Transcript for Episode 11: Destined to Lead: Tom Judge's Path to Becoming Montana's Youngest Governor

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Narrator: From the beginning of Montana’s distinctive yet troubled history, the Treasure State was dominated both economically and politically by powerful outside interests who shipped in capital and bought control of the State.

Historians tell us that as the Anaconda Company and its friends ran Montana, economic and political power flowed out into the hands of distant capitalists and corporations.

Policy was determined in far off New York City and control of the press was rigid. Anaconda’s corporate dominance in Montana’s political affairs was unique in American history. For its first 75 years, Montana was a one-company State. But then big winds of change roared across the Treasure State; between 1965 and 1980 Montanans ripped off their copper collar, transforming Montana from a corporate colony into a free modern State.

The people finally controlled their own destiny. The pitched battle between the people and the established power structure was not easily won but fired In a Crucible of Change a new Montana was born. Join Evan Barrett and real history makers of the time as they shine the light on this remarkable era.

Evan Barrett: Welcome back to In the Crucible of Change. Our program today focuses on the 18th Governor of Montana, Tom Judge, who was Governor of Montana for eight years of the period of change that we’re talking about in this series. He was the youngest Governor in the history of Montana and had a rather remarkable career in that period of change that we’re talking about.
Today we’re going to be focusing on the time before he was Governor, the lead-up to that Governorship because it’s a very, very interesting story that points to some of the dynamics of the times. And we’re joined by three special guests today.

Larry Pettit; Larry was Assistant to the Governor but also was his Campaign Manager in 1972 in the General Election, Sidney Armstrong, who was involved in all of Tom’s campaigns whenever they were run, all the way back to the first one in 1960, and Kent Kleinkopf, who was a Campaign Staffer in 1972 and later in the Administration of Governor Judge. Now these three people with full disclosure of course are good friends; we’ve all remained friends for many, many years. Likewise I want to make sure that everyone understands and you as well--that I’m just not a moderator. This is a conversation. We all have something to contribute. You have wonderful things to contribute, but I may just jump in and throw something out and you should feel free just like we’re sitting around the coffee table at home. And we want to share our experiences with--with the audience.

Sid, you were a high school--I won't say classmate but you attended high school when Tom did and because of that when he first decided to run for the Legislature I guess you were one of the first people he called. Tell us a little bit about that.

Sidney Armstrong: I didn’t really get to know Tom so well in high school though I looked up to him and admired him. Even at that time he was very dynamic, he was very energetic, he was well-liked; I got to know him better when he was going to Notre Dame and would come home on Christmas vacations and the summer. So in 1960 when he came home and decided to run he gave me a call and told me he was going to run. I had never been in politics; wasn’t very interested frankly. And he asked if I would be the Secretary of his Tom Judge for Legislature Club. And I said oh Tom, well you know I would like to but I don’t even know how to type. [Laughs] And he said oh for heaven’s sakes; it isn't that kind of Secretary.
Your name will be on my campaign material. You know a lot of people in Helena and we’d have a good
time working on the campaign together. He was so busy working on the campaign himself however that I really
never did anything until about 1964.

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Evan Barrett: Now--now you--so you were the person whose name was on the disclaimer--

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Sidney Armstrong: Yes.

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Evan Barrett: --in every campaign?

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Sidney Armstrong: Every single campaign.

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Evan Barrett: That he ever ran?

00:04:21

Sidney Armstrong: Right.

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Evan Barrett: That’s remarkable consistency in terms of friendship and support. It’s interesting to note that he was
at such a young age running for the Legislature. I mean it was 1960; he was 26 years old?

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Sidney Armstrong: And that was unusual in those days certainly.
Evan Barrett: Yeah; I think he just turned 26 a month before the election so when he was filing it was--he was 25 and just coming back to Montana wasn’t he?

Sidney Armstrong: Just coming back. He had been at Notre Dame for college. He had worked in Louisville. He had been in the Army Reserves for a time. I don’t remember all the details but it was when he was first coming back to Helena, going to open his own ad agency and going to settle in his hometown.

Evan Barrett: Now Larry you knew him at that time as well, because I think you were out here working the Primary Election for Senator Metcalf although he was Congressman Metcalf at the time. And there was an opening that was happening at that time in the Senate Race?

Larry Pettit: Well I--yes; I had been working for Senator Murray between Graduate Schools and when the Senator announced that he was going to retire there was a little bit of jockeying to see who should replace him. And most of the Party leaders thought it should be Lee Metcalf. Lee wasn’t too eager to do it because he was becoming such a power in the House and probably would have ended up as Speaker had he stayed there.

But the--Murray--Murray decided to support somebody else and so I resigned from Murray’s staff. I came back to work for Metcalf in the Primary. I lived with Donna and Lee and [Jerry] in their house on 8th Street or 8th Avenue whichever it is. And Tom was back from Kentucky and he came to the house one night. He dropped by and that’s when I first met him and we became good friends. And--
**Evan Barrett:** I think it’s important to note that there’s a relationship between Lee Metcalf and Tom Judge that the Thomas L. Judge is Thomas Lee Judge and his middle name—he is named after Lee Metcalf.

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**Larry Pettit:** Exactly; yes.

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**Evan Barrett:** Their families were close.

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**Larry Pettit:** Yeah; his—his—his father and Lee Metcalf were pretty close friends. Yeah; and both as I understand it, both Sigma Chi(s) [Laughs]--

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**Evan Barrett:** And low and behold you ran into a fairly dynamic young candidate in the middle of this thing you were doing on your own helping Lee Metcalf.

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**Larry Pettit:** And--and we—we became great friends and then he had always had his eye on my girlfriend’s younger sister and wanted--

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**Evan Barrett:** Did you broker a relationship?

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**Larry Pettit:** I think I did—and later Sherry and I were married and then after that Lee and—Tom and Carol were married. And so we were brothers-in-law and—and that became later on an issue with--
Evan Barrett: A couple reflections about that what type of person was this young guy that decided he was going to throw his hate in the ring? How would you describe him at that time?

Sidney Armstrong: He was one of the most interesting, most energetic, most dynamic, friendliest, warm, open, outgoing--

Larry Pettit: Pretty good guy actually.

