

Mark Andrews - October 13-15, 1980
Schedule

ask him -
why did you
up your media
budget?

Monday - October 13

4:00-6:00 drove to Washburn with Earnie Schmit - went to look
 at new Coal Creek Power Plant

6:30 Reception at Barbara Walker's home

7:00 Rally at Washburn

Tuesday - October 14

12:00 lunch at Linton

2:45 coffee at Ashley

4:00 coffee at Lehr

7:00 rally at Edgely

Wednesday - October 15

12:00 lunch at Harold Schaeffer's office

5:00 press conference in Dickinson

7:00 rally in Dickinson

Thursday - October 16

7:30 breakfast on water problems in Dickinson

10:00 left with Ben Meier for Bismarck

Earnie Schmit, Boyd Clemons, Marge Walpole, Bill Wright, Lela Knutson, Ben Meier.

I flew from Columbus to Bismarck via Chicago on Sunday. The flight from Chicago stops at Minneapolis and Fargo. From Minneapolis to Fargo is dominated by farmland and lakes, from Fargo to Bismarck we flew over the flattest land I ever saw--flatter than Kansas and bigger than the Flatlands of Eastern New Mexico. It was a clear day and you could see, it seemed, roads that stretched into the distance for hundreds of miles--all parallel and reaching southward. The farms were much farther apart than, say, Iowa, and the windbreaks--rows of

trees--surrounding the farms were very noticeable. So were the rows of trees in the fields themselves, which you could see as we flew lower. That's to keep down soil erosion. The wind was blowing when we got off the plane and it bit like winter. Minnesota had had some sprinkles of snow and Bismarck felt like it might. But you get a feeling of what must be like when the wind starts to blow. I don't know what would stop it.

I had a little mixup in signals and learned that Andrews wasn't due in to Bismarck till Monday night. So I called the office, got Earnie Schmit, and, after a little mixup, Boyd ^{Clemm}~~Cooper~~ came down and took me back to their office in the federal building.

Earnie is his chief field man in North Dakota and is a guy in his early sixties. He was State Commander of American Legion, National Adjutant and worked for legion and ~~selective~~ ^{service} ~~senate~~ - went with Mark in 1973 when he got the whole of ND and "I walked down one flight of stairs and opened the Bismarck office." Said he had travelled the state for ~~that~~ ^e legion for 4 years and looks upon his job as "doing the same thing I did for the legion--helping people with their problems."

Boyd is on the campaign staff and just retired from his job 5 weeks ago. He is past state legion commander and nation vice commander. He has signed on to work for one month organizing youth groups and senior citizen groups and getting lawⁿ signs put up in the Northwestern part of the state.

I asked him whether he thought interest in politics was ^{up}~~important~~ or what. "This is my first campaign. And I'm working in the most Democratic part of the state. So a lot of people won't commit themselves or won't speak up because there aren't too many Republicans around. One businessman told me he didn't want to put up a lawn sign because there were too many Democrats around and he was afraid it would cost him some business. But on the whole, yes, I'd say interest is up. There is a very strong anti-Carter feeling."

Earnie came in 1967 to work for Andrews. The Bismarck and Minot offices were opened when ND became a one-district state in 1972. ND lost population from 1930 to 1970. It has started gaining again, but it is not back to where it was in 1930. They speak of Bismarck as a boom town now, and claim not to recognize the place it has changed so much in the last few years. The change is the result of the energy boom going on in the western part of the state. The nation's first coal gassification plant is being built in Beulah, a town of 600--expecting an influx of 2,000. There is lots of oil exploration and even more, a big increase in coal mining. A lot of coal is being used to generate power. Farmers object to power-line towers going across their land. Huge amounts of lignite coal in western N.D. The operations are west of here but headquarters are in Bismarck.

One nice vignette. We were driving to lunch and we passed a construction equipment business. Boyd "Look at the second name on the sign there -- Kommatsu." The Japanese are our biggest competitors in the construction equipment business... A caterpillar tractor salesman said to me the other day. "I never thought I'd live to see the day when our main competitors are the Japanese." The new economic conditions are felt everywhere.

Earnie took the map and outlined the campaign stops. "We have pretty well bracketed the state." (I have the map where he traced out each day's stops for me.)

Anyway, Earnie talked about the parts of the state and the politics. North=Norwegian; South=German. Two biggest religious groups are Lutherans and Catholics. NW corner is strong NFU country and is Democratic. Largest population center is in "the valley" i.e., the Red River Valley, which is the flattest of ND land. NE has lots of potato farming.

West is ranching. Wheat is most everywhere. A little corn in SE corner. Oil and coal are in western region. Tourism is being boosted in Badlands area where Teddy Roosevelt went to recuperate. They make much of that. They also point out what's left of fort near Bismarck where Custer left to go to battle of Little Big Horn. Tourist slogan for Bismarck: "Stay in the place where Custer should have stayed."

Carl Earnie says Mark's strength is statewide and not in pockets. "The NFU supports him now. The teachers are supporting him now. There've never endorsed a Republican before. And it was years before they would even let him speak to their convention."

Carl Andrew's strength is that he is a working farmer and that "while he's a Republican, he has always campaigned separately from the Republican party. They haven't helped him all that much. North Dakota is agricultural. He's been elected because he works hard for the farmer and has interest. He knows farming. He is a farmer, he lives on a farm, and he's the only working farmer in Congress."

method Earnie is clearly working on the campaign out of the congressional office. Boyd was working out of there, too, making calls.

Earnie said of me "I didn't know whether to expect some doddering old man with a pipe or what." His view of a professor!

Earnie, Boyd and I went to eat at "Chapter One" outside of town. They thought I'd like the atmosphere of walls lined with bookshelves. I'm described by Bill and Mark as an "author writing a book on the Senate"--they don't call me a professor.

Washburn rally. Afterward I asked re crowd "It was a good crowd. 150 is maximum for that area."

Mark introduced by Senator Shirley Lee. "He's a man who needs no introduction."

He's been in the district many times. All of you have heard ^{him} before ^{be} cause he tell us the stories from Washington. ^{I'll tell you} One of things he is not ^{his} - his opponent says ^{he's} ranking on ^{the} Agriculture Committee. ^{Not} on Agriculture Committee. ^{I present the} next Senator from North Dakota. ^{He} everyone stands up for first time in rally. (That was true everywhere. ^a Only he got standing ovation.)

