

→ a baseline - film - pgs is needed (P18/4)

MARK ANDREWS

October 14-16, 1982

Michael Olson, Becky Freeling, Jim Austin (wife June, daughter Jennifer)

I got to Fargo late in afternoon after long, troubled trip from Rochester, checked in at Doublewood, called the Fargo office. Michael Olson had left and no one knew who the hell I was. My picture of the office and its efficiency was not enhanced.

Called Michael in AM and he said they were waiting for MA to call to see what he wanted to do that day. He got in late Wed. evening and was "out at the farm." So I waited Thursday for him to call.

I wondered, as I read over the Andrews notes I had with me how I can best use Mark in the book. I can use him as an example of constituency similarity and how that decreases differences that are constituency related and highlights the power element of H-S differences. I can use him also as example of closeness to the constituency. Lehr-farmer-independence and the extent to which his campaign themes are his Washington themes and the extent to which he talks about ND in Washington. Re. his closeness to constituency, he defines the constituency as something very special and then represents it. I think it's an easy state to represent in that sense. He acts like a congressman--even his Washington style is congressional-House Appropriations kind of style. But he has more power than a congressman. That combination comes out parochial. (When MA gave Bill NYT article Bill asked "Did they call you parochial?")

Fargo-Moorhead Forum is filled with crop forecasts (harvesting is behind because of rain) and hunting forecasts. "ND Duck, Goose Hunting is Slow." "Rain Delayed Harvest Expected to Hurt SD Pheasant Opener." (farmers won't let hunters into unharvested fields.) "Sunflower crop

Forecast Show 24% increase in ND". "Record US Corn Crop Still Seen in

in Forecast." (See other articles I've clipped.)

It's also clear from Fargo paper that ND-SD and Minnesota make up an area of interest. You can see Minnesota easily from Fargo--only a couple of miles away--across the Red River. They call this area Fargo-Moorhead, or "FM" or Grand Forks TV. Fargo is about 60,000; Grand Forks 40,000; UND is in GF; NDSU is in Fargo.

In last two weeks, ND set fall record for 6 1/2" of rainfall. It's hampered harvesting, esp. beets. It's the talk everywhere.

Mark has food poisoning. Almost didn't go to Grand Forks. Feels punk. Press Conference <sup>in Grand Forks</sup> <sup>if I was here</sup>. "In twenty years of campaigning, I've never missed a meeting. And I told the <sup>(crew?)</sup> there was no way I was going to miss one."

He's doing this to help Durenberger. 2TV cameras and 5 reporters MA said later he didn't know any of them - lot of turnover.

"I'm known in congress as the individual who for 20 years has been pushing for the highest possible farm prices..." but Dayton's proposals are "pie in the sky" and won't go through. "You have to believe in the tooth fairy" to believe they will go through Congress. That's his pitch against Dayton.

"To say that we should have full parity is just pulling the wool over peoples' eyes."

If you cut back production too much you hurt infrastructure--hardware store, farm implement dealer, salesman, fertilizer salesman, etc.

"I've never had a farm bill that was as high as I wanted but I always voted for the farm program that I thought was the best we could get."

He and Durenberger are working to put us on even keel with Canadian government in exporting grain--not sure how--but the Canadian government

helps its farmers in export business. The Cohen problem here.

"I've broken with admin on a number of things--including the natural gas pipeline...we should realize that if Soviets earn western currency...they then can use that to buy what they need from us, food for their people, they trade us a non replaceable resource and we trade them a replaceable resource...food is more important than energy in the long run."

Hits Dayton on his 40B subsidies--no money for Grand Forks in that program--already has written a letter to the editor on it.

Calls Durenberger an ally of "upper Midwest" supporters of farm program - "a darned strong supporter of the local farmer."

"North Dakotans and Minnesotans are a lot alike.." and you can't buy an election in either state - re Dayton's expenditures.

Re question about him "crossing the border, he says he and Bob Bergland used to campaign for each other.

"I enjoy being Chairman of several subcommittees....You can do a lot more in the majority than you can in minority....election if Dur. helps us stay in the majority."

Again calls Dayton proposal "pie in the sky off the wall" proposals "not in the real world."

They talk re sanctity of contract legislation, FHA loans, political trends in (G.F. channel uses FHA on nightly news.)

"I'm not going out there and lead the charge saying farmers are going broke because that puts more pressure on them to pay up". Everyone will call in credit and farmers will be hurt. He wants to work for loan money, but not yell about how bad it is, because bankers will begin to "Make the farmer buy COD instead of buy in the spring and pay in the fall."

He says "we're moving in the right direction" in farm program. Have made progress.

"As a farmer myself I know things aren't good out on the farm; but we're moving in the right direction."

"My action on behalf of farm programs, etc...give me less of an outsider image than otherwise might have."

They keep asking him whether his helping Durenberger might backlash or might indicate he's in trouble.

"This is the first time in 20 years I haven't been running for reelection and I don't know how to behave myself."

"It's traditional in the Seante to spend time in other colleagues states and it's kind of fun."

The two TV stations that were there were from Grand Forks and Fargo. "Together they cover all of western Minnesota". They talk of covering "the valley" as one area.