Sidney Armstrong: A very good guy; a very good guy. And of course Sherry, Larry’s wife, Carol’s older sister was one of my best friends and my college roommate. He also was one of the few people in Helena at the time, there was a small coterie of skiers and he was a terrific skier and I remember he and two friends, Paul Jasmine and Clint Grimes, I think when they were seniors in high school went to Sun Valley to ski and said they were college boys. That was always a favorite story of what they did then.

Evan Barrett: Scandalous.

Sidney Armstrong: Yes.

Evan Barrett: Oh we pretended we were college boys.
Sidney Armstrong: Exactly.

00:08:26

Evan Barrett: Yeah; yeah, so he was a dynamic candidate and one of the things when we talk about the empowerment of people that is part of the period of change we’re talking about now although 1960 was slightly ahead of the curve on that and he ran county-wide, he went to all the doors is that right?

00:08:48

Sidney Armstrong: Absolutely. Part of that was his kind of energy and--and interest and so forth. Part of it I think also was perhaps he didn’t have all that much business quite yet. But it was quite new to go to door-to-door like that and not to be really invited so much by the County Central Committee and so on, not that he wasn’t friendly with them, but he was very independent even then and did go door-to-door.

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Evan Barrett: So he ran and won three consecutive House races and did he--was he kind of a surprise winning as a newcomer coming in like that in 1960 as you recall?

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Sidney Armstrong: As I recall yes; although everybody thought that young Judge boy was so nice. And I remember people who said to me well I voted for him because he takes his mother to church and he passes the plate.

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Evan Barrett: A-ha. [Laughs]

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Sidney Armstrong: So they thought he must be all right.

00:09:40
**Evan Barrett:** Now that brings up his mother because his mother Blanche was a big part of his life. She was raising two sons, the--his dad had passed away; is that right?

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**Sidney Armstrong:** That’s correct. When he was going to Notre Dame his father died in an accident. And Blanche opened a dance studio. She, too, was very dynamic and very high-energy and very devoted to the Democratic Party in principle. I feel Tom was really raised with that whole idea of we work together, we help people, we use the political system not to gain fame or money but to do good things for people.

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**Evan Barrett:** And then that was of course the year that JFK was elected.

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**Sidney Armstrong:** Exactly. So there was a whole breath of new, young, fresh people coming into office.

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**Evan Barrett:** I know--

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**Sidney Armstrong:** Just beginning.

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**Evan Barrett:** --I know Governor Schwinden in our discussions with him talked about a lot of the change that came out of the--for the period that came out of World War II, the people that came back from World War II, but Tom was just about maybe 10 years beyond that and he was almost a new generation that was not even out of World War II. And so there was a real freshness there. It--now when he decided to run for the Senate in 1966, right do you remember that race? I mean was it audacious to decide to be a Senator? Do the--did folks say oh this is something natural or was it hey what’s this up and coming guy doing?
Sidney Armstrong: I don’t think—no; I don’t think it was so audacious. People had become interested and respectful of the hard work he did as a Legislator. And once again he worked very hard. He stayed later. He came earlier and so forth and so on. It was also at a time when the Democratic Central Committee was getting very active and very involved. Voter registration, door-to-door, get out the vote, working with organized labor, and Lee Metcalf was running. It was a very exciting year in Montana.

Evan Barrett: Yeah; that was a big year. That was the year that Babcock, sitting Republican Governor challenged Lee Metcalf for his seat and that was a—I mean quite a period of time. Now also I mean it’s worth—there was a lot of national dynamic going on then.

Sidney Armstrong: Absolutely.

Evan Barrett: Vietnam War was probably still somewhat popular but the divisions were starting to happen and people becoming energized on campus, women were becoming energized, a lot of interesting things going on at that time.

Sidney Armstrong: Absolutely; Civil Rights, the Great Society, all kinds of Federal programs beginning, things like Head Start and so forth, so yeah it was a very exciting time.

Evan Barrett: Now he—by the way right about that time he and Carol decided to tie the knot didn’t they?
Sidney Armstrong: Exactly. And we were thrilled. They were a wonderful young couple.

Evan Barrett: Tell us; she played in his--these campaigns through the--through the ‘70s, through the ‘60s. She--she played a role in those as--I mean you look at those--that couple that had to be very attractive, I mean did she get right out there with him?

Sidney Armstrong: They were more than attractive. They were sort of like the Kennedy(s). They were glamorous. They were interesting. They were fresh. Carol was wonderful. She was a very private person. Campaigning was not her idea of a good time. And yet she was a warm and gracious person. And people loved to meet her. And often times through all the campaigns she and I would go out say for a day together or even a couple of days, just the two of us, have a six pack of Coke in the backseat. We’d take turns driving. We didn’t have much money--for a hamburger and a cup of coffee or something. But again even though she was rather shy and private, as she met people that warmth and graciousness came through and people loved to see her. She was so genuine and so warm and friendly.

And so we’d go when everybody else went to the big cities and the rubber chicken as they say dinners, we’d get to go to places like Plains and Fort Benton and the smaller places where not only the people were thrilled to see somebody actually come and campaign, especially this lovely young woman, but the food was delicious as well.

Evan Barrett: That’s one good thing about Montana. I like that. Now--

Kent Kleinkopf: Evan excuse me; I think genuine is the key term when you refer to Carol.
Evan Barrett: Yeah; yeah. Well now she was trained as a nurse?

Sidney Armstrong: She was an RN yes and had practiced as a nurse as well.

Evan Barrett: And so--and--and we won't deal with that in this program because this deals only up to the Governorship but that nurse’s training and her interest in the policy of taking care of people showed up during the Governorship in terms of what was her special project; yeah.

Sidney Armstrong: It was at a time when the institutions were in absolute disarray, the conditions were horrifying; most Montanans weren't aware of it. The people working at those institutions went on strike and it was a real blessing not even very well disguised. The National Guard had to come in to take care of the--the residents at Warm Springs and Boulder as I recall. And they went home throughout the State and said these are the most horrible conditions we have ever seen. No one should have to live like that. Carol and Tom and I and others on staff went and visited the different institutions and when we came back Carol was determined to help convince the Legislators and other Montanans that we had to do something about the institutions.

