Bob Brown]. I would have been the youngest elected up to that time in the state. It was an exciting night and an exciting time.

BB: What’s changed in the politics of Butte and Silver Bow since then?

JL: I think there are several things that have changed. Certainly, well I think there was a mistake made, but there are Republicans of course who disagree with me. When they eliminated partisan races for local races, you virtually eliminated much of the strength of your Democratic Party. Republicans didn’t have any strength to begin with so it didn’t matter to them. I’ve noticed that in the last 20 or 20 years since they’ve done it—I think it was ’78 maybe—is that the dinners don’t have as many people. In the old days, up to the time of [city-county] consolidation, if you were the county treasurer, you had the entire staff at the treasurer’s office. If you were the county sheriff, you had your staff. The clerk and recorder...you’d have 100 people just for the officeholders. That’s all gone. Of course the only partisan race is locally of the legislature. So it’s very difficult for the Democrats and other Republicans in other counties. I don’t think it’s just Democrat, probably. It’s a Democrat problem greater in Silver Bow. But anybody who had a huge, strong Republican, we used to have central committees, but half the time they’d get in a fight with each other. I think that’s eliminated much of what I call the Democrat power base of Butte.

BB: And the fact too that there’s so much less mining now.

JL: Yes.

BB: There are fewer miners.

JL: Fewer union members. Miners Union was one of the biggest unions in the nation of miners and we were number one. Miners Union was number one. I’m going to throw out some figures that I’ve heard all my life. You had approximately, before the mines closed down, one open to Kelley, but before they had the open pit mine, which they started in the mid-’50s, you had 10,000 underground miners that were getting off work. Eventually they all shut down and then the Kelley was still running, and open pit mining when they opened the Berkeley Pit. It really didn’t come to flourish until they got to Meaderville and McQueen and east Butte. Open pit mining required far less employees, although they still had three shifts. They were all pretty much truck drivers, Teamsters.

BB: You mentioned that when these fellows got off shift that one of their first stops was, did you say, Packy Buckley's bar?

JL: Well Packy Buckley cashed their check. The pay office was two doors above Packy Buckley's Classic Bar and so they cashed their checks there.

BB: How do you spell Packy?

JL: P-A-C-K-Y.

BB: I see, okay.

JL: And the checks would be given to them—

BB: How come they didn't buy beer from Packy after he cashed their checks?

JL: They did. Oh, they did. A lot of times the wives were waiting for the husbands to come out before he made it to Packy's. So Packy, I don't know how many thousands of dollars of checks he cashed. Some wives got to a point that they insisted that the checks be sent home because some people cashed their checks at Packy's and never managed to get any money home.

BB: That culture still survives to some extent.

JL: To some extent. There was very little—I don't want to sound too liberal, I never sounded too liberal—but there was never a problem with a person who got off at the midnight shift after having gone to work at four o'clock in the afternoon that had any problem drinking past 2 a.m. The lawyers looked the other way because the guy that got off at midnight had as much right to drink as the guy that got off at four in the afternoon.

BB: That's only fair, for sure. Let me think here. Your first impressions of the legislature: you're feeling so excited and proud and vitally interested in representing your community.

JL: The first thing that I had to do was go to the caucuses and kind of be told what to do because we didn't know who was going in. The second thing was really interesting in my life was to find a place to live. So my mother, Queenie, said, "Now Seano," whenever she was serious I went from J.D. to Seano (?). She said, "You find a good place, and it can't be too much." Because we didn't make any money. I think we made ten dollars a day one way and 15 [for] expenses, or 15 salary and ten expenses.

BB: Something like that.

JL: It was a combination. So I went and looked, and looked, and looked. I found a place and I'll tell you where it was in just a second because I told my mother first. I went home and said, "Queenie, I found a nice place." She said, "What is that place, J.D.?" I said, "It's the Montana Club." Her eyebrows went up and said, "That's a Republican place." I said, "Oh, my goodness, Mom. I didn't know." She said, "How much will they be charging you there?" I said, "It's a \$1.50 a day. You have a room and you have to go down the hall to do your duties and shave, and so on." She said, "A \$1.50? Well that's not a bad place, J.D."

BB: How did you stumble on that?

JL: I think we went to the legislative council and what was the telephone guy's name, Al—

BB: Reagle.

JL: Reagle. He knew that there were a few rooms. So Quilici and I, Doc Norman from Missoula was in the House with me, a fellow I saw recently, Senator Fred Carl was there, Hershel Robbins was on that floor—

BB: Representative from Roundup.

JL: Yes. I think there were like seven individual rooms. And a buck-and-a-half a day. You're never there anyway. No women were allowed. No tomatoes were allowed on that fifth floor. It was a good experience and a great place to be because at one time, the Montana Club—it's still just off the gulch—was kind of the political vein of Helena. So it was an interesting place to live and I enjoyed it. I enjoyed telling everyone that I was a "big-shot" at the Montana Club. So then I went to my first day in session and I'll tell the story to several people to mention because I got it from Bob Hatfield. I truly sensed how he felt. I sit down. They give you your seat, your delegation. And you look around and there are people that you've seen on the local 5:30 or 5 o'clock news and you realize you're sitting in that chamber. I think the House Chamber was a terribly impressive place to walk in to. That was the—

BB: The "Lewis and Clark Meet in the Flathead. [Lewis and Clark Meeting the Flatheads.]"

JL: It almost takes your breath away when you're actually sitting there in that chamber, especially as you and I were 23 years old and sitting down and looking around. I was scared and I got appointed because Butte always had a supposed seat on Appropriations Committee. It was asked of someone, I don't know who it was, by Jim Lucas—

BB: Lucas was the Speaker.

JL: Speaker, "Who do you want to have the Butte seat?" Obviously the incumbents didn't particularly care. They had their own committees and—

BB: So one of the three fellows that left must have been the guy that had the seat before.

JL: Ray Wayrynen. He was a former Speaker of the House. Then when he was the Speaker—so I got to be on Appropriations. I didn't ask for Appropriations. It was one of those things, "Don't ask because you're just going to be disappointed." And here I asked for Education and I asked for Business. Here they said, "You're on Appropriations and Education and this."

BB: Did you realize what Appropriations was?

JL: I knew that it was the money spender.

BB: And a plum assignment.

