

Bill Frenzel

September 19-22, 1974

Thursday - 19th

5-10 p.m. Worked at campaign headquarters

Friday - 20th

11:30 Strategy meeting - Bill, Marc, Iris and later Bill Brown
1:30-5:00 Shopping Center campaigning - Bloomington, Edina,
 St. Louis Park
7:00 Senior Citizens Dance and Open House, St. Louis Park
 Recreation Center
8:30 Jim Swenson (for State Rep.) Fund Raiser, Elks Lodge,
 Golden Valley
10:00 Brooklyn Park Fireman's Dance, Ballroom

Saturday - 21st

9:00 Wilson-Griak, 905 Park Avenue - TV Taping
11:00 Common Cause, Minneapolis
12:00 Speech: Minnesota Service Station Association State
 Convention, Ambassador Motel
2:30 Huntington Disease Group, Golden Valley
5:15 Fund Raiser for Heinitz (for State Rep.) at Golf
 Club in Plymouth
6:15 Cocktail Party, Sid Pauley's Eden Prairie
7:15 Richfield GOP Dinner, North Central Airlines Building

Sunday - 22nd

11:00 Richfield JayCees Pancake Breakfast, Richfield Library
12:00 St. Joseph's Fun Festival, Hopkins
2:00 Touch Football Game

I got to Minneapolis in the early afternoon, called Maybeth at the district office and Mark Olson, Bill's campaign manager came to the Ambassador Hotel (in Golden Valley) to pick me up. I guessed, and think I was right, that if I made the acquaintance of the campaign staff early, I'd be that much ahead of the game the next day when Frenzel arrived. So, from about 5-10 p.m. I was in the campaign headquarters, first putting

stamps on a mailing to Republicans and then making phone calls to 48 people asking them about their voting preferences for Congress, Governor, Attorney General and Secretary of State. This was the first telephone poll and so, I got on the inside of the campaign fairly quickly. By "putting in my time", I think I gained some confidence on the part of the staff. Maybeth, Kathy Larsen, Marc, Iris Saunderson, Dave Broden, and a couple of others. Kathy is on leave from the Washington staff and has been here since July. Mark was on the Washington staff for two years, spent a year and a half in the real estate business here in the Twin Cities--came back to manage the campaign in July. They seem to be pretty well organized.

The poll showed Frenzel at 59%, Riggs at 27 and DK at 14. They were pleased, though we made only about 130 calls. But two years ago there was a higher percentage of DK's. They have feeling that things are more settled this time. Anyway they were pleased with results of the poll.

The next day, when Mark, Iris and I went over to Bill's St. Louis Park Office he met me with a comment. "There's the Herr Professor, I dub thee Knight of the telephone poll." The point is that he knew I'd done some work and that was my cachet into the upcoming strategy meeting--as I had figured it would. Thus the dirty political work on Thursday really set the stage for the weekend. (At the end, when I left Bill at the football game, all he kept saying was "You were a great help to me; you're a one man campaign team." The point is that congressmen relate

to you very easily in your roll as a participant--easier than they related to you in role as observer.

Anyhow, when Bill, Mark and Iris went in to have their strategy meeting and I asked if I should wait or what, Bill said "Come on. But we trust you not to say anything. That's mostly because we don't want our own traps to get fatheaded. All security precautions are off after the election."

The first thing they discussed was the poll. Bill was pleased, but wondered about the sample structure. (They had asked the Republican headquarters for four random lists of 300 each. And they had gotten on random list of 1200 names--from which they took one-quarter of each community's names.)

Bill thought, however, that the findings in the other races seemed to fit his preconceptions and were sufficiently different from his own race that it confirmed the relative accuracy of the poll. What he liked best was that he was running well among the independents. He thought Riggs' Democratic support was solid, that his own Republican support was about where it should be and that the independents were the key.

We'll cross off the Democrats and circle our wagons over here among the independents. We'll see if we can't hold our strength with that group--if we have any. "I suspect that there are some Republicans lurking among the independents this year. They figure (there is no party registration in Minnesota) that the district is something like 25% Republican,

35% Democratic and 40% independent and unknown. (which they pronounce "un-knowun")

They talked briefly about the possibility of Ford coming into Minnesota and his district. "I hope he'll go to the second and sixth districts if he comes. We need him there. I don't want him to come here. If he does, I'll show him the same courtesy I would show Lyndon Johnson or any President. I've always won on my own. I don't want people to think that I called him in here to help me." Then there was some discussion as to whether Ford would be a help or not. The consensus was that he probably would be--but no enthusiasm. (Bill thinks the pardon was premature, too--though he never expressed himself very strongly on that question. He did not seem to think it would hurt him above and beyond the general problem of Republican apathy created by the whole Watergate-post Watergate mess.

