Constitutional Convention 50th Anniversary Celebration

Cruzado [00:00:01] Good evening and thank you for joining us. I'm Waded Cruzado, the president of Montana State University, and my warmest welcome to all of you to your university, Montana State, for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Montana Constitution. In order to start our program tonight, I would like to recognize a number of special guests we have with us. All of you are very special. I should add! And we will kindly hold our applause until the names have been read. I will give you some opportunities to express your appreciation. First, John Darnell, representing the office of Senator Steve Daines and representing the office of Senator Jon Tester, Caitlin Avey. It is my distinct honor and pleasure to introduce members of the Montana Supreme Court: Justices Laurie McKinnon, Dirk Sandefur, James Rice and Ingrid Gustafson. Gallatin County District Court Judge Andrew Breuner. And we welcome James Goetz, one of Montana's most famous attorneys and a graduate of Montana State. It is my honor to introduce members of the Montana Legislature: Laurie Bishop, Alice Buckley, Jennifer Carlson, Kelly Kortom, Walt Sales, Chris Pope, Jim Hamilton and Ed Staffman. And our very own Gallatin County Commissioner Zach Brown. The Montana Commissioner of Higher Education, Clayton Christian, is with us tonight. Thank you so much for joining us. And we have a very special group of guests: retired Gallatin County District Court Judge Mike Varney; former Montana legislator and former city mayor Bob Hawks; former senior policy adviser to Montana Governor Brian Schweitzer, Evan Barrett; former Montana Secretary of State and former Montana Senate President Bob Brown, also an MSU graduate. And finally, and most importantly, to the most esteemed guests of all. Let's welcome the students of Montana State University and to the people of Montana, for whom this constitution was written. Fifty years ago on this very day, March the 22nd, 100 Montanans gathered at the state capitol in Helena to sign their names to the new constitution they had just finished writing. Like the students at this university, they have come together from all across the state, from Poplar and Billings, from Glendive and Great Falls. As they finished their work, james Garlington of Missoula described how he and his fellow delegates had been challenged and changed by collaboration and negotiation over the, previous 60 days. He said, "Where we were partisan, we are nonpartisan. Where we were inflexible, we are flexible." Garlington called the document, "The finest gift to the young people of Montana that is in our power to give," and concluded, "We're giving them the gift of participation in their present and the management of their future." And we are so thankful for that gift. To commemorate and reflect on the Montana Constitutional Convention of 1972, Montana State University is proud to sponsor tonight's event. We are grateful for the months of work by reporters of Montana Free Press and MSU alumna Sarah Vowell, who filmed oral history interviews with the convention's delegates, staff and firsthand observers. Those interviews are now archived in the MSU Library's Archives and Special Collections, where they will be available in perpetuity for any current or future citizen of Montana to better understand the document that transform[ed] and that guides our state. We will now begin our evening with a highlight reel of those interviews, after which I will introduce tonight's moderators, Sarah Vowell and John Adams. May we please have the house lights dimmed and begin the video?

Dahood [00:07:01] I was elected form Anaconda, but in my judgment, I represented the state, the people.

Reichert [00:07:09] I've actually been in Great Falls since 1945. That's when I moved here. But in 1971, I ran for the Constitutional Convention.

Harbaugh [00:07:17] Well, in 1971, I was a pastor in Poplar, Montana.

Monroe [00:07:23] I was living in Great Falls, Montana, my hometown.

Loendorf [00:07:26] I was living in Helena. And my occupation was I was a lawyer, and.

Ellingson [00:07:32] I was living in a 14 by 40 trailer house on South fifth West in Missoula.

Adams [00:07:46] The Montana Supreme Court had ruled that sitting elected officials couldn't run for the Constitutional Convention. What were the consequences of barring politicians from being delegates?

Johnson [00:07:57] It was one of the secrets of the of the convention success. So this opened the door for people to run and people from all walks of life. Some of them had been legislators and some of them had been county commissioners and city council members. I think a couple of them had been mayors. But by and large, most of these people had not served in government previously.

Applegate [00:08:16] These delegates arrived as a kind of a different breed in Montana politics, something I hope someday can be repeated because they were singularly not interested in partisan politics. To the person.

Ellingson [00:08:33] You know, there were farmers and ranchers who had totally important and valid interests that needed to be represented, given how agriculture is such a prime economic motivator in this state. Don Foster, the beekeeper from Lewistown, I mean, he was he was a young man. He was you know, I think he was probably 35 or so at the time he was elected. And he brought a, brought to the convention just sensibility of a small business owner, Jack Ward, a veterinarian from Hamilton, Sterling Rigg from Kalispell, a car dealer. Irv Geisler, he was a tractor, an implement dealer...

Reichert [00:09:31] Ministers and everyday people, a lot of women, housewives, a former mayor of Great Falls and so many people from all walks of life.

Baucus [00:09:41] The staff would provide the delegates with, with constitutions in other states, ideas other states have done.

Sievers [00:09:49] For California and Michigan were the exemplars for me, at least in terms of the constitutional autonomy of the university system, which was very important to have it in the, to have the university mentioned in the Constitution gave it a certain independent status, but at least theoretically enabled it to to fend off some of the political forces that came along.

Grady [00:10:19] What I learned from looking at the other constitutions was more not what to do, but what not to do.

Silvers [00:10:26] So when you got to the Constitutional Convention, the delegates were seated alphabetically instead of by political parties. How do you think that influenced the proceedings?

Reichert [00:10:38] Oh, that was a tremendous influence. It made all the difference in the world. As a legal and voter member, I had gone in, lobbied the legislature prior to the

convention, and there were the Democrats on one side, the Republicans in the other, and it was an immediate confrontation.

Monroe [00:10:55] I was next to an FBI agent that sat next or next to see Nixon. So all those people together alphabetically, there was no partisanship, no bickering.

Loendorf [00:11:06] My seat was between a Democrat and a Republican, but I didn't know the difference. They just became good friends.

Reichert [00:11:12] They recognized early on that our state constitution, which had passed in 1889, left a great deal to be desired. And we lobbied in league with voters. We were among the early lobbyists, and we learned early on that there were so many secret votes, so much went on behind closed doors, really bothered us was what they called executive session because they'd speak. And then when it came time to vote, everybody would have to leave the room. Even the press. Those meetings were not open to the public. A lot was done in secrecy. And so the state was controlled. It was controlled by the mine interests and other interests. And people, the ordinary person had absolutely no input.