All the way from the farm to Grand Forks, he fretted that the Durenberger press release had Mark saying that Dayton advocated 100% of parity when in fact he hadn't said that in the literature Mark had been given. So he was more vague in his language at the press conference, i.e., "full parity". And afterward he said "It was a good thing we didn't follow that Durenberger press release. We got in all the points didn't we." Then some talk about the money spent in campaigns--Bentsen, Helms, Heinz, Dayton.

"They can't fault me for going over the border when Bob Bergland and I campaigned for each other all the time for two years. It used to drive the Democrats in North Dakota crazy. It gave them fits. And the Republicans

in Minnesota weren't wild over it, too. It got so that one year Howard Binford's pre-election guide had the two of us on the cover--'two congressmen who look out for the valley.'"

He commented on the article that Gene Knorr (Repub. Sen. candidate) was taking his billboards down. "That's dumb. You should have all your billboards in place in October for maximum effect. "We met Gene, later, at the football game. Jim told him he shouldn't have taken them down. Knorr said "You want to know the real reason--money."

"Here's a story to show you just how rotten those Washington lobbyists can be. Gene Knorr used to work for Charles Walker. They were associates. The person putting the bite on all the other lobbyists to raise money for Knorr in Washington was Charles Walker. Quent Burdick--and I would have done the same thing--went to Russell Long and asked him to call Walker and see if he would stop it. Long told Burdick that he knew he wouldn't have any effect, but that he would do it. So he called Walker and said 'What's this I hear about you raising money to beat my friend Quent Burdick. And Walker said "Oh Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, if you don't want me to I won't.' And he stopped. What a lily livered son of a bitch! Long told me about it himself. He was surprised, and he said 'What a caviling son of a bitch to treat a friend like that.' Here you have a situation where the incumbent Senator is under 50% in the polls and your friend needs help, he's taking down his billboards, and you won't raise money for him. What kind of a person is that?"

After the press conference, we went to Ramada Inn where North Dakota State Nurses Ass'n is meeting. Mark had a room and went to lie down for a while. His staff went with him and I stayed away for about 3/4 an hour and then went in later and watched TV. Before I go there he was upset

about not having the next night's speech ready--on education. He had too much info on business speech and nothing on education. At dinner the staff was upset. They are green--esp. Mike and Becky. They will spend tomorrow writing it..

Panel with Burdick, Dorgan, MA and 2 state legislators. They answer in order of seniority.

First question is how can we make influence felt. Burdick talks about numbers and organization. MA talks about need for information.

"People in Washington are looking for answers." We are not experts, you are. I appreciate your support and I hope I justify it. And you have my attention; I need information, etc.

"I serve on the Budget Committee. It was my amendment in Budget Committee that added 500,000 for nurses education. Thurmond wanted it for veterans. I was just a freshman senator. Ted Kennedy stood with me. Two Republicans voted with me -- Baker and Stevens. We won based on facts. So we need to keep the information coming so we can continue to win these battles.

Dorgan keeps saying he agrees with 2 Senators, echoes Andrews on several things, talks of State's tradition that legislators are accessible. He says, "It's not true that in all states you can get to see your United States Senator. In North Dakota you can get to see your Senator any time. It's a tradition in North Dakota."

Later Dorgan says that he "echoes" MA in support of capitation grants, education etc. Moderator says that "all three of these gentlemen were tremendously helpful to us last year. They worked on a bipartisan basis." And I heard her say same thing in private later.

*Some info to ed prep - see that too*

*See later layman to p/1*

There is no disagreement among the three and Dugan is deferential. That's the way it has gone so far.

On home health care--MA talks about his wife and home health care and praises the physical therapist from North Dakota University.

"No one knows better than I that home health care works. Mary, of course, has a very debilitating problem, but there's a long shot chance of recovery." "I can't help but think, based on what's going on in my family-- the bottom line is does it work and we know it works because we've seen it work in the last six months."

Moderator also says that NCAP supports all three of em.

Mark asked about FTC regulation of medical profession, funding levels for several special programs in which nurses are interested.

Mark talks about his support for ERA and a legislative approach to equal rights. He got a hand for this support for equal pay for equal work. "Incidentally, I come by my position honestly. As a person who had a grandmother who was a doctor, a mother who was a school teacher, one daughter who is a lawyer and another in medical school, if I ever forgot what women can do, I'd be shot at home."

Dorgan - "We can't find any hard areas of controversy among the delegation." --on catastrophic health insurance, is where he said this. And they all agreed on everything, pro home health care, pro nurses training and education, pro catastrophic health insurance, pro FTC regulatory medical profession, pro equal pay for comparable work. He's happy to fold himself into the Burdick-Andrews mantle.

Dorgan was served up one question on the economy and he made a tough times, wrong policy, great country speech that brought biggest applause

of the session.

Mark's first comment in the car was "What a tame bunch we were. I wanted to pop Dugan after what he said about Reagan ruining the economy. We had 21% interest rates when he took over. But I decided that was not the place to do it." Next day he described session: "They served us up a lot of soft balls."

