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H294

MARK ANDREWS

October 11-15, 1986

David Crothers, Tim Burke, Keith Kraus.

One of the thing, if not THE thing, I'm looking for as I start is: what happened to the man who had it so easy in 1980 and who seemed so closely identified with North Dakota? He once told me that "it's easy when they accept you as family." Is he still "family"? Or has something happened to that relationship; and are they "disciplining" him? A small state can be like a small town--negatives have a way of spreading fast and taking hold. Or, think of the emotion that accompanies family betrayal of some sort. If Mark has lost the trust of his constituents, it happened over 6 years, and it is a big big change. A loss would be quite a story--much bigger than a Specter loss--which one could easily expect given Penna. politics, Specter's slim win, etc. So the question, as I fly over this familiar flat land is, whether that will be my story or not. What, if anything, has happened to the man from Lehr? What has happened to "the natural"?

I got to ND early in the afternoon, and waited to go to New Rockford for a rally. Gary Crothers is the aide--worked 8 mos. in D.C. - a lawyer who's just of law school - has come back to do campaign work. Mrs. Andrews came. It showed as we got into New Rockford. Mark had been in D.C. working till 2 AM on the continuing resolution and had come in about the time I did. He was tired. I laid off throughout the trip - it was too loud in the plane anyway.

I asked if he would go back next week. "No I don't intend to. But I had to stay for the continuing resolution. I had lots of things going

800 million for?, 3 Million for NDU, a few little things like that. If you don't watch over them, they will disappear. It's hard to imagine I was arguing with Mark Hatfield a few hours ago. I argued with him more than I did with (Jim) Miller."

This is unimportant except that Mark's theme is what he's done for ND. And I suspect he'll hit that theme all week in one way or another. His poster says "Experience, Leadership, Independence".

Last night there was a debate in Grand Forks, but Mark had to be piped in from D.C. He asked David what he thought of it and David said he had heard it went well and that it got well covered in the papers. Mark said Jacqueline said it was a draw.

Mark - "I thought he was going to come out with some bomb throwing idea. But he thinks he's ahead and he's getting cautious... When I mentioned all the things I had done for North Dakota his only answer was "well, that is what Senators are supposed to do." He thinks that's all there is to it."

Mark's own view clearly is that Conrad doesn't know what he's talking about - sees Conrad-Dogan as a team, also they think of Conrad as a city boy who doesn't understand farming.

Andrews ad starts by saying that in 1984 Mondale and Hart were candidates of "Gloom and doom" - shows very gray picture of them. Now Conrad is taking over - he complains, "he ridicules", he "criticizes", he has "no solutions", "no plans".

We need man with "experience" and "clout" and "we've got one who gets things done" Mark Andrews.

Conrad's ad shows Mark saying he never voted for pay raise and then says that on such and such a date he voted for 7500 pay raise.

Then it shows MA saying he never favored deregulation and then says that on such and such a date he voted for deregulation.

Then it says "Stop the double talk." "We need a change."

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version*

After the New Rockford "Rally" (75 people), MA said "Two guys came up afterwards and said, 'You've got to answer Conrad ad about the pay raise.' It says I voted for a pay raise. I never did. All I did was to vote to bring the Senate's honoraria into line with the House's. He doesn't have any idea what he's talking about." But it really was a pay raise.

In the ads I've seen, they are going after each other with negatives.

David expresses the attitude that "we are ~~on~~ the upswing, all the things are falling into place as we planned." But he doesn't have the experience to really know. And I don't get the sense that he is upbeat, really. Mark thinks, I believe, that the campaign is just beginning. And David liked his New Rockford talk (I have it taped) as well as any he's given. He sees MA coming on now. But Mark hasn't said that yet. The Hart poll in today's paper shows Conrad ahead. David says <sup>those numbers</sup> ~~they~~ are suspect.

Interesting comment re staff turnover by the pilot for Executive Air who flies the charter out of Fargo "the aides don't stay very long, do they. I've been on the job for a year and this is at least the third one. Burdick has had the same one (Stillmon?) for years." He said this out of the blue, as we waited at the airport for David.

I asked him how his harvesting was going. "I haven't been back at the farm often enough to know. But I think we have all the wheat, corn and flax harvested. Of course, we haven't harvested the sunflowers yet. (What about the sugar beets?) We don't have sugar beets any more. (Why not?) We had to sell our beet acreage to pay for Mary's illness--when we got into that thing with the doctors and we didn't get any settlement. People were saying 'Oh, he's a rich farmer, he doesn't need the money. He can pay for all that himself.' We can't." Smiled wanly and pointed to Mary.

Well, that's a change since 1980 when he was worried about getting sugar beets harvested, with mud, etc. Now, no beets, because of illness and need for money. Maybe there's a story of two families here--the real family (Mary) and the N.D. family--in which his loyalty to the first overrode his loyalty to the second and cost him.

*In the rather  
of a deal*

Forum endorsed him on Sunday for "strong, experienced" performance, listed things he's gotten and said we <sup>need</sup> ~~heard~~ Republican majority in Senate. It's a little too much a Republican endorsement to carry weight with undecideds I would guess--assuming editorials influence anyone. My point is that it isn't exactly glowing in personal terms - it's more "let's not throw away our clout." But there is no "national treasure" idea here, it's strictly 'he's good for North Dakota.' And, the only national theme is - we need a Republican Senate. There's no "he's one of us" sentiment in the article. I guess that's what I miss. It's what I thought I saw in 1980, and it's what I'm looking for now and haven't found--although it was there in New Rockford. Introducer called him "one of us" and Mark said they were all in the family.

