

MARK ANDREWS

November 1-2, 1985

Bruce Post, Jay Lindgren.

I got in in early PM, called Andrews office, went down and looked at news clips. Met Scott Hove there. They closed at 5:00 - so I got 1 1/2 hrs. in. Scott ran for State Treasurer and lost.

News Clips - 1984 January - June

Lots of grant announcements.

Andrews home awaiting jury verdict when MX vote is tied 48-48 and Bush breaks tie. Grand Forks Herald Editorial calls his absence "understandable" but "unfortunate". 6/16/84

He announces Burl. Northern lines won't be abandoned and that gets noted. "Andrews says 5 BN lines won't be closed after all". 9FH 6/16/84

Minot Daily News "2 Area BN Branches won't be Abandoned." Announcement by MA. "This reversal by BN is certainly good news, but I'll continue to closely monitor any future plans for abandonment." 6/16/84 from his position on Transportation Subcommittee.

Devils Lake Journal 6/15/84 "Maddock to Esmond branchline is Rescued."

Pt. is that this is something he does from subcommittee. The 5 lines totalled 56 miles!!

Andrews, at home, says he enjoys "neighboring and talking about how the crops are, the interest rates and the weather." Larimer Pioneer 1/4/84

That's it! Nice.

MA on farm problems - urges coalition "We need to do business with our rice growing friends and our peanut growing friends and a host of other farmers". At NDSU Conference Forum 1/5/84.

1/11/84 Sorum named Legislative Director in DC and Grace Moorman is personal secretary..

When the ND delegation splits on issues (MX, reaction to RR State of Union speech -) papers notice.

MA reaction to budget D. Lake Journal - 2/1/84. "I'm extremely pleased that the Administration is still sold on the Garr^{sa} ^{Diversin} project. We've told our story well to the President and his current budget request reflects his firm support."

Re REA - being cut. "They went after rural electrification before," said Andrews, "and Dave Stockman had his figures all wrong. We put the money back in there and it looks like we might have to reeducate them again ^{" also in} ~~several~~ other papers.

In fact the papers describe delegation as "Congressmen" in headline in GF Herald 2/6/84. "ND Congressmen score low on moral issues scorecard."

Sometimes called "ND delegation".

GFH - big story on warranty - 2/7/84. "Andrews Wins ~~battle~~ ^{not war} ~~but was~~ on arms warranty." Gets Weinberger to agree that he doesn't want to repeat it. "We are playing major league ball here, because the defense contractors don't want their cozy relationships with the military to end." Tells how MA got interested - M-1 tank same transmission as his tractor, but tractor transmission has 3 year warranty.

Minot Daily News - 2/8/84 "Andrews Prepares for Challenge to Warranty Law".

FF 2/12/84. "Andrews Vows to Fight Arms Warranty Effort." "The Pentagon and its contractors have had an incestuous relationship for 35 years and they want to continue business as usual. It will be a tough fight to stop them." "If I can get a performance guarantee on my tractor, why can't the Pentagon

get a guarantee on its tank engines?" FF Editorial 2/15/84. "Senator MA has his big farmers' mitts on the military - industrial folks and he won't let go." "Andrews uses his ND farmer logic well when he talks about product warranties or guarantees... It just makes good sense... Maybe it takes North Dakotans to put the Defense Department on the defensive. Someone's got to do it." Ed. titled "N.D. logic in the Pentagon." (I think paper is just "The Forum".

NYT 2/17/84 article re^lwarranties. A Pentagon spokesman says they want it repealed - to which MA says "they will know they've been in a fight." "If they want to repeal it, there will be, I promise, a roll call vote. And I don't think the people in this country want this kind of thing repealed."

Minot DN - 2/18/84. Dick Dobson. "Andrews Draws Notice". He notes that of 11 ND Senators only 1 was a national Senator [^]~~Myer~~, and 2 came close--Langer, McCumber. They were OK he says. "They just didn't get much publicity on the national level." "But now it appears that a ND Senator, MA, is edging into the national limelight. He is showing up frequently on national television and in such publications as the NYT, the WP and the New Yorker."

"Much of his work is national in scope." "It is probably too early to call Mark Andrews just ^{WJ}*Mark Andrew^s on network television. But he is receiving quite a bit of notice beyond the borders of ND." Low expectations!

Calls M. Young "regional senator" who seldom attracted the notice of the national media". Impressed when Hollings spoke of "Mark Andrews--just Mark Andrews, no further designation needed" in interview with Peter Jennings on ABC News.

Article printed in Jamestown Sun under headline "Andrews, Sen. Mark, wins National Attention."

Another similar article in Minot DN by Carl Flagstad. "Editorials Back Andrews' Warranty Law." 2/24/84.

"It is doubtful any ND Senator, at least in recent memory, has received the exposure currently being given to MA in what is considered the most prestigious press in the nation"- NYT, WP, Wash. Times - all on warranty provision.

Note - in 1962 Harold Schafer led MA at Republican Convention nominating governor, for 4 ballots - MA led on 5th, Schafer pulled ~~it~~^{out} on 6th.

Quite a bit here on ^{the}what program - sign up extension - MA plan defeated in Senate - bill passed, commentary.

GF Herald applauds MA on Warranties. "Andrews Fights the Pentagon." "Senator MA of ND is getting one heck of a fight on his bill to force the military to get warranties for its weapons. The Pentagon bureaucrats are wriggling and squirming to get out of it... The bill is simplicity itself and Andrews got it passed into law last year... Makes sense to us... It's time civilian common sense was applied to military procurement."

They note that he sounds like Gerald Nye and his attacks on military - industrial complex getting us into WW I.

Pentagon guidelines emasculate warranty provision. Wall Street Journal - MA "We've been around this place for a long time...and know that bureaucrats can, if they wish, defeat a law by regulating it to death." 3/16/84

Farmers drive tractors to Jamestown protesting farm program in March. MA votes for farm bill - not happy.

Prayer - he backs silent prayer - not spoken prayer.

Budget - Exon, Hollings, Andrews plan.

Washburn leader 3/28/84 - "Andrews' Role in Senate Expanding Greatly" ~~Derek~~ Leabery - in couple of other places, too. "Andrews has become one of the leaders on the Defense Reform Movement...(and) Andrews' motives seem to most Washington insiders to be genuine prairie populism." Warranty.

GFH 3/31/84. "Populist Seen From the Potomac" - Mike Jacobs - takes off

from CQ headline re warranties.

"In the Senate, Andrews has attracted a lot of attention. Perhaps some of it is due to his imposing physique, some to his plain talk... Another reason is Andrews' independent streak."

But he says if populist means independent or maverick, he is one. "But the attention he has drawn comes because he challenges the President on certain fairly narrowly defined issues." So if you mean reform whole economic system, he's not a populist. "I suspect the media label him a populist because he's a westerner." MA office staff say Jacobs is biased vs. MA.

Lots of farm bill program reports and commentary in here - March - April.

A letter to the editor explaining farm bill appears everywhere in 15-20 papers.

Minot DN - 5/31/84 - AF Budget did not include 27.5 million for hospital at Minot AF Base. Strom Thurmond moves to put it in AS bill. "Although there was no 'tradeoff' as such, Andrews' office noted that Thurmond is a strong supporter of rural election cooperatives and Andrews is recognized as the leading spokesman for the REA Administration in Congress. Thurmond has invited Andrews to come to SC and speak before the co-ops there." (I xeroxed ^{this} ~~here~~.)

MA - REA man of year in '83.