Mark - says how his opponent shows Toby Moffett on TV and says he's not running for Senate. Mark explains that Dodd is running and that's why Moffett isn't.

Good to be back in McC county - good to see Reagan poster. Carter dropping in polls. ^(Repubs.) They are doing weekly ^{polls.} Carter ^{now} 18%, 2 weeks ago ^{he was} 24%, Reagan is ^{now} 48%. "I'd be happier if our man was at 66% - lot of people not sure about Reagan yet. If we get votes ^{out} we'll do all right." best answer to JC problem. "Only thing standing in way of JC's 2nd term ^{is his} 1st term" (laughter).

Talk re inflation - 2 theories either increase interest rates and make money scarce or provide incentives to turn out more goods and services and work our way out of inflation. ^{we} Solve inflation better in ^{American} System when ^{we} you give consumers what they want.

News comes of battles in biblical areas - these battles have great bearing on our future because they are fought on a "sea of oil." Wouldn't have problem if country had moved in last 10 years toward energy independence ^{80 billion barrel/daily/yr} imported oil - dependent on countries that can hold us hostage.

He attacks non-elected bureaucrat who tells local coops that they can't advise patron to use ND generated energy ^{via} heat ^{pumps.} ~~points~~ - how idiotic.

Most agricultural state in nation.

Embargo - he objects because we only have stopped food. We continued to ship fertilizer so their grain could grow better, we shipped 'em caterpillar tractors so they could move their earth better. He says we'd have supported a total embargo till farm states got together and protested sending of fertilizer.

He says Russians have not been hurt or inconvenienced - admin says no - "hokey pokey."

→ "You and I have fed cattle a long time together."

"When we shut ^(down the) world on food, who do we hurt--the third world nations."

"If we'd secede from the nation, and its tempting with what Carter is doing --we'd be the 3rd ranking nuclear power in the world."

→ "B-52 burns ⁱⁿ Grand Forks and press anguishes over whether there was a nuclear bomb on board." There had better be a bomb aboard or you aren't getting the defense you are paying for. It's like having a bull around that can't settle a cow."

B-52 22 years old - if we had had airplane 22 years old at Pearl Harbor, we would have had cloth covered biplanes.

Our 1st line of deterrence (B-52) older than people who fly 'em.

B-1 needed - Carter administration said we had cruise missile - yet he was telling Russians that only cruise missiles we'd use and SALT was going to limit them more. Have made state better and yet out of Washington we have bureaucracy running amuck.

Takes off on report 2000 as example of dooms saying.

This isn't what Mary Bishop had in mind when they came to Dakota territory. They had in mind that we take what we have and make it better and put in place incentives, to produce and satisfy needs of growing population, etc.

"We have freedom to have opportunity to participate" - that's what Constitution means.

* Smykowski has been a farmer, ^{he has} taken out notes, ^{he has} met a ^{payroll,} parade, ^{he} knows what it's all about and he knows agriculture and he can represent us a whole lot better than someone who has been a bureaucrat all his life."

A low key talk - that flows well - "get that Georgia bunch of characters out of Washington".

Elect all Republicans - says nice things about all of 'em and "I might slip in there with them."

After he ends: MC says "I'm sure glad he's on our side. It gives me a lot of confidence to have someone like him leading the ticket."

They call this a "rally". It was "the 8th District Rally." ND is viewed in terms of districts - 50. Each has one Senator and 2 Representatives. Bill Wright came up afterward and said "This was my 800th rally. It's my fourth Senate campaign. I was in 3 of Milton Young's campaigns." He's been with Mark for 2 years.

There was no press there. I sat across from the editor of the paper and he left after the meal and before the speaking began.

Mrs. Smykowski, Lt. Gov. candidate, State Senator, 2 State Reps. were order of speakers. Then Mark.

He spoke without notes in an almost conversational style, did not raise his voice, did not get excited. And he never mentioned his own accomplishments but once. He mentioned "the Andrews Amendment on something - B-1 maybe". He attacked the Carter administration throughout the entire speech and talked about the importance of electing Reagan. But he did not praise Reagan specifically. He lavished praise on the ND Republican ticket,

however and ended, saying "If you vote for all these good candidates, I may just slip in there too." That was his understated pitch for himself.

Washburn
I met him when Earnie and I arrived at a home where the various candidates and local party people gathered before the rally. He was sitting at the kitchen counter on a bar stool talking to a 7 or 8 year old girl. When I came in, we greeted each other and he said to the little girl. "I want you to meet a man from New York. He's an author. He's writing a book about the United States Senate and how people get there. When you want to run for the Senate, he'll tell you how to do it." And I noticed that when he left the house, he went over to the little girl and said "It's been nice talking to you." Nothing special, but an indicator of a kind of low key, self effacing warmth.

I heard him complaining to someone about money. "Money is hard to come by this year. With the short crop, the export embargo and the strike at the dock head which put us 2 months behind, people just don't have the money. It isn't there."

Washburn
He talked with the farm implement dealer from Washburn--and present mayor--about how he bought two 7720 model combines (\$70,000 each) and that one of them keeps catching on fire when he harvests his sunflowers. There was a lot of technical talk "Is it near the straw walker?" etc. But it pointed up the fact that he is a farmer. I saw a picture of his farm and it is a beauty. Earnie says "From a distance, it looks like a little town." I suppose if I really wanted to understand him, I should see him on the farm.

We drove from Bismarck to Washburn on the Lewis & Clark trail. We went on past to look at the huge new Coal Creek Power Plant. It will produce 1000 mega watts of electricity from coal. They have a lot of lignite coal here. It's pretty soft, I think. But there are power lines striding all over the

landscape in the area. There are other coal burning generating plants west of here and the power goes into Minnesota and Wisconsin. "It's getting so North Dakota looks like a clothesline," says Earnie. Some farmer protest--not as bad in ND as in Minnesota.

The newspaper speaks of the tri-state area and the Lt. Gov. candidate (Mr. Sands) compared ND to Minnesota and SD in terms of government savings efforts. The three do seem to go together in some ways--weather reports are given for the 3 states.