Vowell [00:12:03] Are there areas where you think the Montana Constitution improves on the United States Constitution?

Baucus [00:12:10] Oh, yeah, lots. One I think is most important for me personally is the right to know clause in the Bill of Rights section of the of our Montana Constitution.

Johnson [00:12:22] The provision largely came from a bozeman delegate named Dorothy Eck. The key provision, it says all meetings and all documents shall be public unless the right to privacy, individual privacy exceeds the public's right to know. It's really the public's right to know, not the press's right to know.

Dietrich [00:12:44] So during that constitutional convention and the primary committee you served on was the legislative committee.

Loendorf [00:12:49] Right.

Dietrich [00:12:50] Can you talk about all of that, about what the focus of that committee was?

Loendorf [00:12:55] Well, the focus of the committee was to improve the legislative process. And another thing we talked about quite a bit in the committee was single member legislative districts.

Adams [00:13:10] In your view, why wasn't a single Indian elected as a delegate and how did the delegates address that gap?

Johnson [00:13:18] So they used the legislative districts from the previous year. In those days, Montana legislators were elected countywide. There weren't individual single member districts. So my guess is that the counties where you had a significant Native American population, they were not, not a majority of the citizens there. It was an embarrassment that they didn't, ah not at one.

Ellingson [00:13:46] The county wide districts were not conducive to, I think, the election of Native Americans, and one of the one of the things we did in the Constitution--and interestingly enough, with the encouragement of Jeannette Rankin, who came to speak to us, was adopt single member districts. So you had these much smaller districts so that minority groups would have a better chance.

Loendorf [00:14:23] Chet Blaylock, who lived in Laurel, would tell you how there was almost never a representative--I can't remember how long it went back--that had been elected from Laurel, which is a fairly large city but close to Billings and then Yellowstone County. So he said Billings, particularly the north side of Billings, selected all 12 people.

Ellingson [00:14:46] But notwithstanding the fact that there were no Native Americans serving, I think a great many of the delegates acutely, felt acutely the need for preservation and recognition of the our native culture. And so you will see in the education article of the Constitution a requirement of Indian education for all.

Reichert [00:15:19] I think that the pendulum has swung. And I think the fact that in our education article we have the recognition of cultural integrity, but it wasn't implemented for years.

Ehli [00:15:30] So how did your background, did it affect at all how you were looking at the guarantee of a clean and healthful environment?

Dahood [00:15:41] Well, I thought that's something everybody should want. That was no difficulty for me. I thought we should have a clean and healthy environment, but we shouldn't go crazy over it either and have restrictions that made it difficult for Montana to continue to promote its mining industry and to promote whatever industry it had that required some degree of pollution. It's very difficult to be a manufacturing society without some pollution.

Reichert [00:16:21] Missouri River was polluted, as almost all waterways were.

Vowell [00:16:26] When you move back to Montana, you move to Missoula, right?

Baucus [00:16:28] Yes.

Vowell [00:16:29] And there was a lot of pollution in Missoula at the time.

Baucus [00:16:32] Right.

Vowell [00:16:33] What was it like?

Baucus [00:16:34] Terrible. Hoerner Waldorf. That's with the company back then. I could smell it everywhere. It's awful.

Reichert [00:16:40] Yes. Hoerner Waldorf was the big pulp and paper mill out in Frenchtown and was really one of the largest employers in Missoula in and really a very important contributor to the Missoula economy. And there were days when I looked out the window and you simply could not see Mount Sentinel behind you, you know, when it was a thousand yards away. And I, I just I couldn't believe not only the lack of visibility, but the stench.

Vowell [00:17:20] Can you tell me about the arguments among the delegates about including those words, a cleaner environment? Everybody was just for it right off the bat.

Ellingson [00:17:30] Oh no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no. It, that, was probably the hardest-fought of all of the provisions of the Constitution.

Monroe [00:17:44] And there was intense debate on this floor about clean and healthful.

Vowell [00:17:51] What was, what pushed it over?

Ellingson [00:17:53] And I think you may have recalled Bob Campbell getting up on the floor and saying "What you're going to tell the your voters that you voted for Montana to have an environment?" And really that was pretty laughable. So on his motion to reinsert it, we got the necessary votes.

Dahood [00:18:20] It was time now to sign the Constitution. And there were some older delegates from eastern Montana that I knew were not going to campaign for the Constitution. And yet all 100 walked up, solemnly signed the document. I must admit, when the last one signed, I had tears in my eyes.

Monroe [00:18:45] And then we got to the voters.

Dietrich [00:18:48] Ultimately the vote to ratify the Constitution was fairly slim, wasn't it?

Loendorf [00:18:53] Yes, it was just 2500 votes.

Dietrich [00:18:56] Wow.

Loendorf [00:18:56] And there was litigation over that, too.

Harbaugh [00:19:00] And of course, any time you have a document like this which touches the lives of people and of all kinds of businesses and corporate interests, you're going to draw fire, which we did. And really, it looked like the Constitution didn't have a chance because there were so many groups and organizations that were in opposition to it.

Baucus [00:19:24] I talked to voters, explained it. It's pretty hard to explain the Constitution and a lot of people had questions, but I think the people asked questions about the Constitution. They talked to the delegates, realized that, hey, these people are in this for the right reason, and not here to, you know, pad their pockets. They're not here to take advantage of Montanans. They're for the right reason and for the long haul.

Grady [00:19:46] Part of it was that when the delegates, for the most part, went home to to Ekalaka and Troy and to, you know, Bozeman and....

Sievers [00:19:57] Belgrade.

Grady [00:19:59] Yeah. And to show they, they were still the same people that the voters had set there and that they that they were able to convince most of the people in their hometowns that they did a good job, not just that we did the best we could, but they did a good job. And it was going to be good for, for the future generations of Montana.

Vowell [00:20:26] Do you remember telling your friends and neighbors about it, urging them to vote for it? What did you say?

Monroe [00:20:32] I put a few bumper stickers on my car.

Vowell [00:20:34] You remember what your bumper sticker said?

Monroe [00:20:36] Praise the Lord and pass the Constitution.

Reichert [00:20:40] In Great Falls it passed overwhelmingly. So we had no problem, really. And in Missoula, it passed overwhelmingly. In the cities, the urban centers. It was the rural areas that were negative, most of them.

Baucus [00:20:53] Urban, the more liberal.

Vowell [00:20:56] Do you think of the Constitution as a liberal document.