JL: A plum assignment. And I had it my entire House session, my entire House career. Also those who have served on Taxation might argue, but it's certainly, I think, the hardest-working committee in the legislature. Then we were appointed to subcommittees in Appropriations and the only disappointing thing—and I'm going on too long—is that you work, and work, and work on the bill and Bardanouve was our main man. A Democrat, Francis Bardanouve.

BB: Chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

JL: And we'd work, and work, and work. Then at the very end after all of our work was done, I think it was Bob Dye came up to me.

BB: Robert F. Dye from Bozeman?

JL: Yes. And he said, "Here's the bill for your committee." We had five bills in those days, as I recall. There's such a hullabaloo about whether we should have one or five. He said, "Here's your bill, signed by your chairman." I'd have to look it up now. I said, "Well, I've got all these notes here. I've taken notes for the whole last three and a half months. What do you mean here's the bill?" He said, "Here's the bill. Sign it." I said, "Well I'm not signing it." I think it made me less of a worker after my next 28 years.

BB: Where did Dye get the bill?

JL: I think it was in Lucas' office. They wrote the bills, the whole works, no extra nickels—

BB: So you went through the whole hearing—

JL: And we had no input whatsoever.

BB: Ultimately the bill was—

JL: Maybe it was drawn up before we started for all I know.

BB: That's incredible.

JL: But we had absolutely no input. I immediately went to Bardanouve and I thought, "Well maybe I'm crazy here," but all I could relate to is: "If that's how it's done then why did they have me up at seven o'clock every morning?"

BB: What did he tell you?

JL: He said, "Don't sign the bill. It's never happened like this before. It's a power play. No Democrats signed any of those bills that session." It kind of discouraged me from the process a little bit.

BB: I can see why.

JL: Then of course transparency was around the corner, I think, with the Con Con and so on. That session was—I don't know—in some ways it showed me all that was bad about what you read about politics, back room. The other think that fascinated me in that session was second reading. I mean, here a guy would get up and give a great oratory against the Anaconda Company or against the Montana Power Company or against the telephone company and then he'd sit down and vote completely opposite of the way they talked because they didn't record second reading. So he'd get the press being opposed to the telephone company and then vote with them. There was nobody that recorded the vote. I thought, "What kind of complete hogwash is this?" People were taking pictures. If they took pictures they'd take them down and say, "Catch that guy, he's got a camera."

BB: They were taking pictures of the voting board. It was some kind of a record.

JL: Territorial integrity, I think, was one they were after.

BB: That's what I remember too. That was part of that '71 session.

JL: Bob Dye was one of our floor leaders. He said, "Get that guy and that camera!" I thought it was absurd. If you wanted to vote that way, that's fine.

BB: You mentioned Francis Bardanouve. He later was chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

JL: Yes for many years.

BB: Then he was the ranking Democrat. And then when that incident occurred, you told me about when they handed you the bill when you hadn't had anything to do with it, and asked

you to sign it. Are there other members of the legislature in addition to Bardanouve that you kind of remember early on? You mentioned Jim Lucas.

JL: Jim Lucas certainly was, I think, one of—and I don't want to count numbers, but certainly one of the five best orators I've had in 30 years of the legislature. I bet it's been there almost 38 now because I've lobbied for the last few sessions. I remember another man, rest his soul, John Hall was another. Their debate on territorial integrity was probably one of the finest that I've ever heard.

BB: They had a debate on, what was it, the coal moratorium?

JL: Yes. That was the good debate. It was about two o'clock in the morning.

BB: Yes, very late.

JL: And Tommy Towe, I think, was one of the smartest legislators, but he unfortunately talked way too much and no one listened to him. He'd get up and you'd see people pick up the newspapers or go to the bathroom, talk among themselves. Tom Towe, one of his fingerprints on every single issue, if you sent Tom Towe the Our Father, he'd want to amend it because he saw something that was out of place. Dorothy Bradley, I thought, was a fine legislator. She was a little more liberal. And that's what people don't understand, for the most part, in those days. Butte Democrats were completely different than Missoula Democrats. I always called us the "Silvercrats."

We were more interested in jobs than we were whether or not the environment was pristine. That does not mean that we weren't environmentalists. We believed that there was a way you could have good jobs and a clean environment. Missoula Democrats, and still to this day to some extent, they could care less if there's any industry or anything in the state of Montana because they want to just protect. I thought we should be more than a playground for people from out-of-state. That's why I had probably more people that disliked me, not that I'm likable, for my political views on my side of the aisle than on the Republican side of the aisle. They had no problem with people wanting to work.

BB: Sure, yes. Pro-business—

JL: Yes pro-business and pro-labor. They can be together.

BB: They can be together. I agree with that too. The so-called terrible twins of Montana politics, the Anaconda Company and the Montana Power Company, you hear some historians and I've conducted interviews with other folks who talk about their enormous influence. You talk about some people who say, "Well, I think their influence was exaggerated somewhat." It might have something to do with the time in which a person served there. In your experience, when you

and I both started in 1971, what were your impressions of the Montana Power Company and the Anaconda Company? Maybe you've got a story or two.

JL: I don't know that I do. But I do think that their years of extreme supreme control were waning if not gone. I hear stories that they would set the budget for the state of Montana. Anaconda would say, "Here's how much we're going to give you. Figure it out." I also heard that in Butte, Silver Bow, that they would decide how much the gross proceeds tax or the metal mine tax and so on. They actually, at one time, you can check this out, were given an office in the courthouse. Their bookkeepers would figure out how much taxes.

BB: They drew up their own taxes?

JL: Yes. When we got there, previously as I understood it, Anaconda Company kind of had their way somewhat with the Butte delegation, Anaconda delegation, and had for some time with some exceptions. Well, I was not beholden for any job or anything to the Anaconda Company nor was my fellow representative from Anaconda, Red [William] Menahan. So we started voting completely contrary and all of a sudden, the whole delegation started going that way thinking that their power was not what it was. So I think that was a session that completely—if it was not completely over—it was over in the '71 session.

BB: Did the lobbyists then...who would it have been? Would it have been Lloyd Crippen?