So that is a wonderful story in itself and then she became very involved with community-based services and the opening of group homes and so on. She played an enormously important role.

Evan Barrett: Now it’s obvious that this is a young couple who were dedicated to the way government could do good things for people.
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Sidney Armstrong: Absolutely.

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Evan Barrett: And I guess that--. Now by the way, with her being a nurse we’ve neglected to point out when Tom came back from college and from the Military what did he do for a business because he had an interesting profession didn’t he?

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Sidney Armstrong: He opened up his own ad agency, Judge Advertising, and he worked very hard at getting various accounts. The one I only for some reason remember is Montana Broadcasters Association. Maybe that’s because I’m associated with the Greater Montana Foundation. In any event, so he had contracts with various associations. He did advertising for various--various organizations. One I remember and I’m not sure if it was the State or if it was for Helena, he did a big poster that had a picture of a man with a bandana over his face, and it said hold up a spell in Helena, and gave all the places you could stay. There was something he had looked into that said if you could get people to stay just one more day it made a big difference in the economy of the town.

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Evan Barrett: Uh-hm; so and when he was running a small advertising agency, was he probably like most small businesspeople, when the Legislature happened and you have to go serve for 60 days, the money didn’t flow so well?

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Sidney Armstrong: Oh absolutely. And it certainly didn’t especially when he was campaigning for Governor. Those weren't always very easy times I think.
Evan Barrett: Uh-hm; now let’s--in 1966 he was in the Senate. He decided to run for Lieutenant Governor. Do you remember what in--for ’68--do you remember the genesis of that thinking and why he wanted to do it?

Sidney Armstrong: I think by that time it almost seemed like a natural progression. I’ve heard people say well of course he came back and he had his eye on the Governorship. That really wasn’t true. And I don’t remember frankly a whole lot of discussion about it; I just remember one day he said I think I’m going to run for Lieutenant Governor. And of course in those days the Governor and Lieutenant Governor did not run as a team, as they did later with the New Constitution. And as I recall, we all said well that would be great. Let’s--let’s get after it.

Evan Barrett: So all the sudden he’s running in a Primary and we’ll talk a bit about that--a very competitive year in 1968 in the--Forrest Anderson had decided to run for Governor but he wasn’t unopposed. Forrest had--had a lot of opposition with Eugene Mahoney and a number of other folks running against him. Leroy Anderson ran in that Primary. And then low and behold, for Lieutenant Governor like--

Sidney Armstrong: Everybody in town ran.

Evan Barrett: Gosh; didn’t it seem like that.

Sidney Armstrong: It did.

Evan Barrett: I mean who was running? Was--
Sidney Armstrong: Fred Barrett.

Evan Barrett: --Fred Barrett who had been a former Legislator for a number of years, about a decade I believe from Chester and he was also the State Democratic Party Chairman for a while which--. And then--

Sidney Armstrong: Eddie [Doso].

Evan Barrett: Eddie [Doso] who was a State Senator from Missoula and had been a State Legislator from Missoula, and then a rather exuberant candidate from Billings.

Sidney Armstrong: Very colorful, Mike Kuchera and his polka band and his furniture store, yes.

Evan Barrett: Mike Kuchera ran and--and we kind of chuckle but he put on a heck of a campaign.

Sidney Armstrong: He did.

Evan Barrett: He put on a heck of a campaign. But Tom seemed to me the one that perhaps was maybe least in favor of the Party bosses if there was such a thing.
Sidney Armstrong: I think that’s true. It sort of wasn’t his turn. You had Fred Barrett and Eddie [Doso] who sort of paid their dues and Tom had not been all that involved with the Party per se statewide, so when he campaigned and he campaigned sometimes with other people who were more familiar they went to see the people who were in the Courthouse, County Attorney and so on. He went down the street into the cafés, stopped people on the corner and so on and campaigned very much as a people-to-people kind of a candidate.

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Evan Barrett: Uh-hm; now in a way that’s part of the empowerment thing we talk about of this period was that it was a time when there was movement away from the machinery that controlled government and politics whether it be the internal machinery of the Democratic Party or the control of the economy and politics by the Anaconda Company and Montana Power; this was a challenge to that type of establishment. And all the sudden, when the Primary was over he’s the nominee, by an overwhelming--

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Sidney Armstrong: Unexpectedly.

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Evan Barrett: --amount.

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Sidney Armstrong: We didn’t expect it; nobody expected it. He wasn’t they thought that well known.

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Evan Barrett: Now again thinking about full disclosure that’s where I first met you.

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Sidney Armstrong: Absolutely; one of the happiest days of my life Evan. [Laughs]
Evan Barrett: I was teaching in the Helena Junior High School and to give you a sense of the nature of politics in those days if you think about how automated and how everything is today and with the internet and all the ways of massive communication and all the technology that can be applied to politics, there was a great demand for people to sit around and hand-fold letters and flyers. There weren't even folding machines available.

Sidney Armstrong: And hand-stamps.

Evan Barrett: And hand-stamp them and hand--and lick them and seal them and so there was--

Sidney Armstrong: And sort them.

Evan Barrett: --huge--. And one of the things I did was I had a cadre of--I told all my students you should get involved in the political campaigns and you’d get extra credit. And I said now for all of you who want to work for any Republican--you can work for Republicans or Democrats; it doesn’t matter. And if you want to work for a Republican here’s the Republican Headquarter address and phone number. And if you want to work for any of these Democrats you can meet me at my apartment. [Laughs] So I had probably three-fourths of them decided they wanted to come to our place but we would go down to the Judge Headquarters occasionally and sit there and fold 15,000 flyers in one sitting. That is what campaigning was about, really but the candidate of course was in the forefront of it meeting people.

Sidney Armstrong: Absolutely.
Evan Barrett: And let’s talk for a second about again if you’re not with the Party establishment Tom had a cadre of people around the State that he was linked up with called the Jaycees.