Sitting at dinner, you get the rural flavor. Commenting on the fact that they set up for over 200 and got about 150, Lyle _____, the furniture store owner said "There's three other things going on in town tonight--community chorus, the auxiliary and the masons." And Bill--the crop sprayer sitting next to him said yes, and there's civil air patrol tonight too. I should be there." It's like everyone knows what's going on.

I talked with Bill some about the problem of blackbirds eating all the sunflowers. They apparently love em. The idea is to manage them--give them a cut of the crop, but keep it down. They put poisoned corn in the field, they shoot off a canon at intervals to scare them, but they haven't found any way to really control them. You have to kill sunflowers before you harvest. Sometimes frost will do it. Otherwise, you spray them.

The rally reminded me a little of Dave Obey's comment that his farmers loved long speeches. The prayer was very long and the "patriotic medley" of songs sung by a couple took a very long time to sing and was sung very slowly. But the rally started at 6:30--an unheard of time for the city. The dinner at Toledo started at 7:30. And, of course, there was no liquor. ND doesn't

serve any liquor. ND doesn't serve any liquore on Sunday, either. But after the rally, the local candidates all went back to the house where they started and drank. Earnie and I turned around half way to Bismarck and drove back to Washburn to that house to find a brown envelope Earnie had left behind. He brought out 2 beers and we drank them on the ride home.

Bill. "This campaign will be a little different. You won't see him walking up and down main street shaking hands and all that bullshit. He doesn't have to. He's done it all in other campaigns."

I think their poll shows 75-21.

I asked Bill how it was going. "Fine, just fine, except for putting out fires."

"Sometimes our field director Dan Carruthers and our campaign coordinator, Ed Doherty get to squabbling. They are both very strong willed men. Usually I'm the arbiter, and I can settle it. Occasionally, the boss has to decide. Senator Young had to decide everything himself. He couldn't delegate." Andrews can delegate.

On way to Linton he talked about political make up a little bit--called "the NFU and the Coops are the backbone of the Democratic party." "The northern part of the state is more Democratic and the southern part is more Republican. They were settled by different people at different points in time. The north was settled by the Great Northern. The southern part was settled by the Northern Pacific. The Great Northern brought in Norwegians; the Great Northern brought in Russians, Germans."

Rally at Edgely - Local candidates speak long time - Esp. Ben Meier, Sec. of State - Metal seats - hands and temperatures in unheated armory is about 45-50°.

Intro "I don't know how to introduce him. So. I'll just say, "He's the tall one."

Wants to get people out, with a get out and work and vote pep talk.

"I raise cattle. People say I make a lot of mistakes and that's one of them."

Talks about high interest rates. "Only way to solve inflation is by having incentives put in place that will help us to produce."

CopperVolstead - coops allowed - they've grown and are big - now we have government bureaus who want to look into coops. >

SF TC Justice - "My amendment got FTC off back of Coops." "You ought to see
 1/4 page Washington Post advertisement saying 'don't vote for terrible Andrews
 Amendment. He's fronting ^{Fortune 500, the big bad cooperative, QTA, Farmland, Land O' Lakes,}
^{on the floor, for New York City}
 CF Industries. Jim Scheur ^{the} says they don't need protection of Copper Volstead. ^{He}
 Said, they needed it when they wore bib overalls ^{but they} and don't do it anymore. ^{that} I
 had him. I got up and told them about Clare Sandness in LeMoure, head of
 Land O' Lakes, who puts on his bib overalls and goes out and milks his cows in the
 morning. Jim Scheuer sat down and we won by 100 votes. All because of Clare
 Sandness over here in Le Moure!" ^{I had him I had the C.R.} (applause).

Again - Third World powers have deep disappointment in USA - they are the ones who get hurt via export "To a troubled world, an export embargo means that the US action says to them that my children will not have adequate ~~only~~ vote

nutrition - It was bad for US and bad for the world."

"Let's remind our friends in NY and Boston and Philadelphia that for every 1 billion of food we sell abroad, we create 15,000 jobs off the farm."

"Environmental extremists who come from nowhere and think they know about everything." He tells story again about generating plant of Basin Electric on Platte River - changes water temp. 2° 250 miles away whooping crane goes over and the environmentalists tied up plant for several months till they decided whether the whooping crane would be "discomboobalated" by looking down

at the river." Basin Elect paid 7 1/2 billion for environmental protection so that they could continued to build - because of "those super environmentalists, those crazy nuts."

Bran muffins "It's an example of what we ought to be doing. For years we've known more about pig nutrition than human nutrition. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture used to be head of Friends of Earth in Michigan. Talk about the

fox and the chicken coop!

ND has "interest^{stinal}~~ested~~ fortitude." "We helped our neighbors" "have to get back to the basics" "have to get back to common sense" "stop bureaucrats from looking over our shoulders."

People I sat with at Edgely asked if Garrison diversion had come up. I said no and they said everyone seemed to be avoiding it, that it was controversial and they needed more information on it. They admired Mark "When he comes into a room, he dominates it."

is the follow | Lunch (corned buffalo) at Harold Schaeffer's (President Gold Seal) office with what Mark called "the in-group of Bismarck." When he got through the Q & A period he said "Is there anything we ought to be doing that we aren't doing? This is as good a board of directors as anybody could have."

The interesting thing about the Q & A was that it was all inside political questions, inside dope. What will Bush's role be under Reagan? How are you doing in the polls? Did AFL-CIO support campaign reform? (Long answer about PACs and his role in campaign finance reform. Mark said he had contributions from 300 PACs and said broad based contribution list was good.) What will Al Haig have to do in new administration? Doesn't Reagan know how to pick good people? How to explain what's happened in South Dakota?

The only thing he said that related to his campaign came when he was asked

Cam how he was doing in the polls. "It's about the same as the poll results in the Minot paper. We're in the 70's and he's in the 20's. In fact, he's lost some. We're surprised, but we're not surprised in view of the kind of campaign he's been running. It's all negative. That kind of campaign doesn't go over in North Dakota. The last time it was tried was when Tom Kleppe ran against Quentin Burdick. It didn't work. My opponent had a 30 minute television program and our fellow on poll asked about it. Nine percent of the people saw it--mostly Democrats, I assume. Of the 9%, 20% said they'd be more likely to vote for him after seeing it and 60% said they would be less likely to vote for him. It was too negative. I'm glad to see that doesn't work in North Dakota. If he ran a positive campaign, we'd expect him to be up around 35%."