I got through the January-June ¹⁹⁸⁴ folder, when I had to leave. There's a small chance I can get back Sunday. It gives me an idea of what plays back home. Also, it looked like he was off to a good start in '84. - He was. Then he had a bad second half.

I talked a little to his new State Director Bruce Post. He had 11 years of experience on the Hill and wanted to get out of DC. Has been here since June. Wife is from Fargo. He worked for ^{John Anderson} Mallary, Jeffords, Stafford and now

Andrews. Got job through Hausheer, ~~and John Anderson.~~

He talks about the poll that showed Dorgan 25 points ahead. "It shocked Andrews. And it shocked the staff. But when I, as a new person went through the newspaper clippings for 1984, I was not surprised that he was down. He went through a bad year--with his law suit and with the Garrison Division Project. There were just a whole series of bad headlines. The latest poll shows that he has narrowed the spread between him and Dorgan to 11 points. He was on TV when that happened and some people say he knew when the poll was going to be taken and put his TV ads on. I say "who cares". I think the poll had an effect on people. People will say that they would vote Dorgan and if you ask them whether it's because of the poll, they say yes."

The situation now is that they do not think Dorgan will run; he will announce next week. "He is not raising money" - the tipoff--Scott Hove says he is! And so did papers. But they said he was promising that money was only for House race. They think the Tax Commissioner Conrad will be Mark's opponent. All next day, Mark never mentioned Conrad. Bruce says that MA has been leading Conrad ~~by~~ 65-35 in both polls (done by ND). But his relationship to Dorgan got better; his relationship to Conrad stayed the same.

MA is weakest in the Fargo area. Probably because of the law suit. "And this is his home town." Doctors are dominant figures in the community and the hospital involved is "the flagship medical center in the state." "But the Andrews have their side of the story too, and it has to be told and listened to, too." (But I never saw evidence that it was.)

He thinks Mark was caught on the cusp of change between old style congress-
man and new style one--the PR, mobile van, district visits type of congressmen
^{presented}
~~respected~~ by Dorgan. MA is half in and half out of the new wave. I think what

he's saying is something I observed. MA is uncomfortable with, and not very adept at PR. He struggles to do it, but it just doesn't come naturally and easily to him.

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~~At~~ the Cooperstown lunch, he said that "Target price is the name of the game here. I got us a sweetheart deal on a target price for wheat; but feed grains -- uh, uh, I figured wheat was more important to ND than feed grains. (Everyone nodded.) I worked with Bob Dole. He's from Kansas, the only state that grows more wheat than N.D. I don't think the President will veto a bill with Bob Dole's name on it. I made such a racket on wheat that they must have figured if they got me they'd win."

Dorgan's target prices not as good. MA said this a lot. Dorgan votes vs. defense bill - only ND to do so in long time - that means he's against pay for National Guard, says Mark.

Community Forum - Lakota

Warranty - "whole new concept"

Saved ~~18~~ 8B dollars

"That idea, coming from ND has saved us an awful lot of money."

p. 23
 a bearing, ^{for} Michigan, John Deere" given to him ^{by farmer when he walked in} "nice when friends bring you your props." ^{it} cost \$6.00 - "when barley was selling for 2.00, probably cost a buck and a half."

It was Made in Japan - and he ^{gives} ~~gives~~ into Japanese trade advantage and to the deficit. "WE had to get foreigners to invest 84B into our economy."

"What we've done is increase our interest rate and kited the value of dollar." "I told a group in NYC about this. Our wheat is 35% priced out of market." "This panel I was on in NY" - Caterpillar Tractor ^{man said, my} "I go to office and [^] all I want to know is what is the yen against the dollar. Kormatsu is

killing us. We've had to lay off 18,000 workers."

Shutting down Beulah and importing 60B of dollars of energy. "Doesn't make sense."

"Good ideas do come from ND. Glenn pointed that out when he gave me this." ^{pointing to} (the bearings).

We're working on farm bill down there."

p. 25 Question: We forgive *loans*, subsidize Egypt. "Us guys are out there trying to do good job, but our hands are tied." Answer: Federal Credit

p. 25 Administration, *problem* is lack of income of farmers. Question: ^{anti foreign aid} "We can't take much more of this. Up here 35 bushels is a good crop." "Total Foreign Aid 13B - deficit is 184B. That won't wash." "But that is not the answer." "Hollings and I introduced across the board freeze." "That's the concept that we need." "My corn froze just the way your corn froze. That was the biggest mess I ever saw, 35% moisture in corn."

Tank cars are dirty and grain gets dirty.

p. 26 "Corquill brought that stuff? Well *Corquill* can afford it." (first laughter) He says he is going to hold hearings on grain quality - as Chairman of Subcommittee on *Overnight* of Agriculture. "These are things that have to be straightened out." ^{need,} "Simple law with criminal penalties that puts people in the slammer." Can't add anything to grain after it leaves farm...can't have people "salting the load."

He asks them re freeze on social security if everything else was frozen? "I'd go along with it." "I would too." Raise hand if you object. None I guess.

Man says we ought to export processed cereal, so we can add value. But they want to do own processing, says Mark. Man says we buy all this stuff from them and doesn't see why they don't buy from us.

"One dollar in price support for wheat would not raise price of loaf of bread. I think the wrapper on the bread cost more than the price of the wheat. There is 3 1/2 cents worth of wheat in a 65¢ loaf. We're on the short end of that."

Question - "We've had farm programs 50 years. I was 24^{old} years when they started. So I've been there. I've been a farmer all my life. Farmers in worse condition now than when we started. So how is new farm program going to help?... I think the farm program is the problem. For 50 years the big farmers ~~has~~ ^{and} driven the small farmers off the land, ~~and~~ driven up the price of land, machinery and gasoline. If a farmer didn't have debt he couldn't make money anyway. All that has happened under the farm program."

MA says he agrees and starts talking about his amendments.

Question - "When you were farming things were going good." "I'm still farming....Things are a lot worse than it was in the 50s and 60s."

Question - "Is it necessary to feed the Russians grain--to feed our enemy"?

Answer - "Who do we punish? The Communists will get enough to eat... You play into the hands ~~into~~ ^{of} the tough ones in the Kremlin." Wants to see our agriculture production as opportunity. Ought to sell grain to them to prove that our system works and theirs doesn't. Without the embargo, we would have sold 81 million tons. That would have helped the price of wheat at home.

Lots of talk re farm problem and they seem to set ~~themselves~~ themselves off against bigger or richer farmers in Valley.

"Our farmers can compete with any farmers in the world, but we can't compete with other governments." Import fees are too high. "Wheat sells for less in US than anyplace else in the world."

Question - "Are we only country in world that doesn't have a beginning program for young farmers?" "Yes."

Question - Is credit system "slipping into socialism?" If government owns land?

MA asks if some farmers should be forgiven their debt.

Answer - We should repay. "Us young guys are having a hell of a time if we don't get a price for a product." We need income and marketing and we'll pay is the idea.

Question - "Will it go corporate agriculture?" Answer - "Nobody can farm better than a farm family. That's something we stumbled on in the United States and it works." Corporate or collective farm won't work. "A Chinese farm the size of his has 72,000 workers."

"We've got to take out of the farm program the hobby farmers, the bankers, the lawyers who are making 40-60,000 in town."

MA - "I like to think people in ND, Republicans and Democrats, elect me because I am a farmer and I understand farm problems."

Question - "But you aren't using farming as a tax write-off." Answer - "I sure am not--whew."

"The people going out are farm families in their 40s. If they go, we're in deep trouble. Got to ^{have} extension of credit and better price support safety net and we've got to get a more aggressive export policy. And for that we've got to get the deficit down."