JL: Lloyd Crippen. I don't think I saw Lloyd Crippen socially other than when he was with Jim Lucas and Walter Omer (?), and there was a threesome that used to go all the time, and their wives. Denny Shea was the Democrat lobbyist and he would take us, of course, to dinner every so often. The other thing is they didn't have near the bills that they apparently had before our time.

BB: But they didn't try to work with you particularly?

JL: I remember one fellow. We had a bill called the "Dust Bowl Bill" by Luke McKeon from Anaconda. It was somehow to fine the Anaconda Company down in Anaconda when the dust started blowing around that smelter. Luke passed it through the Senate and then it came to the House and I voted for it. I thought it made sense. If they're causing the dust pollution, they should clean it up. Most of us did except for my dear friend Jack Healy. I said, "Jack, why didn't you vote for that? The rest of us did." He said, "Oh, geez, I can't be doing that. That's my department." He worked for the Anaconda Company and it was his department. That was my one good proof that times had changed. They lobbied us on it. If you could see your way clear, I just don't see that it would cost you that much money. And number one, if you don't clean it up, who should clean it up?

BB: The Montana Power Company?

JL: The Montana Power Company was a different sort. In effect, at the end of my career in '97, I never was considered one of their fair-haired boys, as some were, because again, I wasn't beholden to them. John Lahr was an excellent lobbyist. And we, of course, would go out. We were well aware that there were, I don't know, 1,400 employees in Butte, so we weren't antagonistic. We certainly wanted to keep the general office in Butte, Montana. So we were very respectful of them, but for instance, when it came between labor and Power, I'd always vote with labor because I was considered truly the "labor Democrat," as were many of our delegation and Anaconda too. There were also ones that kind of led us down the primrose path. I might digress, but on territorial and on deregulation, that was probably the worst vote I made in my entire career. And I was the last one to sign it. I don't know. When you had Butte-Silver Bow saying, "If you don't do this, we're going to lose all these jobs and they'll leave the office out of Butte." And you had the Butte Local Development Corporation. You had the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. No opposition except for the environmentalists—

BB: The IBEW supported deregulation?

JL: Yes. Billy Ryan was a member of the IBEW and I believe that he carried it in the House.

BB: Bill who?

JL: Bill Ryan. He's a legislator from Great Falls.

BB: Just to clarify for someone listening to this later on, the deregulation legislation passed in 1997 when you were in the Senate. You left the House and moved over to the Senate sometime later on.

JL: I left the House in '82. I went to the Senate in '82.

BB: And the Anaconda Company ceased to exist.

JL: It was pretty much gone. I think they shut their operations off in '83.

BB: So the Montana Power Company, though, lived on. So that continued to be a significant presence here in Butte.

JL: Yes. They were probably the number one employer in terms of jobs in Butte for quite some time.

BB: And how would you characterize their influence in the legislature? Great? Was it exaggerated? Was it—

JL: I think they had more influence than I would—I think they had great influence statewide than maybe they had in Butte. It seemed to me that they were extremely influential in Republican politics. There were very few Democrats that were executives in the Montana Power Company, if any. I do see that whenever there was a good, healthy race on—and they were great gentlemen, the Corettes—they were great friends of the Babcocks and the Republican hierarchy. When the Con Con ran, Jack Corette ran for the Constitutional Convention on the Republican ticket.

BB: I didn't know that.

JL: Bob Poore, a prominent attorney, a Republican here, ran on the Republican ticket for the Constitutional Convention. People thought the public in Butte might just give Jack Corette a chance because he's hired so many people. He didn't even come in good running. I think they did have a great influence, the executives. There was nothing illegal. I just think that's the party they sided with and I think they usually had the wherewithal to donate, rather handily, to the Republicans if they liked them.

BB: How about the AFL-CIO and the Farmers Union?

JL: AFL-CIO was an important, and still is an important part, but not as much as they used to. There aren't as many members of the AFL-CIO. When I was first elected and for several years after, the very fact that you [were] endorsed by labor was an extremely important part here in Butte. If you weren't, that was not a good thing. Some people got elected without it. They might be... Ray Wayrynen didn't necessarily have the labor endorsement. I was starting to think of a couple of others that didn't.

BB: Harold McGrath?

JL: Harold McGrath never did because he was the director of the Chamber of Commerce.

BB: Yes.

JL: But for the most part, in a big congested primary, you'd better have some labor endorsement if you were going to come out on one of them at the top. I always sought it and was proud of it. To this day, I still do some lobbying for the building trades, which is the electricians and the plumbers, and so on. I've been a union member my entire life as a bartender and later as a teacher for 32 years.

BB: How about the Farmers Union? It wouldn't have much influence here.

JL: No. Clyde Jarvis was one of their spokesmen who didn't care much for the Butte delegation. One of the reasons was over territorial integrity and there were 12 Democrats, as I recall, that voted against the territorial integrity and voted in favor of, what you would call, the Power

Company position. It was simply logistics for us. That's where our people worked. If they took over some, then there would be less jobs in Butte, and there would be more power submitted by the co-ops and less power by [Montana Power]. So they took the picture on the wall and got the 12. And of the 12—

BB: That was the territorial integrity bill in the legislature on second reading.

JL: Yes. And I think of the 12, seven of the 12 were the Butte Democrats and I think Rex Manuel or somebody other rural. Clyde Jarvis would get on that radio program every day and call them the "Dirty Dozen."

BB: His program was called "Featuring the Facts."

JL: So he wasn't fond of us and it didn't bother us. I mean, he could send 10,000 letters to Butte saying, "The Farmers Union is opposed to you." And we'd think, "Who isn't?"

BB: You mentioned Clyde Jarvis and you mentioned John Lahr. What do you remember about Jim Murry?

JL: Jim Murry was, I think, a very effective leader. He was also...

BB: AFL-CIO.

JL: Yes. He was also extremely close to the governors of Montana, Democrat governors. I know he was close to Anderson, an ally, and a close Judge ally. I think he was also close to Schwinden. I recall one instance when my first session—I've no regrets because I didn't like the bill and I thought I was intelligent enough—but it was for executive reorganization. I think the slogan was, "Twenty is plenty." I voted against it and only three Democrats voted against it. Then a short time later I got a note sent up to me from the governor's office. I hadn't met the governor yet and I had been there about five or six weeks.

BB: This is Governor Forrest Anderson?