Baucus [00:20:59] I do.

Vowell [00:21:00] You do?

Baucus [00:21:00] I do. I think as well, compared with what would be written today. Let's say we had, we had a Constitutional Convention in 2021, [20]22, it'd be a very different document. It wouldn't have some of the, quote, progressive provisions that our current Constitution has.

Harbaugh [00:21:15] I think that what has happened is that there's a much larger picture here, and it is that what we have seen happen in this country is a shift in thinking away from what I would call the social compact that we always honored in this country. Which meant that the the good of the country comes above individual concerns and issues.

Vowell [00:21:58] After the ConCon, you obviously became Montana's longest serving U.S. senator and the United States Ambassador to China. Career-wise, your role in the ConCon might be considered almost a footnote, and yet you made the time to discuss this job you had for a few months, a half century ago. Why is the Constitutional Convention worth remembering, and what do you think is important for future generations of Montanans to understand about it?

Baucus [00:22:30] The main thing is given the opportunity, if we want to improve upon certain situation, whatever it is, let's say a Constitution or anything else--it might be something else--it could be done, could easily be done. All you have to do is want to get it done together as a team. You can argue, but when your argument's over, you've got to realize that, hey, let's find some agreement here. Let's find something so we can advance the ball. It was so inspiring to watch this. It really was. I cannot think of anything in my years of public service that's as inspiring as that several months working with the Montana Constitution Convention and seeing 100 people just really dedicate themselves to doing the right thing.

Silvers [00:23:13] Every 20 years, the people in Montana decide whether or not to rewrite the state constitution. If that happens, what parts of the 1972 constitution would you encourage them to keep or change?

Reichert [00:23:28] Well, I'm hoping they keep some really important ones about open government and the right to a clean, healthful environment, and inalienable rights, the rights of, equal rights amendment and the right of privacy and of the rights of young people. I mean, there's so many rights are so important. But my hope is that they don't have a constitutional convention. If they want to change something, do it the amendment process one at a time, but not to rewrite the whole constitution.

Johnson [00:24:00] There's probably no bigger issue that comes before the voters like, well, shall we call a new one? What shall we do? And to date, the votes against calling a new constitutional convention have been pretty overwhelming not to do so, although I've heard it kind of by the grapevine that there may be an organized effort to vote to call one.

Silvers [00:24:24] In the future, and if a new, if a new constitutional convention is called, what advice would you have for future delegates?

Reichert [00:24:32] Sit alphabetically and think about issues and forget your party politics.

Cruzado [00:25:44] She's a Montana State University Bobcat who graduated in 1993 with a degree in modern languages and literatures. She's a New York Times best selling author of seven books about American history and culture, including, most recently, Lafayette in the Somewhat United States, which was featured as Montana State University's freshman convocation book in 2020. As a journalist and essayist, Vowell has worked as a contributing editor for Public Radio's This American Life [and] as a contributing opinion writer for the The New York Times. Please join me in welcoming Sarah Vowell. [applause] John Adams is a veteran, award-winning investigative and political reporter. Adams was formerly the capital bureau chief of the Great Falls Tribune and a correspondent for USA Today. Adams is the founder of Montana Free Press and is host of the MTLowdown podcast, both of which provide in-depth, well-researched, unbiased reporting on Montana politics and many of the most pressing issues facing our state. Please help me in welcoming John Adams to the podium. [applause] Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the faculty, students and staff of Montana State University, it is my honor to leave with you, Sarah Vowell and John Adams tonight. Thank you for joining us.

Vowell [00:27:45] Thank you. Thank you, President Cruzado. Thank you all for coming tonight. I will just mention this project had, there were so many people who helped us. President Cruzado thanks to Jodi, the archivist from MSU. She did, led, most of the very helpful, very unglamorous work of transcribing more than 7 hours of interviews. I'd also like to thank Tracy Ellig of MSU for, um, a lot of help. He was actually a really invaluable resource in just listening and helping us out and figure out what to do. I'd also like to thank Brad Tyer and the other other reporters from Montana Free Press who conducted these interviews. Abby Wenger, who was our camera operator from Montana PBS, who traveled around Montana filming, and Anthony Johnstone from the University of Montana School of Law, who was our legal advisor. Also, Chuck Johnson was kind of our fairy godmother on this project. And I'd also like to thank John here. John?

Adams [00:28:57] Well, thank you. It's an honor to be sitting here next to Sarah, who it was just incredible for the Montana Free Press to be able to work on this historic project on such a, you know, momentous undertaking, that was the 1972 Constitutional Convention. So we're very proud. Montana Free Press is very proud to be a part of this. Now, I would like to introduce our panelists, starting with (in no particular order, necessarily) former U.S. ambassador to China and Montana's longest serving United States Senator Max Baucus. [applause] As Max makes his way to the stage, I'd like to also introduce former Governor

Marc Racicot. Next, I'd like to welcome to the stage former Montana Superintendent of Public Instruction Denise Juneau. [applause] And of course, doesn't need much of an introduction, I'm sure many people here in the room know him by name, if not, and now by face, Montana Free Press Board chairman and longtime political reporter Chuck Johnson. [applause] And last but certainly not least, we are honored to be here tonight with the youngest of the delegates to the 1972 Constitutional Convention, Mae Nan Ellingson.

Vowell [00:31:05] A couple of announcements. I thought Denise should be recognized as a personification of healing in Montana because she's both a Bobcat and a Grizzly. And we're very pleased to announce that Charles S. Johnson over here will be receiving an honorary doctorate from MSU this commencement. [applause]

Adams [00:31:33] Well, thank you, everybody, for being here tonight. This is really exciting. I know we've got this clock on the stage that we're all going to be mindful of, but we've got a very distinguished panel here tonight to discuss a really interesting topic, really important topic for Montana. We could talk to any of you for hours at length on this, but since we don't have all that much time, we're going to get right to it. Senator Baucus, I wanted to start with you first. [background comment, laughter] When, Max--for the students and those who maybe aren't as intimately aware of the history around the time frame of the 1972 Constitution Constitutional Convention--please set up for us. Tell us what was the catalyst in Montana and what was happening in the country. What led to the call for the Constitutional Convention and what was going on in the state and nationally that you think instigated this historic moment?