"I'm casting your vote.. If you were down there, what would you do? Tell me so I can do it."

Question - "Let's get everything out of the program that allows the farmer to farm the program."

People who planted a lot in the past can profiteer now because their base is greater and payments tied to a base.

Asks for show of hands. One yield apply to all farmers or separate yields for separate farms. About 50-50.

More talk about Fair^{ly} Credit system - no congressional control - they want a ^{bail} ~~hand~~out of 6B.

210 Billion debt is farm debt "This Saturday morning as we speak in Lakota" - 3/4 of it acquired in last decade - given today's interest rate you can't service that debt.

He gets a laugh by saying that there are in DC - "Volker bashers"--but he says Volker can't control interest rates anymore.

p 33 "Foreign investments in ~~treasuries~~ is at level of 190 billion."

"Two things we need in agriculture - lower interest rates, better prices. That's why we need to get the deficit down."

Question - "That's long term. That and marketing loan, and an across the board freeze. What do we do in short term to help family farmers who are over leveraged. How do we keep them on the farm?" Answer - forgive interest for a period of time and "let marketing loan thing begin to work."

He asks em about how they'd feel about "selling out" an overburdened farmer too much in debt. How about ^{letting him} ~~keeping~~ a home and a quarter section "around it and sell the rest. And then he can buy it back, if the rules are written right.

"I don't have any answer I'm comfortable about" in business of what's happening to farmers who fold.

They talk about foreclosing in the 1930s - MA says all he had was ^{contract} ~~interest~~ to buy back the deed" in 1946 - of a farm they had since civil war.

Cash flow was basis of buying till mid 70s--then people "bought on the come ." "I didn't succumb to that temptation. I've had to sell off some land to pay for Mary's illness. But we have a good farming operation."

He talked about how people loaned too much money, *lending* on 1800 an acre, now it's 1100 and it's worth 500. And you couldn't leave it to your son at 500, but you had to leave it at 1800 and pay taxes on it.

Shouldn't government policy keep land values up or let it come down?

Answer - "Greed brought up the land values."

Man from Seattle - re AMTRAK - Got a letter from MA. "You should appreciate a guy like that. *He* gave us a straight answer. *I* I've got two fence straddlers *on the side* of Washington." *So did Burdick.* Tells people what "MA is up against in Washington." *l.e.*

"People's jaws tightened when you mention ND farmers in Washington. Why should we pay for their mistakes?"

"Thanks" for your kind remarks, *says Mark*

Amtrak costs \$35.00; flying costs \$38.00.

Seattle man: "When you've got a Senator like this, who has clout as Chairman of Transportation, don't drop him for a new one. We made a great mistake voting vs. Warren Mag. *He* He wrote the ticket. *So* Really support him and go tell other people."

"Everybody's going to think I brought him here. I never saw this man in my life. Applause."

More questions. He notes his friendship with Hubert Humphrey.

"Do you know how many communists live in the District of Columbia?"

Cooperstown Meeting

Question - medical care rates.

Question - Farm Credit System - a number of follow-ups. No great love for FCA.

Deficit - When he asks people whether they would accept a freeze, a few people say it's OK. But you have the sense that they want to be "fair" but don't know what they are talking about. They can't.

In both towns, he is able to say when he was here last and what he did. Lakota was a visit 2 months ago when it was pouring rain outside. At Cooperstown, it was a rally several years ago^{at} which the governor candidate left early and Mark and Mary stood around late shaking hands. Governor candidate got beaten badly and Mark won.

The tape ran out at some point and I don't know when. But what he was talking about at the time I picked it up again was a visit with a NATO minister saying how nice it was to see American aircraft carrier around in Europe.

He was pleased with both meetings. "The main thing is that you want to see how friendly they are. I had a good feeling from both meetings. People aren't blaming me for the farm problem. And they will know I came." My main feeling was that they were not beating up on him.

Bruce: "He seems pretty upbeat, now that the second poll is in. But when the first poll came out he was in shock. He couldn't understand it. He thought he had done so much for the state and had gotten so much for the state that 'How could they feel that way about me.'"

Bruce and Jay say that people think he is "aloof", partly because of his physical appearance, partly because in comparison with Dorgan, he doesn't get down and take coat off, etc. At Valley City, he sat in the corner with Mary.

He did move about some, and people came over. Afterward, he said "That was a funny way to run a rally, but people enjoyed themselves. I got to speak to more people than I ever would have if I had gone to a regular rally and sat at the head table." But he didn't push it much.

Mark is preoccupied with Byron Dorgan and mentions him negatively whenever he's with Republicans. I think what happened is that Dorgan's style has Mark worried, and that it has worried Mark ever since Dorgan got to Congress. "He hasn't done anything," Mark kept saying. "In 4 years, he did not get one cent appropriated in the House for the Garrison project. We put it on in the Senate, but we never got a penny in the House." He sees Dorgan as great at PR; and people (like Dan the International Harvester implement dealer at lunch in Cooperstown) tell him that "Dorgan is always in the paper." "People think he's doing things. He's always in the paper or on television. You should get in the paper as much as you can." The style of PR has Mark worried and upset and Dorgan ^{person like} ~~looks like~~ that. MA has problem keeping a press secretary and has trouble keeping political people. Mark said to me and to Cooperstown lunch group that "It might be much better for me to run against Dorgan, against the toughest opponent so that our people will get out and work hard, and we can prove how strong we are. No one has really tested Dorgan. He's never had to run against strong opponent." I think he wants to sound as tough as he can until Dorgan decides not to run. You never know who will tell whom what. So if anything gets back to Dorgan, Mark would like it to sound tough. "You can't pick your opponent. And you might as well run against the toughest opponent." I never heard him mention Kent Conrad's name once all day--and that's the guy Bruce thinks will run vs. Mark in the final analysis.

Bruce and Jay (Jay is a state legislator from West Fargo - District 13 and ^{legislature's} youngest member.) think Dorgan's decision is strictly on whether he thinks

he can win. Stories on paper make it clear MA and BD don't like *each other*. *p. 45*

"Everybody I talk to think it would be as close as you can get, but that in the end Andrews ^{will} win because of all he has done for the state."

The day went like this: We flew in a twin engine beechcraft to Lakota-- a small town of 900 and went to Nelson County Courthouse. Coming in, Mark said, "This is a Democratic town. It's Farmers Union country. But they vote for me by about 70%. It's not a very big town, but if you neglect towns like this you'll be in big trouble. They want to see you. If you don't come, they'll say 'he spends all his time in Fargo and Bismark.' Of course, that's where 60% of the vote is." I tried to get him to say that he had special strength in the small towns like Lakota, but he wouldn't make that assertion.

Leaving there, he said "Boy, they sure are down on the farm credit system. You'd sure know there was a farm problem. They don't want to talk about anything else." Nearly all the questions were on farm matters. (I ran the tape and it didn't register; so I had to get new batteries in Cooperstown.)

We flew to Cooperstown (by Executive Air pilot Dwight Green) and were met by Jay Lindgren, a State Representative, who is Mark's Eastern Coordinator and who will do this job for Mark until September 1st, when he launches his own campaign. At this point in the campaign, they have one Eastern Coordinator, one Western Coordinator and one office manager--plus a small hole in the wall office in Fargo. They have a media person--^{but later they switched} good man. They have no campaign manager. The coordinators are doing fund raising----join the Team--with 50.00 contributions. The Cooperstown lunch was for purpose of passing out packets to people who will try to get \$50.00 per person from ten people each. They are trying to organize this effort all over the state. The June and September TV ads were 'join the team' ads, and though they were criticized for going too early

("I was 35 points behind".) - they got some recruits as a result of it. They were also criticized by State Democratic Chairman for putting TV ads on at a time when the 2nd poll was being taken and hence manipulating the poll. Mark mentioned this several times and said there was no truth to it. He even bandied about the subject with the State Democratic ^{Chairman,} Bill Bauckler, at the Valley City Elks Club.