*PS on  
back*

He asked me how long I was going to stay with them. I said I'd go to Minot--"if it's OK with you." He said fine and asked if I was going to stay for NDEA session. I said yes; and he said something that made it sound very important. They are endorsing him and he likes that a lot (mentioned it in New Rockford). He noted that Chairman of Joint Chiefs would speak on Tuesday, and that he had gotten him to come. "I've got The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs coming on Tuesday and the President coming on Friday. That's pretty good, I'd say." Seemed very satisfied. *But that's 'Washington's' still*

New Rockford is District 12, Len Larsen is Chairman. He drove charter pilots to and from John's Steak House where they ate dinner. He showed a lot of anger at Conrad and Dorgan. Sees them as a pair "whose script



is being written by some easterner; and they are following the same script. They are the two biggest phonies in the history of North Dakota. They just issue press releases and don't accomplish a damn thing. It would be a damn shame if we sent that phony to Washington in place of Mark Andrews."

But he said "I've got my wheat crop off, but there's a lot of crops still in the field. I can't remember when we've had so much trouble getting into the fields. The farmers are pretty mad about everything right now. Every district is tough now."

His district is ~~not~~ a strong Republican one. But he didn't transmit any optimism at all. Asked David how the campaign was going.

On the trip back to Fargo, there was no talk. When we landed, Mark pointed to the Air National Guard and said what a crack outfit they were, how they won the "William Tell" (see article I clipped) and how their mechanics were better than Air Force mechanics, since they worked at it constantly and Air Force mechanics changed often. An example of great local pride in an institution I never heard of.

Len and David in the car said one of Conrad's PR ploys was to send a letter when everyone pays taxes saying "Dear Len and Dorothea. Thank you for paying your taxes on time. It's his PR and he's doing and paying for it with tax payer's money. He doesn't know me at all. It makes my blood boil." A part of the idea that Conrad and Dorgan are PR people. Point is that the new generation is a PR generation and Mark Andrews belongs to another generation.

Mark calls Conrad "The tax collector." It's a nice putdown.

Conrad wants to nationalize the race and Mark wants to localize it. Conrad's success is measured by fact that national people are getting interested because they want to see national trends--farm revolt, populism, Senate

control, etc. Broder has article 10/12 saying neither side has nationalized it. No one cares about Rep. Senate; but no revolt vs. RR or economic situation.

I have New Rockford talk on tape. Side A - MA starts talking at 061.

It's a little ironic that when he's really put to it, all Mark has is what he's gotten from ND. No philosophical cushion; not a lot of charisma cushion; not much personality cushion; no big issues cushion. He's down to the short runs: what I did for you. Are people grateful? Or is it what have you done lately? It's the congressman's defense; and it may be another bit of evidence that MA is a congressman in the Senate.

Conrad doesn't have to give up his seat as Tax Commissioner to run - no risk here.

Keith Kraus brought some clips over to me and we went and had brunch. He has worked for Mark for 3 years; began doing computer stuff and mailings and then got put into scheduling.

He talked quite a bit about Jacqueline, praised her, said she gave direction to his staff, had open door policy, good sense of humor, smart and very helpful to Mark. He seemed anxious to spike all ideas that Ed Doherty put into the bloodstream. Said staff was all harmony. "We check our egos at the door." When I asked who campaign manager was, he said Bill Sorenson; but when I asked who gave advice, he said only Jacqueline.

"North Dakotans hate anything or anybody who comes from the outside. I don't understand it, but they have to get over it." He was originally from Michigan, worked in DC for 8 years.

He did not know who Bruce Post was! Had heard of Bill Wright--he thought. Deana Marlow had to idea what Bill Wright was doing.

When I asked him what stage the campaign was in, his reply was that "There has been a lot of mudslinging and the Senator has just stood back and said nothing. Our strategy was not to dignify it. But now our ads will start taking it to him, criticizing Conrad."

"The biggest problem in our office is press. We have a lot of trouble getting any press. They are so biased."

He seems mild, not very "political, not analytical."

He tells me "Alma" will get me a room in Minot. (She did!)

We take a bus ride to the bus station for him to get an award. There are 2 TV stations - they ask Mark about a contract for some *retrofit* F15 engine into F4 (or vice versa) - They talk a lot about Fargo's likelihood of getting the contract. Then they ask him about yesterday's summit collapse.

They ask him about campaign. "All campaigns are tough." "Economy is problem in ND."

They have a ceremony in a very modern transit facility.

Am. Pub. Transit Association, Mr. Gilstrap speaker. Award to Mark (I have a little of it on tape). All I missed was "As chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation...."

We toured maintenance plant then went to lunch.

Gilstrap told me his group was naturally Democratic but had learned to work with Mark and did not want to lose him.

Sept. 19, UND poll. C45.2, A 44.6

MA: "I'd rather talk about what I've done (but) this is the day of the negative campaign." GFH 9/19. Well that means he's on the defensive.

Bismarck Tribune - regular columnist Betty Miller writes "Historically North Dakotans have not been fond of outsiders messing around in their elections." re detective story. Or their lawsuits I might add.

There are some tough headlines along about August and December. Ex:

BT "Poison Pen Trail" leads to Andrews *Pal* poll." 8/6

BT 8/10 "Ex Aide May Run Against Andrews"

Williston DH 8/7 "Andrews Says he had *No Part* in investigation of Dorgan."

Dickinson Press 9/4 "Andrews Puts Conditions on Debate."

BT 9/4 "Andrews First Agrees to Debate Conrad, then Hedges."

Forum 8/13 "Involved or not Andrews may be Bruised."

8/8 Valley city Time "Andrews Repeats Denial of Involvement."

GFH 8/8 "Dorgan, Conrad Consider Lawsuit."

"Firm Probes Dem. Nominees: Conrad, Dorgan believe action is politically motivated"- For. 8/3.

F "GOP Tied to probe of Dorgan" 8/5.

GFH "Andrews Friend hired Agency to probe Dorgan."

F "Andrews denies Dorgan investigation involvement."

Conrad - "I believe this election is a referendum on the economic policies facing the state of ND" MDN 7/31.

9/12 "Andrews aide says Conrad's attacks shift talk away from issues."