Car In the car yesterday, we heard an Andrews ad. It listed all his experience, awards and accomplishments and ended: "If you vote against Mark Andrews you're just guessing." Mark exclaimed "He hasn't done a damn thing. He's run for statewide office 3 times. So he has no trouble with name ID."

Press conference--Question re Johanneson's advertisement.

"Ad is pretty far away from what is accurate." "People of ND are intelligent enough to sift through the facts."

Northern Border pipeline controversy.

Cap "The issue in the election is which candidate has the necessary experience and background and knowledge to best represent North Dakota in the place where we have the greatest potential for influence."

This followed on a question about coalition building.

He gives a new reporter a lesson in power in the Senate.

John "ND Agriculture College - only man in Congress with a degree in agronomy. "Senate delegation in ND is as powerful as the Senate delegation from California. The eleven Western states have much greater influence in

the Senate than in the House--22% to 5%. And they agree on matters of agriculture, energy, and water development." ^{TP}Who are "most ardent supporters."

"The people who have an interest in agriculture. I'm one of few farmers in Congress, my name is on a lot of farm legislation and farmers know I have their interest at heart."

The "marksman club" - people who contribute \$25,000 a year--6000 people--make a good group to contact and a good "base" says Bill. Wherever they go, they have list of contributors in each district that is attached to the schedule.

Press conference is charming. One TV person asks one question. "I have only one question." Another TV person says she can't remember what she wanted to ask and he helps her out (it turns out to be gas rationing.)

Then a country music station person interviews her. Then guy from Dickinson Press (1 month on the job) asks him a lot of questions and gets an education.

Afterwards Mark said "That was the screwiest interview I've ever had. I wanted to shut the guy off, but I saw that he had one of Johanneson's letters with him--the one he sends to all the editors. His questions were driving me nuts. But I kept waiting for him to get to it, so I could find out what was in it. Finally he did. When you're campaigning in North Dakota, you have to stay loose and be ready for anything. If you don't like what's going on, it's like the weather, wait 20 minutes."

We went to the Dickinson rally where Harold Schaeffer had brought in 2 stuffed buffalos, the Elks Sodbuster Band played and we ate buffalo stew. I taped Mark's speech. Ben Meier said he thought it was good;

Bill said it wasn't as good as the Edgely one. Earnie was watching the World's series in the bar and missed it.

Afterward the four of us had a beer. They talked about people and told stories. The best one was about Usher Burdick and the very first political television broadcast in N.D. All the Republican candidates-- about 30 of em were on the platform, excited. Big audience out front. Director is counting down the time, five minutes, four minutes--at about 3 minutes someone notices Usher's fly is wide open. What to do? Nobody wants to walk up and say anything. Usher is a huge man and half his undershorts are showing. He's at far left of the group. So someone sends a folded piece of paper up to the guy on the far right of the row: The message says on the front "Pass to Usher" and inside it says "Your fly is open." So each person in the front row opens it, looks at it, gets flushed and passes it on. Everyone in the audience watches the note being passed down the long row of candidates. And as the note makes its way along, the director is counting down 2 minutes, one minute, 30 seconds. Just before the TV goes on, the note reaches Usher, who reads it and with everyone in the audience watching stands up and zips up his fly. He sits down and just as he does the program begins. (Told with great hilarity.)

In rural areas where there are characters, the political stories are particularly good, I find. You need local roots for these.

Dickinson Water meeting.

He laid out problems - beginning, middle, end.

- 1) ~~come~~ to Washington to get ^{spillway} ~~spending~~ adjustment.
- 2) get control by Dickinson of the dam

3) West River diversion project.

He'll work with Burdick.

Suggest energy development argument - "I know this will set off fire alarms for some of you and raise some ^{hickles} ~~handles~~ around here. But energy is hot now--if you can link your arguments for water to the needs of the energy development ^{here} ~~news~~, you'll have a better chance back in Washington. You don't have to ^{picture some mammoth (?)} plant ~~in~~ here gulping up the water. What you need to do is take care of the human needs of the people who are brought here by energy development. You need an ^{infrastructure} to take care of these people. That's the source of your growth."

They agree to get up a statement in step one and come to Washington. And leader says "I appreciate your laying it out one, two, three like you did."

"I'm glad to learn some of the history of this. When it went through ~~I~~ represented the Eastern district. So I'm not entirely up to speed on this thing. This has been very helpful to me."

On Thursday, I rode from Dickinson back to Bismarck with Ben ^{born} Meier, the Secretary of State. It had snowed overnight and was goffy and rainy, so Earnie, Bill and Mark had to drive--instead of fly--to Tioga. So I got off the trail. Ben is a man of old values, self made, believes you can do whatever you want to do. He has an eighth grade education, has been Secretary of State for 26 years and (elected in 1956) and has "a million bucks." Incidentally, he says ND has the second highest per capita millionaires in the US. "We have 1 millionaire for every 110 people." Second to Idaho. He had several prescriptions for himself and his success. "I have a million bucks, but I haven't changed. That's why the people like

me. I'm the same person I always was." "I treat everyone equally. Everyone knows that I give them good service. No service I give is good enough for the people of ND." Politicking. "I get around and shake hands with everyone at a meeting before the meeting starts. Some people will go home right afterward, ^{If they want to talk, I tell them I'll stay around afterward and} and talk as long as they want." "Never start an argument with a voter. If you win the argument, you'll lose a vote." "I can't stay home. Every night I go out and meet people. Not just to drink or dance. I like people. I want to know what they are thinking." etc. etc.