Baucus [00:32:39] Well, there are a lot of factors. One, people kind of grew tired of the 1989 I mean, the 1889 Constitution, because we were so controlled by Anaconda company mining interests and that became a problem. Second, you know, there was a Supreme Court decision, Reynolds versus Sims, which said, you know, one person, one vote. And up to that point, prior to that point in Montana, that was not the case with with representation in both houses, in the House and the Senate. Add to that, there is a movement toward stronger govern, state government. Our state government was not very strong. We had about 100 boards, executive boards and agencies, spread out over the lot. The president, excuse me, the governor just did not have the power that he or she needs to have to get something done. And add to that, there was a sense in our state that we just had to move because, you know, after World War Two and so on and so forth, the federal government was was pretty strong. And that we should take some of this into our own hands. And we need a document, a constitution going to help us do that. And it is time for a change. It's incredible how these forces seem to have come together. And I just might add, we're very lucky that we had it--this is not directly answering your question--have some very talented delegates. They were aces, they are just wonderful. I mean, some of the best people I ever knew in my life. But we also had a very strong president in Leo Graybill, and he helped make this happen. He was very strong. We had a very strong Executive Director, Dale Harris. I was not executive director, I was--I don't know there was a very low title. But he, Dale Harris, helped make this happen. And to add to that terrific staff: Rick Applegate was on, Bruce Sievers, Jim Grady. You might know Jim Grady wrote the book Six Days of the Condor after he finished working as a delegate. So, the more responsive answer to your question is that there's just lots of things came together. It's time, and we're a small state. That's a big advantage we have as Montanans. We know each other. Back at that time our state population must have been about seven, eight hundred thousand people roughly? And we know each other, you know, that helps us get to do something that's right for our kids and our grandkids. And those are the factors.

Adams [00:35:25] Thank you, Max. Mae Nan, you were among the remarkable delegates that Senator Baucus just referenced. You were the youngest and relatively new to the state. Yet you have--your biography is really incredible. And for those who aren't familiar with it, she wrote, it's about a 30 page autobiography that is well worth reading, I recommend. We'll, we'll provide links on the website for those who want to check it out. But Mae Nan, I wanted to ask you, in listening to your interview with Sarah, you talked about the difference between a constitution and legislation. What's the purpose, in your view, of a constitution and how does a constitution differ from legislation?

Ellingson [00:36:13] Well, interestingly enough, our 1889 Constitution, in addition to having been written in order to get statehood but written I mean, think of it. William Andrews Clark was, he was the president of the Constitutional Convention. And so you can imagine from there...But like many other constitutions, they had been amended. So many of them started out being legislative in nature. That is, having way more detail, trying to control everything in government instead of setting out the big, broad principles that you want to be governed by. And the one of the things that I think was so great about the delegates who served is that we believed in government and we believed in the legislature. And we believed that if we set out a big, broad framework of what a constitution should be--separation of powers, a strong bill of rights, a a very simple taxation article that required equality across the state and a balanced budget, but didn't go into detail to say, well, you can't have a tax on mines are you can't have this kind of tax. It allowed the Legislature to legislate. Same with you know, somebody told me recently that they felt our Constitution granted too much power to the court. And I say our Constitution grants the same power to the court as any other constitution does. It is a fundamental document based on separation of power and three branches of government. And there is really not legislation in that constitution except by some amendments, I must say, that have been added since. But the Constitution is the document that you want to frame your principles and the rights of your citizens. And I I'm so proud of so many things in our Constitution, most namely being that we believed in government and represented democracy and the power of the people both through initiative and referendum and electing their legislators.

Vowell [00:39:12] You know, Mae Nan and Chuck were both students at the University of Montana when Mae Nan was a delegate. She was a graduate student at U of M, and Chuck was also a graduate student when he got the job to cover the convention for the Associated Press. I've seen Chuck's correspondence files. He is telling the A.P. editor, "You can probably reach me at the college library," you know. And Chuck ended up writing probably the definitive journalistic record of the convention. And Chuck was kind enough to lend us his personal archives of all the, all the newspaper articles, including his own, all the many books that the researchers, the these researchers, these, you know, 22 year old nerds from Shelby and Libby and Missoula. They, they each wrote a book to prep the, to prep the delegates. And Chuck's archives, there's so much in there. And obviously, Chuck--to save all this stuff. I mean, you were such a young person. You must have understood the importance of what you were doing. Can you talk about just covering the convention and being there every day late into the night, watching these people do their work?

Johnson [00:40:41] Well, Sarah, I'd been an intern at the legislature the previous session, and it was startling to see the difference. As Mae Nan said in the documentary, or maybe it was Arlyne, the executive sessions in committees where they decide whether to amend or pass or kill the bill, the doors closed. No one could enter that except the legislators and their staff. So people did not know how these decisions were reached. Just the opposite at the convention: every meeting was open. There's one exception, and this is kind of a funny

story. But if any of you know, John Kuglin, he was a pioneer of open meetings and Leo Graybill had an early morning meeting with the staff, and John thought he'd go see if that was open. And he was assured by Leo Graybill it wasn't. And John had put his coffee cup on Leo's desk. And Leo said, "Take your damn coffee cup with you, too." But that's the only meeting I know that was closed and quite a contrast from the legislature. They welcomed suggestions and had a formal way for members of the Montana public to send ideas--proposals that were considered just like leges..., like the ones legislation that the convention people put in. It was, you know, they had dozens of college kids as interns. It was just a welcoming place. One of the things I liked most about it was--and I don't know who whose idea this was--but they just people knew people and they invited in Jeannette Rankin to speak in the evenings. They had speakers, Charles Lindbergh. There were like four or five of them. They were all, the place was packed here hear Charles Lindbergh and Jeannette Rankin.

Vowell [00:42:28] Well, speaking of some of that citizen testimony, Ty, do you want to make your way to the podium here? We wanted to present an example of some of the citizen testimony that ordinary Montanans and special interest groups delivered to the convention. And this is MSU student Tyerra Roan, and she'll read the testimony of Mavis Scott, a high school student from Fort Peck, who came with her friend Diana Leo, Lueppe, I hope I got that right and gave this testimony advocating for what would eventually become the provision, Indian Education For All. Tyerra is a Hilleman scholar here here at MSU and a graduate of Saint Labre Indian School in Ashland [MT]. Tyerra?