JL: Yes. It said, "The governor would like to see you, now." I emphasize "now" with my voice, but all it said was "now." So I thought, "Here he's going to welcome me aboard and welcome to the team and glad to have you on the boat together." So I went down there and I believe Joe Quilici was with me and possibly Joe Graham, but one of the two. I was the first one to the door because maybe I was so excited that the governor was going to be there and I hadn't seen him since the election when we were campaigning in Butte or something. I opened the door and the first thing he said was, "What the fuck do you think you're doing?"

I said, "Jesus!" I don't know. Salty language was nothing new to me or anybody of my generation. I think it did set me aback that the governor used it. When you were little kids you

can imagine adults and all those dirty words that we thought we invented. The governors knew them and many more. I said, "Well I just don't think it's a good idea. I kind of don't see how it's wrong when it is."

He screamed a while and said, "You'll not be back."

BB: He was pretty aggressive?

JL: Oh yes. He wanted that and he got it in spite of my move.

BB: You didn't change?

JL: No, I was a little scared and I walked out and Jim Murry was there. He said, "The governor wants this very much. You're not going to return next session if you don't realize that you've got to get along with the governor." I kind of got an indirect threat with me, but I said, "Well, I don't plan on staying here the rest of my life anyway, so, okay." Number one, I couldn't understand why it would be a terribly big labor vote. I went back upstairs and repeated my "no" vote. The following election, I led the ticket. So I thought the threats were rather idle.

BB: The interesting thing about that is too, knowing you, my guess is if his approach had been different, if he had said—

JL: "Do me a favor?"

BB: Yes and, "This is really important to me and I know you're new here, but just give me five minutes to explain to you why I think Montana needs this." You might have—

JL: I may well have. It wasn't that big to me, but I thought my position was right. To suggest to me that it was my last time to Helena, I thought, "Well..." I didn't plan on staying for the next 28 years, believe me.

BB: Any other stories about Governor Anderson that would kind of illustrate his style?

JL: I think his style was awfully good. I'm kind of a, I don't know, I don't go for the Queensbury rules. I'd rather rough and slug. He was a battler. He was a good battler for the working stiff, for the ranchers. I think that he was just a good governor. He was kind of cranky, but I got to a point that some of my favorite people were cranky old guys. They were just delightful. They weren't as mean as they wanted to come across. I thought Forrest Anderson was an excellent governor.

BB: As long as we're talking about governors, you served all the way though the term in office of Tom Judge. What are your impressions of him? I guess you mentioned you'd helped him put this campaign in Dillon when you were at college there.

JL: Yes, when he was running for lieutenant governor. Then when I ran for office, he was lieutenant governor. I think my first Governor's Ball I went to was 1968 for that election. I remember the gal I took. She was from Wibaux, Montana. She was just a friend and we had a nice time. The snow fell that year. Helena has a strange way of snow removal. If God put it there, eventually He'll take it up. They had no plows. You were stuck on a flat street at the Governor's Ball in '68. I got there and Tom was running for—my first session, Forrest was governor and Tom was lieutenant governor. Then Tom approached me and I really didn't get too involved because I was still involved in the legislature. It was shortly thereafter that Forrest Anderson announced that he was not going to seek re-election. I really think it was because the polls had showed that Judge would beat him head on. Judge, I'm trying to think, I believe he picked Bill Christiansen to be his lieutenant governor.

BB: That's right. He would have been Minority Leader in the House hadn't he?

JL: Yes. He was our Minority Leader. At that time, you didn't run as a team, still. The constitution will pass in '72 and then from then on you have to actually...because then later on, the team that had the biggest problem...Well, the team in the '50s that had the biggest problem was Hugo Aronson and Paul Cannon. Hugo Aronson was the Republican and Paul Cannon was the Democrat. Hugo didn't want to leave the state because Paul would fire some of his employees and hire his own even if Hugo was gone for three days. The next governor that had a problem was Tim Babcock and Ted James. They were both in the same political party, but they didn't get along. Ted, I think, was a much more progressive Republican and Tim, who's a dear friend and I like him very much, was of the more standard conservative wing of the party. I think it was good that they finally—it would be silly today if we elected Obama and Palin. It just would not make sense. It would still be silly if we elected Palin anyway. Judge ran and picked Christiansen and I was very active in that campaign, as well as for my second election. Judge, in my opinion, he used to have—I think his most interesting success or asset was he surrounded himself by very competent, good staff.

And they were good staff that could deal with the legislature whether it was Ron Richards, the whole myriad of them. I liked his surrounding staff. He also would come to us and he didn't have the Butte delegation. When I say, "Butte," I, of course, mean Anaconda. [John P.] Sandy Mehrens, [William Thomas] Red Menahan. He'd have us over at least once every two weeks, usually once a week because he liked our company and he liked the fact that we liked to drink beer and shoot pool. So we'd have a dinner upstairs and we'd go downstairs (the delegation).

BB: Over to the Governor's Mansion?

JL: Yes, to the Governor's Mansion, which by the way, isn't much of a mansion. So he had some Anaconda roots so he was extremely sympathetic to our plight, not just Butte's plight, but the valley out there: the Warm Springs Hospital, the prison, state employees. So we were always fighting for those. I was on Appropriations as I mentioned and I'm trying to fight for those. So

Tom was extremely sympathetic. The one time I do remember, we took over the majority. So I became chairman of my subcommittee. That was after the new Con. We never had any of this “don’t look at the bills” stuff anymore as the Republicans had in ’71. We all worked together. I remember his mother coming to me. The Republicans, it was very close in the Senate. I think the Senate was Republican. So whatever I got through the House was going to have trouble in the Senate, and vice versa.

So I got \$10,000 in for Tom Judge’s recreation account. Now all that meant was a grocery account, really, that he got to entertain people. I remember his mother’s name was Blanche. She came up to me and said, “How can you be so disloyal to Tom? Why, \$10,000 isn’t enough.” And at that time, as a schoolteacher, I think I was making \$7,400 a year. I thought, “Ma’am, Blanche, that’s the best I can get out of this because they’re over there ready to chop. There will be no food budget.” He didn’t have to. There was nothing that says by law that the governor gets anything but his salary. I think maybe some place it says he gets to live in the Governor’s Mansion. I don’t even know if we have to pay the power bill. I mean we were paying everything. She was very upset with me over that.