I'm sitting in the Bismarck airport with most of my notes still unwritten. The state is more like Charlie Thone's than any other--or maybe a combination of Thone and Johnson. It has the agriculture of CT and the energy development of JJ. And it is spread out like they are. (There is nothing like Lincoln. Bismarck resembles Lincoln only in the tower of the state house). Andrews does so well across the board that it's hard to pin him down on any gradations. It's not because he's a Senator or a Congressman. It's just that he does so well with farmers and farm related groups and cuts into the Democrats. Like JJ, MA has had John Birch opposition in the primary (Pete ^{Enden(?)} "He thought I was a wobbly liberal") Ben's comment about Mark is "He's so smooth. He can fit right into any situation and say just the right word." When I mentioned his story about Clare Sandness in Edgely he said "That's just what I mean." Ben speaks with an accent and feels defensive about it. "As you've noticed, I speak with a German brogue. When I was at the Secretary of State's convention, the guy from Iowa said to me "How can you read English; you can't even speak english." I didn't say anything. But the guys from Delaware and Wyoming heard him say it and boy were they mad.

sketch
copy

The Iowa fellow was defeated in the next election and I'm still here." Any-
how Mark Andrews "smoothness" was accented by Ben's own defensiveness about
his speaking ability. But my observation is that Mark speaks very easily
at a level somewhat between straight conversation and fervor. It's almost
"conversational oratory." His indian story was tailored to the Dickinson
rally (on tape) and his Clare Sandness story was tailored to Edgeley. (How
I bested the Easterner. "I had him. It's all in the Congressional Record."

Mark's family--or part of it comes from Perry, N.Y. His grandfather
graduated in the first class from Cornell--in agriculture. He went to
Nebraska, went broke, returned to NY. Then went to U of Michigan Medical
School. His grandmother was also a doctor. They moved to the Dakota
Territory in about 1876.

He played on the early settler theme in his talks. (I have the Mary
Bishop story on tape.) In Washburn, "I look around here and I see Dave
Robinson, whose family helped settle the Dakota territory. My grandparents
came here, too, 100 years ago to settle in Mapleton. It was the first
white settlement along the Maple River. They came just 3 years after Custer
got clobbered. He was that eastern general who was told by the eastern
establishment that if he came out here and clobbered a few indians, it
would make him president. The natives had other ideas; and he never
made president. But he brought the eastern reporters with him and
they made a hero out of him anyway. The Robinson's and the Andrew's (and
the Mary Bishop's) came to build and to make the state better. And we
have made it better. Yet out of Washington we find bureaucracy running
amuck."

There is the play on ~~them~~ and now. (Ben Meier talked about how when

he was a kid neighbors helped a slow farmer get in his crop or fix his roof or paint his house and how neighbors ran in and out of each others houses".

"They didn't call and ask what are you doing tonight. They did the dishes and went over. I haven't been in my neighbors house and I've lived their 7 years." ^P"There's a lot more THEN in ND than most places I visit. The women at the Holiday Inn let Bill and I come in and have a drink after the bar had presumably closed and then wouldn't take anything for it. The waitress at the Ramada Inn gave us a round of drinks "on the house" because she had been slow in serving us! And, at all the functions I went to except the Washburn rally, I found strangers more genuinely friendly than any other place I've ever been in my political travels.

meth
When I left, he said "We'll miss you. You're a nice person to have around--helping us to put up posters and all kinds of other good things like that."

Bill told Ben about me. "He's just like us."

Mary
Cat
Are you campaigning the same way for Senate as for the House? "If I were running for the House, we'd be doing exactly the same thing we're doing now. It's more relaxing when Mary is with me. All the women come out. And we'd have the same scheduling problems. There are 53 counties in the state and any legislative candidate has to hit as many of them as he can. We won't touch them all--we don't say like Nixon that we will go to every state--but if you don't try, people will say "He's a big shot. He doesn't care about the people anymore."

Re the media. "We will spend three times as much as we did on our house races. I ran year after year after year on a budget of 100,000-125,000. We'll spend at least 450,000--250,00 of it on media. That's a difference."

How do you stand in the polls? "I hate to say it. We're ahead 73-21. And those figures haven't changed much since the beginning of the campaign. He started at 18, went up to 24 and is now down to 21."

He said here, too, that 9% of public saw Johanneson's 30 min. TV show and that 20% were more likely and 60% less likely to vote for him after seeing it.

On the way South on Tuesday, he said "We're going to the most Republican part of the state. It's mostly german, russian--people who left Russia, went to German and then came here. Up to a few years ago there were several German language newspapers down here. You'll hear a lot of German accents. They are very conservative. The Senator from this district ran against me 4 years ago in the primary. He's a John Bircher. He thought I was a wobbly liberal. But these people are very Republican. If I don't get 75% from this area, I'm in trouble."

again, no challenger!
In ^{Ashley} ~~Lein~~, he said to Leonard Roetzler(?) "I told Dick this was the most Republican area of the state. Would you agree." Leonard said "Yes, it's held up pretty well. But with the young people coming along, I'm afraid that's going to change." (I never saw him with Democrats, so I don't know what they would be like. But he pulls tremendously well among Democrats--his poll shows him 60-40 among Democrats. Coop Man of Year, endorsed by teachers association, etc.

copy - 1
"The National Farmer's Union and the Rural Electrical Coops are the backbone of the Democratic party in North Dakota."

wh
He was named Man of the year or something like that by National Rural Electrical Cooperatives at their convention in New Orleans. He and Russell Long got the award last year. He laughed when he said that his state REC people supported him. He was supported by teachers. I asked him why,

"You don't ask." Earnie said he wasn't even invited to speak at their convention till a year or so ago. But he supported Department of Education at least on passage. ^P Then he said he was given a check by the nurses. "I got a contribution from the Nurse's Association and when I looked to see who else got their award and there was George McGovern, Frank Church, John Culver, Birch Bayh. There were three Republicans, Jack Javits, Mac Mathias and myself. I have no idea why they gave it to me. But here I am wandering around North Dakota with endorsements by the Electrical Cooperatives, the Teachers and the nurses. I don't know what people will think." Apparently, he has money from 230 PACs. His opponent has trouble pinning him down on philosophy I think and so do I. But I did not try.

Surely he's flexible--as a lot of people whose bread and butter are "projects" must be. He talked about how Sid Yates got him sunflower research money and how Mo Udall and Phil Burton got the Theodore Roosevelt National Park name change. (That's probably what made him "bosom buddies" with Harold Schaeffer--who didn't speak to him for a while--some problem over Mark's Governor race in 1962).