Anyhow, the Andrews people are fund raising now in earnest and are in an organizational phase. But they are not overstaffed.

They are using 60,000 of National Party money to fix up the computer system they bought in 1984. The software was lousy and they are going to get it in shape. And Mark emphasized this at lunch, that their expenditure of Andrews money to get the voter identification project in shape would be a boon to the Republican party in its efforts in 1986 and 1988 to recapture the legislature.

Mark made point to me and at the luncheon to the group (about 6 people came and took packets) that the party was "wiped out" in 1984 and was "on the mat" and he has now become their one standard bearer and rallying point. It came through clearly in a number of ways that he really is a strong Republican and has a lot of party feeling--even though the right wing of his party sees him as too liberal. He said on way home that he held off on doing something that staff wanted him to do (re the Garcia decision[?]) because "that came at a period when I was being criticized as an anti-Republican and I didn't want to get into it." Anyhow, I think my main point is that Mark's thinking, if not his race, has to be set in the context of the Republican defeat in 1984--have only 2 of 14 statewide offices and lost Gov., Ag., Treas.

Andrews

The conversation at the Cooperstown lunch was the most political. The people there gave it to Mark straight (not enough press to capitalize what he

does, not enough anti-Dorgan ammunition) and he was preoccupied with Dorgan.

"Our party polls showed that when you combine the positives and the negatives, my ranking was fourth best among all 22 Republican Senators up for election. And yet Dorgan was even higher! He's had it too easy. He's never been pushed hard or had any strong competition. He's never done anything and yet he was 35 points ahead of me. That has come down to 10 points now. And it will keep coming down. The first poll was taken right after he had made an all out effort to get reelected and had been everywhere in the state."

whether Mark believes this or not, one cannot know. He must take this as because he needs to rally the troops.

We flew from Cooperstown to Valley City dinner rally and then drove to farm and to Fargo.

To me, in the plane, Mark had talked the same way. "Bob Dole came up to me after the poll and said 'Mark, your problem is that you are too liberal. You voted against the rest of the Republicans and the President too often. You should vote with us more.' I said to him 'Bob, you're crazy. You should take a look and see how well you run against Dan Glickman in Glickman's own district.' Well, he did, and it turned out that Glickman beat Dole worse than Dorgan beats me. A Congressman always runs better against the Senator in the Congressman's own district. He runs twice while the Senator is not running at all. That's a big advantage. A student who gets one report card at the end of the semester is a lot worse off than one who gets several grades during the semester. The more often you get graded the more you learn how you are doing. Some people say it's easier to be a Senator than to be a congressman. That's flat wrong. It's much harder to be a Senator." Remember, this is a guy who loves to campaign.

Mark has erected the rationalization that he was down in the polls because Dorgan had been around, and got the publicity for it, especially via election, and had not been as good about getting the publicity, and may have let his home operation slip behind Dorgan's because he hadn't had to run for election.

The implication is that as soon as he starts campaigning and gets the word out and, if necessary, hits at Dorgan, then he'll begin to do better. That may be just right. But if there are other reasons for the poll differential (lawsuit, aloofness) then he will have trouble.

When I asked him on the plane to Lakota, "How's it going?", he said "Things are looking up. I gained 24 points in the last poll. When I first got elected I spent most of my time looking after Mary and tending to my legislative business, and I don't think I paid as much attention to the North Dakota operation as I should have. When the first poll came out, I was 35 points behind Byron Dorgan. He was just coming off an all out election campaign. The poll was accurate. Now in the second poll, it's been cut to 11 points, and it will keep coming down, as he gets further away from his campaign. Several of the editors said the reason (for the first poll) was that I just hadn't been around enough. So we checked and we found that I had been in Grand Forks 21 of the last 24 months. The problem was that nobody knew about it. I would meet with 50 people but the word never got out that I was there. The staff wasn't doing its job. So I had to clean out the staff."

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Bruce says that "there is talk out here" about the turnover in Mark's staff. Bruce says that only 9 of 30(?) people who were with him in 1983 are still with him, and 6 of those are in ND. I think I should try and chart that turnover. It may be that Mark is hard to work for. It may also be that he has not settled on a senatorial style. What upsets him and keeps him agitated is Dorgan's style. Mark is basically a legislator - he likes the process, he likes to get things done. His PR instincts are attuned to a time when you talked to people directly and ^{the} national communication networks took care of getting the word around about your good deeds. Now it doesn't. You need to toot your own horn. I notice that he is now doing that much more than before.

25

He tells people what he got and is more of a credit claimer now. (But didn't Diana find him to be a credit claimer?)

20
The theme of this day was "Good Ideas come from North Dakota. They don't come from Washington." He said that everywhere. Even got it in at Valley City in his few remarks before the auction. He wants a theme that calls attention to his legislative product. It's a little like Pete Domenici's problem early on. How do you get people at home to know what you are doing. I can't believe that the man I saw at Lehr can be "out of touch with North Dakota." The 35 point deficit had to be something else. Maybe out of touch is a euphemism for the arrogance charge.

"The people of N.D. don't want two Democratic Senators."

A poll he took shows that, and he says it.

His second reason for saying that things are looking up was that party was getting off the dime. "The Republican party was nearly wiped out in the 1984 elections. We lost the Governorship, and all but two of the statewide offices. When the poll came out showing me 35 points behind, it shocked the party people. All of a sudden I was in the position of being David, a position I had never been in before. People who thought I was a horses' ass began to realize that I was their horses' ass and I was the most important elected official they had. So they got up off the mat and started to work. George Bush came out here in _____ and we had the biggest party rally in N.D. history. We sold 1100 tickets in less than three weeks. We had a reception for people who paid \$500.00 to come talk and have their picture taken with Bush. We thought maybe 50 people would come. We had over 100." Papers said 125.

"I don't know who my opponent will be. But I think the best things that could happen to me and the party would be for me to run against the strongest

opponents. If I have an easy opponent and I ask people for help, they'll say 'You don't need it. You're going to win.' But if I have the toughest opponent and I ask people to help they'll work hard. Remember what happened to Dee Huddleston. Everyone thought he had an easy race."

Scott Hove (with whom I had a second breakfast) says that the immediate reaction to the 1st poll was to get down on Mark, that they did not rally round at first, and that "it took a long time for their attitude to change."

"After the big defeat of 1984, when we lost the Governorship and the Attorney General and the State Treasurer, the party was very low. Since Mark was the only statewide official left, there was a tendency to focus the blame on him--not directly but just because he was there. Then when the ^{March} January poll came out, the party sunk even lower. When I first started meeting with Republican leaders in Bismarck, the attitude toward Mark was that he was arrogant and aloof, that there was the lawsuit, that he was too liberal. They were down on him. After the October poll I noticed a complete change of attitude in our meetings. I remember Ben Meier, our Secretary of State who had written a scathing letter against Mark--that he was too liberal, that he opposed Reagan too much--completely changing his tune and saying that Mark has done it right, we've got to get behind him and so forth. They are now just beginning to come around to help him. But it took a long time. If the party does not work together and if we lose this election, we will become a Democratic state and we will take a long time to recover. On the other hand, Mark could turn it in the other direction."