His overall comment was "I'm better off having gone than I would have been if I hadn't gone."

Then "I was <sup>the</sup> only Republican~~s~~ (out of five) why weren't there any other Republicans on the panel? That's the trouble with the Republicans. They don't get out and work with the nurses--or a lot of these other groups either."

I said it was extraordinary that the whole delegation was on the platform, that I'd never seen it anywhere else in the country and that the nurses probably took this real treat for granted. He said it was not so usual for them to be on the same platform during a campaign, but that in the non-campaign season they are on the same platform very frequently.

After the speech, Mike talked about "three generations of North Dakota politicians" "being on platform together and agreeing on everything. Called the state homogeneous; but said they differed on enough other things to make things interesting.

I thought there were three different styles in answering the questions. Burdick was very halting, very brief, very blunt. "I believe in this idea or program and I will support it," was the essence of what he said--no elaboration, no depth, no interesting remarks--just meat and potatoes. Mark would elaborate and say what he did in Congress--on Budget committee (nurses education) on Appropriations Committee ( ) on the floor (education), in cosponsoring (Rudman amendment) in House

(catastrophic health) on equal rights (cosponsor with Gorton), etc. He took the question right into the legislative process and what he did concretely in that process to show his support. He likes the process and relates to it. Even when he criticizes it, as he did all the next day, he likes it, worries about it and is a "process" man. (Burdick once said, during Andrews comments, that he, too, sponsored the Rudman-FTC amendment. And Andrews said "We'll call it the Rudman-Burdick-Andrews amendment--he's my senior colleague." When Dugan spoke he said "Rudman-Burdick-Andrews--doesn't that sound like the name of a law firm from *Hankinson* ?" (laughter.) Mark was only one to mention his family in answering, too. Dorgan was the most philosophical-sociological of the three. He had some facts and figures, and said several times "the structure of the medical system is slow to change." He's articulate and smooth. His answers were not precise, but they indicated that he knew what he was talking about. But there was none of the "this is what I've done" emphasis of Marks.

*This is Andrews hellmouth*

The first thing Mark showed me when we walked into the *farm* was Marty Tolchin's article saying that he saved REA. "The newspapers don't think much of us freshmen, you know. Look at this." Said they would send it to the head of the N.D. coops to prove to them that he did something. The staff talked about getting it to Bill Wright. In the car, Mark came back to it. And he spoke to me. "What did you think of that NY Times article--only a freshman... I got a letter from a North Dakotan who is living in N.Y. He said he was glad to see North Dakota had elected a Senator who was competent--and don't forget the ~~J~~ews." He was pleased and the staff was pleased. He called Marty "some New York Times reporter." Doesn't know Marty at all. Marty entertains Pete Domenici though.

Mark was also pleased that he had run into Ken Bode of NBC on plane last week. Bode got interested in Mark's idea that defense items should

have warranty attached to them like every other consumer good. Wants to do a story about it in November, on the farm, with one of his Steiger combines.

Two interesting conversations between MA and Mike on the way home. One involved Mike's enrollment in computer course in DC so that he can store all press releases, send press releases back to ND via computer and send newsletters directly to the printer via computer etc. Mike stressed that when he learned he'd be in forefront of practitioners on the Hill. MA said "You'll be able to run rings around ~~Dorgan~~<sup>gets</sup>. ~~He gets~~ one newsletter out every month and lots of press releases. His press secretary worked for the Forum and was the person who screened press releases. So he knows how to do it. Mark, obviously sees Dorgan as his rival (Jim's confirmed this. Said MA worked hard for Smykowski in 1980 to keep Dorgan's margin down. Also, says Jim, MA hopes Burdick's margin in '82 will be smaller than Mark's record margin in 1980. But he's not working hard for Knorr. gave him \$500. But sees him as a sure loser.) and has been spurred by Dorgan's press accomplishments to put more effort into PR. They talk about how Ed knew all the editors of the dailys in ND and how Mike has to tell them all about Ed when he talks to them. But Ed was a green eye shade man and Mike is a TV man (so was Jim a TV announcer). And that change is a key one for Mark. But Dorgan had a lot to do with triggering it.

Interestingly, Mark asked Mike how Ed liked his new job and said a couple of things. "He's happy, is he?" I would have thought Mark would have kept up with Ed; but I guess he hasn't. Ed works at Dept. of Transportation. Mike has called him only once. The picture of Ed as obsolete was fairly clear. Same upgrading from Schmitt to Austin.

Mike and Mark also talked about the new brochure Mark wants to put out-- to replace the one I have, the one he keeps in the rack in the office and the one he gives out. They want a new picture. Mike said of old brochure. "It has all the basic information" Mark said, "It's too much slanted toward agriculture. It doesn't play up that I'm a member of the Budget Committee..." Clearly he's working on his image. The idea of "parochial" stung him a little and he wants to be more national. That's what I think I see.

He said he'd had fun on a call-in talk show because just before he went on, the 10.1 unemployment rate was announced. I don't know why this was such a big deal (they mentioned it a couple of times--maybe it's just not so usual for him). I asked him about ND unemployment. "Unemployment doesn't change much here. You need a certain number of people to work the farms and that doesn't change much." It was a totally farming-based view of the economy. He just doesn't see any non-farm jobs. I think ND unemployment is only 5%.