Roan [00:43:15] Hello. I am Mavis Scott and this is Diana Lueppe. We would like to present this testimony on behalf of the Wambdi-Ota Club and Two-Tonka Ska Indian Youth Clubs, Fort Peck Reservation. Inasmuch as there are many rich and diverse ethnic groups making up the people of the State of Montana, it is to the general benefit then that these various ethnic groups be encouraged to preserve and promote their various cultural heritages, thereby enriching the total quality of life within our democratic society. It is most especially hoped that the various native peoples that now reside within the state of Montana will recognize the value of the unique heritage left to them. We hereby request the state of Montana to recognize the need for the inclusion and implementation of culturally sensitive curricula within the public education system, adapted to the ethnic groups within the area of the school districts. Most especially, we request that the curricula shall be relevant and sensitive to native peoples residing in the state of Montana. We would like, very simply, our history, our culture, our identity. Thank you.

Vowell [00:44:54] So Denise here is our former Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Montana Constitution lays out the goal for public education in the state and guarantees equality of educational opportunity, and the delegates also recognized the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indians and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity. Denise, why do you think the delegates included that language in the Constitution and how did that impact public education over the last half century?

Juneau [00:45:31] That's a big question.

Vowell [00:45:31] Yes, make it quick.

Juneau [00:45:32] You know, in under one minute. Okay. So, no, this is great. So thank you so much for reading that. And I think it shows the power of advocacy and how representation matters and how people want to see themselves reflected in the founding

documents of who we are as citizens and as a state and as a country. And so the fact that these high school students and college students for coming to the Constitutional Convention and courageously standing in front of a group that was not like them because there was not one native delegate there, I think really proves, you know, just the history and the importance of being present and showing up in spaces that can make a difference. And so we owe a lot to those young women and young men who are coming to the Constitutional Convention to advocate, to see themselves reflected in this document. And I think over time, I just need to repeat what that clause says: "The state recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indian and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity." That is powerful for a lot of white people to come up with. [laughter] You know, it is and it is, it's very significant. And I think over time, you know, we have seen lawsuits, we have seen Supreme Court opinions. There's been a lot of advocacy from a lot of different people. I mean, I was just kind of reviewing some of the history of this provision earlier today and just the names of people that kept popping up, people who are important in the entire movement and the laws that start coming and starting to see Indians in the Legislature because of the difference that the Constitution made with the single member districts. Um, you know, Governor Racicot was governor when my mom passed the Indian Education for All Bill outlining the intent. And so there was bipartisanship in that realm as well, because people continue to see the importance of that specific clause. It wasn't until the Legislature provided money as a result of the Supreme Court, there was a Supreme Court opinion that defined quality education because of the Constitution, the quality education line that a lot of different laundry list of what a quality education should be. And as part of that, Indian Education For All was included. The legislature then had to fund it, and then things really started moving across the state about developing curricula, developing professional development. And it really was a renaissance, I think. And, you know, in 2005, after this was defined to really start a great movement. So pretty significant stuff.

Vowell [00:48:21] I mean, when we talk about it seems like there's never enough money for it. There's maybe not enough materials, there's probably not enough training, right? But you were both a teacher and the superintendent of public education. Can you describe, how it, how it does work or, like, a student who has been affected by it, anything we can talk to about its accomplishments.

Juneau [00:48:52] Previously, I mean--and it's still like like this in many spaces where teachers are intentional about learning for themselves a topic that they had not learned their entire educational career, their entire teacher prep program, now in a place to say teach about Indians without a lot of knowledge. And so there was a step backwards as far as trying to make sure that teachers had the knowledge that was necessary--so professional development--so that they could implement the curriculum that was created by the Office of Public Instruction. In that space, I think what was really important is we had, we decided there's this best practice conference about Indian Education For All. And for a while, you know, it was Native people that were always leading, being in front, going to classrooms, you know, teaching, teaching, teaching always. There was a switch after that, a couple of years where non-Indians, non-Indian teachers, were then becoming the keynote speakers at these conferences because they knew the importance of Indian Education For All and could see the power as it played out in their classrooms when they were teaching even their Indian students. And so that was a significant shift. And those teachers are still doing a great job across the state. As far as students, you know, there's a couple stories, but one that really stands out to me is in Missoula, one of the teachers brought in a Salish educator who was teaching a class about different things from the Salish culture. And there had been a Blackfeet young man in her classroom who is really

disengaged and not involved in a lot, and she was trying to get him engaged and really couldn't. After that, that day, he saw himself reflected in the classroom. He saw the importance that the teacher believed that this was important enough to have this conversation in the class. And the next day he brought in his own drum and sang her an honor song. And I think that is the power of seeing yourself reflected in books, hallways, texts, your teachers, the staff. And I think that really is the promise of that provision in our Constitution.

Vowell [00:51:08] I mean, another reason for it is we have these sovereign nations within the borders of Montana. Governor Racicot, you're you're from Libby, right?

Racicot [00:51:18] I am.

Vowell [00:51:20] Yeah. And you are, going to go out on a limb and say you graduated from high school before Indian Education for All was implemented in your high school, right?

Racicot [00:51:31] Yes.

Vowell [00:51:31] Was, when, could you have used that as governor? And what was your learning curve like as governor to learn about and work with our tribal communities? Could you have used more information as a young person to set you up to succeed? What was that like?

Racicot [00:52:01] Of course. [laughter] Look, you asked for brevity here tonight, Sarah. So the fact of the matter is your point is extremely well taken. There was virtually no exposure to Native culture, to Native governance, to Native communities, especially with as much as people traveled in those days. When I grew up in Libby, Montana, we didn't have television. We did have indoor plumbing, which was fortunate--not everybody [did]--but we did have some of the accouterments of life that are considered needed and necessary. But there was no, no experience with the outside world, and there were no--we did have Native members of our community, but we certainly did not hear about educational programing, cultural awareness, exposure to life in America as a Native American, didn't realize First Peoples were here prior to the arrival of those of us who came later. So, no, there was no, there was no exposure. Could I have used it? Absolutely. I started, fortunately, learning very early on in my career, largely because I was a prosecutor and I was engaged with tribal police and tribal authorities and tribal jurisdiction, and as a consequence, became fairly familiar with the development of the law in the state of Montana as it applies to Native people. I knew about the things like hunting and fishing agreements and how far they reached. I knew about those things that were matters of jurisdiction. Some had been waived by some tribes, some not. So it's a very, very complex area of the law. And I knew that in 1969 was the first time they were recognized as sovereign nations. So I could have used it, then I could use even more now, I'm absolutely certain, because there's so much for us to learn. I think about those who we share this community, this land of grandeur that we share with one another. There's some progress, obviously, in some venues at some times, but there is a substantial amount of room for improvement. [applause]

Adams [00:54:13] Chuck, you talked about this a little bit, but I think it's important to revisit the right to know provision. How significant of a change was that from the previous constitution? And in in your view, having reported on government for the better part of the last half century, did Montanans get better government for it?