The next discussion centered around the direct mailings they are doing. Bill believes strongly in this aspect of the campaign and more money will go into it than for anything else. This is one place where volunteers are badly needed and there was a discussion of volunteers and of the time-table for the mailings. They have 3 mailings that send a Frenzel card and ask for money--27,000 to their newsletter list, 27,000 to all Republicans (which they take off party lists) and about 3000 to country club members. They don't try to eliminate overlap between them and the country club list. In addition, they also send a mailing of about 80,000 to the independents and unknowns. They also have a list of apartment dwellers--about 17,000. It is their intention that every household get at least 2 pieces of literature--one from the

mailing and one from the "literature drop" which they make at every home. That is, volunteers simply leave a piece of literature at every home.

In addition, they do "block work" in selected areas of their great strength--Edina, Minnetonka, Bloomington, Golden Valley, and couple of other places.

This is simply door to door campaigning; again by volunteers. Block work is basic to Minneapolis, politics and gives rise to the verb "block working"--which falls into category of "mainstreeting", "bumper stickering", etc., etc. It is the main method of campaigning for state offices and city offices and people who--like BF--come out of state legislative politics think of it as the key political method. Bill thinks of direct mail as a kind of necessary substitute for block work in his enlarged district.

"The best way to win a vote is to shake hands with someone. You don't win votes by the thousands with a speech. You win votes by looking at individuals in the eye, one at a time--and ask them. Very rarely will anyone ask you about how you stand on something. You need the speeches on the issues and the press to let people know you're in the race. But the most effective way to win votes is going door to door. There's something very flattering when a person comes to your house to ask you for a vote. We insist that all our state legislative and city council candidates do block work on every street in their district. Some visit every home twice. A congressional district is too large for that. So

we make selected forays into a few neighborhoods, and to plant gates and to shopping centers."

Sometimes he "block works" with state legislative candidate, which he did twice last weekend. "There's a ruboff that makes us both look good. Very few people have ever had a congressman come to their door. So I just introduce myself, praise the local candidate and hand them a piece of my literature with the local candidates brochure." There's a lot of letting oneself be used by the local candidates on the part of BF--he goes to their functions deliberately, to help them and lend prestige to their fund raisers. We went to two--Swanson's at the Elks Club and Heinitz's at the Hampton Hills Golf Club.

Back to the strategy meeting--an enormous amount of time was spent casting about for names of people who could help here or there with mailings and block work, and despairing of fact that it was so hard to get people out. They rummaged through their memories for past workers and paused with many of the names to gossip a little about them, evaluate their past work and so forth. It struck me--maybe 1974 is the low point in this regard--how much energy goes into finding people to do the menial tasks of politics--which is why labor groups who can commandeer such help are so important. At one point Bill asked plaintively "Aren't there any new people? These are the same old names. Where are the new ones?"

Later, I asked him about it, noting that suburban communities seemed to have lots of volunteers for things." "If you made a list of everyone who ever did anything in one of our campaigns--give some money, lick a stamp, pass out literature, you would have a list of about 2000.

Of those, probably about 36 did most of the work, day in and day out. And of those maybe, only about ten were really up to their ass in the campaign. And it's the same ones every time. In the first campaign, it was easier to generate excitement, but it's been harder each time since. People think once you're there, you're there to stay and they don't have to do anything anymore."

Somewhere in the meeting, the subject of abortion and the Right to Life groups came up. The issue was very hot in Congress. "You can get more votes for fetuses in Congress right now than you can for the pork barrel. Maybe I should change my pin from a dome to a fetus. I'm up there tightrope along the high wire-- ^{de-}defusing the issue where I can."