I asked him if he would miss Adam Benjamin and he said yes--that he was an excellent person to work with. "We would sit down and complete our business in twenty minutes. And we did it on the basis of the facts--without any b.s. I suppose there's a little b.s. in every politician. But it is enjoyable when you can deal with someone straight from the shoulder, without doing a minuet or waltzing around. When you sat down with Adam, everything was on the table. You knew exactly what he wanted and he knew exactly what you wanted. If you've been around here any length of time you know just where you are going to come out anyway. Of course, some people still don't know just where they are going." MA's picture of good legislator.

Said Bill Lehman took over and "bent over backwards to be accommodating." Said he let Larry Coughlin have more of a say than Benjamin did. "Larry Coughlin was fussing about something and we had to run over him." A MA legislative comment. This involved "conferencing out" the continuing resolution.

He talked about the controversial items in Transp. App. Bill changing truck size limits and cancelling debt on St. Lawrence Seaway.

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Talked a lot about how he got the time and how they had a good debate on the truck limits last day of session. Enjoyed regaling me on intricacies. "We lost 45-47. But we found out who our friends are and who our enemies are. And for once we had a really good debate. My provision is still tucked safely away in the Transportation Approp. Bill."

"The committee of jurisdiction got ticked off because we did it on our bill, but they've been sitting on it for years without doing anything. People didn't send me down there just to sit there and suck my thumb and say how terrible things are--or to put my head in the sand and do nothing about it."

Talked how present width of 96" is old. Busses now 102". And 102" will give you inside width of 96", which accommodates two standard palates. That will use interior space efficiently and will save 4B a year. He's going to Portland, Ore. next week to talk to Boise Cascade. "They have an interest in my truck width amendment--the lumber industry."

Parl. moves were tricky. He got <sup>?</sup>200 billion plus taken out of transp. approp. and put in continuing resolution--for Percy. "We slopped over 200B into the Continuing Res. for Percy." But that makes the continuing res. figure for tranp. higher than the regular transportation bill will be.

So he thinks RR will sign the regular approp. bill if it passes.

Talked animatedly how he got 30 minutes out of Baker for the truck width bill. Eagleton and Schmitt got 20 more and had good 50 minute debate.

GNDA conference - (MC talks about some NW magazine article) and kids <sup>or CNW?</sup>  
MA re value of <sup>his land</sup> ~~land~~. Talk about farm <sup>background</sup> ~~backing~~ and "our friend Mark Andrews."

Mark talks about rain and sugar beets and rain in Mapleton. Talks about ~~MC~~ who married person from Mark's area. (like Pryor here with MC)

Starts with Farmer's <sup>Home</sup> ~~House~~ - says wisdom is that they aren't interested any more - but more money for operating loans is available than ever. "If that's not getting through to the local level, for gosh sakes let us know <sup>so</sup> we can find the bureaucrats who aren't letting it come through."

Talks about Pat Leahy and his hearings on rural development. "We intend to hold hearings here in ND next year...on rural dev. policy." He wants to find out how these programs are working at grass roots. Again, FHA funds are mentioned. And he goes through money to ND from various programs. ND got 40% of alcohol producing money from FHA.

Talks, again, about how he's never voted for bill that was enough; and also that if you poor mouth farm problems, farmer will get put on <sup>COD</sup> ~~CD~~ basis. Scare talk hurts. "I think we should be upbeat about N.D...a fantastic state." We saw a promotional slide show beforehand.)

Foreclosures on mortgages--problem is current one; not as bad as people say.

He defends FHA administrator as a family farmer, son of non partisan leaguer, and his appointee.

Talks about moratorium on FHA loans, it isn't enough. "Take a close look at some of the talk that's going on."

Talks about housing funds. "Someone somewhere ought to take a look at FHA operations and say, hey...they are the same people who have always been helping us."

"What's happening ~~is~~ that idiotic town of Washington?" he asks rhetorically. Starts by talking about "uncontrollables." 545B in this budget. Says Budget Committee was honest re 40B deficit in soc. sec... Defense is not what's giving us our trouble, he says. Lower % now than with JFK. "Just as sure as farmers will plant a wheat crop in ND, the politicians in Washington will have to hold hearings next year on social security."

Starts a strong statement and ends weakly here.

Government takes 52% of credit being offered. Was 16-18% in 1960s.

He kept ticking off figures and then moved to Congress.

"We have to take a look at Congress." "Functional slow down" - better than it was - "rinky dink ideas that have made it worse." (to Redlin--he nods. Afterward they chuckled at how Redlin agreed with him) - authorizing committees look down road approp. committees failed - then you get annual authorization - started by Wayne H <sup>ays</sup> then we invented a budget com. "We need a Budget Committee like we need another hole in the head." Best thing we could do is clean house - auth. com. could look down the road.

Instead of budget com. have rules saying cont. increase Appr. bill unless they specify cuts."