Re Mark's response to the 1st poll. "I was surprised at how well he took it. He knew Dorgan was very well liked. And he knew he hadn't been around the State as much as he used to be. (I said was it that or just that no one knew. Scott went through the Grand Forks story ^{about number of votes} and said "both".) In March and April, he went around to the largest cities in the State and talked

to all the people whom we knew and sat down with them and said 'Tell me what you hear; what's wrong; tell me what I can do better.' People liked that. They had never seen him open up to them like that. It helped a lot in bringing party people back behind him. There is nothing like opening up to people if you want their help."

~~MA struggled with BD "challenge" for 5 years.~~

We speculated about why Mark should be thought of as aloof when he is so close to his state in his own thinking. Scott agreed that Mark was not out of touch. Scott said his physical presence is off putting makes him seem standoffish. He also said Mark is a "celebrity" in ND; he has been around so long and that people are reluctant to approach the celebrity. And third he said "there is a shyness there. I have to keep reminding him to go and shake hands all around when we enter a room. He's good about it and he's good at it. But he's shy about it and it makes him seem standoffish." *Ronan Hedges sees some resentment among people in towns / of the rich farmer. He's a town - farm split that I'm not attuned enough to see.*

What's interesting is that Mark is not so clearly "one of them" as he thought and as I thought. He's struggling, now, to regain his status as "one of them", as "family". For a while, he hasn't been that. You have to keep at it. And now he's being compared to Dorgan, invidiously.

I think we should think of BD as "the challenger" for five year. MA (Scott agrees) has been transfixed by Byron for five years. And he hasn't known how to respond in PR terms. There was ^{was} a press secretary ^{Drew Baglietto} in between Mike Olson and Tim Burke. *as he's had 4 of them in 5 years. + D. Hedges?*

Tim has started Friday press conferences in D.C. to play in N.D. on weekend. The Ass't press secretary has prettied up his newsletter. Tim was a TV reporter in Grand Forks and "He has worked out very well." But Mark's

trouble with press secretaries is indications of a problem in this area.

Jacqueline of the 102" truck width is his AA now.

Scott thinks MA should stop talking about his foreign travels - the Malt brewery, the Italian minister, skiing in the Alps, China farm (72,000) etc.

When I theorized that Mark used to rely on ^{natural} ~~national~~ communities to carry word of his good deeds and no longer can, Scott said "But those same ^{ural} ~~national~~ communities now carry negative messages very well and very quickly. That's why the lawsuit bothers me. We may have trouble no matter who runs against us."

"Bill Goodman, our media adviser, thinks that if the lawsuit becomes a negative, it can be successfully handled in his TV ads." I think he means show Mary on TV. Scott says that in Mark's first TV ad, Mary sits beside him on couch or in a chair and looks fine. "That seemed to tell people that she is all right. Unless you know her, you have no idea what her condition really is--her inability to walk, her speech impairment."

Mark said that he'd been doing town visits for 20 years. Started in courthouse building, ^{holding} office hours one on one in court room much like Don Bonker. Got to be too many people looking for too little time. So went to community forum format. He took me around ^{to see the new, old} Cooperstown courthouse built in 1885, restored and dedicated by him in 1974 - Griggs County Courthouse. "I know these courthouses, because I used to meet constituents there."

He directed us around Cooperstown. "This town is dying. The downtown is decimated." But then we saw the health clinic at the end of the visit and that was on the upswing. They raised 850,000 to build it and to help hospital and nursing home attached to it.

MA to lunch group "The people of ND don't want two Democratic Senators."

Another - MDN "ND Congressmen Hope to Trim Defense Deficit" - 2/5/85.

I spent Sunday looking at the other 1984 clips, the 1985 clips and the lawsuit file.

I noticed that in the law suit file, there were very few opinions, or editorials or whatever. So in the morning, I asked whether I could see the file on opinion on the case. I talked with Bruce and the three office people. They said there was very little opinion expressed publicly, but all privately, and that all there was, was in the file. If that is so, there was incredibly little editorial comment on what was the main story around every dinner table in Fargo. So I talked with them about the logic of the uproar.

I get one dominant impression from them that forces me to revise my prior opinion of MA. I always felt he was "one of us", and maybe with some people he is. But it is clear from what they all said that Mark was not 'one of us' in some circles. He was thought to be arrogant, and people have never been fond of him. He has a kind of bearing that people take to be aloofness. And many were happy to see him 'get his'.

To put it another way, this was not "a little guy" against the establishment fight. It was a big powerful guy asking for an inordinate amount of money. It was a guy who hired a California lawyer, an outsider. ^{guy} Aging, who has a swimming pool and plenty of money. A rich farmer.

He is a public official and should be held up to a different standard. When a public official makes this kind of move, he destroys the community. He causes conflict and attacks the established institutions and people. Doctors are held in high esteem and people don't like to see doctors attacked.

St. Luke's is the state's premier hospital and is Lutheran. Attack on it is

*His 1,160 a
Congressman in
fame that he
a hard figure
like a war.
He has made that
load the an
advantages; make;
no pig the reason
needed small from being
up. going. ND is
small town.*

attack on something very respected. People don't like community torn up for private gain. (Not a matter of anti-mal practice or sympathy for doctors.) It strikes people more as an attack on the community and it's "the community" that takes deep offense. All this abetted by fact that a lot of people simply didn't and have never liked Mark.

The staff is dreading having the case come up all over again. Jacqueline told them all to be more "positive" because Mark is doing better everywhere, but in Fargo.

Maybe there is little editorializing because it is a personal, private matter, and they don't want to intrude on privacy. ^{Or maybe it's too hot to take sides on.} But it is just the kind of thing that races through a small town--the negative communication Scott talked of.

Ironical that Fargo was recently called the town with the least stress ^{in U.S.A.} And this one caused community enormous stress.

ed. board said this too
"He's very good when he's talking business, whatever the subject. He's bright and quick and impressive. He plays the role of Senator beautifully. He looks like a senator and he acts like a Senator. But he is not good at making small talk. He does not meet people on their own level. He acts like he is above others. He seems arrogant and aloof. He's that way with staff, too. Many people do not like him and never have liked him. He's not popular, and he never has been. You can know him as Senator; but to know him as Mark Andrews would be like breaking down the Kremlin wall."

"People refer to him as God." They really were happy to see him get his comeuppance and many of them would like him to lose.

"The Andrews' belong to the country club. Mary always came over to play

ch3 →

bridge. She loved bridge and was an excellent player. After they filed suit, she would come over and they would stick her way over in the corner playing with the little old ladies. She wasn't invited to play with the people she always had played with. Finally, she stopped coming over."

*was/k
has
poll*

Bruce mentioned some poll taken after the 1st one in which they asked people whether the lawsuit would affect their vote and about half said it would. But Bruce says this is not the kind of issue where you can rely on answers.

They said he did not rush into it out of frustration. He thought about it a long time and consulted widely. But no one volunteered a motive. Once in it, he will, apparently, stay with it. That's characteristic of a fighter. But why he did it is just not clear unless he really thought they had treated her badly.

They said that people felt Mary had very good treatment. (Some people say Mary isn't sick!)

While I'm there a man comes in who lives near Mark somewhere. "How is Mark?" "He's fine and getting around--to Lakota, Cooperstown and Valley City Saturday". "He'd better. And when is the trial coming up?" Both barrels in the most casual conversation. - *Bruce told me that, in a way what they think about contact.*

*"glad" can
be "arrogant"
or "shy"
either*

They said they thought he was "insecure" and when I said "shy" they agreed he probably was.