Sidney Armstrong: He was very prominent with the Jaycees. He made great friends. It was the Junior Chamber of Commerce. We don’t hear so much about them anymore but they were very active and had a great deal of influence all across the State. They became so interested in this young leader that looked as though he were going to be a statewide candidate and elected. And so they helped form county organizations all over the State and they campaigned with Tom.

Meanwhile Blanche--and there were no paid staff. Blanche essentially the mother ran the campaign and Blanche would call people that she remembered meeting at a dance conference in Spokane two years ago in Shelby. And she would call and ask them if they wouldn’t work for her son and get them to organize. So along with a lot of Democrats who liked Tom there were people who had never been really involved politically. It was a new group of people becoming involved. They not only played such an important role in his campaign but I’m happy to say many of them became very involved in politics in general. And there was I think a great deal of an idealistic sense at the time that we were doing good things for people and that also Tom was very good for business. After all he was a small businessman. He was very active in the Jaycees, which were young business leaders primarily.

Evan Barrett: Uh-hm; so you had a--that was one of the things that maybe was an asset for him as a campaigner was that he--his business catered--his advertising business catered to working with business so he had a comfortability with the business community which is probably an asset, when you’re--.

Sidney Armstrong: Very much so.
Evan Barrett: And he was a progressive Democrat without question.

Sidney Armstrong: Without question.

Evan Barrett: He was strongly pro-labor. He was pro-

Sidney Armstrong: Very pro-labor.

Evan Barrett: --pro women’s rights and--

Larry Pettit: Pro-education.

Sidney Armstrong: Oh very much so.

Evan Barrett: Pro-education big-time; yeah, yeah.

Sidney Armstrong: Very much so; yeah.
Evan Barrett: Yeah; so there’s a lot of that stuff that--. Well, so all the sudden we run into the General Election. He--he defeats these folks by a lot.

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Sidney Armstrong: I know; amazing.

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Evan Barrett: By a lot and suddenly he’s running against a gentleman out of Great Falls named Tom Selstad who had been also a State Senator; is that correct?

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Sidney Armstrong: Been a Legislator; yes.

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Evan Barrett: And do you remember anything about that or was it just one of those years? Remember because it was such a strong campaign for Forrest against him. That was certainly a more dominant campaign although they didn’t run as a team. Do you think Tom was a beneficiary, a bit of some of the flow of politics at that time?

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Sidney Armstrong: I think he was but I think it worked both ways. I think those many people that got involved and interested in Tom’s campaign also became at least somewhat interested in Forrest because even though they weren’t a team, they were going to be serving together.

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Evan Barrett: Yeah and he--he did have his--really his own group of people.

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Sidney Armstrong: Definitely.
And so 1968 happens. We have a Lieutenant Governor, the--undoubtedly the youngest Lieutenant Governor because he would have been at that point 34 years old as a Lieutenant Governor for Montana, pretty phenomenal. So the role of Lieutenant Governor was different than it is today.

The Lieutenant Governor at that time served--most prominent thing the Lieutenant Governor did was to be the President of the Senate during the Legislature.

And then when they were not in Session it was--it really was not a role for Lieutenant Governor.

You know and--and so when the Governor left the State interesting stories about that; if you go back to the time of W.A. Clark, the Copper King, when the Governor left the State to California one time that’s when the Lieutenant Governor reappointed Clark to the Senate. When they tried to sneak him the back door again, one of the five times he tried to get in the Senate. Now your involvement with that was not quite so colorful, but tell...
us about the first time that the Governor Anderson left the State and Governor—or Lieutenant Governor Judge was in charge of the State.

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**Sidney Armstrong:** Because in those days the minute the Governor set foot out of the State the Lieutenant Governor had to assume the role as Governor.

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**Evan Barrett:** Full authority.

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**Sidney Armstrong:** So the Governor was gone maybe to a Governors’ Conference or something. It was early in Governor Anderson’s Administration. And so Tom was to be Governor for several days or a week for all I remember. But we were as thrilled as though he had been anointed King of the World. And so several of us, his Secretary from the Senate, who had worked for him for quite a while and I and several others came up to the Governor’s Office. We brought champagne. We went into the office. We hooted and hollered. I heard from Jean Handle who had been Governor Anderson’s Executive Secretary and then Tom’s that she was very unhappy. We made a mess of the office and we spilled champagne on the desk and then the next thing you know somehow Walter Marshall came in to congratulate Tom.

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**Evan Barrett:** A very infamous figure if you will or colorful figure that’s a good way to put it yes.

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**Sidney Armstrong:** And he said first of all he summoned somebody from the Highway Department to take pictures and then he said well Tom I have just found out that Chet Huntly is going to open a big ski area down at outside of Bozeman at Big Sky. He said why don’t I call NBC and see if I can't just get them on the phone? Walter could bulldoze his way through anybody. So the next thing you know he was on the phone at NBC and telling them
The Montana Governor wanted to speak with Chet Huntly. The next thing you know Chet Huntly was on the telephone. And they had a very cordial and warm and pleasant chat. And that was when we first found out what Chet Huntly was planning for all of us back here in Montana.

00:28:45

**Evan Barrett:** Where Tom Judge who is the Governor that day; you know he was the Governor. [*Laughs*]

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**Sidney Armstrong:** Well it was an interesting thing. Now interesting contrast is--because that was a--nothing substantive happened there other than a lot of good talk, was a contrast with what happened and I think we spoke about this in an earlier program that when Ted James and Tim Babcock were Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the same Party they didn’t like each other because one was progressive and the other one wasn’t. And so when Governor Babcock left the State one time Ted James was in charge and there was a vacancy in the Public Service Commission. And while the Governor was out of state Ted James appointed his friend Ernie Steele to the PSC and it was a done deal--boom.

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**Sidney Armstrong:** Oh it was a done deal and people weren't very happy about it.

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**Evan Barrett:** They ended up running against each other and--and Babcock won the ’68 Primary which is why Tom Selstad was running for that seat instead of Ted James.

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Okay; so now we’re going to be moving a little bit to--to talking about the evolution toward the 1972 and Kent, you came onboard at the beginning of the ’72 campaign. You had come over here from Missoula, newcomer to Montana actually although you had some roots in Montana, and--
Kent Kleinkopf: My wife was born and raised in Missoula.