The other interesting thing that year, that would be ’75 I think, Bob Woodahl was the attorney general. He was after this big probe of worker’s comp lawyers. I don’t know. He was kind of a pushy little guy. So I was chairman of his budget along with all the elected officeholders. He wanted to hire this fellow Dick Dzivi. Dick Dzivi was a dear friend of mine. He had been a former Majority Leader in the Senate.

BB: Yes, he was a senator from Great Falls.

JL: Yes. He was a huge fellow. In fact, to regress a little bit, during that sales tax special session, the opposition for the sales tax was led by Dick Dzivi and the Democrats in the Senate who controlled it. Big Jim Lucas, who controlled the House—

BB: And he was the Republican in favor of the sales tax.

JL: I remember I made one mistake—well it’s not the only mistake I made in my life—but when they were off in something for the sales tax and I got up and said, “Beware of Greeks bearing gifts.”

Jim Lucas was of Greek origin and immediately called me into his office and said, “Don’t start making remarks about Greeks.”

I said, “Okay.” So anyway, my suggestion to that special session was—

BB: Did you do that on purpose?

JL: Yes. I did it on purpose. It showed how educated I was. My solution in that special session was...Do you remember how it went on and on? Ninety percent of the legislature in that special session had nothing to do. Taxation was the committee meeting. Appropriation wasn't meeting. We'd go out to Gates of the Mountains. [Lloyd] Sonny Lockrem was a dear friend of mine and we'd go boating. You'd check in once a day and leave again. Finally it got to a point that it didn't look like they were going to have a compromise. The compromise was really horrible for Jim Lucas because it ruined his political career, the sales tax. I knew it would be defeated overwhelmingly.

BB: The compromise was to place it on the ballot so that the people had the opportunity to choose between an increase in their income tax or a—

JL: A surtax on the income tax. It was a sizable surtax. I think it was a 32 percent surtax. [It was a 40 percent surcharge.]

BB: That's what I remember too.

JL: They chose the surtax instead of the sales tax.

BB: The 2 percent sales tax and I think a 35 percent surtax—

JL: On their income. And it won overwhelmingly. It was about 75 percent to 25 percent. [It was 70 percent to 30 percent.] I thought that when it wasn't looking like there was going to be a compromise, here's these two great big men, Dzivi and Lucas getting in the ring, whoever is still standing, their plan goes. That was my simplistic Butte approach to getting it over with. Going back to Woodahl, he was going to pay Dick Dzivi, I believe, \$60,000 to be the work comp investigative lawyer. I looked up, of course, because I'm running the budget and Woodahl as attorney general was making \$30,000. So I like a little drama. And we had this relatively small room. Senator Pat Regan from Billings was my vice chairman. So we had both houses in '75. It was after the Nixon debacle and everything. All the cameras were there because Woodahl was going to present his budget. So I'm chairman and I kind of get the run of things. I said, "I want to ask you one more question," after he gave his spiel. I said, "Is Dzivi this good?" Woodahl said, "Well, he certainly is." I said, "Is he twice as good as you are?" He said, "Well, what do you mean, Senator?" I said, "You're paying him twice as much as you're making." He picked the budget book up and threw it at me.

BB: Seriously?

JL: In front of the TV. He didn't throw it at my head, but threw it and said, "I don't have to put up with this." He stormed out and all the papers liked it. Then I saw him later down at Jorgenson's. He had a few, no question about it. They wanted me to go to the press on it because Rex Manuel was there. He came to me and he says, "I'm going to tell you something. I'll get what I want or I'm going to have my Highway Patrol keep a very close eye on you." So I

said, "You've had a few." But the next day Rex repeated it and Larry Fasbender came up and said, "I think you should go to the press and say you were threatened because of your position." I said, "Anybody who's had a few drinks in their life isn't going to take that too seriously. So I wouldn't do that." And I'm glad I didn't.

BB: That's an interesting story.

JL: Yes it is, because they really pressured me to go to the press and say, "This is the kind of guy."

BB: Do you know what the outcome of the appropriation was?

JL: We gave it to him, one million dollars. To me, there are some Democrats who said we shouldn't be doing it. In my opinion on that issue as chairman of the committee, if you don't give it to him, you've convicted every single person whose name has been brought up. If you do give it to them, you're giving them a million-dollar rope to hang himself. As a result, I was right. We gave him a million dollars, no convictions other than one with Luke McKeon. There was nobody else. It was a waste of a million dollars, but if we didn't do it, I think it would have been one of those things that everyone was guilty and the Democrat leading the majority prevented an investigation. I don't think we had an opportunity to say "no."

BB: Wow. That was a good story. So anything else connected with Governor Judge, maybe?

JL: I remember the scandal. I think it was over carpet. He put a brand new fancy carpet in and we had to fight for that. He killed something, a deer or an elk or something out of season. We had to fight over that. Then he had some matrimonial problems later on. Overall, of all the governors I've served under, I thought he was the best for my area, the best for Butte-Anaconda.

BB: You got to actually know him personally?

JL: Oh, yes.

BB: You had dinners at his house and (unintelligible) with him.

JL: Oh yes. We'd have a few drinks or lunch together, even after he was governor. I was considered, I'm sure, as one of his friends.

BB: Then you also served with Governor Schwinden.

JL: Yes. Governor Schwinden was quite a contrast to Governor Judge. I was running for secretary of state at the same time Governor Schwinden was running for governor against Tom Judge. Tom Judge and I were pretty close friends.

BB: Schwinden had been his lieutenant governor.

JL: Yes.

BB: And in 1980 he ran for governor and beat—

JL: And beat his former boss.

BB: In the primary. And that was the same year you were running for secretary of state.

JL: I won the primary, but Ted Schwinden kind of—he was a good governor, but he was more Republican to my mind than Democrat. He also dried up all the money for us “B” offices. I mean he won, but I lost and Georgia Ruth Rice lost. He won, but everyone else lost.

BB: She was running for superintendent of public instruction as a Democrat?

JL: As an incumbent and lost.

BB: Lost to [Ed] Argenbright.