On the way to St. Joseph's Fun Festival, he said that all the Catholic parishes had these festivals in the summer and fall, with rides, booths, beer, bingo, dinner, etc. to raise money. "They've even taken to having anti-abortion display with fetuses in bottles. My secret here is to keep moving through the crowd--to make an elusive target. It won't be as leisurely a stay as some. The odds are prohibitive against someone asking me about abortion. I hope it isn't the man with the loudest voice in the parish. I'll try to turn the person aside and talk to them individually."

He went on to say that "some of the priests are very understanding and they don't want to be known as one-issue people." He said one priest who "is a friend of mine"--because BF used to hire boys in that parish

who needed money--was going to have a meeting of priests for him and that he and Riggs would come before the group and that they would declare abortion "out of bounds" if BF wanted to. Bill said, no, he'd certainly talk about his position on abortion, but that he "hoped they wouldn't lay too heavy on that one subject."

I asked re. Catholic population. "It's the largest ^{demonstration} in the district--less than a third, but more than a quarter. The most Republican and most affluent group are the Lutherans. Very generally speaking, the more affluent, better educated are more Lutheran, more Republican and live in the southern part of the district; the less affluent, less well educated live in the northern part of the district and are more Catholic and more Democratic."

Bill, more than any other candidate I've been with (except maybe Gerry Studds) was obsessed with money in politics, the raising of it, use of it, control of it, etc. The tenor of his comments is that money wins elections. And, of course, campaign reform is one of his major efforts in Congress, and the one he's getting most publicity over right now. (The Ford-Frenzel conversation reported in Newsweek, Common Cause and Minneapolis newspaper interest) because the conference committee is currently hung up.

He has 42,000 now and wants double that for this campaign. "Just so long as we don't go into six figures. Then it looks like you're spending too much money." At one point he said, "Campaign overkill is OK so long as you have the money. Marc said "I wish you'd let us operate

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that way." BF: "That was the campaign manager in me not the candidate speaking." Then he made the comment about six figures.

He spoke often of how he had raised \$150,000 in first campaign. "I went to _____ and told him I was going to spend \$40,000 in my campaign. He said you don't have a chance of winning unless you spend twice that much. I ended up spending \$150,000--and I won by less than one percentage point."

He noted that in his first race, he had in his district the place (Lake Minnetonka) where all big executives lived, Pillsbury, General Mills, Minneapolis Honeywell, Control Data, Cargill, 3-M, etc. and hence, he raised a lot of money. Now, they live in the Zwach district and give there; but he can still get some from them. He says it's tough to get money this year and is much concerned as to whether Riggs has any money or not. "It looks to me like the 'people in the know' have decided he can't win and have cut off his money." Then, on Saturday, as we drove away from the golf tournament he said, "My opponent's campaign is beginning to surface. He held a fund raiser at Medicine Lake, 300 people at \$15 a ticket. He probably cleared \$2500, a nice take for one affair like that. The unions can do that easily. He'll probably have time for two more of those. Last time I looked at his records he had spent _____, so if you put that with the \$2500 he just got from the AFL-CIO and the rest he mentioned this morning, he will raise at least \$30,000. But one mailing to every house in the district costs about \$15,000."

BF is big believer in the idea that you need a visible campaign

and that money does that for you, i.e., it lets people know you are around and in the race. (Very different from JJ) He said that in the context of money and in the context of specific expenditures. "My idea about billboards is that you get one impression per billboard--favorable or unfavorable. If people pass it a hundred times more, nothing happens. You probably need only two billboards--one in front of the candidate's house to keep up his morale, and one in front of the opponent's house to frighten him. But my committee thinks that billboards let people know you are in the race. And I guess they are right."

Re TV. "My committee thinks you need it so people will know you are running for Congress."

His idea, in the strategy meeting was that no one knew Riggs was in the race. His money had been kept down by "those in the know," "The Minneapolis papers have boxed him out" and he isn't appearing places where he should be. "We've planned to follow the incumbent strategy--to ignore you opponent and to counterpunch when necessary. But so far he hasn't even surfaced. Nobody knows he's in the race." (Later in the weekend, Riggs did surface somewhat--at Common Cause with the fund raiser and at Fireman's Ball--but not at the Senior Citizens Dance.) But by the time we went to St. Joseph's on Sunday, Bill was fully expecting Riggs to show. "If we don't run into my opponent here, it will be because he's already been here or hasn't come yet. These are his supporters." When we left Bill said, "I met some good people, some warm people, some people I knew. Others recognized the name or the face." "I've heard of you. Keep

up the good work, boy." "They don't know what your work is but they know you're on the job. These people were very inhospitable to me in my first campaign. Last time I carried Hopkin's. At least we found out where the people are--doing their duty to the church, not attending political rallies. I may not have turned over any votes but...I feel ^{impressed} ~~bugged~~ by that visit." He felt good about his reception in enemy territory. He had expected to be hounded by anti-abortion people. Got one anti-Rockefeller sentiment, which he took to be euphemism for anti-abortion.