This has to do with TV ads - setting record straight. Conrad: "Clearly they are now on the defensive." And they are!

9/11 Forum "Conrad calls on Andrews to Keep Debate 'Promise'" (This one just amplifies idea that MA is hiding or has something to hide.

GFH 8/13 Whole section of Sunday paper entitled "What People Say about the Dorgan Investigation." They have person on the street interviews in Fargo, Lakota Center, Bismarck, Mapleton, Grand Forks. Stories from each town. Mapleton "strongly defend the local man" GF "carefully watching how Sen. MA handles an unfolding political story that could create problems for him." Bismarck "politics as usual." Andrews "tarred with a private eye investigation that didn't stay private. Center - 1st sent. "Many residents--hold US Sen. MA directly responsible for the probe into DD's private life." Lakota - "will hurt Andrews politically..."

Fargo "call foul on whoever may have ordered a check into the ND congressman's personal life."

When we left the office, where I had spent most of morning and same afternoon looking at clips, Mark said "I've gotten all the calls I wanted except from that great and glorious Senate Committee and the White House. It's the first time I've ever had a campaign where the opposition had plenty of money to put into the campaign and we couldn't go after them. I can't <sup>get</sup> Heinz to give me anymore money. He says, you're not in trouble, you don't need it. He's looking backwards. We had a 15 point lead, or a 20 point lead in June. But Conrad began his negative campaign in August, and they didn't give us any money to answer him and now we don't have that lead anymore. I'd say right now it's a toss-up. It could go either way depending on what happens from now on. We think we have things falling into place, but you never can tell." Marius tells me on trip back from ~~War~~ <sup>Ph</sup>etion that phone bank people see a change.

I got in a few questions about the campaign in between his calls to the office and to Jacqueline in the car.

"I've never had a campaign that was such a nit picking campaign. He said I said the price of wheat went up and yet it went down. Well it had gone up when I said it did. Then he said I voted for a pay raise. I never voted for a pay raise, I voted to cut the honoraria and bring our pay up to the level of the House--for most Senators, that means a net loss in pay. Then there was the busienss about the private investigation into Dorgan's wife....(he goes into great detail). I called <sup>Rand</sup> and I said "What the hell are you doing messing around in my state." He said "don't worry it's not political". I said 'Why didn't you tell me first?' He said 'I didn't want to worry you.' Now the son of a bitch is on the West Coast, he won't make a statement and some people think I was connected with it. How crazy can you get. I suppose he thought he was trying to help me. Conrad and Dorgan have milked that for all it's worth. They even filed a complaint with the FEC--after they knew

it was too late for FEC to do anything. That's the way it's gone. It's been all nicking, picking bullshit. He hasn't said one damn thing."

In between he had talked about the party. "My situation is made worse by the absence of any Republican party in this state. They are inept and incompetent and almost non-existent. They can't get together to do anything. You ask them to write a letter, finally they get around to it and it's time for the next letter. They are useless. I've put 200,000 of my money into voter identification. No one else would do it. And now we have to set up our own phone bank. We have a new young campaign group that is shaping up and is good. The trouble with the party is that they are so used to my having forty point leads that they don't know how to get up off their backsides and fight. I'm the only Republican on the statewide ticket. They should be working hard; but they aren't. I don't even know if they can."

I asked him how--if the Conrad campaign was "nicking picking bullshit"--how he accounted for the drop since June. I said there must be a reason why they listened to Conrad's <sup>stuff</sup> shift and it took hold. He said 2 things. "I think it's partly the sourness of the farm economy. There was a lot of frustration. But you saw the people in New Rockford. It was a good crowd, and they looked happy. I think some of it goes back to the lawsuit, to Mary's meningitis and to the misdiagnosis and the trial. They found the doctors guilty and awarded us <sup>10</sup> damages. I thought people would praise me for sticking up for my wife. I thought they would say family comes first. But instead of that they criticized me for going after the doctors. ~~What~~ <sup>Why</sup> kind of reaction is that? This is supposed to be a family oriented state. I was acting in the best interests of my family. I couldn't have lived with myself if I hadn't. But people were critical. If that's the kind of people I've been working for and living with all these years, then the hell with it. I don't want the job. (Is it ND "family") I always



thought that it was till I ran into this attitude. We did a TV spot featuring our 'neighbor to neighbor' campaign this summer. It showed Mary campaigning with me as we always have, as a team, Mark and Mary. It showed her that she could do it and was an important part of her therapy. Yet the Republican national committeewoman sat right in my office and berated me for putting Mary on TV. What did she want me to do, put her in the closet? I would have thought she would have said what a wonderful thing it was to see the family together again, campaigning as a team. But she was attacking me for protecting my family. If that's the way they feel, I'll just get the hell out of this business. There's just a lot of sourness all around. Then the editor of the Bismarck Tribune.... a call came on phone and he never got back to the thought. Keith said he thought it was "a great love story."

"The President's visit is not an unixed blessing. It ties down our people and keeps them from doing things that need to be done.

"It's all complicated, too, by the fact that the Senate is so close that the Democrats are putting a lot of money into the small states."

I did not sense a lot of real hectic activity around the office. People took pretty long lunches, not much hustle and bustle. They were doing campaigning stuff but no hustle in and out. It was a holiday and building was locked.

He talked with Jacqueline over the radio--they decided not to answer the Conrad ad on pay raise and deregulation--that it would be nit picking. "I don't want to start any of that nit picking stuff, said Mark.

At Wahpeton, as in New Rockford, MA's speech never mentioned Seyver Vinjie the congressional candidate - not like 1980 that way. Actually MA is only statewide candidate except Vinjie Minot-Kiwanis Club - on tape "Those of us who are farmers and small businessmen...." ID

Harkin bill "warmed over <sup>pabulum</sup> ~~problem~~ from another era - McNary Hagen"

Re Iceland <sup>conference</sup> "On the farm when you plough the ground, you don't have to

do it twice." We've made progress therefore. I see this as just another farm idiom. Or the the other day, talking about how much rain there had been in Dickinson and what a good hay crop there was - "The bales were so close together you couldn't get the wagon between them. It was a great crop of hay."