Evan Barrett: Yeah; yeah and you ended up going to work for--for then Land Commissioner Ted Schwinden in 1971. Is that right?

Kent Kleinkopf: Correct.

Evan Barrett: And you got to be the--tying into one of our other thematic things we talked about, you became the person on his staff who was helping to do some of the implementation of Executive Reorganization were you?

Kent Kleinkopf: Correct.

Evan Barrett: Yeah; and then how did you end up suddenly being with Lieutenant Governor Judge in a campaign? How did that--?

Kent Kleinkopf: Well pretty strange set of circumstances; my brother-in-law at the time was Bill Cunningham and he had interviewed with Ted Schwinden for a position in the mine land reclamation area. He had been offered the position but turned it down. I had just returned; we had just come back to Montana. I had just finished Graduate School at Utah and Kathy my wife was going to be teaching in Missoula. So we had just come back when I was introduced to Tom Judge by a close friend of Kathy’s, Charlene [Frogen] in Missoula. At the time I said I--I saw him as a very attractive young idealistic politician and I told him that I’d maybe someday like to work for him. And
he said well, that’s interesting but I haven’t even decided what I’m running for. [Laughs] So in any case, time went on and I--I was offered the position by Governor Schwinden--

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**Evan Barrett:** Then Land Commissioner?

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**Kent Kleinkopf:** --as then Lands Commissioner, State Lands Commissioner, and I accepted the position, and so Kathy and I then moved immediately to Helena where we made a career in State government for 10 years while Kathy taught at the Florence [Inaudible].

00:32:26

**Evan Barrett:** And--and you were working with Lands Commissioner Schwinden and suddenly you--an opening kind of cropped up for working in the--when Tom decided to run for Governor? Is that the--you said well maybe there’s something here I should be doing?

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**Kent Kleinkopf:** Well sort of. I kind of imposed myself on the campaign at that time. He had--

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**Evan Barrett:** You wanted to go to work for him?

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**Kent Kleinkopf:** I did.

00:32:58

**Evan Barrett:** Okay.
Kent Kleinkopf: And so I was one of those people that stuffed envelopes and licked them and stamped them and--and--

Evan Barrett: So you’re the chief envelope stuffer for a while?

Kent Kleinkopf: At that time; at that time.

Evan Barrett: Working for the phenomenal salary of--?

Kent Kleinkopf: Zero.

Evan Barrett: Zero, okay; okay, good thing Kathy was working, right.

Kent Kleinkopf: That’s correct. Otherwise, it never would have happened.

Evan Barrett: Yeah; so--so you’re doing that and then but you became a very close confidante of the Governor. Tell us how that happened.
Kent Kleinkopf: Well as a matter of fact, Sidney’s husband at the time Toby Armstrong was--was driving Tom to various meetings and conventions, whatever around the State. But on a very sporadic basis because he had a full-time job--

00:33:48

Evan Barrett: A real job; yeah.

00:33:50

Kent Kleinkopf: --a real job.

00:33:51

Sidney Armstrong: And four children.

00:33:51

Evan Barrett: Yeah; and four children.

00:33:52

Kent Kleinkopf: And four children.

00:33:53

Sidney Armstrong: And a wife; yeah. [Laughs]

00:33:55

Kent Kleinkopf: You didn’t live in a shoe though. So one time Toby couldn’t do the--the duty and so Tom’s mother Blanche who was sort of running the show at that time asked me if I knew how to drive? [Laughs] And would I mind driving Tom to this meeting, someplace, probably Dylan or someplace like that? And so I did and from that time on I became the full-time Aide, events person, driver, you know I didn’t--I didn’t lick many envelopes after that.
Sidney Armstrong: Nope.

Evan Barrett: You know I don’t think people always realize but how important when you have windshield time with a candidate the relationship that is developed, the trusting relationship that is developed, it has to. If the candidate can't trust the person driving that car with him sitting there talking with him, listening to everything, knowing everything that’s going on, it isn't going to work. So you clearly had established a trusting relationship with him that carried forward. Now that was a--that was a Primary Election that was kind of interesting because as Lieutenant Governor Tom had filed and the Primary opposition to him during that Democratic Primary remembering the Primary was in June of 1972 was Dick Dezbie. And Dick had been the President or the--the Majority Leader of the Senate in the 1960--1971 Session.

Kent Kleinkopf: Correct.

Evan Barrett: The Session which was the big battle over the sales tax. And so they'd held a 60-day Regular Session and had not resolved the issue and then they had a 19-day Special Session and still hadn't resolved the issue. And then at 27 days, a second Special Session and they were getting almost close to the beginning of the fiscal year in 1971 and they--

Kent Kleinkopf: They hadn't passed a budget.
Evan Barrett: --they hadn't passed a budget because they couldn’t get the money thing figured out and they finally resolved it in June and put it--the sales tax on the ballot. So Dick Dezebie had effectively been the roadblock to stop the sales tax from happening so he carried that forward with him and decided I think I should run for--for Governor as well. And so that was the Primary race wasn’t it?

00:36:23

Kent Kleinkopf: Correct.

00:36:24

Evan Barrett: And how did that play out as time--?

00:36:28

Kent Kleinkopf: Well Tom had decided earlier that he was going to run. Mr. Dezebie didn’t decide until say two or three months after that--that he was also going to throw his hat into the ring. So we had a head start and that’s when we began putting in at least 16 hour-days on the road, traveling to every town in Montana at least once and just beating--beating every door down that we could to shake hands with everybody that he could possibly come in contact with.

00:37:06

Evan Barrett: Tell me what type of campaigner was he?

00:37:09

Kent Kleinkopf: He was absolutely tireless. I don’t know that there’s ever been a campaigner in Montana that was as energetic, as thorough as he was. He wouldn’t leave anyone’s hand unshaken if he could help it. I remember driving down this city street and here’s a group of people on the sidewalk and he’d say stop; pull over. And he’d jump out and go introduce himself to these people.

00:37:42
**Evan Barrett:** So whether--were you up at 6:00 in the morning doing this stuff?