Johnson [00:54:37] I think so, John. The way it was before is everything was just closed, you know, and Dorothy Eck played a real key role. For those of you from Bozeman, you may have known her, she was a [applause], she was a pioneer for the League of Women Voters. She was one of the state officers. And then after the Constitutional Convention, she went to work for Governor Tom Judge. And Dorothy was trying to find a way to put out a public notice of every meeting. And this is before the Internet. And she would have every agency call and say, well, board a Public Ed is meeting next Thursday and Friday or the board--you know, it kind of work. But there were a lot of meetings that didn't get drawn there. But she was ahead of her time. But prior to the Constitutional Convention, there really wasn't much right to know. I will tell you this, though: it's not a perfect solution by any means. And there have been dozens of lawsuits challenging it, and it continues to be a big case in the courts. There was a decision recently where the Supreme Court--a 6 to 1 vote--upheld the ability of legislators to form sub, less than quorums and meet privately. I don't mean to offend the Supreme Court justice because that was a horrible decision, in my opinion. But anyway, there are there are many, many there are many decisions, some that the press and the citizens have won, some they've lost. But I would argue it's a critical, critical part of the Constitution. People need to know what their government is doing, to know if they support the government, don't support the government or whatever. [applause]

Racicot [00:56:33] Having been cross-examined by Chuck Johnson for the better part of 25 years, we took the approach, I can tell you, as an office holder--or at least for me and I suspect for everyone who serves in that capacity and is blessed with that privilege--when you know that everything you say or do is subject to being printed rightfully and as a matter of due course, you don't say or do anything that you don't want printed. And if that means you keep some things to yourself, that's probably a fairly sound judgment to make.

Johnson [00:57:13] There's a saying that I didn't originate, but it's a good one. Sunshine is the best disinfectant.

Vowell [00:57:21] Chuck. I'm going to go out on a limb and imagine not everyone adhered to the spirit of the right to know clause at all times in our state government. And what did you do about that?

Johnson [00:57:37] Well, the big the big one for us I think was the pri-, party caucuses in the House and Senate where the Republicans would gather in a caucus, the Democrats would gather House Democrats, Senate Democrats. The Constitution says all legislative meetings shall be open. And when you had one party controlling both both houses, it was pretty, pretty key to know what was going on in those caucuses. We filed a lawsuit. We had about 20 or 25 media groups. And and it kind of took a long time, but basically it opened the caucuses. And it was a big achievement. But I like to say we won the battle but lost the war. The caucuses just became press conferences, and the other party would send its interns and aides over to listen to everything they said and vice versa. So the caucus--we got in them, but there was really nothing there. And some of the, some of the parties would meet in the basement of Jorgensen's, a popular Helena bar and restaurant. Some would meet at somebody's house. Or the most recent twist is these sub quorums. But I would argue that if the legislation, if the Constitution says all legislative meetings shall be open, those are legislative meetings, particularly with the majority party. Now, that's how they've gotten around with the sub caucuses. But I think it's critical to know those, what's going on, because a lot of times the Legislature will have a quick debate, but the outcomes are already decided by the caucuses.

Vowell [00:59:18] I was thinking, Chuck, I think it might have been one of these caucus meetings. You've told me this story where they're meeting in secret and you and your reporter friend have crawled into some closet or something and are spying on them. And you hear them decide to let you in. And they're like, "Should we go tell them?" And you're like, "Oh, no." And you start running around to, like, go be like found to be led into this meeting, that kind of thing. Right.

Johnson [00:59:44] I'll own up to that one. The party caucuses to elect their leaders used to be at the Colonial. Each party caucus had a different room and we would always prepare a letter. Everyone would sign it and no one would let us in. Well, we were kind of exploring and we found this mechanical room where you could actually hear through the pipes. And Francis Barden said, well, let's let them in. In the House Democratic Caucus. So we had to hurry out of there, head near the door and act surprised when he let us in. And another time, Bob, Inez and I did the low crawl in the governor's reception room to try to hear a meeting between Stan Stephens, the governor, and some legislative leaders trying to resolve a pay dispute. And were state employee unions went on strike in front of the Capitol, but we could hear some of them, but not all of them. But we didn't get caught, thank goodness.

Vowell [01:00:38] Denise, do you have any reflections on what it was? I mean, was it just a joy everyday to have to work in these circumstances?

Juneau [01:00:47] Such a joy. And I had to watch out for Chuck Johnson at every turn, apparently, hiding behind the couch. Yeah. So I think just that right to know is, is super important. And it does. I mean, the idea of the sunshine and the Legislature and all those things are so important for us to understand how our government works and to hear the conversations and to understand the thinking of our lawmakers. Um, you know, I think that's really was the Constitutional Convention is everyday people coming together to have conversations about what was important to the state. And that is a way for the citizens to understand how it is that we have this social contract, that we are responsible to one another in a way. And when you understand the thinking and, I mean, it's going back to legislative intent, what was happening at the Constitutional Convention, the delicate remarks, I mean, the testimony that was provided and having an understanding of what was actually going on at the time, what did that, and what was the intent behind it, and then how is it playing out? And it allows us--and I will just say, as far as providing the quality, education and equality of educational opportunity in Indian Education For All, to know what those conversations were and to have an understanding of the delegates' intent allowed us to create a lot more robust, um, material around that and to know that we were sort of free to go forward and create essential understandings, and work with tribes, and do all the things that we needed to do in order to implement those provisions.

Ellingson [01:02:25] Sarah, if I might add too...

Vowell [01:02:26] Of course.

Ellingson [01:02:26] That Montana was not totally unique in doing the right to know and the right to participate. One of the guests that Max talked about was John Gardner of Common Cause. There was a nationwide movement at the time to have more open government. Sunshine laws, they actually called it in. So, I mean, coupled with the right to know is the right to participate, roll call votes in the legislative article. You know, we specifically require that there be roll call votes, whereas they had not had those before. So

this whole right to know was, it was a big issue across our country at that time. And a lot of states at the time were also adopting or trying to adopt or write new constitutions. I mean, Montana was very lucky and that we were one of the few that successfully wrote and passed a constitution. But that sunshine was in the air in the late sixties and early seventies.