JL: Yes. But Schwinden was a very close ally of Francis Bardanoue. Francis Bardanoue had tried for many years to do damage to the valley, meaning Warm Springs, the prison, the whole works, closing Galen. Right off the bat they wanted to close Galen, which is one of our facilities we had in the valley. Galen was, at that time, for dry-out, for people needing recuperation from alcoholism. We stopped it three straight sessions, the Schwinden administration. Curt Chisholm was the director [of the Department of Institutions] and he hated to do it, but he had to come in and say, “We think Galen should close.” Red Menahan and I—I was on Appropriations, and at that time I’m in the Senate in the ’80s. I went to the Senate in ’82. So Menahan was on Appropriations in the House, and I’m on the Senate and I represented half of Anaconda at one time. Half of my House district was Anaconda and half was Butte. So we had to fight that. So Schwinden and I didn’t get along over those issues particularly. He was Bardanoue’s—whatever Bardanoue wanted, the governor would propose and we would have to defeat.

BB: And the economy was declining. So the state was in a real predicament in terms of financing. And he didn’t want to raise taxes.

JL: No, he wanted to be as conservative as he could.

BB: He was real conservative with the money, and Francis Bardanoue, his personal friend, was chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. The two of them really put a lock on the money box. And that worked to the detriment of—

JL: Of my area.

BB: Yes.

JL: Schwinden was never a great pro-labor man. He was always endorsed by labor regardless of who his opponent was. Some of those years, and in the '80s, the AFL-CIO was kind of a right arm of the Democratic Party. In the last ten years, they've endorsed some Republicans, but prior to that, I don't think they endorsed very many Republicans at all. Schwinden, I think, was a very effective governor and an extremely popular governor. When he ran for re-election, I think it was against Jack Ramirez, he won overwhelmingly. Although, Ramirez had a fairly difficult name for politics. He was Portuguese, but I mean people assumed that he was of Mexican descent or something. I think that was just a tough name to run on in Montana. Then comes Stan Stephens.

BB: Before we get to Stephens, though J.D., how would you contrast Schwinden to Judge? You said they were very different.

JL: Very different insofar as Schwinden was not as—at least to us personally—as friendly visiting with us: what do I need and what can I do for you? Tom Judge was.

BB: Tom Judge was, as I remember, very congenial, very gracious, very friendly, easygoing. And Ted Schwinden was maybe a little more businesslike.

JL: He was a little more businesslike and really a little more rural. I mean he wasn't that city; he didn't go on a deal with delegations such as ours. Maybe a lot of people don't. Tom Judge had a great man named Jim Flynn, who would contact us. He was from Dillon. We served with him from Dillon. He was in the House. There was just a great rapport. Schwinden didn't have that.

BB: So there weren't any more dinners over at the Governor's Mansion?

JL: If I went to one, it was the big reception. The camaraderie type get-togethers ceased.

BB: Stephens?

JL: Certainly one of the closest friends I've had in the legislature was Stan Stephens when we were serving in the Senate together. One of the people who didn't talk to me practically for four years was the same man when he became governor. I think it was primarily over the sales tax. I've got to add, and I know we're going here, but one of my biggest—well something I was most noted for—was my opposition to the sales tax. It wasn't just because I just liked to orate, which I like to orate, but also because Butte out of any place in the state of Montana, if you want to put it on the ballot, let's put it on the ballot because we would vote it down usually 4 to 1. It was about 80 percent to 20 percent. Why Stan Stephens, for one minute, thought that I would ease off on the sales tax. It virtually was my speech of the session, because everybody

waited for it and I never used to practice a speech, but I had to actually think of some things the night before on the sales tax. A dog is a dog and a rose is a rose and a dog is a dog is a dog and this damn bill is a dog. So Stan didn't run on the sales tax so I wasn't sure why he was so offended when I was opposed to it. Shortly after—and he had a terrible beginning by the way, probably the worst beginning I've seen a governor have to go through—is my dear friend Allen Kolstad, rest his soul. We could have searched the entire state of Montana looking for a guy who's married to two women at the same time and [claimed to have] had a Master's degree that he never had. He said, "Well, we only would have come up with one." And that's the one we found. I forget his name.

BB: Rick [Ray] Shackelford. They made him director of the budget office.

JL: Yes.

BB: And he wasn't even real well qualified for that.

JL: And then they had this fellow from Shelby that was selling things that he shouldn't have been selling.

BB: Mike Letson? He was director of the Department of Commerce.

JL: He just had a terrible beginning.

BB: He was marketing things out of the Commerce Department.

JL: It was just a horrible beginning.

BB: They had another guy who was making obscene telephone calls that was the director of the Department of Health.

JL: Then the other thing, Kolstad, who was my close, close friend as you know, he was kind of shut out from the governor and he was lieutenant governor. Steve Yaekel—

BB: He was the chief of staff.

JL: Yes. And he was almost Nixonian to his approach to access to the governor. So when I came out vigorously against the sales tax and gave one of my ranting and ravings, Stan was very cool to me after that. He also had a tough time with Senator [Fred] Van Valkenburg and some of these people.

BB: Do you remember the airplane incident?

JL: The airplane incident and I remember the limousine incident.

BB: What do you remember about them?

JL: I remember the limousine. A dear friend of mine, but I can't think of his name right now, was Stan's driver...Savage, Don Savage?

BB: Don Rabbage. Don Ramage?

JL: People made much ado about nothing. The rent was virtually the same. They wanted the image of Stan riding in a big Lincoln town car.

BB: See, I'm just remembering now that the Ford Motor Company offered to lease a car to the governor of every state in the country.

JL: Whatever kind they wanted for the same price.

BB: So you could have the common touch, I suppose, if you wanted to drive just a regular Ford sedan, but they thought—

JL: I would jump on a Ford Fairlane instead of a Lincoln Continental any day.

BB: Who wouldn't? But they thought that if they could get the Lincoln for the same price, why wouldn't they do it?

JL: Absolutely. I would have done the same thing.

BB: So what was the dispute?

JL: It was the image. He needs a driver. He needs this.

BB: Oh, I see.

JL: I thought the Democrats, if you recall...I never took cheap shots on party issues because I had too many friends on both sides of the aisle. The Democrats, particularly Stan's former colleagues in the Senate, I thought, came out after him pretty hard. He got very angry and mean. As a result, he isolated himself even further.