Everyone there had button on for a DFL state Representative Candidate. "This is his home parish. People will wear a button for him even if they aren't going to vote for him. I would if I lived here."

He talked off and on about his 1st and second campaign, the first hard and the second easy. "In 1972 I carried every single precinct in the suburbs. I ran against a weak candidate. But I ran so well everywhere that this year, I don't know where to go. I'll use my strength."

"I ran against a dumb candidate. Some campaign consulting firm (Matt Reese) convinced him that the way for him to win was through the youth vote. So he spent all his money on the consulting firm and a registration drive that never produced any votes for him. When the campaign began, he was broke."

During the meeting he was told of some man who was doing yeoman service in Robbinsdale, which Bill had not carried particularly strongly. "My attention to Robbinsdale has been of the same low degree as Robbinsdale's attention to me. I wouldn't know this man in a crowd of two. Can't we do

something for him, like making the time of a Congressman available to him for half a day? If I'm going to embrace him, let's bind ourselves together with hoops of steel."

He has managed a number of campaigns, especially one for Governor in 1966(?) for a friend of his, fellow Young Republican Leaguer and fellow Young Turk, or man by name of Heard (he lost). He commented that candidates usually like to "fiddle around" with and "tinker" with their own campaigns when they are probably in worst position to know what's going on. Ideally, they should let committee decide where they should be etc, but that was not likely to happen. "The committee usually gives the candidate the dirtiest job--calling on people for money."

Of his first campaign, he noted that Rice was local TV editorialist, that "when campaign began he had a recognition factor of 96 and mine was 18." "We collected money wherever and however we could. And we shot my name out everywhere. We sold me like soap."

"The campaign gradually improved. We had a good volunteer group. And the Republican party was much better than it is now. In the last couple of weeks, we ended every day in a bowling alley. It caught on and gave us a lot of publicity. Rice still thinks it was the 'bowling alley vote that cost him the election."

Then he talked re St. Louis Park and the first campaign. "St. Louis park is one of the ripe suburbs, in its second wave of development. It has problems Bloomington never dreamed of--like senior citizens housing. Most of the Jewish population of the district lives here. And they have

been very good to me. I really shouldn't do as well politically as I do here. But I did a smart thing--or my committee did. They sent me to Israel. And that trip did as much as anything to elect me. My opponent got the reputation of being anti-Israel. Not that he was but with the people here, it was all or nothing, and he tried to be even handed. I was elected more by the Jewish vote than by the bowling alley vote."

At the meeting they noted that there was not much by way of issues in the campaign and that they had to advertise in newspapers because "that's the only medium in which we can talk about the issues. And we've got to talk about the issues. And we've got to talk about the issues somewhere." To which BF replied "We have to advertise in the newspapers if we want their editorial endorsement." Later on, the BBDO guy seemed to think advertising in the suburban paper and in the suburban segment of the Minneapolis paper was good bargain because you could separate out and target individual communities and target in on the 3rd district--as you can't with TV, which spills over into rest of metropolitan area. Anyhow, newspaper was low priority item for BF campaign.

Even lower was radio. They said they'd do some if they had money after the mailings were done. (Mailing had top priority and top claim on campaign dollar. TV (15,000) had next.) They discussed radio and BF said he didn't want ads on the most popular radio station, CBS (WECO) since they listen to the news and I'm on the news. He suggested that if they did radio they do "the specialized stations, FM, rock and roll for the kids, and the shin busting country music."

Re TV. Marc said "You'll be on Marcus Welby more often than his nurse."

Constant complaining that Republican party organization has let its records go to pot--its EDP (Election District Profile) computer print out that BF campaign relies upon so heavily. The Republican workers compile the list of Democrats, Republicans, Independents by going door to door and when organization breaks down, data gets old.