Having picked up so much of Mark's arrogance and aloofness, I can see ^(Andrews) that Dorgan has a field day. He gets compared to an arrogant person and an old man. ^(Burdick) If he shows a little one on one skill and energy, he's got it made!

Maybe point is that there was a latent dislike that stays below the surface until he does something that allows people to focus on something they dislike. Now, they have concrete evidence of how arrogant he really is--to

take on the establishment. Of course, he takes on the establishment all the time in Washington, but ^{Fargo} ~~is~~ the base of his ND constituency. Once you lose the constituency, you are in trouble. And, for this effort, he had no constituency. I can't see where there is any "plus" in this for him. And the negatives in Fargo, his home territory, are enormous.

Maybe people do think he's too big for his britches and out of touch-- the worst of all worlds for an incumbent. It may be that all he's got going for him is competence and clout and independence. ^{Three} ~~Two~~ very important things for a small state, however.

You can't understand this strange situation apart from context. But-- had he not gotten on the skids with his lawsuit, he wouldn't be in trouble I think.

If the lawsuit is the big problem, why did he do so well vs. Conrad and ^{Guy} Gary. That's evidence that people are not using this to decide their vote. Big puzzle. A poll at the moment would be interesting.

July - Dec 1984

MA--News Clips

p. 81 August 11, 1984 MDN - Garrison Diversion Review Commission names leaked-- who did it? They call MA as playing "the instrumental role in hammering out the compromise with the National Audobon Society which was passed by Congress and led to the creation of the review commission."

McLean County Independent 7/7/84--Re Garrison - said Commission needed because it was going nowhere. They support MA, but they comment adversely on the way he did it. "That some proponents of the diversion project are understandably upset with the states' junior senator isn't surprising. After all, the senator appeared to assume godlike powers (true to his personality) boldly going ahead with the compromise ^{without consultation} with other governmental leaders of this state. But perhaps that's the only way any compromise could have been achieved..."

7/11/84 - several places - Andrews seek new trial

7/19/84 - MDN re the hospital at Minot AFB - Carl Flagstad says that MA "played the instrumental role in getting the hospital authorized in the Senate after it had been deleted from the Defense Department budget...and was not included in the House version of the military construction bill." Goes into detail on Andrews' questioning of departmental witness. Flagstad writes other articles on progress of the hospital provision--27.5 million.

MA trying to get 9.1M for research lab on sugarbeets and sunflowers at NDSU, ND grows 65% of sunflowers and is major sugarbeets producer.

A lot of publicity in July 1984 about MA's participation in group of six Republicans. Senators holding own platform hearings for Republican Conv. They did so because formal party hearings are closed door operations--NCPAC says MA "should be more careful about the company you keep." This probably rankled the conservatives. He's with Weicker, Mathias, Chafee, Stafford, Hatfield.

GFH - ^{Hang tough} ~~"Having tough"~~ Senator Andrews" re new MX vote - they say how he wasn't there for last one, as we recorded - want him to "be there to vote and hold his ground" vs. MX.

Bismarck Tribune 7/3/84 - Re MA part in unauthorized hearings re platform - wants outside views to be heard. Wants to broaden the base of the party. "Historically the Republican party has been creative, innovative, thoughtful and progressive. Complacency, self satisfaction and the desire for ideological purity threaten the majority status of the GOP..."

MDN 8/1/84--re the platform hearings. MA "The toughest tax we face today is the tax of high interest rates. Unless we respond to the issue of the deficits--and the deficits are the causative factor in those high interest rates--you're simply not going to see many farm families survive. We can't in the face of 14 or 15 percent interest rates."

Jamestown Sun 8/1/84 re hearings - "I don't think we can crawl into a hole and pull the hole in over us and say 'we are pure.'"

This activity got a lot of publicity and while it showed independence - "We're not trying to pick a fight with the White House. We're just...saying we think we ought to have public and open hearings." Some mention of it--the NCPAC attack and Andrew's reply is in all the major papers. A big story--as big as the warranty in the earlier package of clips.

8/15/84 - defendants reply to MA request for new trial.

MD N 8/16/84 - MA holds annual picnic in Minot - Mayor introduces him by saying re hospital - "Mark started without a bill. It wasn't even in the Defense Department budget. But he is getting it done." He said 10 other projects had to be dropped to make room for Minot "but Mark got that done."

MA didn't go to Republican Convention. "I spend enough time with that bunch when I'm down in Washington." "I've got a series of agricultural hearings in Minot and Dickinson this week." BT 8/19/84

Re MA hearings in Minot - "The main points area farmers made to Sen. MA were that interest rate caused by the federal budget deficit are "killing them," headline "Interest Rates Top List of Farm Concerns." MDN ' /

Andrews view re Garrison was that it stood 95% chance of losing without a commission - that it had gone 3 years without funds in the House and "Frankly we were running out of rabbits to pull out of the hat." Jamestown Sun 9/25/84

At this point all the articles are about MA agricultural hearings - Minot, Dickinson, LaMoure. BT 8/26/84 - Summary desires "better farm prices, lower interest rates, a longer term farm bill and a more stable export pictures."

Same article in MDN

GFH headline "Farmers take aim at Interest Rates, support prices at farm bill hearing." (LaMoure hearings)

MA opinion survey - re Garrison - support 73.7%; opp. 26.3%.

10/18/84 Andrews appeal for new trial denied by state district judge.

MDN 10/18/84 - MA appears before Garrison Commission. Saying "GD is not just a water project. It is our future." "Unless you understand what it means to be a North Dakotan, whether city dweller or farmer, to live and struggle to survive in an environment plagued by the vagaries of a climate that is submarginal for rainfall during most years, you cannot fully appreciate the value of the benefits offered by putting Mo River water to work for the people of our state."

This appearance widely reported.

10/18/84 Andrews appeals judge's ruling.

Andrews supports Stevens for majority leader GFH - 11/25/84. Reasons for supporting Stevens. They "have been friends in the Senate and Stevens has backed Andrews on a number of issues, including Garrison Diversion."

Also is "somebody who isn't beholden to the President", is "a middle of the road individual", "understands the way the Senate works" and is "not running for President."

Garrison Commission preliminary reports are discouraging. Carl Flagstad in MDN lead "While still clinging to hope the final verdict isn't in, some persons contacted today expressed the gloomy prediction that Garrison Diversion, as ND has known it for decades--is doomed..." Original plan authorized was 250,000 acres. New plan will cut it to 108,000 acres. Original Bick Sloan plan 1944 had 1 million acres.

Andrews' reaction to Dole's election BT 11/29/84 - "He supports farm programs and Garrison Diversion... I don't have to explain to him about target prices and loan rates and such. He knows them as well as I do."

No grudges. "In the Senate, you'll be standing shoulder to shoulder with a colleague in a hole one day and fighting him tooth and nail the next day... You gain a maturity in this place."

"A good clean hard scrap is what it's all about, and this was one of the cleanest scraps I've seen."

Valley City TR 11/30/84 headline - "Andrews says he didn't 'sell out' ND." William Guy blasted MA for being behind "a sell out of ND". Guy - "I think the trail is clearly marked back to MA's office. I think it's very obvious that Andrews' office...was behind this sell out of ND."

MA's answer is a legislative process answer. "Garrison as it stood hasn't gotten by the House of Representatives for three years...it's long time past for the whiners and the grippers and the bellyachers to try to get together and work constructively."

"We had to put the commission together, because we had no other choice. Without it, we wouldn't have seen dollar one."

"I could design a wonderful project for ND--but it wouldn't go anywhere in Congress."

BT 11/30/84 - Guy "I don't see how any North Dakotan could be other than outraged, stunned and with a feeling of total deception and betrayal."

