

2/1/90

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--Morris called to say he did not have any of the polls he had done for Andrews. He polled for him in '79-'80 and then till 1983.

--He said he remembered a lot about them and would like to say a few things if I had the time. He said he had called "Mary" who said it had been a pleasure to work with me and so he said he guessed he could talk to me - Mrs. Andrews? He says if anyone has the polls now, it would be Mark.

--"When he was in Congress his constituents had the greatest intimacy with him. It was more than name recognition. It was a real intimacy. They could tell you lots about him. When we asked them what he had accomplished, their responses recalled specifics--he got a social security check for Aunt Sarah, that sort of thing. But year by year you could see that intimacy flake away. In fact, when we asked them whether they thought he was a better Senator or Congressman, by 3-1 they said he had been a better Congressman."

--"There was no change in what he did. But I think people got used to seeing him campaign every other year. When he didn't do it, they saw it as getting out of touch. We can't discount the effect of having five weeks of paid TV every two years and even more weeks of paid radio. It meant that physically, the congressman was always there; and his absence was noticeable. We urged him to do video reports regularly each year, but he thought it would be interpreted as too political. In my opinion, that's why senators are defeated and congressmen are not. It even led me to develop a theory of agoraphobia: that people have a fear of strange environments. Congressmen assuage it and senators don't. They aren't around enough."

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--At one point early on, he said in passing that he thought MA had a better staff when he was a Senator than he had as a congressman. But after he talked about agoraphobia, he got into staff a little. "With regard to his staff work, after the departure of Bill Wright, he was never replaced. He was a North Dakotan. He had a very good feeling for North Dakota. Those that came after him did not and that hurt."

--"There was a negative reaction to the lawsuit. We found that in our polling. To those of us who knew him, what happened to Mary was the result of negligence and he had suffered a terrible blow and he deserved all the sympathy in the world in taking on the medical establishment. But the average person saw him as more powerful than the doctors. They saw him as picking on the doctors. I always thought he should have been much more straightforward and detailed in his advertisements about the terrible thing that had happened to Mary. But he didn't want to do it."

--"Another thing was the complacency that developed when Byron Dorgan decided not to run. Every year we tracked Dorgan in our polls; and he was certain that Dorgan would be his opponent. So when Kent Conrad became the opponent, everyone heaved a sigh of relief and assumed it would be easy."

--"There was another factor, too, in the Senate race. He just got tired of running. After 26 years, he thought he should have been appreciated. He felt that he had sacrificed so much and done so much that he ought not to have to run hard anymore. I remember one day in New York when I was briefing him he said something to the effect that if people don't know me by now and appreciate all that I've done, what the hell am I doing on this job anyway."

--He summed up:

(1) "There was that tremendous depth of intimacy that he had. I had never seen anything like it. In 1980, there were any number of candidates who began their races with a 70% margin in the polls, but Mark Andrews was the only one of them who kept it to the end. He had had such a long term intimacy with the people and it raised expectations so high that they almost had to be disappointed."

(2) "The absence of paid media during the five years did it. One thing we know is that we can make people change their opinions of someone if you dump media on them. Whatever they thought about him could have been changed with media. And don't forget, North Dakota is not a typical race. If you spend \$100,000 in North Dakota, it's the equivalent of \$2 million in New York. If you spend \$400,000 in North Dakota, it's worth ten billion in New York or 20 billion in California. So you don't need a lot of money to make a big change."