**00:37:46**

**Kent Kleinkopf:** We were up at least 6:00 in the morning and most nights we didn’t--weren't able to get back to our room until midnight or later, so extremely long days, very, very tiring. I remember if you’d allow me, we’re campaigning in Butte and down in the dry in the pit, the--

**00:38:07**

**Evan Barrett:** The dry is the place where when the workers go to work and the workers that come off-shift they kind of cross paths in the dry which is where they clean up or they change to their street clothes.

**00:38:19**

**Kent Kleinkopf:** They take off their wet clothes and hang them up to dry and put on their street clothes and get up and out of there.

**00:38:26**

**Evan Barrett:** So you’re in the dry?

**00:38:27**

**Kent Kleinkopf:** So we’re--we’re there while they’re changing all their clothes and shaking--going around shaking hands. *[Laughs]* And it was--it was probably midnight or later and we had been going since early that morning. I remember being so tired I laid--actually laid down on the concrete in the dry and tried to go to sleep.

**00:38:46**

**Evan Barrett:** You needed to drive. *[Laughs]*

**00:38:47**

**Kent Kleinkopf:** Yeah; I still had to drive.
Evan Barrett: Yeah; so he was--now he was very well-known for the last shift of bowling--at bowling alleys. Was that a favorite place for him to go?

Kent Kleinkopf: Yes; it was because understand that we were at the plant gates at 5:00 in the morning shaking hands with everybody coming on-shift and going on. So unfortunately you can't do that today because there aren't any plants still open. So but--but in those days there were still a lot of plants operating in Montana and we were always there. So that was--that was early morning. And then during the day there were all kinds of meetings and then in the evening you always went where the people were. And the people were always late at night, you know a bowling alley or a lounge, restaurant combination or whatever.

Evan Barrett: Uh-hm; so through this Primary Tom is energetically moving forth. Was he using--was he working with the Jaycees still an awful lot at that time?

Kent Kleinkopf: Yes.

Evan Barrett: Did he have the relationships out there?

Kent Kleinkopf: Yes. As a matter of fact most of the young people that we ran into during those days were connected either with Jaycees or the--the university, college, all kinds of young people were--were wanting to get involved. And that’s the reason I became involved myself in the beginning was because of the attitude and--and idealism that I sensed in Tom.
Evan Barrett: Well it’s worth noting that by 1972 if you were born in 1946 as a baby boomer, you were 26 years old, so you were just starting to say I want to be active and involved, so this was a period--this was the--the baby boomers were starting to first be heard as new voters but there was a cadre of young businesspeople, young energetic people that had already kind of had been making their way in the world?

Kent Kleinkopf: Right; right. And Tom was a favorite of theirs; later on when you talk about his General Election opponent that will become very obvious.

Evan Barrett: Now--now--

Kent Kleinkopf: The contrast.

Evan Barrett: --he--he won again by a surprisingly large amount.

Kent Kleinkopf: In the Primary.

Evan Barrett: In the Primary, and in fact let me just take a look at that and see what we have here. Yeah; in the 1972 Primary he got 60-percent of the vote, 60-percent and Dick Dezelie got 30-percent. So it was a 2 to 1 victory. And now it’s interesting because I think there was some parallel; I think we were talking about this before--parallel between Forrest Anderson running in the Democratic Primary in 1968 against Eugene Mahoney who had fought
back the sales tax as a Legislator and was kind of the darling of the--those folks and yet Forrest, you know
Legislators won district or won county, and Forrest had run statewide, and so while everyone got all excited about
Gene Mahoney fighting the sales tax, I mean low and behold Forrest overwhelmed, and here you have another case
where Dezbie’s claim to fame was fighting the sales tax in the Legislature from a--from one county and low and
behold another fellow, Tom who was not only energetic but had run statewide successfully, suddenly--there was a
little politics that's not policy-driven but I think there may be some reality to that. Now all of the sudden, the
Primary--now there was a Republican Primary of some interest because a gentleman that we had spoken about in
previous programs who had such significance differences with Forrest Anderson by the name of Frank Dunkle, the
former Fish and Game Director was running in the Republican Primary. And many people thought here’s the guy
that’s going to win the Republican Primary.
00:43:03
Larry you were--you were helping out in the ’72 Primary from your position in Bozeman at that time, not
as Campaign Manager. Tell us what you were doing at that point.

00:43:14
**Larry Pettit:** I was Head of the Political Science program at MSU at the time. My wife had forced the issue and
made me move back to Montana ahead of my schedule. We came back in ’69. Tom asked me if I would put together
his Gallatin County campaign group for the Primary. I decided to aim for the General Election and put together an
organization that was bipartisan. And so in addition to getting key Democrats, preempting them before Dezbie got
there, I also looked at this young professional in business, nominal Republicans who weren't really in politics, the
kinds of people that he knew through the Jaycees but also through his other--his clients, the accountants, the
architects, variety of people like that. And we put together a very strong who’s who kind of Campaign Committee
for Judge in Gallatin County.

00:44:17
He won the Primary with 70-percent of the vote in Gallatin. Afterwards he called me and asked if I would
come over and be his Campaign Manager for the General Election. So I took a leave of absence from MSU and
came to Helena. There was one glitch right on. The first day I walked--he was out of town and the first day I walked
into the office to assume my duties, his mother was there and she wasn’t going to relinquish that title.
Evan Barrett: She was not aware of this transition huh?

Larry Pettit: Well she--either he had--hadn't had the courage to tell her or--or--or she--she knew but was going to nip it in the bud. So I walk in and instead of sayin--

Evan Barrett: It’s always interesting to note that within all these big picture things is there’s a human dynamic.

Sidney Armstrong: Absolutely.

Larry Pettit: Right; right. And this is one we don’t need to go into here because I--I go into it in my book and people can read it. [Laughs] But as I walked in--this is all I’ll say about it--she instead of saying hello she said well here’s what I want you to do. You can research all the education issues. [Laughs] And I said well I think you don’t understand. So he had to straighten that out when he got back. But we--we felt quite fortunate that Ed Smith won the Republican nomination and that we had him to run against because Frank Dunkle was the kind of person who attracted the same sorts of people as Tom Judge. And a lot of the nominal Republicans who got behind Judge might have gone with Dunkle had Dunkle been the Republican nominee.