MA - "It isn't as if we were in a situation to do anything we wanted to and then the commission came along to screw things up."

They've got MA on the defensive.

Jamestown Sun "Andrews Defends Support of Garrison Proposals" 11/30.

Devils Lake Journal 11/30 - "Andrews rejects 'sellout'".

Williston Daily Herald 11/30 - "Andrews Denies Sellout on Garrison".

MDN "Andrews Defends Garrison Proposal".

MDN 12/1/84 - Mike Jacobs writes a political column "Guy Grows More Visible" centering on his attack on MA. Jacobs notes that Burdick parted company with MA on this too. Burdick "I don't like to have to oppose him, but I am convinced this plan is no good". "So Andrews is alone". "Can a water project undo a U.S. Senator?" "This is the second time Andrews has offended parts of this state's establishment. A lawsuit about his wife's illness alienated the medical community." He mentions MA's huge margin of 1980 and says "it is hard to imagine that it could be eroded away in disagreement about a water development project. This is the Garrison project, however, a project near and dear to the powerful in ND."

Jamestown Sun 12/5/84 - "Water Users jeer aide to Andrews". Peter Page, MA aide had worked with commission - he was especially criticized by Guy. And Guy was at this meeting too and complained that MA hadn't consulted rest of delegation and water interests before agreeing to the commission.

GFH "State Water Users Group Taunts Andrews' Aide" 12/5.

BT "Andrews aide jeered by two water groups." ND Water Users Assn. ND Water Resource Districts.

Dickinson Press - "Water Users Group Jeers Andrews' Aide".

GFH 12/9/84 - "Andrews at risk on Garrison."

*I have xeroxed this.

Then Dorgan, Olson, Simmer, Guy, Wiefald wrote a letter to Commission saying that some of its findings are "detrimental to the long term interests of ND." MA refuses to sign.

GFH 12/11/84 - "Andrews refuses to sign Garrison note".

MDN 12/11 - "Andrews Declines to Sign Pro Garrison Telegram" circulated by the Garrison Diversion Conservancy District.

MA says "Unless the commission comes up with a project that will receive support of both houses of Congress, ND will end up with nothing."

He's dug in against the politics of purism and publicity.

BT - "Andrews won't back Telegram over Garrison. Dick Press - "Andrews Won't Sign Garrison Telegram.

Then Andrews Testifies for Lonetree Dam - the controversial part of the proposal and new headlines appear.

GFH 12/14 - "Andrews: I'll insist on reservoir."

BT "Andrews: I will try to get Lonetree Back."

MDN "Sen. Andrews says he'll try and restore Lonetree".

Jamestown Sun "But Andrews hasn't given up."

Dick Press - "Andrews Says, He'll try to restore Lonetree.

GFH editorial - "Andrews is undercutting Compromise". "What kind of statesmanship is this? Does Andrews really believe that Congress would take seriously a move to undo a compromise. That came about because he decided there was no other way to save Garrison?" Now he gets it from the other side.

It was a bad end of year prelude to the 1st poll.

Andrews-Hollings gets fair bit of news in January.

*This is
wholly an
insider's
view of
things -
the bargain
and the new
manager.*

BT - 1/24/85 "It's hard to ignore Mark Andrews. ND's tall hefty Republican Senator is showing persistence to match his physical stature as he pushes his way toward the forefront of this year's federal budget discussion."

MA gets lot of publicity on 65mph speed limit proposal.

In 1985, they pick up all the small papers that they did not subscribe to up to 1985 - a campaign move. *Staff confirmed this.*

February farm group filibuster on Meese to get farm credit - MA got some publicity on this in February.

Staff changes Jacqueline Balk Tusa - executive directors - Robert Melland - liaison with the State 2/28/85

More changes - Scott Hove state director for ND. Brent Baglien - agriculture assistnat 3/1/85.

POLL OUT, MARCH 7th

In early 1985 - he gets lot of publicity for speech at REA Convention in New Orleans blasting admin. for REA cuts."

3/16/85 "Andrews Fires Garrison Aide" - fired legislative director Peter Page. So much for the guy who took the heat and became too controversial hired in July '83.

Dick Dobson article printed in Walsh County Press re poll results "surprise and disbelief" not that BD was ahead, but at size of "awesome" lead, people were "astonished". Poll suggests that "Big Mark may have a big problem next year."

He says that "The State Republican party has given Dorgan full run of the political playground for the past 5 years, fielding weak candidates against him and rarely challenging his statements or criticizing his voting record."

Ed Doherty's column is real blaster.

They got the new hospital at Minot Air Force Base.

Lots of commentary on the Dorgan Andrews poll.

Bush to come kick off MA campaign - March 30.

*The outline
what MA
referred to*

BT editorial 4/2/85 - "Andrews has let himself drift a little too far from the spotlight in ND politics the last few years, but the Republican has pol savvy, access to money and track record to stay on top. The only question may be how bad he wants it." BD "obsessed with success". They see it neck and neck.

Henry Kelly - "Kelly's Corner" column in the Walsh County Press. He loves Dorgan, but doesn't want to run till 1988 because he thinks MA is doing OK. "He's shown me a lot of moxie and brains in these past 2 or 3 years". MA "has been representing me good enough." "Senator Andrews ain't that bad a guy for us people of ND." "I've been quite impressed by the way he's been shaking up for this state". A Democratic voice.

In March, MA going around state holding Agricultural forums - reporting back on state of agriculture - really "community forums".

He gets credit as fighter for Andrews-Hollings budget change.

Bush event 1100 plus at 15 per head. Lots of publicity for that. AP story by Jeff Mayer. (xeroxed) ran everywhere, lots of pictures May 8.

Lindgren named 5/8/85 - "As I see it" Column ^{by} Tim Kjo ⁱⁿ Beulah Beacon - same as Kelly "ND will suffer most" if A & D decide to battle each other. "Both men have been good for ND" D should wait till 1988.

Brent Baglien - just hired - resigns to take new job 5/27/85.

Ads from newspapers noting that Mark will be places appear now in the clips.

June 6 - seeking new trial - in State Supreme Court

*At this point, I started xeroxing everything. Time running out.

Re: the lawsuit

Filed December 23, 1981.

I'm trying to see what it is that gripes people about this. But they sure are griped.

He's just after the money to build up his farm.

He'll run up medical costs via mal practice suits.

Emmons County Record - ed. in BT 4/28/84.

Senators do very well and he's trying to get something for nothing.

"For Senator A, whose relationship with the people of ND implies that he has their values and their interests, this is an action that refutes the good relationship... (he) is gradually becoming known as less of a people's advocate and more as one who has chosen to move from the ranks of ordinary North Dakotans, to become an aristocrat."

Idea that he should take lumps in life like everyone else and that fact that he's suing means he sets himself apart. Not "one of us".

I think that's the thing I see here - he's not "one of us" when he behaves like this.

GFH letter "questions his judgment" (4/28/84) in taking on medical profession - should do something for ND - it seems selfish for a leader to do this.

Idea is that elected officials have a code. It will be costly to voters and patients.

To ordinary people, this looks like something the wealthy do. People don't like malpractice suits. Well not if the money is this big. Too much money - smacks of business - which ND Dakotans hate.

BT 4/17/84 - MA, re political repercussions. "You don't compromise your family life for your political career. Your private citizen responsibility comes before your elected official responsibility."

It was followed in every paper being tabken by the office - mostly AP writes Jeff Meyer.

During the trial--which I have xeroxed--malpractice insurance rates went up 25% in ND. GFH 5/9/84.