Our first stop on Monday was in Linton, where we went to Frier's Cafe for lunch. I sat between the editor and a real estate man. The editor thought Johaneson was "vindictive" against Mark for leaving the House.

When he got up he referred to me. "Dick Fenno is a professor from Rochester, New York. He's writing a book on the Senate. He spent last week with John Glenn and he's spending this week with us. He keeps his lip buttoned and watches. But he's found out that 40° below zero weather weeds out the riff raff and all that's left are a lot of mighty nice people. It's a pleasure to have an outlander with us." The other lengthy introduction

no challenger-
must take challenger
in '82.

Yes

→

math

of one occurred at Harold Scheaffer's luncheon. "We had him putting up posters down at Edgely. He mingles and talks to people. He ate dinner last night with a woman and said he found out she knew an awful lot about politics. 'Boy these North Dakotans know a lot about politics,' he said afterward. Then he found out he'd been having dinner with Marcie Young, Senator Milton Young's 'daughter' (laughter).

Anyhow, back to Linton - MA talked about the standards, inflation, energy, bureaucracy, defense, called for "good old horse sense" and "common sense" re "putting incentives in place." Bob Ch _____ the former senator introduced him and chided him sotto voce ("I guess I should stop now." "I was getting the same idea") during his talk. Great affection here from a crusty old wit.

As we drove to Linton, he ticked off each person he expected to be at the luncheon, what they did, and, sometime, a little personal comment. He was a little chagrined and a bit upset that the state legislators did not all show up. The two candidates for state legislature did come in late. But a normal pattern in each legislative district (i.e., 1 Senator, 2 Representatives), the Republican candidates go to certain functions as a team. They go to rallies together and, since the evening rallies are more or less set by the state committee (with consultation), the Republicans tend to move through the same area all at the same time. Or, at least sizeable numbers of them do. In this case, the evening rally was to be the next night, so there was a foul-up. Mark was going that evening to a different district rally and would not make the Linton District rally. So his day was not coordinated with that of state legislative candidates. He

was, as I say, a tiny bit upset about that for a bit. "The state committee picks the rally dates by throwing darts at the map."

He and the state legislative candidates are pretty attached to one another. His brochure is tailored so that on the back page, the legislative candidates of each district are listed. (But I only saw these used once and I have a copy.) And the big argument Tuesday morning involving Don Carruthers had to do with what should be put on the back of Mark Andrew's door hanger. He wanted (and got) the legislative candidates. He hoped thereby to entice people to move from him to the legislative candidates and "bracket in" Jim Smykowski, who was on the ballot in-between them. The Republican party wanted the whole Republican ticket statewide officials "When will those people learn how to run a political campaign." He felt the whole great big list on the back would lose all punch. Anyhow, at Washburn, Edgely and Dickinson, all the "legislative candidates" were there and spoke. Mark has been pitching pretty hard for Jim Smykowski, who's running to take his place, but Smy. seems pretty far behind in the polls--nearly 30 points.

As we rode from Linton to Ashley over the broad sparsely inhabited prairies, he said "The votes are far between." And they sure are. It's pretty desolate--rolling grassy prairie with crops in between--a kind of transition area between the rich agricultural east and the ranching west.

We got to Ashley, a town of 1000 to go to the cafe to catch the regular mid-afternoon coffee break for the people in the business district. I asked MA how many times he had been to Ashley - "seven or eight times, maybe even more."

Wherever he goes he carries a post card sized card with a picture of

his family on one side and his wife's recipe for bran muffins on the other side. He hands them out to everyone he meets, on the street, in the stores-- and buildings or gas stations. "Let me give one of Mary's bran muffin recipes. We're campaigning with these this year. They're pretty good." Or "Let me give you one of Mary's recipes for bran muffins. We're campaigning on nutrition this year." There's a picture of the family there, too." His automatic reflex comment is "good to be with you." He says it coming or going. *(Said it to me when I met him in Washington after the election!)*

In Ashley we picked up Leonard Roeszler, the owner of the lumberyard and he took us to tour Blumha~~t~~ Industries plant. They make parts for fertilizing operations by heavy equipment--empty peak of 65. (Bill says it's unusual for a ND town to have industry.

We then went to the Dinner Bell Cafe and about 20 people were there. They played a a kind of high-low numbers game to see who would pay for the coffee. Obviously it was a ritual. Bill and I were at the table with 6 or 7 others and I think they thought they might catch the "outlanders" and make 'em pay for the coffee. Anyhow, we both played the game and escaped. MA sat at another table and chinned. When we left, he said "That's typical of North Dakota. The businessmen, the banker, the lawyer, the editor, get together everyday for coffee--once in the morning and once in the afternoon. That's the way they conduct the business of the town." He went into the McIntosh County bank after the Cafe and then we dropped Leonard back at the Lumber yard and left.

There wasn't any preoccupation with the press on the trip. Except they would note if the editor was there. All he wanted was an acknowledgment of his presence. No cultivation that I could see. At Linton, for example, I didn't see that he paid any attention to the editor. And after Ashley, he said "The editor wasn't there."

As you ride along, you are aware he's a farmer. "We've still got 100

acres of beets to dig. If this rain moves east, we won't be able to do it. Those 30 ton combines will just churn up the mud."

He often described N.D. as "the most agricultural state in the nation." At the Schaeffer luncheon, he was asked what the % of farmers was and he said "30%---maybe 25%, but it's the largest percentage in the nation."

In his poll, they ask people if they prefer farmers or lawyers for Senate and majority say farmer. His main ID is as a farmer.

Also in the luncheon, he was asked why McGovern had apparently turned things around. He laid the results heavily to the outside right wing that backfired. "In Iowa Culver is doing well because he stood up for what he believed and because Chuck Grassley accepted the help of the outside nuts. In Indiana Dan Quayle is doing well against Birch Bayh because he has not embraced the outsiders." That was his explanation for the way the liber-conservative match-ups were going. There was no evidence in his race of the rightwing radicals. They neither were helping him nor hurting him. They were just not present.