Tuesday we visited the UND Aerospace Center in Grand Forks. As we drove into the facility to park, the University official said "This is Andrews Alley. Mark Andrews is responsible for this facility." As we walked in, Mark said, "Isnt' this something? I'm responsible for all of it--it's all federal money. Three buildings--one every year for three years. Haven't missed a year yet. I think we'll get a fourth one next year. I got Jake Garn to come out here and dedicate the second building a year ago. When he saw it, he said, 'Mark, I had no idea you were getting all this money for aerospace here.' I said, 'I know you didn't Jake, and I didn't want you to know.' He said If I'd known I'd have tried to get it for Utah. I said I know it; and it's too late."

The <sup>Dean</sup> ~~Beam~~ - Odegard - "Mark Andrews is the captain of our team. He has put the infra structure in place for us. Mark and I have a dream of filling the valley with aerospace facilities--a kind of aero space valley to go with silicon valley. The next step--the one we <sup>will</sup> <sup>announce</sup> live annoyance today--is our 'Northwest anchor, a simulator training facility for pilots built by Northwest <sup>Mr. Ing</sup> Associations. Mark lobbied actively with Northwest Airlines to ~~help~~ convince them to locate here." <sup>MA</sup> <sup>see response next p.</sup>

Mark "I started two projects when I went to the Senate, an agricultural research complex at NDSU and an aerospace complex at NDU. You are on your third or fourth building here and we just broke ground for the first building at NDSU a few months ago. I swear Clifford (Pres. of NDU) keeps an architect chained to his desk working 24 hours a day."

Mark speaks at ceremony marking the Northwest - NDU agreement. Says the idea started when country faced shortage of air controllers. CEO of NW

called Mark the go between in the deal and said he put some gentle pressure on NW to locate here. Mark said "If that kind of pressure is what brought this infrastructure, I'm proud to have been a part of it. That's what you hire me for."

The Grand Forks airport is now "Mark Andrews International Airport." He shrugs it off by saying that the news will be "Mark Andrews Fogged in, Mark Andrews closed for repair, etc. At Kiwanis in Minot, guy introducing Mark played off it saying: if you get us an airline, we'll name another one after you" Frontier left and no one came in its place (laughter and applause). *(w just might)*

David Shribman interviewed Mark on ride from Grand Forks to Minot. I took notes!

He asked him "how it's going?"!! "It's going all right. We've got a farm problem in North Dakota that's causing a lot of frustration. And we've got an opponent who is capitalizing on it. And he's been out buying us on television by about 3-1. It's the first time I've ever had an opponent who could be on the air when we couldn't. I will probably out collect him by 5-1 in North Dakota. But he will get a lot of money from outside the state. But when he went on the attack in August and early September we had no money to answer him. We lost ten or fifteen points during that period in August and our problem is to build it back up. The latest poll puts us "neck and neck; our polls show us ahead; his polls show him ahead. But our friends are concerned now; and that may be the best thing of all. We have volunteer phone banks going now. It's the first time the Republicans have made this kind of effort. You never saw it before in N.D. I ran into Dee Huddleston in Washington a little while ago and he asked me how it was going. I told him about the latest poll results and he said he was ahead <sup>by</sup> 25 points, his opposition sneaked up on him and by the time his supporters took it seriously, it was too late and he lost. He said to me 'The best thing that could happen to you is to have the trouble come early enough so you can do something about it.'"

*to the  
next  
level  
to me*

Re President's visit - "The visit will make people aware there is a campaign going on." "But we aren't paying attention to it."

He talked about Chairman of Joint Chiefs coming to dinner in Minot and noted that the military has "economic impact on Minot." In a sense he sees the Admirals' appearance here as "bringing home the bacon." His stock in trade The dinner had lots of military.

He is the only Republican Senator endorsed by the NEA--and, of course, NDEA.

How about your independent course? "If I hadn't done it, it wouldn't have been me. I've behaved and voted precisely the way I told people I would vote. Sure I've gotten some static from the Republican party. And I offended the country club set because I stood up for my wife... The Association <sup>Dean of</sup> ~~of~~ the University of Minnesota medical school testified for us. And I hope that helped hundreds of other people from having the same thing happen to them... It's all right for a Democrat, but for a Republican to challenge the establishment--terrible, terrible. If I have to compromise with my family at the same time that I respond to Joe Doaks and his problems, I ought to quit.

What if you had buckled under to President on farm bill? "North Dakota would have been worse off. I was instrumental in keeping the high target price. The admin. bill would have cut 240 million more out of ND payments this year than last. The writers back home have not done their home work to analyze what a different farm program we got because of what I did. They like the Harkin bill which is nothing more than the old McNary Hogan bill which has been around for 60 years and never has gotten anywhere. It got three votes this time."

He went through the same thing I have (on tape) in the speeches--he tried for marketing loan concept, backed by NDU, NFU, FBF, Cattlemen, lost by 1 vote, didn't point fingers and blame, "shifted gears" to get best he could. "had

to get something - got target price for wheat - sunflower provision, Milt Young's idea, etc.

David gets MA to say "I made a big difference. I was the maverick raising hell, putting together the coalitions to save the target price concept and the safety net for farmers."

Re opposition "They are preying on the emotions of the farmer who sees a posted price of \$2 for wheat instead of \$3 like last year but neglects to realize he has a \$2 certificate instead of \$1 last year."

Did he ask President to come? W.H. came around and asked everyone 9 months ago if they wanted *Pres.* "I said yes and they were surprised." "I'm proud to have President come to N.D." *He did sign off on a tripling of FHA loans for N.D. He signed the farm bill. He's accused of being worse than he is for the farmer. Compared to Carter, he's a shining star for Agriculture.*

He said he and Mary went to 57 towns this summer on their campaign--with mobile van and a 5 piece band.