BB: This is all coming back to me now. I don't know how it will work on our recording here, but I think it'll just take a minute to tell. I do remember that there was a discussion about this on the floor of the Senate. It had something to do with whether the automobile would be driven by a chauffeur or not. Bruce Crippen, who was the floor leader on the Republican side at that time, stood up and he said, "Well, members of the Senate, let me illustrate for you why it's not a good idea to have Governor Stephens driving his own automobile, especially a large one like the Lincoln. This is what he looks like behind the wheel." Then he sat down on the floor and just

the top of his head was sticking up above his desk. Of course everybody just started laughing. Stephens was such a small man that—

JL: I remember the last day of the second session of Stan's. It was kind of an angry evening. Because I was close friends with the governor when I was in the Senate, I was on the "goodbye governor" party.

BB: When the hairling (?) committees go over.

JL: Yes, and Stan didn't have great color to begin with, but if he was purple then, he was as close to—he looked like a martian the night we came in and said goodbye. It was a bitter ending to a session.

BB: And the stress seemed to make him rather red in the face.

JL: Yes and I thought his health—I was concerned about his health.

BB: Tell us about the airplane.

JL: I don't recall all of the incidents about the airplane.

BB: There was some kind of a concern that the airplane needed to have a lot of money put into the plane to make it safe or whether he needed to have another airplane or not. So you mentioned Senator Van Valkenburg somehow was involved in that. I remember that too.

JL: I don't remember the details except that I didn't agree with—see, I think whoever the governor is, regardless of party, should have the safest possible airplane. This is a big state and we've lost a lot of people in airplanes. Be it Governor Nutter, be it [Jim] Waltermire who was campaigning for governor [both were killed in plane crashes], be it [LeRoy] Bud Aspevig. I mean, I know a lot of people.

BB: He was a state representative who was on a crop duster who was killed.

JL: I don't know how I'm going to go, but I know how I'm not going to go is by riding my old airplane and crashing, I can tell you that. That's one safe way. I just think that the safest of plane is what we ought to have in the state of Montana. So I was not of the party that wanted to pick games over an airplane and whether it should be refurbished or whether there should be another one, whether it should be a King Air or whether it should be a Queen Air. So I was going to vote with the governor and he knew it.

BB: I don't even remember exactly how that came out, honestly.

JL: Let me say this while we're going, the one interesting thing I think—I think it would be of interest to historians—that there's a distinct difference between, I think, one's attitude who serves in the House, and I was in the House for eight years, as the person who's in the Senate. I was in the Senate for 19 years. I think truly you become more independent in the Senate than you do in the House. Now if you were in the House for maybe 30 years, you'd probably be. I still don't see quite the independence. This day, today, I don't see near the camaraderie and the respect given back and forth between colleagues, be they fellow Democrats, in my case, or Republicans. I think you're terribly independent in the Senate. Many a time—I'll give you one example—Jack Galt was just elected president of the Senate. Errol Galt, his son, was coming up to be chairman of the Fish and Game Committee, I believe. We went to a caucus, and I'm very close friends with Jack Galt. And I think it was Senator [Greg] Jergensen was our Minority Leader that said—I think there were 23 of us, or 22 Democrats—he said, "I want us all to vote united against Errol Galt."

I said, "Why?"

He said, "Because we're going to show them that we don't think he's...our sportsmen are against him." I didn't have that much input from my sportsmen. So he said, "Is that agreed upon?"

I raised my hand and said, "No, no. It isn't."

He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "I'll tell you something, I don't know as much about politics as some of you boys do, but the president of the Senate just sat and got sworn in the last couple of days—"

BB: This is his son.

JL: "—and this is his son, and you're going to insult the president of the Senate within three days after he takes office by not giving him a Democrat vote and by showing him—he's going to get it anyway. He's got every Republican. He's got me."

All of a sudden Senator [Bob] Pipinich said, "I'm not voting that way. J.D. makes more sense than any of us." So all of a sudden the whole thing fell apart. I thought how dumb of a thing that was. It was just absurd.

It got back to Jack Galt and he called me in his office. You don't know who it was. It was Paul Boylen or whoever, but it got back to Jack and he said, "I appreciate that. That was a good show. That would have been a dumb thing for the Democrats to do."

BB: That's good. I'm glad that happened. Marc Racicot?

JL: Marc Racicot, I think, was probably truly the most articulate governor. I appreciate oratory. I appreciate his—I think he got a little more credit than he had coming. Certainly, Marc has to take much of the blame for deregulation. One thing about Racicot, he had a tremendous...What do you call the stuff that doesn't stick?

BB: Teflon.

JL: Teflon. He introduced the sales tax. Senator Crippen and I fought for hours on the floor over it. Senator Crippen told me I was out of touch and that I didn't know what I was talking about. So of course we put it on the ballot and I think we had seven or eight too. Didn't we have the seven percent solution with the sales tax? And the public voted with the seven percent solution. I was right. It even was defeated in Senator Crippen's old precinct. So I'm sure he was maybe the one out of touch. I reminded him several times. Racicot was the sponsor of that on TV. It went down again 75 or 73 to 27, overwhelmingly. Teflon. He introduced and proposed and went on the air to [advocate electrical] deregulation and went before the committee and testified, "We've got to save these jobs. This is going to be a major corporation, Touch America..." Blah, blah, blah. It was a disaster. Yet he left with one of the highest ratings of governor.

He single-handedly picked Judy Martz as the next governor. He could have picked anybody. He was going to beat Chet Blaylock, rest his soul, and then Chet died [while campaigning]. Then it was going to be Judy Jacobson. He was going to win by 60 to 40 percent no matter what. I think he won by 70 to 30. So now people, I understand, I hear some people say, "Well, that damn Racicot." But I didn't hear "that damn Racicot" for eight years when he was governor. He was quite popular. One of the reasons was that he had a great connection with Carroll College, which gave him great connections to the Catholic community, which gave great connection to Butte. So it wasn't near as strong as most Republicans who get beat up. Marc Racicot and I had a great relationship. He had us over to his house now that Schwinden's gone. And Stan, we went to the governor's house a couple of times with Stan.

BB: You're talking about the Butte delegation?

JL: Yes. One time, Racicot liked to smoke a pipe and I liked to have cigarettes. So we went down in his basement several times and had a puff. That's when he told me that story that everybody's heard about when he decided to run for attorney general and his dad was pretty much on his death bed. Marc went and said, "I'm going to run for attorney general."