"You can do your job in Washington and in your district if you know how. My quarrel with the Barber Conables of this world is that they don't learn to be good politicians before they get to Congress. They get there because some people are sitting around the table one day and ask them to do it. They're smart, but they don't learn to organize a district. Once you learn that it's much easier to do what your job is in Washington. I remember Barber told me he put a limit of \$50 on his campaign contributions. I told him I did too--unless I could get bigger ones. He's naive. More and more people are being trained in state legislature for Congress. That's an added reason incumbents are so hard to defeat. The only thing you can't do is run a local party and still do your job as Congressman. If you are a Congressman running your local party, your party is in bad bad shape." He was half wrong, half right about Barber. But point was that you could do both parts of the job, if you were a good politician back home.

We discussed people who lost primaries. Glenn Davis he called "surly" and Stubblefield too. Williams and Tiernen get into party faction feuds. Podell under indictment.

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Re his second campaign, where he got 63% of the vote, he said "Fifty-three percent was a Republican vote, 5% was for the incumbent, and 5% was because I had a dumb opponent. This year, I don't know how to figure it."

"I go to everything I can. Even if the Labor Temple invites me I go--you can run but you can't hide. Some have a lower priority than others. Even Rotary Club would like to have me speak every year. I try to keep it to once every two or three years--Lions, Kiwanis too. The only group I speak to regularly is the League of Women Voters. I have a session with them quarterly in which I answer their questions. They are Democrats, but I think it's a Minnesota tradition to cross party lines at least once, and I'm their independent vote."

After senior citizens. "That was refreshing. It's good for a congressman to realize he represents people and isn't just doing their day's job by himself. That was fun. It was more fun because they have a membership of almost 1000."

I asked him to describe his strongest supporters. "He is a businessman and he is fairly liberal, so liberal that he is almost a Democrat, but he can't leave the Republican party. He's an internationalist. Or, ^{else}, he is a professional^{al} man, a doctor, lawyer, engineer. If he's a professional man, he's very conservative; he thinks his taxes are confiscatory. He's anti-union--more than the businessman. I have other pockets of strength too. I do well among the do-gooders, the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, the Nader group. That's because I've always been a procedural, structural reformer. My women supporters tend to be liberal, active in community affairs, and members of several organizations. I do well with

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the Jewish group. And I have particularly good relations with the mayors and councilmen of my cities, because of what I did for them when I was in the State Legislature. The people I can't reach with a ten foot pole are the labor union people and the old line Democrats."

I said that 'some of them are more liberal than you and some are less liberal than you' and he said 'yes'. "The big businessmen in my district tend to be quite liberal. They are free traders--a lot more interested in export provisions than in tax law. I'm well situated on a couple of subcommittees to help them on that. And they are satisfied with union politics. The professional men on the other hand, are very anti-union. And they take the attitudes 'I've made it; everyone else can do the same.' For them, I take a flint hearted position on federal expenditures. The do-gooders are a little nervous with me but they stay because of the reform missions I fly. We've been able to target in on these groups pretty effectively." He saw campaigning and voting as ways of doing this.

"My opponent is having trouble getting out of the ^{get} ~~pet~~. When he went looking for the national Democratic Jewish vote, he found I had already talked with the Rabbis and other leaders and had good support there--not all the Jews, of course, but very many. Then he goes to the Common Cause types and they tell him I'm the greatest thing since sliced bread--not because they agree with everything I do but because I'm the only Minnesotan down there who's doing anything. So all he's got a lot of is labor. And we run him down the canyon that says 'Bye Labor'. Then, when he says Frenzel is anti-union, my district says 'good'! He has the issue of my

taxes (BF filed his tax return late, though he had paid all he owed) and I'm sure he'll bring that up somewhere along the line-- But we played that very skillfully and, I hope, successfully. I announced it myself; asked the press what they wanted on the matter; and then I gave them what they asked for. They played it up for a while and then decided it wasn't an issue anymore--that I had been open, had done nothing illegal and that it should be over and done with. When the press decides something isn't worth paying attention to, it usually isn't. How my opponent will try to revive it I don't know."