Baucus [01:03:44] I'd just like to add to that, that as I touched on this earlier, you know, we're so lucky as Montanans that there were a small state population because we do tend to know each other. And Chuck touched on this, sure, we have a great right to know provision and sure, people can get around it, find all kinds of ways to do it. But on the other hand, it's there. It represents who we are as a people. It's something we really stand for. And I think that it's there also because of the wise decision that the Supreme Court made earlier, and it's touched on in the document, documentary here, that elected officers could not serve as delegates. I believe very strongly that if current officeholders could be elected as delegates, there would not be a right to know provision because many of those current legislators at the time were lobbied, subject to private interest groups and so forth, would be very reluctant, in my judgment, to put in a right to know provision. So, but they did, because they want to do the right thing. They didn't have the pressures that it otherwise would have if they're current officeholders. The same is also true, they couldn't run again. That was huge, in my judgment. Huge. They're there to do the right thing at that time. And they did. And they didn't have, they weren't constrained by holding office prior to being delegates and not constrained by, "Oh, I gotta use this to run for public office as a platform to run for another office." That right to know provision is there because of the wisdom of the Montana Supreme Court.

Adams [01:05:34] Senator Baucus. Hang on to that mic, because I have another question for you. You had a very long and successful career in the United States Senate, you're Montana's longest serving United States senator. And during your career, you famously negotiated hugely important and consequential pieces of federal legislation. Some would say many of those were pretty contentious in the United States, perhaps most notably the Affordable Care Act. How did witnessing the Constitutional Convention up close as a staff member for the convention, how did that influence your approach as a legislator in the federal government?

Baucus [01:06:14] Well, two answers to that. One is: the Congress is so slow compared with the Legislature and compared with the Montana Constitutional Convention here in our state, when the Legislature is meeting, it's a pressure cooker. Meetings, you know, 24 seven virtually. The same thing with the Constitutional Convention. It's they're constantly working, work and working. Congress takes its time. And in Congress, contrary to the state legislature, lots of bills are introduced. You don't have to vote on them. A lot of them are just there for show for the constituents back home and so forth. So it's just a very, very different place. A more direct answer to your question is, is this: it's not what you'd expect. But I ran into a situation where I wanted to know, "What heck is going on?", after I arrived in the U.S. Senate and I was thinking of the right to know provision in our state constitution. To make a long story short, there's a big tax bill, passed the House, passed the Senate, and in some free time. I wanted to go to the conference to witness the conferees talking about a resolution and this big tax bill. So I asked around and went to the various offices. Nobody could tell me where they were meeting. It was closed, it was secret. And finally I went to Mike Mansfield's office. I felt his office would know where they're meeting. Sure enough, they knew where the meeting was being held. I went to the meeting. There was a policeman standing at the door and I kind of fudged it a little bit and I said, "Well, I'm a member." I was implying I'm a member of the conference, but I was really

saying I'm a member of Congress. And the policeman said, "Okay, go on in." And I walked in the room and sure enough, the big sea people and there were the Senate conferees, the House conferees. Russell Long was talking about when he was a kid, and they talked about nothing. And then, um, Jimmy Burke, allegedly a congressman from Massachusetts--old guy--shuffled up to me. He said--I was there about 5 minutes, I took a way off in the corner seat so I could watch what's going on--he shuffled out to me, and says, "I'm sorry, you can't be here." I said, "Why can't I be here?" "Well, it's against the rules. This is closed." "So why is it closed?" "It just the rules." "What rules? The Senate rules?" I said, "Look, I'm not going make a fuss here, but this is wrong and I'm going to do something about it." And that afternoon, as another good friend of mine is Ab Mikva from Illinois, said, Ab says, "Yes, I've been trying to get in those conferences." Well, we introduced a resolution that created all the conferences to then be open, not that year, but it went into effect the next year. But it was the Montana right to know provision--this guy really is in my butt--and we're going to get these conferences open and they're open now.

Vowell [01:09:27] Governor Racicot, will you please read aloud Article Three, Section Three of the Montana Constitution: the oath of office.

Racicot [01:09:45] "I do solemnly swear or affirm that I will support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Montana, and that I will discharge the duties of my office with fidelity (so help me God)."

Vowell [01:10:04] I know you have some thoughts on that word, fidelity. What would you elaborate on that for us?

Racicot [01:10:11] Yes. Look at what we're talking about here tonight is, is so extraordinarily important that it's hard to overestimate how we need to focus on our life and on our history and learn lessons and go forward with a commitment like we have never had before. You know, the stakes are really high. People can choose to live in a jungle and those who are strong can survive and dominate others. Or we can choose to live with a civil society and to settle upon how we'll be represented in America. We've decided upon a Republican form of government, and we have written it down on more than one occasion. I think this fall will be the 234th anniversary of the United States Constitution. Washington called it a sacred document. It has both the letter of expectation, the social contract, setting forth what the people can do and what the government can do in order to preserve the union to live in liberty and independence. You can choose to be a part of it or you can choose to leave it. But if you stay, you have chosen to abide by it. The oath is all a part of this process of subscribing those leaders to be committed, first of all, to their nation or their state or their county, respectively, the office that they hold, and to uphold the laws and to serve with fidelity, faithfulness. What that suggests and what the framers articulate in the Federalist Papers is this: that there is a letter of the law. There is a letter of the Constitution. But there is also a spirit. And as I listen to those who actually crafted this miraculous document 50 years ago, it seems to me that a common denominator is that it was a miracle of sorts, but it was also a reflection of their confidence in one another, the presumption of innocence they offered to one another, the respect they had for one another, the respect for each other's thoughts. And they were bound by a moral code that included dignity and decency and consideration of everyone on Earth. That's the spirit of the Constitution. And each one of these people we heard from tonight and on the screen imbue that kind of spirit. So for me, there are the actual words of the oath, and then there is the spirit. And that is a part of the commitment. And the part of that commitment includes those timeless values. And we are at a moment in the history of our country where we are facing significant turmoil and challenge. And sometimes it feels like we're abraded at the

edges and being torn apart at the seams. And I think if we all remembered that oath of office and remember that it is not to a party that you swear it is to a nation, or to a people, or to a state, or whatever political subdivision might be under consideration at the time. And to remember that this form of government that we choose, we can walk away from. It's our choice to make. But it's incredibly delicate because it depends on each and every one of us, every single day, making a commitment to one another to accord those same timeless values. To me, that's what's inculcated into the constitutional oath of office. And anyone that takes that oath swears to not only the letter of each single word, but to the spirit of it as well.