But we were--and this was a time as--as Sidney and you and--and Kent were discussing earlier, of great change, great movements coming, some not perceptible yet throughout the country, a great progressive era, a time when Democrats were strong and when Democratic issues were at the forefront. And even in Montana that was true and we were fortunate to be running against kind of the stereotypical old line Republican, a sheep rancher from Dagmar who was against everything, against government, pretty easy. And then when they started making Tom
Judge glib and slick and all of this sort of thing that they thought Montanans would recoil at, they also brought in a couple of Californians to run their campaign. So we were able to use that; that just took the wind out of their claim to being real Montanans and down to earth and their--their suggestion that maybe Tom wasn’t.

00:46:57

And--

00:46:58

Evan Barrett: I was Executive Director of the Democratic--and then it was called Executive Secretary of the Democratic Party and we worked together and you were the Campaign Manager for Tom. And Brit was running the campaign as much as you could for Lee and between you and Brit and myself we kind of had a little triangle of communication that was very important.

00:47:21

Larry Pettit: Very advanced for the time. [Laughs] We had two telephones at each desk. [Laughs]

00:47:27

Evan Barrett: Yeah; we each had hotlines to each other, you know and--

00:47:29

Larry Pettit: Yeah; and that--that was fun. And but many times I would be in the back. I moved my office in the back and had the staff in the front building and I just had a very long table with all these telephones on it. And I would be walking up and down with--and taking different calls or placing different calls. It was--it was an exciting campaign and I felt all along we were going to win but Tom, one reason he’s so good at it is he always thinks he’s going to lose. And--and so he doesn’t ever let up.

00:48:02

Evan Barrett: Well he was a follower of Lee Metcalf, who says you know--you know run scared or run second.
Larry Pettit: Yes; yeah exactly. And but we--we all worked very hard and we had a great time and we became great friends and had wonderful celebrations after winning but it was a pretty--it was a hard-fought campaign and--

Evan Barrett: Well I think we have to recognize that--that was--that year was the year that McGovern ran against Nixon so you had the top of the ticket. Huge win for Nixon; he won by 20-percent over George McGovern and to win in the Governorship against that tide so to speak required an awful lot.

Larry Pettit: A lot of split tickets, an awful lot of split tickets; yeah.

Kent Kleinkopf: But Evan I think it’s--I think it’s important to point out here that even though Tom was running as a Democrat at the top of the ticket we had many, many friends across the aisle and that--that will become more evident as you further explore his actual Governorship.

Larry Pettit: Yeah; back in the days when--when that was not uncommon you know people--

Evan Barrett: It wasn’t doctrinaire now. Now Ed Smith and we used to--he was known as Big Ed Smith because he was a big guy.

Sidney Armstrong: Very big.
Evan Barrett: What’s he about six foot six or something?

00:49:29

Kent Kleinkopf: Big raw bone guy.

00:49:30

Evan Barrett: Big raw bone State Senator from out there and yet the contrast was extraordinary. You guys--we--we talked before about how Forrest had come up with some key words to run on in Pay More What For and there’s perhaps no better memorable slogan than that. But you--you guys sat around and came up with something that drew some comparisons and contrasts and was a simple--simple words that describe why Tom Judge?

00:49:59

Larry Pettit: We came up with Ability You Can Trust which pretty much distinguished Tom from--from Ed Smith in terms of the--the word ability and then trust, he’s not a--he’s not a slicker or that sort of thing.

00:50:18

Evan Barrett: I think they were painting him as a slickster.

00:50:21

Larry Pettit: Yes.

00:50:22

Evan Barrett: And so the trust word was very important.

00:50:23

Kent Kleinkopf: I believe the Californians tried to do that.

00:50:24
Evan Barrett: But they--the Californians tried to do that. Now I remember--I remember a bumper sticker when those Californians were here. Do you remember what that was?

00:50:34

Larry Pettit: Don't Californicate Montana.

00:50:36

Evan Barrett: Yeah.

00:50:38

Larry Pettit: I had nothing to do with it. [laughs]

00:50:42

Evan Barrett: Well you know there’s something to be said for the fact that you know Montana, we take our Montana(ishness) very seriously, to extremes sometimes.

00:50:51

Larry Pettit: Yes.

00:50:52

Evan Barrett: Yeah; so--so tell us, can you tell us about the campaign a little bit more? Was there anything that stands out in this thing or in terms of were there debates in those days?

00:51:05

Larry Pettit: No; I don’t recall any debates.

00:51:07

Sidney Armstrong: I don’t either.
Larry Pettit: Which is too bad; it would have really been interesting.

Kent Kleinkopf: Contrast would have become extremely clear.

Larry Pettit: Yeah; but no I don’t think there were debates. Tom was on the road a lot.

Evan Barrett: On the road--always.

Larry Pettit: And he at one point finally got one of those old-style big telephones in the car and he would call me as he was returning to town and we’d compare notes. And but--but he sometimes he’d forget that there was no security, and he would--he’d be saying--he’d start saying things that you didn’t want anyone to hear other than the person you’re saying them to. And I--I kind of had to gently remind him that look; all kinds of people could be listening in. Let’s talk about that when we get back. But--but at least he had that phone and that helped a lot. And we worked pretty long and hard hours. We put together a good young staff. We had old seasoned people as advisors and--and people who were friends--Toms and colleagues, but--

Kent Kleinkopf: A lot of businesspeople.

Larry Pettit: Yeah; yeah. And but the people in the office working in the Campaign Headquarters were essentially young people. Sidney and I were even young then. [Laughs] Well we were 36 I think when--or younger, but--
Kent Kleinkopf: Blake--

Larry Pettit: Yeah; yeah.

Kent Kleinkopf: Kathy [Shillinger].

Larry Pettit: Gail Jackson.

Kent Kleinkopf: Gail Jackson.

Larry Pettit: Yeah; a lot--a lot of them and Tom [Inaudible]--

Sidney Armstrong: Gary--

Larry Pettit: Yeah Gary--yeah; good--good talented committed kids. Some of them you know sleeping wherever they could throw down a sleeping bag at night and really sacrificing a lot to do this.