When I asked Mark if I could sit in on his interview with David, he said "Of course, you're one of the family. Besides, we know you won't write anything for 2 or 3 years. You have to be more careful with reporters, because what you say to them will be in the paper in two or three days."

"The press isn't playing the role of traffic cop. In the east, the press is experienced enough to call politicians on it when they don't tell the truth. Out here, political opportunists can knock farm programs and the press doesn't get in there and say they have no alternatives or ask what would we do without it. The danger is that next year at budget time, people will say why should we have any farm program at all if the people in the farm states don't like this one."

He notes irony that Conrad blasts farm bill for having high caps on what one farmer can get in payments and then brings in Tom Harkin to campaign for

him when Harkin's bill had higher cap than present one!

He also speaks of how Conrad brings in Bradley to campaign for him when Bradley authorized amendment to knock out sugar beet program.

David asked him if it wasn't a hard time to run as a Republican and MA agreed. "People are frustrated and hurting. Farming is not just a way to make a living, it's a way of life. People feel they are not recognized for the solid contribution they make to a strong America. There's a lot of pride and emotion tied up in the family farm. It's almost like belonging to a church. They will listen to people condemning the administration for what they've done for Agriculture, and then they say 'the hell with ~~it~~ <sup>them</sup>.' It's a hard backdrop to campaign against. There's an old saying in the farm states, 'give me a Secretary of Agriculture of the other party and I've got it made.'"

How make pitch? "Vote for me because I'm a farmer, an acknowledged fighter for the farmer. I'm on key committees and have a lot of ~~sensitivity~~ <sup>sensitivity</sup>. I can work our way out of this problem better than someone who knows nothing about farming. We need a balanced delegation of Republicans and Democrats. If you want to send a message and if you knock off a Republican who has been voting and working his tail off for the farm program, the people who are opposed to the program anyway will say there's no sense in doing anything."

"Life would be a lot worse with the Democrats. With them you had the embargo, high interest rates, high inflation.

"There are only two things a farmer needs--low interest rates and high prices.

"If the most prominent spokesman for the farmers' point of view is defeated, it's going to send a signal to the Jesse Helms' and the Dick Lugar's who don't appreciate the program. I was the coalition builder--with some Democrats and one or two Republicans. If it's perceived that I'm defeated or if I'm elected



by a narrow margin--then the signal is being sent back to people who want to do away with the program, 'It doesn't pay to be like Mark Andrews.'

"Some of the most bitter words in the Agriculture Committee were between Jesse Helms and myself because I was lined up with Democrats to get 240 million more for N.D. If I hadn't broken off and joined with the Democrats, the economy which was tough would have been totally disastrous."

"It isn't just election politics with me. I did the same thing in 1981 and four years before that when I was in the House. That year I even had to get time to speak on the floor from the Democrats. I couldn't get it from the Republicans.

David concludes 'So, sending a message could backfire.' MA agrees.

David asks him what he's gotten for N.D. and he and Tim Burke list em off. Research Center at NDU 20M - kept *Lignite* Research Lab open by getting NDU to take it over, keeping Beulah going when it was going to be shut down, 4 1/2M for high density <sup>fuel</sup> ~~fiscal~~ study - skyways in Fargo, bridge in Bismarck, access highways, reservoirs, helped keep grasslands payments.

David tells me privately that ND was 47th in new jobs last year 300 new jobs.

After *Crowe* talk- Conrad people are "intimidating" CAP people. "Boy the opposition sure knows how to play hard ball. I think we're going to have to learn to play hard ball.

At the Chamber of Commerce dinner, I talked with Tim about GFH. He was a reporter there, he's been with MA for a year and a half. He says the editor, Jacobs, is child of 60s and has hard time crediting Mark with anything. "He's hung up on what he calls Mark's arrogance." "They know that he's accomplished a lot for North Dakota, but they can't bring themselves to admit it. So you see lots of articles in the paper reporting things Mark has done, but you never see Mark's name in the story. Take this morning's story about Northwest and

UND." In private, there was lavish praise for Mark and in private too. Story was front page in GFH and no mention of Mark. True, story came out before the ceremony, but they knew damn well what Mark did, i.e., Andrew Alley!!!

Forum is only independently owned paper in N.D. Tim thinks it has largest circulation. I asked him which ones were not and he didn't know. I found it odd that the press secretary wouldn't have circulation figures at his fingertips. I have never thought Mark had good staff and I still don't. maybe Jacqueline can do it.

Waiting for Alma to pick us up to go to Chamber dinner, I saw 2 ads. One was Conrad saying that one farmer in Calif. got 20M in farm bill. "That's wrong." "Mark Andrews voted for that farm bill. It's all here in the Congressional Record." (Shows big sheaf of papers. Alma says this guy is cotton processor and has to divide the money among all the farmers he buys from.

The other ad was Bob Bergland saying how MA has fought for REA "Every year Mark Andrews fights to put it back in. I'm from a different party, but....if you want to save REA vote MA. It's nice--he looks straight into camera and talks - they like it.

My view of this election--which I gave in a small amount to David--is that Mark has built up trust, via accomplishment, identification, independence. His support is based on trust (Old Mark will deliver for you. He'll help you when you've got a problem. He's there when you need him." says Gary in Minot. The guy who drove us around the town) Conrad's basic attack is to undermine Mark's credibility, i.e. he flipflops on votes, he's no friend of the farmers. Tactically, he wants to get Mark on the defensive and thus knock him off his pedestal.

In the AM, I saw two ads "Lips ad" re Conrad's budget "Come on Kent, Why would you tell us you cut your budget when you didn't?" Trying to hit

back at Conrad. A state official stands in front of chart that shows Conrad's budget increased by 84%.