On the way home after the Edgely rally (a long 2 hour drive), he said that "Edgely was part of my original district, so I knew almost everybody there. It was like coming home to your family."

"When I had only the eastern part of the state, I used to do the county courthouses. I'd meet there with anyone who had a problem--twice every year in each of the 23 counties. We could do it in 3 or 4 days. We'd hold one meeting in the morning, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. When I took over the whole state, I stopped... I come back to the state once every two, sometimes every 3, weeks. In the summer, I come home every weekend because there is always something interesting going on on the farm. Of

course this year I have been home every weekend, not to campaign but to be with Mary at the hospital and the Rehabilitation Center.

"This is the first time we've ever had any paid campaign organization.

Before this, I always had a volunteer campaign committee. There was my brother-in-law, my son, my uncle and a few of my old fraternity brothers.

It was like a Kennedy operation. And I had a volunteer campaign manager, a writer and a field coordinator. *This year, I have hired a campaign manager, a writer and a field coordinator.* And the coordinator has hired 5 people--

for one month--to work for him in different parts of the state, organizing

groups, putting up law signs, that sort of thing. The three men are all old

friends of mine. Ed Doherty, the manager, is a former newspaper man. He managed a couple of earlier campaigns. Tom Dugan worked for the Kennedys and then worked on my congressional staff and later worked for _____. Don

Carruthers managed my first couple of campaigns before he became a judge.

They are all retired now, and I got commitments from them a year and a half or two years ago, when I first started thinking about running for the

Senate. They have enough talent to stand this state on its ear, if they

ran a hard campaign. They have too much talent for what we have them doing.

They are paddling in the water, running a relaxing campaign. We passed Don

the other day out on highway 20, his car loaded up with signs and we

stopped and had a chat. I don't worry about the campaign. It will take

care of itself. We will do just what we've been doing--the same thing we

do during a Lincoln day recess--drive around, hold meetings, make speeches, ^{meet with the media,}

get to as much of the state as we can. We have a headquarters in Fargo, one

floor above our ad. agency--the Flint Agency, the same one we've had ever

since my first campaign (for governor) in 1962. Bill and Earnie travel with

me in the campaign because I need them to handle the cases that come up. We

pick up casework everywhere we go."

Bill said he figured they would be criticized for using congressional

staff to campaign. "We always hear that." And they do, in fact, use the congressional staff to campaign. It's funny. Mark is scrupulous about charging everything he buys on his campaign trips--food, lodging, gas, etc.--to the campaign. Yet he apparently keeps Earnie and Bill on the congressional payroll. They surely "campaign" a lot more than they ever do "casework" as we travel around. They talk strategy all the time (especially Bill) they take pictures for the TV ads, they put up posters. The car is loaded with campaign materials. The Bismarck office engages in campaign activity in the sense that campaign related calls are constantly coming in and going out. Meetings are organized by the congressional staff etc. To me, it is a clear conflict of interest that would not be tolerated in an eastern, media sensitive state. In N.D. it seems to fall within accepted practice. It isn't that he lacks money, he doesn't. He could easily switch Bill to campaign payroll. But I don't think he does. ^P "I like what we are doing here better than I like what I do in Washington. The House is a zoo. People say the Senate is much different. I remember Karl Mundt gave me that lecture years ago. Bill Armstrong told me, "Mark, the Senate is an entirely different operation. You'll even enjoy it."

*mm - H-5
in my view
diff. case*

man "Even before my wife's illness, I was considering what to do. I had decided not to run again for the House. Fifty-four years old and leaving time to do other things."

He lost the governor's race by 20,000 votes in 1962. "I probably would have been a one or two term governor and that would have been it."

Re radio and TV, he has cut the last TV and was doing his last radio spots while I was there. He stressed controlling these things up to last minute, so they could change if the opponent did anything. He was also editing copy for "the Mark and Mary show," his traditional election eve

program. He was going to tape it Monday.

"We're going to do the same election eve show we always have--the Mark and Mary show. Mary wants to do it. Her speech is 90% of normal. In the morning, she is good; later on, when she gets tired, her speech gets slurred. We'll do ^{it} Monday morning. If parts of it need to be redone or dubbed, we'll have time to do that. We just sit in the livingroom at the farm with the family, looking through an album, talking about where we've been and what we've done. 'With all the back biting and mud slinging, isn't it nice to see a family sitting around the fire place reminiscing?'"

"It's a boring and miserable campaign. It's miserable because of what my opponent has been saying."

"I'll do fine, but I'm afraid that my opponent's weakness will hurt the rest of the ticket. My troops may not get out and work if they don't think I'm in trouble, and I won't have any pulling power. That's what has happened in the past. I'll get my 65% of the vote no matter what. But when my opponents are stronger, the rest of the ticket does better. I wish my opponent would get a snappy campaign going. But I'm afraid he won't."

"We're leading now by almost 75 to 21. People may vote against me just to keep my head from getting big. I'm going right through the top of the box. People even make jokes about it." (At Edgeley, one candidate, Leismiester, said "I'm working hard in this campaign because I hope I can pull Mark Andrews in on my coattails... If we all get out and work, maybe we can elect Mark Andrews to the Senate.")

I asked him how he answered the charge by his opponent that he was short-changing ND by giving up his House seniority. "I said that the people of ND would decide that. They are the ones who sent me to the House. Petitions started coming in from all over the state. It started in Medora where the Republican State Committee met and voted unanimously to ask me to run. There

was a consensus that I should run. A member of the Senate has more power than a House member. Both Senators from Montana had been House members. Both Senators from South Dakota had been House members. Quentin Burdick had been a House member. So there was nothing uncommon about it. Besides the Democrats had done away with seniority when they defeated the four chairmen. There's no seniority system left in the House. The only perk I had was a view of the capitol from my office. And that's a personal perk. I was the ranking member on an Appropriations subcommittee, but I had no more staff than I had the first day I went on the committee. Every Republican member gets the same. As for friendships, they would be even more useful on the Senate side. Jamie Whitten and Bill Natcher and those people will be even more helpful, since they know I can help them on the Senate side."

He talked at some other point about poll results that 56% said he should move to Senate, 20% said no and rest DK. So they asked that question on the poll.