Evan Barrett: Now was Carol--Carol had a couple of young children at that time but--
Sidney Armstrong: She did have young children.

Evan Barrett: Did she get out and do some--a few things?

Sidney Armstrong: She did. As I was mentioning, she and I would sometimes go out for the day, etcetera, etcetera, but we also did some campaigning and Tom would often meet us somewhere. There would be perhaps a Democratic event in the evening. We would go during the day and somebody dreamed up that we would have a sound truck, probably nobody even heard of it in these days, but it was a truck and there was a man who had a loud speaker and he would go down the street saying that Tom was coming and come to the fund-raiser that night or whatever.

At the same time Laugh-In if you recall, Sammy Davis, Jr. did a skit where it was--here come the Judge.

Evan Barrett: That was from Laugh-In.

Sidney Armstrong: Didn’t I say Laugh-In?

Evan Barrett: Yeah.

Sidney Armstrong: Oh okay.
Evan Barrett: Yeah.

Sidney Armstrong: That’s exactly who it was.

Evan Barrett: Yeah; Sammy Davis, Jr. was he was the judge in Laugh-In on that little skit they used to do.

Sidney Armstrong: Exactly; so it was here come the--. So people started saying that and we adopted that and so our sound truck man would say here come the judge, here come the judge, here come Tom Judge for Governor. Then we would sing; people had guitars. These were all volunteers mind you. We would sing in the Union Hall. We would sing on the street corners. We would have Tom meeting people. We’d be helping register voters, etcetera, etcetera. Then we’d go to the event that night. And then if there were a plant--going on or something we’d go there. We’d stop at cafés, bars, or whatever all the way home and get home about 2:00 in the morning. But again, Carol was warm and wonderful and friendly and people loved seeing her. And we just had an awful lot of fun feeling as though we were doing things that were going to truly make a difference in the world and for the State.

Evan Barrett: Uh-hm; and so this year, this particular year in 1972 with difficulty at the top of the ticket with Nixon clearly winning overwhelmingly with a 20-percent win and yet Lee Metcalf won reelection, John Melcher in the Eastern District won reelection. Now it turned out that Dick [Shupe] stayed on and was only good for two more years on the Western District. And Tom won for Governor. Bill Christiansen won for Lieutenant Governor. Was there much of a linkage there? They ran separately but was there possibility there with those--?
Kent Kleinkopf: I can answer that Evan.

00:55:25

Sidney Armstrong: Kent knows.

00:55:25

Kent Kleinkopf: We—we campaigned virtually non-stop together; wherever we went it seemed like Bill and his—and his Aide was—was there also. So I don’t remember really being at any Democratic gathering anywhere in the State that they weren’t also there.

00:55:45

Evan Barrett: Now Bill was a real gentleman wasn’t he?

00:55:46

Kent Kleinkopf: Correct.

00:55:48

Sidney Armstrong: Yes; he was.

00:55:48

Evan Barrett: He was a car dealer from Hardin and had been in the State Legislature, very well-respected.

00:55:54

Kent Kleinkopf: Very highly respected.

00:55:54

Evan Barrett: He was the last person elected Lieutenant Governor--
Kent Kleinkopf: Independently.

Evan Barrett: --independent of the Governor.

Kent Kleinkopf: Correct.

Evan Barrett: And during the first term they were in is when the Constitution changed and the whole methodology changed. But think of that; Bill Christiansen, Tom Melcher, Lee--so the Democrats did pretty well but I think it spoke to the--the issues. But can you--now we got to be pretty quick on this but do you--do you remember that--the fact the sales tax had been crushed so badly the year before--

Kent Kleinkopf: Three to one.

Evan Barrett: --and the Republicans were associated with it. Did that have any staying power when it came to this election?

Kent Kleinkopf: It did. It did. But the--the New Constitution which was coming up was also a very critical issue during the campaign. And we campaigned extremely hard statewide for the passage of the New Constitution.

Sidney Armstrong: That’s right.
Evan Barrett: And we--and we tell that story in a number of things. Now we’re going to be having to wrap up this and again we’re talking about the front-end of a rather remarkable Governorship of the youngest Governor of Montana who spent eight years in the Governorship and we’re going to talk in subsequent programs about what he actually did of substance. But in--when the election was over and there had to be a move-in, I understand that it had to be a volunteer crew to move the Governor in because they didn’t have any money to--

Sidney Armstrong: It was a volunteer crew and Tom had you know kept some contracts I think through his ad agency but he hadn't been making a lot of money. He had a high school friend associated with Mayflower who was able to get a great big Mayflower moving van and we got some boxes and so on and came over on a Saturday. We packed up all the things in their house. Now they didn’t need to move the furniture.

Evan Barrett: So but when you got there and we’re going to have to wrap up but I want you tell us a little story about what Tom said the first night in the mansion.

Sidney Armstrong: The first night in the mansion we’re all dressed in grubby clothes, etcetera, etcetera. We’re hot, we’re dirty, we’re tired, and Carol’s family has brought in--bless them--big buckets of fried chicken and French fried potatoes and so on. And we’re downstairs in that big rec room at the mansion and we’re talking. And Tom Judge, we’re all saying this is so amazing. We don’t believe it. And Tom Judge turned to me and he said you know I want to be the kind of Governor that Lee Metcalf is as a Senator. I want to do what’s right because it’s right, not because it’s going to win me votes. And that was a beautiful way to end that evening and to start his Administration.
Evan Barrett: And in subsequent programs we’re going to discuss how his Governorship addressed and approached everything like that. Larry Pettit, Sidney Armstrong, Kent Kleinkopf, thank you all for joining us *In the Crucible of Change*. This is a remarkable starting story to an amazing Governorship that we’re going to talk about in subsequent programs.

00:58:42

Kent Kleinkopf: Thank you Evan.

00:58:43

Larry Pettit: Thank you Evan.

00:58:45

Sidney Armstrong: Thank you Evan.

00:58:46

[Music]

00:59:46

[End Governor Tom Judge-Early Years-The Path to Becoming Montana’s 18th Governor]