Re NEA - Gray, Weicker, Wright, MA got the award - the only ones. "Committee for Educational funding" plaque presented to him" It was Andrews Amendment that generated 1.2b into this year's education budget." Not only supports ed. he puts money where his mouth is - builds coalitions - we are showing appreciation.

MA "Landmark in my congressional service." "We had a fight on the floor," fought fight won by 60-30. "investment not spending" - part of team.

People back home give information. "Good ideas don't come from Washington, they come from ND." Two TV stations come 10 and 13 - Alma says they are the main stations. It's a nice award.

Then we go to presidential classroom.

Mark's Poster: "Leadership, Experience, Independence."

Question: in Presidential Classroom - constitutional amendment re prayer in schools - vote in May 80% of ND wanted it - "You took it on your own to vote against." He gave *riming* defense - no state prayer - did it in Nazi Germany. Burdick voted as I did. North Dakotans don't want anyone telling them what kind of prayer to I represent true feelings of all North Dakotans.

*man* said "thank you" and snuck out. It was the hit of the show buy my tape had run out.

MA never spent more than 400,000 - "We have to run a phone bank and vote ID out of our funds; the Party doesn't do that for us as the party does for Conrad."

TV - "Key is to motivate my supporters to get out and vote--get out and get working... Hopefully our supporters are not going to sit back and relax."

He thinks Conrad is on TV more than he is. Says voters will judge by TV who is spending more.

I'm the only major Republican officeholder left in this state; farm economy is in trouble; Dem. camp. committee putting money in."

We have 3000 people manning phone banks.

Endorsed by NDEA, Nurses, REA helping us.

As we drove from motel to his meeting with some bankers, I asked him if it all wasn't a matter of trust and Conrad's effort to destroy that trust. He said yes. "Peter Hart has advised the Democratic candidates to make the issue one of credibility and of character. And that's what all this nit picking is about, all the stuff about "double talk". That's what the talk about the malpractice suit is all about to suggest that it reflects some character flaw or a lack of credibility. You would think that people would approve of the way I have stood by my wife. I spend my life standing up for other people's families, why shouldn't I stand up for mine. But if we believe the polls, a lot of people seem to be buying their campaign. We could have gone very negative, just as they have, but we had to make a basic decision. We decided not to. Maybe we made a mistake. We could compare the way he treated his wife with the way I treated mine, and that's about as basic as you can get. Our polls show that we're doing better than he is with the 18-25 group. And we are doing well with the 60 and over group. It's the in-between groups where we aren't doing as well. Whether they are the ones who can listen to his stuff I don't know. When people began to think in the last couple of weeks and when they get in the voting booths, they will ask themselves "Which person do I want to represent me in the Senate." At that point we'll see whether all the good will I have built up all these years is still there or whether it's gone... It's very frustrating campaign. I've worked for twenty years and I've built up a reputation and yet people seem to be believing all the snarf that's being thrown around now."

Alma - "The fact hat the little pipsqueak can get that close makes me furious."

Last time - "We were just drifting along. We didn't have the Dorgan factor." Conrad is playing off Dorgan at every step. He's taking Dorgan's place at events like presidential classroom.

As I left ND, Conrad was accusing MA of "smear tactics", "dishonesty", "dirty tricks". See letter Frank C to Walsh County Press. 10/17/86 - It's over a Dobson story that says how Conrad has collected eastern money - Bernstein,

More excerpts from the Shribman interview:

Re administrative relations. "I fought 'em on education and won; I fought 'em on agriculture and won; I fought 'em on Farmer's Home and won... The President understands that Senators fight for their states. You dont' have to be disagreeable when you don't disagree. I've never been out here ripping the President up one side and down the other."

Re Hollings, after talking about their freeze *proposal*. Hollings fell into bad compnay with Gramm and Rudman." He really blasts Gramm-Rudman.

"It doesn't take much intelligence to complain about \$900 toilet seats and \$300 *hammers*. Instead of bellyaching, I did something about it, with a North Dakota idea--The idea of the warranty for defense equipment. I even went on the Today Show to explain it."

"Re the aerospace center."

"It was good for North Dakota but it was also good for the nation. It had to go somewhere. Where better than here? That's what I'm all about and that's what I'm doing." He means doing things for ND that are also good for the nation. Just as he continually thinks of farming as the backbone of the country "What's really special about America" his Reagan-Gorbachev "only one man represents a county that can raise enough food to feed its people and have some left over."

I mentioned the story of "What have you done for me lately" and asked him if that weren't the problem with talking about what he had done--that no matter what you had done, people forget it. He said, "None of these things is finished. In the areas I'm talking about--the aerospace center, the farm program, branch line abandonment, education, health care--the job still needs to be done. With my track record, who better to have in the arena scrapping to rewrite the farm bill and update it and provide export markets. I'm an effective legislator; and I have the experience. The areas of my expertise are all areas of ongoing concern. It's not like the guy who got a dam built or a school building constructed. When it's done it's done. My job is not done."

Re Democrats: "The alternative party has no alternative. They say send a message, but they don't define the message... While they have been talking about everything going to hell in a hand basket, I've been out there fighting and getting a better farm loan program, doing the things that made a bad situation somewhat better."

Talks about his statement that wheat is up--as it was for 7 days or so after the Senate bill, but went down after House bill. Conrad ad says Andrews said wheat went up and it went down.

After he explained this (as he did many times), he said "You'd think the press would say Andrews was absolutely right. Wheat was up seven cents for ten days and when the House didn't pass it, the price of wheat went down. I'm looking for the guys in the striped shirts to point a finger and say, Andrews was right. If we had any good reporters out here, they would say that."

In New Rockford "I've been coming to town, like New Rockford for 25 year."