"Auth. Committee can't do it till Budget Com. does it. Appr. Comm. can't do it till auth. committee does it. Nobody did it so nobody does it." (laughter)

Increase truck width - we mandated 96" 20 years ago, now highways are wider, 102" inch would give you 96" inside width - save 1 billion.

Size of plates - some man who makes <sup>handles</sup> in ND says would help him.

"I only needed one more vote so I <sup>came</sup> <sup>on</sup> ~~can~~ close that one."

Warranty idea - factor has Allison transmission warranty but not on missile - Pan Am gets guarantee - but F18 no guarantee on engine.

His proposal - shan't buy any unless warranted Pentagon opposed.

"Things we can do" is what he's ticking off.

"Here in ND it's pretty darn good--and we're going to get out of it."

Ends with "can do" spirit.

When he said these same things at the ASPIRE meeting, he put much more feeling into his anti Stockman, anti military comments. Different tone to the two speeches, although the message was the same--upbeat--and the topics were the same. As he said later on way back from Mandan, he was warming up a particular speech and trying it on for size. But even after you get a speech under control, you can vary the music to appeal to the audience involved.

Banquet speaker of Associaton of Special Programs and Region Eight (ASPIRE).

Again, need for information.

Tour of Beulah with 8 corporate Presidents and never saw people with better spirit and work ethic. You are doing this kind of work--working with people.

"Congress at its best is Congress in the hearing process..." when people come in and tell us what they want.

He wants to make things happen. "You can't make things really happen without a hand in funding..."

He has direct hand in funding for ed. He added 500 million in Budget Committee - first fight I got into. All Dems. supp. it - plus 2 Repub. Thurmond wants to take the money and give to veterans. Anyone has to have an ego to survive in that zoo down there." "I was determined I was not going to get run over in my first Senate fight by Strom Thurmond." Only

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person helping was Kennedy. "Debate raged for a day and a half" and Baker and Stevens came around.

Budget wanted to halve "Trio" programs (these are these people's programs). PR got bad advice - Stockman. "Magic wand boys." "plastic kind of person who operates with mirrors has has - Alice in Wonderland complex."

Stockman and "block bead" anti REA - eliminate 2% program and save 175 million - program goes to rural areas. Figure actually was 4 billion!

Based on "Dave Stockman's fantasy" - story of steak dinner - interns working on it. "I've taken Dave Stockman's advice sparingly recently."

82.3 was Stockman's advice and cont. res. approp. 1502 million was passed. Says he'll support House figure of 159 and thinks it ought to be increased (applause).

Congress in last stages of cholestral filled arteries." Again he goes into annual auth. Wayne Hays and anti John Rooney - demands annual authorization and all others start in. "Nobody was minding the store" Defense not problem--JFK 42% of budget and RR budget is 28% on defense. Says MX is bad expense (applause). To build something when you don't know where you are going to put it when it's built does not make any sense. "Press got idea congress hould have a budget committee, so we have whole new set of *inexperts* (I'm one) overseeing the whole thing."

Goes into process. We haven't passed HHS approp. in 4 years. It's tragic."

Hart amend. on educ. and training 300M - defeated 51-49. "What a *lousy* long place to lose the battle--on a budget resolution where you can't hold the hearings and when you are frozen into place once they are in the budget." Afterward he said "I thought the Hart amendment was a good one to mention. When you vote against it and it loses by two votes, people will remember."

Wapetoon indian school story picked out by "Stockman's dart board" - hopes to keep it open.

Talks about "this hide bound set of shackles that is the congressional system."

Talks about going to Ft. Hood to drive tanks - wants to get away from 3 star generals - drives old tank and ML tank - funny story, and says no warranty. He, Rudman and Stevens go. He can't fit in tank and still hit the branke.

(Today he said the lunch was his first try on the warranty idea.)

Says there will be a warranty as a result of his amendment. "You know who's hollering? The Pentagon--all these 3 and 2 star generals... That amendment is in the bill and it's going to stay in the bill."

Goes into truckwidth again.

"These are innovative things we can try. So when they tell you they can't find the money to fund the programs to help our people, you tell them they haven't even begun to imagine how we can find the money. We'll find it... Things we need is input from you."

The speech was well received. Bill Wright called it "spectacular". I thought it showed compassion and realism all at once. Mark shows his support for what they are doing without being a bleeding heart. The people I sat with were politically naive. But they liked him. Whether they appreciated his realism--which makes his compassion all the more important for them--is a question. Some of his comments afterward "They're good people; but none of them were from North Dakota." "Mike wrote a good speech. He framed it in and I could take off on the ideas. There were eight cards and I took off from each one." "How many times do you suppose a Republican comes to talk to a bunch like that?" "Were there any reporters there?" (No) "With

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a little more practice I could sail right along with that speech. It takes me three or four times before I get it down the way I want it. Today was the first time I've tried out my truck width and warranty ideas on anyone." He was pleased with the speech qua speech, but not with political payoff. It had none. There was an honorarium--staff talked about this when we were in the casino having a drink and playing black jack--Marge, Bill, Jim and I. Their explanation of why we came all that way (203 miles out and 203 miles back between 3:00pm and 1:00am!) was the honorarium. It was a long day. And Mark felt rotten.