Vowell [01:15:03] Mae Nan, Mae Nan told this earlier: That she met some young people and they've been reading Governor Racicot's opinion pieces lately. And, and they asked Mae Nan, "Do you think that guy would ever run for governor?"

Baucus [01:15:20] If you don't mind, Sarah? I like to build on what Marc just said. What are we? We're about a million people on the face of this earth. We're Montanans. How many other people live in this globe? A lot. It was seven, seven trillion people, something like that. Whatever it is, it's billion? Billion, trillion was it ever is? Seven billion people on the face of the earth today. There are a lot of people who don't have the benefit or are as lucky as we are as Montanans have this document. I said earlier in the documentary--and I believe it strongly--if we were meeting today, 50 years later, we would not have this same document. We would not have any close to it. So we're lucky that this Constitution was written 50 years ago when it was, at a time in Montana history, in American history, where we were more civil, we are more likely to reach agreements. Sure, there are differences of opinion, but more likely. I say this in part because I was in China and I served in China for several years. China has a big, has a constitution. Its Constitution has lifted words right out of our federal constitution. Your free speech, all that stuff. But it's not enforced. So we're lucky here as as Montanans and Americans with, with the rule of law, independent judiciary that interprets our Constitution fairly, honestly, independently not told what to do. In China as the Communist Party decides what the Constitution is. It's not any courts. There are courts, but they don't amount to much. It's the party that decides. But here we are. We're so lucky to be here in our state, the constitution was written when it was and enforced by really well meaning people, our federal or state judiciary as well as federal. And I just like to use that say that to build on what Mark said. It's a document. It's a living spirit and has all of that. But others don't have it. We do.

Vowell [01:17:41] Mae Nan, so 50 years ago today, you and the other 99 delegates signed your name to the document that the rest of us have been arguing about ever since. What lessons does the convention have to teach us about conflict, compromise, and the possibility of progress?

Ellingson [01:18:16] I'm going to start by reading the Preamble...

Vowell [01:18:21] Which you helped write.

Ellingson [01:18:27] I have a framed copy in several places. "We, the people of Montana, grateful to God for the quiet beauty of our state, the grandeur of our mountains, the vastness of our rolling plains, and desiring to improve the quality of life, equality of opportunity, and secure the blessings of liberty for this and future generations do ordain and establish this Constitution." [applause] I'd like to follow up on that a little bit by reading something that Governor Racicot wrote 20, 20-something years later about what he saw in that preamble. And he said, "To me, these words are chock full of hope and pride and love

of land, so much so that they should be considered not just as a formal preamble to a legal document, but a constant reminder of the meaning of the remaining provisions of the document, a sort of moral and spiritual mooring for the Constitution." And I believe that to be true. The preamble, even though it comes at the beginning of the Constitution, it wasn't written at the beginning. There was a delegate proposal that Bob Campbell--there were actually five delegate proposals for the preamble. Bob Campbell from Missoula and I wrote one, and they were referred to the Bill of Rights Committee, and they were adopted after a number of other articles of the Constitution were adopted. So in some ways, it's it's an interesting juxtaposition because I think it summarizes in many ways what is in the Constitution: the education article, the right to a clean and healthful environment, the equality, the nondiscrimination, the pursuit of happiness, justice, equality. All of those were adopted. But then this preamble kind of summarizes it and says, this is what we've done in in this document. And I think it's just a beautiful, prescient view and a summary and I, um, Anthony Johnstone who you mentioned earlier and I are going to do some programing a little bit later on to talk about the values that are in the Montana Constitution and to try to figure out and engage the public about whether those values have changed over 50 years or what is it that's creating agitation about our Constitution? Is it a change in values or is it something else? And I hope that there will be, there's going to be nine of those meetings across the state where communities will be able to weigh in on the values that are in this constitution and whether they are still values that we hold as Montanans.

Vowell [01:22:20] Did you have anything to add to that? Governor Racicot?

Racicot [01:22:26] Well. One final footnote. This is incredibly urgent, and what's going on in our country is incredibly urgent. And I think that the republic is at risk as a result of our inability to read those words from the preamble and to weave them through every facet of our lives. So when you have disagreement or discomfort at a hearing and 360,000 tweets are dispatched instantaneously, and the edginess that comes from our lack of communion with one another--not just communicating with one another, but communion with one another--being taken away from the decision making process. I think what we're going to find with your inquiry is that we need to return to reengaging with people personally and listening carefully and committing ourselves to the same objectives universally. And that's where that oath comes in, because we've got to not only comply with the letter of it, but with the spirit of it as well. This is going to take some time and some effort. And fortunately, I have the privilege now and again to offer some thoughts with young Americans here at the university. I've had that privilege bestowed upon me, and I can tell you they are just as concerned as those of us who are moving on into our tender years or who have already arrived at our tender years. And I think they want to see how it is that things can change. And what I would like to see emphasized as a result of our gathering tonight in this wonderfully spiritual connection that we have, is to commit ourselves to making certain that we talk to everybody about this and that we figure out jointly what it is that can be done. And dropping a pebble in the water, as Robert Kennedy said, ultimately a ripple becomes a wave. But it's going to take some effort from all of us to make certain that we get recentered. And I think that that's the great hope from our discussion this evening and why we're all so blessed and fortunate that you put all the hard work into making certain that this was able to be available to all of us. So thank you, Sarah. Thank you, John. And all of those who contributed to this marvelous evening.

Vowell [01:24:56] Thank you. Thank you. [applause] You know, when when you were reading that Mae Nan, I mean, the beautiful thing about that preamble is: That is Montana. And I want to thank everyone for coming and our panelists and MSU and President Cruzado. And, you know, hearing those those words, the quiet beauty of our state, the

grandeur of our mountains, the vastness of our rolling plains, and here tonight, we have what I think are the three things that bind us together as Montanans: Our public lands, our public universities, and our Montana Constitution. So I'd like to thank you all for coming and say goodnight to the viewers of the live stream. Good night. Goodbye. And if everyone here could just stick around a few more moments. Panelists, If you could return your seats in the audience. We have a little treat for Mae Nan on her special night. Yeah. Play Mae Nan's campaign song. Mae Nan Robinson Ellington's campaign song from her radio ads, when she ran to be a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. [Performance of Simon and Garfunkel's "Here's to You, Mrs. Robinson" by Storyhill excised from recording and broadcast.]