On October 16th, in Indianapolis I listened to a conversation with Bob Teeter in the office of the Indiana State Chairman. "If Jim Abdnor and Mark Andrews lose, it won't be because of the farm issue, it will be because the



other guy was a better candidate. With Mark Andrews, it's arrogance, that's what it is." There it is again, just below the surface. And when I talked about Mark's dilemma in general terms with Mary and Greg, they took the view that there had to be fertile soil for Conrad's nit picks to take root "there had to be something already there that made those things plausible" said Greg. "It's all trust" said Mary. And that's it Mary said MA "drove us nuts" putting in things for his state "things we could never get for our state." But the tenor was that MA is known as a wheelerdealer and that once you have that reputation, other things--like Conrad's nit picks--become believable. The voter would say, yes, Mark Andrews is the kind of guy that would do that. They both said that you could not run a Conrad-type campaign against Quayle because he's just not like that.

Clips:

There is one passenger train that runs through ND - it's an AMTRAK train "Empire Builder" Fargo - GF - Dev. Lk, Rugby, Minot, Williston. This is northern route." 15,400 people took it out of Fargo in 1985. They had one Southern route Hiawatha, Fargo - Jamestown, Dickinson discontinued 1980. There is no highway paralleling ND route, but there was one paralleling southern route. Andrews gets lot of publicity talking about this - but sees no hope for getting southern routes back unless Amtrak makes money - GFH 10/1/85 Most substantive stories (like one above) get extensive play in number of papers. And these papers are part of the natural community grapevine.

He announces every grant no matter how small - job training, REA, boating, fishing, EPA (sewer), refugee resettlement (HHS), branchline (Wisheck to Ashley) rehabilitation, defense contract, aging, barbed wire fencing

Forum 10/5/85 Fargo passenger station to be moved - Amtrak

Oct. 5, 1985 - 2nd poll - Andrew Dorgan now 52-41 Andrew Conrad 51-33 (1st poll Feb 25-28 was 64-30 for Dorgan) I have this 2nd one. 57-32 A vs. Conrad.

Story of 2nd poll is that Andrews is doing better.

Dickinson press "Polls Show Andrews Narrows gap" 10/6; Minot DN 10/5 "Andrews Cuts Dorgan Margin in State Poll." Forum Poll Shows Dorgan would top A."

October 6 - Parade Magazine, lists 7 "Vulnerable Senators MA, Abdnor, Hawkins, Specter, Symms, Mathias, Kasten.

MA reply to Oct. 5 poll results - "It's gratifying to see that much of a pick up. I'm going to have to watch it or I'll peak too soon." - Jamestown Sun 10/7 - Conrad says he DK - but they note that Sinner beat Olson and aeth Specter beat Wefald when both "started out far behind in polls."

There's criticism that MA ran ads during the latest poll and that they skewed results. Andrews spent 25,000 from 3/22 - 10/4 he said - Forum 10/12. Dems claim the results were leaked to MA and he altered poll 10% pts. by his ads. It's in all the papers - Andrews pooh poohs it.

Andrews proposes to keep Amtrak or kill Armstrong amendment to cut it. So he saves it leads fight - Williston Daily Herald 10/23 Minot

UND Center for Aerospace Sciences gets FAA money - has gotten 15m - getting 7m more (courtesy MA) 10/26/85.

MA farm = 3000 acres - gets 18-20,000 in payments from USDA - Omaha W.H. 10/26.

Somebody asked USDA to look into MA payments and that creates a big brouhaha. In DC he's played up as a critic of program; but back home, he isn't. There's a problem here. Also - as a letterwriter noted - the WP article gets front page in Forum and p.11 in Herald and Herald story is cut short.

There's ~~some~~ material here on MA idea to make jetfuel at the gassification plant - he's trying to save a dying plant.

The Andrews appeal their case to ND ~~Sup.~~ Ct. The AP story doesn't call the lawyer a "Los Angeles lawyer" but the local guy writing in the Forum does - calls a couple of the Andrews' lawyers "Los Angeles lawyers" - that just rubs in the dislike of outsiders that Keith talked about in terms of Jacqueline.

Andrews gets Ag. Research Center at NDSU - 850,000 for feasibility study in 1983; 9.1 million for design and building in 1985 design going on now - Forum 11/15.

All through here is a pretty heavy, steady barrage on progress of Farm bill--~~no~~ big story to Xerox, but just very steady.

When Bruce ~~Post~~ resigns, the Forum notes that turnover rate on staff is 2 years (except ND residents on state staff.)

He spends a good bit of time defending the Senate Farm bill - not perfect but will allow farmers to keep going - special help for sunflower and sugar people. "Overall this is a good bill which will generally provide good income support to ND. It also contains some key interest to our state such as the sunflower and sugar provisions and, of course, the flexible target price for wheat."

Bis. Tr. 11/29/85 - also MDN - sum up farmer's problem as "a world of hurt". "Dropping commodity prices, overproduction, declining land values, the strong dollar and high interest rates have cut into profits and driven some farmers out of business."

8000 of state's 35,000 farmers have negative cash flow. State will lose 1500 farmers this year.

Taxable sales and purchases - best ec. indicator of state economy have declined 4 straight quotas and state revenue expected to fall 7.5% over next 2 years.

3 of every 5 bushels of wheat out of ND go overseas; and US share of world market has dropped from 43% to 34% since 1980.

Helen Dewar WP - 11/30/85 "In farm belt GOP Senators Keep Reagan Policies at a Distance." - has nice article that meks MA out to be "all purpose Maverick" on farm policy . Again a view vis a vis other Senators and vis a vis Reagan. MA "is seen as a good bet for reelection" but "taking no chances". Calls MA "agile at juggling his Republican loyalties and his own pol. needs."

Andrews voted with Dems to get emergency farm credit bill passed. "Because of the ramifications of that maneuver, some ND farmers are better off. And so is Senator Andrews.

Since then, the Senator has been watching the farm credit money pour into ND: 168 million in operating loans, 2 1/2 times the state's original

allocation. 'Now that ain't bad', says Andrews as he trumpets the news to his constituents.

Andrews' tactics do not fit the textbook definition of how to legislate. Nor do they endear him to the White House or what he calls 'red hot Republicans' in N.D. But they illustrate political survivalism, circa 1986."