The record does not have in it much of the editorial opinion concerning the lawsuit. I think that's in another folder. *It isn't!*

I followed it in Forum and there simply was expert testimony on both sides.

Headlines vary on same AP story: June 15, 1984.

Williston Daily Herald - "Jury finds 3 defendents negligent: But Andrews are not awarded any damages in verdict."

Valley City TR - "Three Defendents Guilty, no damages awarded."

Jamestown Sun - "Three found Negligent in Andrews Medical Suit."

Devils Lake Journal - "Jury finds Defendents negligent."

Washpeton Daily News - "Jury In: Doctors Negligent: Andrews case yields no damages."

MDN: "3 Doctors Found Negligent: Jury awards Andrewses No Damages".

BT - "Three Defendents Found Negligent: Jury awards no damages to Andrewses".

Dickinson Press - "Negligence found; no damages awarded"

GFH - "Andrews Verdict Shows no damagess."

As I looked at clips in general big question is what AP says. An AP story goes statewide - lots of local announcements - MA was here type of stuff are fine. The stuff that really kills (or helps) is the statewide AP stuff that featured Garrison and lawsuit.

Image of MA fighting or criticizing or working is there.

*Word MA ~~has~~ for everything is "deal" we've got this "fun deal", etc.

Article in MDN - 7/1/85 Flagstad saying "eastern press" calls MA "King of pork". MA "says if that meant recognition of trying to get things for his

own state he was proud of the title." Comes because of Garrison.

Flagstad - "North Dakotans have heard for years from the eastern press that Garrison isn't needed, is too expensive and is unwarranted for a state this size. Much the same views are held *about* other things members of the state delegation seek for the state"

REA says that "water projects that have regional benefits such as Garrison are almost always referred to as 'pork barrel' by 'intellectually superior' critics such as the eastern press and eastern interests."

Beulah Beacon 6/6/85 - one of several MA speeches pro REA. "The rural electricity program is not only important for the rural state of ND; it isn't only important for the country and nation; it's important for the world," he says this often.

1983 Clips

Lawsuit in papers

7/26/83 MDN Lloyd Orndahl article "Senator Mark Andrews should get the 'Atta Boy' award for 1983" for warranty idea.

7/20/83 GPH - McClure casts MA proxy vs. weatherization increase.

"Andrews Vote Shift causes cut in weatherization funding."

1984 press
Andrews' defense "You don't not go along with the subcommittee chairman when he was being accommodating to you." McClure helped with UND and Indian matters. An insiders' answer - public interest groups say he reneged. He says no; it was all a "mistake". But it's not clear what bit changed his tune.

"It is a mistake; there was no deal at all. It is one of more things that happens in this damn business.

MDN 7/16/87 "Transport. Bill Pertinent to ND."

Transportation Appropriations passes 86-5 and MA says that "the bill gives priority consideration for for grants in ad for Federal airport funding to airports in Williston, Bismarck, Medora, Devil's Lake and Fargo".

Fuding for AMTRAK "ensuing continued operation of the Empire Builder across ND", highway safety, rehabilitation of abandoned RR lines, federal funding for access roads to lakes in ND." etc.

11/8/83 Emerson joins staff - legislative assistant.

11/3/83 Hausheer promoted to replace Bill Wright - he's been on staff for about a year.

October 27 - Libby Dole comes to MA fund raiser.

Andrews poll shows 76.9% in favor of Garrison 9/27/83 MDN

A very quiet period here - transportation issues, airlines, pay raise (some anti), organ donor, coal le^ases, but no big "AP issue".

BT article on staffs of legislators - 8/6/83 "Andrews staff has grown fastest since 1981, with 8 new full time workers."

This spring Andrews employing 28 staffers and in early 1983, 4 were over 50,000 - Wright, Hausheer, Hustin, Lasser (in with ICC). But MA gives more of his allowance back to Treasurer than any "upper midwest senator.

As of 8/6/83 the office staff of MA was Wright, Hausheer, Lesser (left), ND Austin, Olson, Bond, Kale, Freligh, Sorum, Walpole, Candor-ND, Woodring, Larsen Marlow, Hildahl-ND, Norman, Sohaan-ND, Knudsen-ND, Morman, Larimer-ND, Weiss, Gunderson, King, Holloway, Walton, Heitzman/Gwinn, Hentges, last 2 under 10,000.

January 1983 - King of Pork article is AP and appears widely. BT, MDN, Williston, Valley City, Forum, etc.

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BT - "Andrews Says Actions Aided ND"

Dick press - "King of Pork OK with Andrews"

Jamestown Sun - "Andrews Labeled King of Pork, but description doesn't bother him."

Forum - And, not upset by King of Pork 'tag'

MDN - "King of Pork Title doesn't bother Senator".

Williston Daily Herald - "King of Pork Title doesn't bother Andrews."

Valley City Time couples Senator Mark Andrews with King of Pork title.

GFB 1/7/82 "Senator Andrews Selected to Head Committee on Indian Affairs."

"I think we'll be able to do some things with the Wahpeton Indian school now that we wouldn't have been able to do otherwise. It'll be no cinch, but I've learned you have a lot better crack at things when you're in a position like this." His first comment is about what he can get for ND.

It's "another leg up for ND" because he will sit in on weekly chairman meetings and chairman regulates the flow of legislation on everything."

1st ND chairmanship in 30 years.

"Minor committee" but it's a chairmanship." says MA.

A backhand at BD who got on W & M. says he should be able to get Garrison funding because on Appropriations and Ways and Means "you are in a position to do something" and "I was a member of Appropriations for 16 years in the House and we didn't have any trouble getting funding for Garrison."

Says he talked with Burdick before taking it.

Lots of articles on this.

Andrews as critic article (AP), gets big play in March. (xeroxed)

Articles on 11-11 budget vote feature Andrews' "breaks ranks".

MA adds mobile van 5/18/83.

* Maybe the "cave" is very fragile -- like trust -- you can lose it easily if you really put up. like lawsuit - I talk long time and never give other question. There's always the suspicion that the person is not on his - goes to DC, may be not ok. So it has to be clear. MA has marked it. But the fragile thing is when he does something that is not "cave" The vote will tell us, with the end, he must capital he had!

SCHEDULE

Saturday, November 2, 1985

8:45 pickup

| <u>Time</u> | <u>Event</u> |
|----------------|---|
| 9:05 a.m. | -Depart Hector Field for Lakota Executive Air. Approximate flight time: 35 minutes. |
| 10:00 a.m. | -Community Forum, Lakota. Courthouse Community Room, 210 West B Avenue |
| 11:30 a.m. | -Community Forum ends. |
| 1:00 p.m. | -Lunch, Cooperstown. The Coachman, with prospective TEAM members. Jay Lindgren is arranging. |
| 2:30 p.m. | -Cooperstown Community Forum. Cooperstown City Hall, Roberts and 9th St. |
| 4:00 p.m. | -Community Forum ends. Depart for airport and fly to XXXXXX Valley City. |
| 4:40 p.m. | -Arrive Valley City. DeForrest Pederson will meet us at airport. |
| 5:00-6:00 p.m. | -Drop-in at Century Club, fundraising organization for Valley City State College. Valley City Elks Club |
| 6:00 p.m. | -District 24 Fundraiser, Valley City Elks Club. Vince Olson organizing. Supper and socializing until 7:45-8:00 p.m. Senator to give brief remarks and then an auction begins around 8:00 p.m. |
| ----- | |
| 4:00 p.m. | -Jay Lindgren will pick up Mrs. Andrews at the farm and drive to Valley City. |