"I decided to run in April. I waited till then because of my wife's illness. The Republicans even offered to postpone their convention till I was able to make a decision. In April, the doctor said Mary would be walking normally by July. She wasn't. She walks now with a walker. If I had waited till July I might not have run. The decision to run was a vote of confidence in her recovery. If I had decided not to, she would have felt that it was because of her. That wouldn't have helped. She's making progress. But you learn the word patience. I think when we get back to Washington and she gets with her buddies again it will help. She's been active in congressional

wives activities and has a lot of friends in Washington. They've been awfully good to her."

He talked a lot about the onset of the illness and how she nearly died--bacterial meningitis--caused by an ear infection which was triggered by a change in airplane pressure and exploded into her ear, then an abcess on the brain. An almost unique case.

Of all the events of the trip, the/visit to Lehr (pop. 287) on Tuesday--
afternoon
sandwiched between Ashley and Edgely was the most memorable.

To get there, we rode across open prairie--some cattle, some small grains, flax, wheat and corn. But it was not all that prosperous looking. Mostly farms few and far between "The votes are pretty far apart," said MA. It was kind of desolate. Later, after we left Lehr, he purposely drove me down to LaMoure just so I could see some more prosperous farms and we did see it--dark soil, sunflower fields as far as the eye could see and flax--some planted in rows in fallow fields to prevent soil erosion. ["I wanted you to see some of this rich farm land. We may have 40° below zero temperatures and little rain, but we also have some of the most productive agricultural land in the country." That came later, after the Lehr visit, of course.] And, we were in Republican country, in the part of the state of which MA had said earlier. "If I don't get 75% in this part of the state I'm in trouble." It was German Russian country, too

Lehr is the kind of little one street town you spot off the highway by its water tower and a cluster of trees and houses. It had a bank, a cafe, a general store, a (Super Valu) food store, an insurance agency and a quonset hut for a community hall.

As we got out of the car, MA said, "Remember the rallying we had in that

P 37

Mark goes across the state to the bank - Central Dakota Bank--to thank Vern--who is Treasurer of District 30 Republican party and Finance Chairman of this year's campaign in the district. As we wait outside, Bill says "Did you see Pete - just sat there while Mark talked about trading with Russia and ^(NA)Chairman. Four years ago, he would have hit the roof. What a change."

Mark comes out and says "Let's show Dick a real North Dakota general store. So we go back across the street to Gene Grenz store--a dry goods store, then a food store, then his annex.

We found Gene in the annex. He is marking up a lot of merchandise for a sale. Mark says "The last time I was here you could walk right through the 3 buildings from the dry goods to the grocery to this building." Gene says "I sold the grocery store." We look around the annex, piled high with merchandise from parkas to bottle caps for home brewing. He takes us into his back area where he has a barn-like area filled with antiques and junk. He has furniture, old signs, a 1930 Ford in mint condition, a Chevrolet camper 2 years old never used, an old golf cart, etc. Mark kids him about how he doesn't know what he has and will never find out. Gene laughs.

We leave. Mark says "How much ^{time} do we have before the rally at Edgely? Let's take Dick to LeMoure. We can show him some good farmland and show him Milt Young's farm in Berlin. We can show him the coast guard station Milt got built down there--a monument to the power of a senior United States Senator."

So we take off. I say "That was fun." Bill says "They are talkers. It's neighborly country." Mark says "That's what's fun about campaigning in North Dakota. You never know what part of the grab bag you're going to get."

Then he laughed. "After I spent all that time pushing Jim Smykowski, did you see the guy drive off with the Byron Dorgan bumper sticker on his truck?"

A little later he mused about the Cuban refugee question: "It would have been easy for me to say Castro thinks Carter is weaker than Reagan and wants to help him. They wanted me to say that. I won't pander to people's prejudices like that. If I have to do it, the job isn't worth it."

We start rolling through very productive farm country. There are huge sunflower fields as far as the eye can see. There are unharvested fields of flax, some fallow fields ~~are~~ ribboned with thin rows of flax to keep down the soil erosion. He says "This looks better. I wanted you to see some of this rich farmland. We may have 40° below zero weather and no rain, but we also have some of the most productive agricultural land in the country."

(Always the farm talk.)

A little later, he closed the book on the Lehr visit. "They'll say 'ya he was here.' Tomorrow everyone will say 'Mark Andrews was here.'"

In Ashley it was the Dinner Bell Cafe where they played the numbers game. Bill and I escaped. Mark went into the McIntosh County Bank afterwards. So the trip there was lumber yard → agricultural fittings plant → Dinner Bell → Bank and out.

red my
"The first year I ran in both districts. I got ^a/bigger vote than any statewide candidate ever got. I'd like to put that in my biography to frighten away opponents. But when I mentioned it ^{to} Dick Dobson (a reporter), he mentioned it to Milton Young and Milton got very angry." Idea was that Milt didn't want to see it in Mark's biography.

Mark commented a couple of times after the Edgely rally. "There we were in Milton Young's home territory and not one single speaker mentioned his name except me. How quickly they forget. I can't get over it." There were at least ten speakers, too. Mark had talked flowingly at a couple of points in his speech about the great legacy of Milton Young." Bill said, "There's more to it than that (re. Mark's comment that they forget). "There was an estrangement in recent years. He had lost touch with them." It's as if they were trying to put him out of memory in retaliation for what they had done to them. On the other hand Mark was the only candidate for a federal office to speak. Their consensus was that Milton was too old to have run in 1974 (he won by 178 votes). But none of the rumored bitterness between Young and Andrews surfaced during the trip. Neither, on the other hand, did any evidence of affection. When we went to the Coast Guard station, the dirt road winding in to it is called "Sen. Milton Young Way" and he laughed at how ridiculous that was. Then, when we saw the big shiny sign "Welcome to LeMoure home of U.S. Senator Milton Young" Bill said "When they put up the first sign, he said it wasn't big enough so they had to take it down and put up that one."

About my project, he said "I don't see how you can do what you want to do any other way. This is where it's at."

Re folding in the 2nd district in 1973, he not only got the biggest vote, as he said, but he also said that the 2nd district was more Republican and more conservative than the last one, so that also made it easy. The net was that there was no problem.