A couple of times in the afternoon, he called ND "a liberal state"--in connection with civil rights (except open housing) and other matters. At one point, he said "North Dakota is a liberal state. South Dakota is a conservative state. Nebraska is a conservative state." I think this was when we were discussing the Senate races and he noted that Nebraska had two Democratic senators--(But I'm not sure.)

Anyway, on the way home I asked him about the film on N.D. He said "It was over done. People weren't that simple." Said he and Mary had seen it in DC before her illness. I said it painted bleak winter. "Winter is pretty bleak here. It's pretty bleak where we are, and that's the least bleak part of the state."

I asked him about the NPL. He said that's just a memory now--that it broke up finally in the 1950s. A lot of em were really Democrats and went into Democratic party. Others went to Republican party. Said at one time primary was the battle and Republicans had no contest in the general election. Milt Young never had opposition till William Guy. Milt's big contest was appointment to the Senate in first place--chosen by State Republican Committee,

with some shenanigans. Teller trips and <sup>spills</sup> still votes, then palms a couple and replaces them and Young wins by 2 votes.

I asked him if N.D. were independent. "They are very independent. If Quent Burdick and I were on the same ballot, he would win by 2-1 and I would win by 2-1. People hop scotch all over the ballot here."

Then I asked him why he called ND a liberal state. "I've always thought of it as a liberal state. People are liberal on civil rights. They don't like the central government getting too big. But they like their agricultural programs. Oh about 20% of them are to the right of Ghengus Khan. The troglodytes dominate the Republican convention. But the people are different. They are in favor of openness in government disclosure, freedom of information, sunshine laws. There's a college in every corner of the state; and they are very insistent that everyone should have an opportunity. They support the kinds of programs we saw tonight. These attitudes make it very easy for someone like Byron Dorgan to come along and mouth all these nice sounding liberal idea. Pretty soon, thought he'll have to produce something. So I think he's a passing phase. But maybe not. Times are changing." The idea that you have to "produce" or "deliver" is part of Mark's view of the world. You can be liberal, as he feels he is; but you don't just talk liberal. You compile a record. He isn't big on PR and Dorgan has made him conscious of it. He still doesn't approve of Dorgan's style however.

Is it an easy state to represent? "If you're family it is; if you are aloof, it would be hard to do it. People here want you to be innovative; but not uppity. They want you to do a good job in Washington, but they want you to remember where you came from. They are suspicious of outsiders. They are suspicious of outside government, outside banks, and outside corporations. That's why we have a state bank. It's why farmers can't incorporate in North

Dakota. They expect the whole delegation to come to meetings, like the nurses meeting last night. The governor was the only one who didn't come, and I think he's making a big mistake. Any other governor would have been on the platform too. And tomorrow at homecoming, all the delegation~~s~~ will be there. It's just a tradition that we go to these things. I don't know whether Dorgan goes to these things or not. He should. So should the governor. Today with GNDA it was just like dropping around to see some old friends. I tried out my truck width and warranty ideas on them for the first time. I wanted to see how my ideas would play with my friends. If they didn't play well, I would drop them like a hot potatoe. But they played well. It's fun to visit with people. It's a style I like, one that I'm comfortable with... <sup>when</sup> If they accept you as family, it's easy. But like a family they could discipline you sternly if they became upset with you. I guess they would, though I've never felt it." (Dorgan did show up at homecoming.)

He asked me what I'd say. I said I thought his sense of identification with North Dakota and the sense that it was special was greater than for any other Senator. He said that said it as well as it could be said. And I went on a little to note that John Glenn wouldn't have that identification with Ohio, or even think of Ohio as family.

And he said "You have to feel it. You can't fake it. Quentin Burdick feels it, and that's why he's going to win." He didn't compare to Knorr. But Knorr is known to all as as "an outsider." Bill Wright called him that. So did Julie Austin after we met Knorr at the NDSU football game.

Then he reflected some more and said "Take the call in show last week. How many of my colleagues do you think could sit in front of an open line

for one hour and get nothing but courteous calls? One fellow didn't even live in Fargo. He was visiting from Grand Forks, said he just wanted to say hello and was going to tell everyone in Grand Forks that he talked with me." Then told story of how his wife had flat tire. Someone stops and takes her to station. No money. Michlen in Fargo says put tire on and send us the bill. Neighborly.

I asked him where Dorgan's strength was and he said "everywhere". "Everyone likes him. They think he has the best constituency operation in the delegation. We always thought ours was the best. I still think it is." Some doubt here, too, as in the PR area, that things may be changing.

We talked about REA. "On agricultural matter I get three chances-- on the Budget Committee, on the authorizing committee and on the Appropriations committee. I enjoy shepherding things through the process. On REA, it was my amendment that saved it in the Budget Committee, it was my amendment that saved it in the Ag. Committee, and it was my amendment that saved it in the Appropriations Committee. Of course, I didn't do it alone. Thad Cochran was very helpful. The REA is important to Mississippi. Jesse Helms was not helpful, however. Neither was Dole. In fact none of the top Republicans are strong supporters. You have to go down pretty far on our side to find REA support. But all the Democrats are strong supporters." The dispute he had with Stockman on numbers was over REA.