Sees him "walking--if not running--away from RR policies--all in context of 1986 Senate race - greater stress on his independence than he gets at home.

"Andrews is among the most rebellious of the group."

Said "Andrews joined Dole in supporting a farm bill compromise. But he had a price, even then: new subsidies for sunflower production which is big in ND." (2.1 million acres)

Story starts: "My people didn't elect me to come down here and be a rubber stamp for any President, even one they like as much they like Pres. R."

Lot of articles reporting that he spent 5th most on mailings per constituent.

MA began 1985 with 213,000, in June he had 533,000 - July 1986 = 1.3 total - Conrad 192,000 total.

MA - "Quite frankly it's tougher to raise money without Dorgan announcing... because he would be perceived to be a more difficult candidate." (than Conrad?) MDN 12/14 Dorgan had announced.

MA quote "It's never wise to keep the House in past 11. It's like managing a nursery school without a nap." GFH 12/22

12/27/85 Williston Daily Herald - article by Philip Brasher - AP starts off "ND republicans end the year breathing easier about <sup>Sen.</sup> ~~Dem.~~ MA Senate Seat"... Conrad is "considered the frontrunner" among Dems.

Dr. - I have bad news and really bad news. You have 24 hours to live; I tried to get a hold of you yesterday.

As an example of small town network - one letter blasting MA for getting

money in San Francisco fund raiser - cable car people - when he's not getting it for ND - got in 20 or so papers pro or con - the outsider thing plus the gossip network.

Clips Jan. - June 1986 (backwards)

GFH 2/23 - Andrews completed head to head with Bob Dole for the FAA training school.

Williston Daily Herald 2/10 - Amtrak in headlines of Andrews town forum - last year 109,000 North Dakotans boarded Amtrak one of six (pop = 620,000) 200 people attended forum - 17 community forums being held.

MA "Here in ND, it's easy to say that the biggest problem is the farm. But the farm problems is superceded by the deficit. I know what could solve the farm problem--lower interest rates and higher prices."

Forum 2/16/86 - front page - article comparing MA and Burdick vote "on the whole, Andrews' record fits his image as a maverick Republican." He and B "were in substantial agreement on agricultural issues."

2/16 - Dickinson Press "Andrews Disowns Gramm-Rudman - "said whole thing started a Andrews-Hollings- when it came back "I couldn't recognize my own child."

2/5/86 - Devils Lake Journal Editor speaks of Dorgan and MA "Both are overbearing and arrogant; both are saddled with stuffed egos; both have been likened to cold, ambition-driven machines when it comes to politics; both are polished orators who are masters at telling N. Dakotans what we want to hear and only what we want to hear."

Bis. T. 1/28/86 - MA says "It's nto time to campaign yet." Says he'll start in 6-7 months. Conrad announced in 20-26 period, - but they note he was on TV last summer."

Yvonne  
enclosed  
MA



I think Conrad announced on 27th. He ties Andrews to Reagan and Reagan to economic failure. "I think there has been a general failure of leadership and I think Mark has been a part of it." GFH 1/28 "I'm an underdog. I'm under no illusions."

Garrison is in the news a lot. MA position is that it's better than nothing and that if we don't get it now 'it will be lost for all time.' They need to get something in the House bill. Granted, the situation we're working under isn't perfect, but it's a lot better than nothing at all." - if nothing now "we'll see a 100 year old dream for ND--lost forever because of partisan bickering and a group of headline hunters that should know better." Jamestown Sun 1/18.

It's the press conf. approach that galls Mark.

When Conrad announces, MA says something like "I can see he intends to campaign by press conference." but I can't find it.

Garrison gets 4-5 million for housekeeping - because no consensus among officials. Had been 50M.

4/23/86 - ND Poll. Crosby ND MDN poll 56-36 Andrews

North Dakota Poll 44-40 Andrews - "This poll demonstrates that A has lost much of the strength he once commanded among the independent voters in the rural area of the state" - of those who voted for him in 1980, 60% say they'll do it again, 25% for Conrad. But this poll is only among "rural and small city residents" done by The Journal - Crosby ND - headline "Senate Race Closer than Expected".

Walsh Co. Press 4/21/86 "Anything that gets friends to say 'By gosh Mark needs some help' is worth it. I can lose an election by myself. But I can't win an election by myself. The best way to get friends to be supportive is to get em a little scared."

(30)

4/19/86 UND poll Bis. T. MA 55 KC36. MA professes worry that people will think "Good old Mark, he's not in any trouble."

4/18 - MDN - same poll. MA has "across the board support among all demographic subgroups". WPost - 3/18/86 MA "Jesse and his pack of thieves" re farm bill - also "bandits" after he fought Helms.

Bad news re FAA training school - the one he thought he was competing vs. Kansas for - it went to Daytona Beach - no recriminations.

Re San. Fr. fund raiser - See SF Examiner 5/24/86 in which Feinstein caught a lot of flack because she hosted it "Feinsteins \$500-a-pop bash for a GOP Senator". Mark got 2.5m, 10m and 13m in separate grants for SF.

Dickinson Press 5/8/86 - Supreme Court Denies trial for Mark and Mary and they have to pay defendants court costs of 100,000. Mark issued statement. "No jury, no judge and no court will ever compensate for the pain Mary and I have suffered. I only thank God she is alive. Her good spirits and courage serve as an inspiration to all of us." Forum, too 5/8/86 - in all the papers.

5/5/86 - "Andrews Among Mavericks" GFH Robert Schilit of AEC!! of of fur "bipartisan-minded members of the Senate Bud. Com. Gorton, Grassley, "MA and Hollings calls Andrew "has emerged as possibly the bluntest member of the GOP Class of 1980 in his criticism of the President's budget priorities, i.e., 1983 to Dewar re budget "instead of being innovative, we saw R with his feet frozen in concrete, his head in the sand" esp. re freeze and tax. - p.

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