Dad said, "Marc, Marc, Marc. It's, good lord, you ran for Chief Justice. You ran for judge. I guess if that's the bad news..."

He says, "Dad, that's not the bad news."

His dad said, "What is the bad news?"

He said, "I'm going to run as a Republican."

According to Marc, and he verified it, he said something to the effect of, "You couldn't have broke my heart more if you told me you were gay than that as running as a Republican." So that's what I understand.

BB: I've heard that same story too. That's great.

JL: I want to say one other thing. I was going to mention it earlier. Surely when I went to Helena, I'd lived in the town that saw very few average Republicans. I'm not saying we didn't know who the bad guys were because they were the rich guys on the Montana Power Company and Jack Corette. We didn't know any. I was really—I had never known a kid that I sat next to in school that said, "Our folks are Republicans." So I went to Helena at 23. I met a lot in Dillon. I started getting the idea that, "Well maybe there are some normal people that are calling themselves Republicans. I've never heard of such a thing." So I went to Helena really looking for the "office holders" to have some kind of spikes coming out their ear or their foreheads and a tail. I was told that they were "bad people." They were just basically bad people. Then I met several. I remember Henry Cox. He was from Billings and he was a fine gentleman and educator like myself.

BB: He was a state representative.

JL: I lost my first bill. It was trying to repeal the lien law, which they take away peoples' homes if they were on welfare before they'd give them any assistance. Representative Kelleher from Great Falls was opposed to it.

BB: Kelly.

JL: Kelly. He defeated me the first time I tried it. The second time I passed it. I thought that was one of my best things. The poor people, the last little vestige of dignity they had were these little homes. I lost it the first time and Henry Cox came out. And we went and shot a game of pool. He said, "Lost your first bill?" I remember that TV commercial where the little kid was just downtrodden and someone gives him, I don't know, a Coca-Cola or something or a Lifesaver. Henry patted me and he says, "You'll win more than you'll lose." I also remember great advice by Jean Turnage. I'd met him after I'd lost—maybe that was the same bill. He was in the Senate. I was still angry. I don't get angry anymore, but I was angry then. Jean Turnage said, "J.D. I think you've got a lot of potential because you fight for your causes, but you can't be getting angry. There'll be another day. Remember the 11th Commandment." I said, "What is that, Senator?" He said, "Thou shalt not take thyself too seriously. There will be another day." I thought that was a great piece of advice for a young legislator. Through the years, Dennis Nathe, a senator from Redstone, Montana, was my roommate. I eulogized him. He was dead when we were living together in the 1993 session.

BB: You came home and found him dead?

JL: Yes, I came home and found him dead in bed. Allen Kolstad and I would have lunch two or three times a week together. You and I have been friends for almost 40 years now. I've found that the party doesn't make the person. The person is who makes themselves. I truly have found my life has been gifted by having served in the state legislature.

BB: We're getting close to the end of our tape, but do you have any thoughts on Judy Martz? She was from here in Butte.

JL: Yes. I didn't know her well. I never served with her because I left in '99.

BB: I see.

JL: Her first session was in 2001. She was very complimentary to those of us who had just left, Joe Quilici, (unintelligible), J.D. Lynch. She was looking to more of that bipartisan is in that Butte was always for. When we all left at once, it didn't seem to be there as much.

BB: I'm sure that's true.

JL: Dan Harrington was never truly bipartisan. So she was disappointed that she expected to have someone to work with her.

BB: As you look back, what do you see? Is there a common theme or a common—

JL: I think that as looking at it now, the best times of the legislature are behind them. I don't like to admit that because I would like to think that there are better times ahead. I think that this terrible, terrible animosity and the viciousness in the animosity is just something that's not going to serve Montana well.

BB: When you say that, there's extreme partisanship now?

JL: It's not just partisanship. It's personal hatred for the other party. If they're a member of the party, they must be wrong. I mean, I told you. I went there with a little idea. These people are so at each other's throats, they don't seem to have any camaraderie like we had going out and having a beer together and having lunch together. Even though Crippen and I would fight all day and say where we would meet after. We did our job for our people. We led our views, but we were never...We disagreed, but we were never hostile and hated each other for life. I think that's a mistake they're making. I think they'll regret it. I think very few will be able to sit down and have a conversation like you and I have had today and say what a wonderful experience they've had.

BB: Do you think term limits is an explanation for this?

JL: I think term limits is, only because it eliminated some of that continuity. Our whole delegation was wiped out. Then if people look about it, they didn't need term limits because the average legislator only served four years to begin with. It was old people like me that Butte was like the South in yesteryear. They elected them young and kept them a long time. I really think term limits eliminated that continuity. I also think it takes away your ability to build the friendships that I was able to because I was there for 30 years.

BB: Me too.

JL: We've built some great friendships.

BB: What do you see as you look into the future?

JL: Unless several, it won't take one, it will take several to say, "Can't we start getting together on a friendly basis talking over our disagreements, stop sniping at another for only the sake of sniping?" If you're going to snipe at someone, have a good reason to snipe. Don't just do it because today's Wednesday and I haven't sniped at anybody today. Have a reason. Another thing I noticed is different in my day is that you don't see hardly any of the freshmen going to the receptions that they have early with the whole legislature. You can have some meetings with [one] another. I don't see that.

BB: They don't do that anymore?

JL: They do it, but I think people are told, "Watch out for those lobbyists. Don't take anything. Don't have a glass of pop."

BB: So you've got just a big dinner that everybody's invited to and (unintelligible).

JL: Oh, and I bet they're going to cut it down the next few years. Out of the possible 300 with spouses, but most of us didn't have our spouses. You'll see 30 people out of 150 legislators and usually they're the same ones.

BB: Because we all went.

JL: They were melting pots. You got to mix with somebody. I think the social conservatives, the far-right religious people are told not to or feel that it's some type...maybe they think by taking a piece of chicken, it's tainting them. I figured I wanted to be equally tainted. So I'd take it from the AFL-CIO and the Montana Power and I'd vote with labor, no problem.

BB: Well J.D. you're my valued friend.

JL: Thank you. And it's good.

BB: I appreciate your service.

[End of Interview]