Mark works with Democrats a lot--on his Transp. Subcommittee, too. Check his truck width vote.

I asked him to compare Helms, Domenici and Hatfield as chairman. He took it to center on Helms, and he said "No comparison! Helms doesn't spend any time with the committee. He's off trying to kill commies under

every bed. He pays no attention unless the subject is tobacco or peanuts."

So I asked to compare PD and Hatfield. "Pete Domenici works harder than Mark Hatfield. Hatfield got into some fights with the Administration and made the mistake of getting pissed off. Domenici got into fights with the administration, but he was tenacious enough to make them realize they had to deal with him, and so they made deals with him."

*Ex. of 9/11  
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he got in  
with  
debt*

In the car coming home, he returned to a theme of both speeches today-- that the budget process is a mess and that Congress is not functioning well because of it. "The budget process is a mess. It slows everything down." "You have budget staff people trying to deal with everything, and they can't do it. You have expert staffs on the 13 appropriations subcommittees. They know their subject. But the Budget Committee staff gives everything a lick and a promise."

He said I'd written a good book and he went back to that system as a good one. He said that abolition of the teller vote started the floor amendment binge on appropriations and started the downfall of the system. He liked it when the committee cut and held its cuts. He also sees annual authorization (Wayne Hays should have stayed with his girlfriend instead of starting annual authorizations) as a beginning of the end. He says that authorizing committees have been dormant for 10 years as far as checking what's on the books. "We have an unfunded liability in the trillions."

He has unflattering picture of Republican party. They don't go to nurses meetings. Governor won't come to homecoming. They were leaving Kent Jones on a limb financially. Olson is raising a lot of money from Governor's Club--40,000--and is using it for his expenses and not to help candidates for legislature. They didn't come up nationally, with good Senate candidates. He tells story of Nelson Rockefeller. "Nelson Rockefeller

said it best. Someone asked him why he ~~never~~<sup>now</sup> became President. And he asked them 'Did you ever see a Republican Convention? Did you ever see a Republican Headquarters? The party has a self destructive impulse." I think he sees it as too conservative and too exclusive.

He thought Knorr was not a good candidate. "Burdick was vulnerable. In the polls Anderson does for me, he always asks how I would run against an unknown opponent. I win two to one against nobody. Burdick gets less than 50% against nobody. But they didn't find a good candidate to run against him."

When we got to Mandan for his speech to ASPIRE, Marge and Bill were waiting on his courtesy room. Mark showed Bill the NY Times article. "I thought you'd like this. You couldn't have written that better yourself. It's from an unbiased source, the New York Times. I thought you'd know how to use this with your friends. I'm the only freshman they mention. Do you think you can use it--it's the New York Times." That came up often in the two days.

*a real plugger*  
Mark's testimony to what experience will do for you. He accomplishes a lot by himself. He doesn't have the greatest staff and has had lots of turnover on the staff.

He went back to the Lehr rally after I had gone in 1980. He remembered the Lehr meeting I went with as run by Pete Naaden (the State Sen.) who is now a NCPAC honcho in N.D. He recalled against how J. O. Riley introduced candidates and said "You've got to vote for Bob Wefald. His opponent has been down south agitating all those niggers." "The opera singer and I were the only two people in the whole place who were embarrassed."

"I asked him how people got reputations in the Senate. "I don't know. They'll either listen to you or they won't listen to you. That happens, but I don't know how. I think it happens in the first year or two,

and your reputation doesn't change much after that. They don't like show offs. I've been pretty lucky so far. On the truck width vote, we were losing two to one. I started going around and saying "I'd appreciate it" and in the end we only lost by one vote."

"It's more fun in the Senate. Where you have an amendment to offer, people will tip toe all around so that you can offer it. In the House, if they read each section and you don't get your amendment in before they finish with that section, it's tough shit. I remember once when Sil Conte was getting ready to amend something in the Ag. bill. Jamie Whitten and I were worried that the amendment would pass. I told Jamie that when the section came up I'd go over and talk to him about ducks. When the time came I went over to Sil and started talking to him about duck hunting or something and then I suggested we leave the chamber and have a cup of coffee. When we got back the clerk was just finishing reading the section he wanted to amend. He was mad as hell. Then he started to laugh because he knew he'd been had. And I laughed because I knew he'd been had. It was not a major amendment. It was just something he was doing because he had a crazy idea." The implication is that what MA was within the rules of the game and both recognized it as such.

*He says this  
nearly and  
purs.*

He talked about his subcommittee and ticked off the Republicans and Democrats--how inexperienced the Repubs. are and how experienced the Dems are. "I get more votes from the Democrats than I do from the Republicans. It's five to four. And most of the time I get four Democrats and one Republican beside myself. That will change. The Republicans are shaping up. The one who shaped up the quickest was Al D'Amato. Now it's 'Yes, Mr. Chairman. Yes, Mr. Chairman.' And when he wants to impress people on mass

transit, we give him a hearing to conduct so he can impress them. But the others--they all served in the House--and they are not all that impressed with my <sup>eminence</sup> ~~enemies~~. It's a funny way to run a committee." *but it's the bipartisanship of AAC is sticky with him*

I asked him how he came to be so pro-Coast Guard. "Just the facts and the arguments and the responsibility you accept when you become a subcommittee chairman. No one can accuse me of bias there, because I don't have on Coast Guard installation in the state. But it sure helps when you want a small business. <sup>loan</sup> ~~I ran~~ for the Fort Totten Indian Reservation and the chairman of the subcommittee handling those loans just happens to come from a sea coast state and just happens to be interested in the Coast Guard and just happens to have the Coast Guard Academy in his state, and the Coast Guard Band. And it sure helps to get the attention of people like Lawton Chiles, Fritz Hollings, and Bennett Johnston."

*not a sincere vote*  
*strategy*  
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*expecting*  
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I asked him about his balanced budget vote. "I did it to protect Gene Knorr. When Burdick voted for it, I had to vote for it. There would not have been enough days in the week for me to explain to the Republicans why I voted against it when Burdick voted for it. It was the one issue the Republicans had a chance to develop against Burdick. They were jumping up and down asking me to vote for it. If Burdick had voted against it I would have voted against it. I thought it was phony. I didn't think it would pass, so I felt safe. I got nervous when the discharge petition came out in the House. But Tip O'Neill pulled it out when he moved to get action before the other side could get its troops lined up."

"North Dakota is a liberal state. I have voted for every civil rights bill on the books. Only my vote on open housing really pissed them off. I don't know why. It took me two months of going around the state to turn that one around. You have an obligation to vote right on something as fundamental as that and then go home and explain."

After the GNDA lunch, Mark went to a meeting on strategy for the Repub. State Legis. candidates, with the top group running the state wide campaign. They were running 3 pretty tough radio ads. There had been some objection and the Flint Ad chief had prepared four milder ones. Mark kept interjecting. "The first three are just great. I don't know why you want to tone them down. Hit 'em hard." Afterwards he said "Our legislative candidates are in trouble, and we've got to be hard nosed as hell."

He complimented Earl Swinden, House majority leader, and sort of the leader in the meeting as being "hard nosed," and he wishes he had run for Congress. He thought about it. In evaluating senators he displays same penchant for hard nosed and tough people. I asked re Specter "He's got some moxie. He's one of the saveables." Denton - "a nice man but a babe in the woods." Said Tribble needed "more balls" and wished Wampler or someone had been chosen. And he called someone else "a wimp."

I asked him if he still felt it was more fun in ND than DC. It was a bad question because he felt so rotten he kept saying he wasn't having all that much fun. But he generalized a little. "It's fun. I like it. I like going around and visiting with people. I wish I could do more of it."

I asked if people treated him differently as Senator. "There has been a maturing of our relationship over twenty years, but otherwise they don't treat me differently. Lobbyists treat me differently, but not the people back home."

When we passed John Gladish' huge malt mill, he told story of how different breweries would come to look at at the barley fields that sold to Gladish and then come to the mill. Mark was head of Coop. Extension then, and they would visit one barley field and drink three beers, then visit another

one and drink three beers. All the brewery representatives brought their beer. Talks about having August Busch to the farm and Nelson Rockefeller. (He supported R *ak* ).

One of the interesting things about the trip was my chance to see "Andrews' Farm." His life, when he's home revolves around the farm almost as much as politics. The record rain of the last two weeks 6-7 inches has turned everything into mud and they can't dig their sugar beets. That was a constant note of concern. (At end of GNDA speech, he said "They talk about sunny NODAK. As a beet farmer, I can tell you, we need that sun.") His farm is 3600 acres, you can see it from highway 20, up Cass County Road #15. Or you can get to it by turning straight off Highway 94. (That's the main cross state road). It's a dirt road all the way anyhow. Jim says it's worth about \$1600 an acre. He grows wheat, corn, barley, flax, sugar beets and other things. There must be at least 15 buildings on the farm. Six families live there and do the work. His son Mark, Jr. (Felxi they call him runs the farm.) And he's a source of constant concern to his father. He goes to Dickinson when the auger needs to be fixed. He's not around when the night shift wants to dig beets for the first time, etc. It's a big farm for "the valley" says Jim. We went over to the dryer one day where someone was fixing it. And then we went to "the shop," a large garage where they do all kinds of equipment repair. Jim pointed to the trucks, combines and other equipment lined up in the mud filled yard and said there was about 1 million worth of equipment there--standing idle at that point. If you stand in Mark's front yard and look south you can see the wheels of the trucks driving on the cross road three miles away! That's how flat it is. He's got some trees in the back of the farm house, but everywhere else, you can see to the horizon. The farm house is a white, ranch style house, to

which has been added an indoor swimming pool for Mrs. Andrews' therapy. He's clearly a farmer--a godd sized one. As you come down the road, you see a gray grain elevator with "Andrews Farm" painted in black letters on it--not fancy. But you know to whom this little settlement belongs. The talk in the house and in his car phone is all about sections, quarter sections, headlands, etc.