At the meeting it was decided that Bill should write Riggs a letter saying that he knew Riggs had violated the law by not filing his first campaign expenditure report till well after he announced and not covering about the 1st 6 weeks of his campaign. They felt this might scare Riggs into not using the tax thing against BF. Their assessment of Riggs is that he'd be shocked to learn that he did something wrong and would not want it publicized. I think it's dangerous and I'll have to see whether they ever went through with it or not. Actually it's old hat-- 'if you say something about me, I've got something bad ready to say about you.' But it can backfire, if Riggs, say, publicized the Frenzel letter). But the tax issue did crop up occasionally--in my telephoning and in my shopping center campaigning; and the Frenzel people see it as the great unknown of the campaign. True to his counterpunching strategy, he wants to be ready.

Re his image: "It's probably a lot of wishful thinking--a white knight high on a white horse in gleaming raiments of purest white. Then

you wonder, if most people don't know who their congressman is, how can he have any image. I hope it has something to do with the qualities I think I have. That I have a concern for the people of the district. That I have a record of modest accomplishment in the legislature, a record which exceeds what would be expected of someone in my position, with my length of service. That I'm someone who is around a lot and pays attention to what people are saying. That I'm critical without being cynical." (And here we walked into the Common Cause meeting and were interrupted.)

Re Dean Laphan, a school teacher I met at Common Cause meeting. "He is a neat guy, one of the original counter insurgents. We used to think of ourselves as renegade liberals hiding out in the Republican party. We probably weren't that liberal. But we thought we were." "Neat guy" is one of Bill's most used accolades.

After he and Riggs talked to the 3rd District Common Cause group of about 25-30. "That was a squirrelier group than I thought. They claim 800 members in my district; and there were a few wierd ones there today. There was no money to be made there. They were all known Republicans or Democrats--no strangers. You have to treat them differently than you would other groups--like labor or business. You have to treat them like environmentalists. They are affluent, well educated and idle. They think of themselves as totally unselfish, idealistic and right. Therefore they want you to be with them all the way, as any moral person naturally would. They think they are separate and apart from everyone else. They come from the do-gooders and cry baby groups--disillusioned McGovernites and Republican liberals. Coming as they do from cry baby groups they bruise easily. If you deal with them too

harshly or abruptly they will go home, or sulk and drop out. So you have to be very patient with them and answer all their questions. They are, however, a desperately needed group in America."

Went on to talk about John Gardner and how he 'asked for it' in his tiff with Wayne Hays. "They are like all men in politics, primadonnas. Politicians have super ego-needs--much more than the average person."

He contrasted his style to that of Clark McGregor who had the district before him. "My office operation is very different from his. It is much more oriented to the home folks. I hired all Minnesotans, as he did not. Our office takes the attitude that we are as good as any of the competition. We act immediately on pressing matters, responsively on all matters. Hubert Humphrey was always said to have the best office for responding to constituents; and we are just as good. I come home a lot more than Clark did. And when he came home he tended to stay out on Lake Minnotanke where he lived among the wealthy group. He was great on the cocktail circuit. I tend to hang around more and just listen to the folks. He would come to every meeting breathless after racing in from some other important meeting; and he was an egregious name dropper. But he carried it off and it was very effective. I couldn't get away with that even if I tried. He would have prepared written speeches for release to the press. I never do that. But he was a great campaigner, big, handsome and energetic. He was thought to be more conservative than I, though he was a tower of strength on the Judiciary Committee. He helped write the civil rights bills--or so he let us believe. Just as I am letting folks believe I wrote the election reform law."

Why McGregor ran for Senate. He just wanted a bigger challenge. "When you first go to the House, you are impressed with how much you can do there. But after 3 or 4 or 5 terms you reach a plateau. Especially among the Republicans. And you get bored. That is, if you're any good you do. I would. And if you have any ambition you want to try something else." I asked him re Senate and Governor for himself. "Well, the things I have been paying attention to are national problems. If I went to the Senate, it would be a matter of starting in again, learning the rules and where the bodies are buried. But in terms of accomplishing something new and different, the governorship would be better." It was a non-committed answer. But that he wants to try one or other is very clear. One reason he doesn't mind so much wastage and spillage on his TV ads is because they are thinking about its benefits for the future.

Re handling district. "It's an easy district. I land in my district and can be in any part of it in 35 minutes. If I want to know what the district thinks about something I can call 3 people whom I trust and who trust me--though they may not agree with me--and zero right in on opinion. What does Senator Mondale do when he lands at the airport? Does he go to Duluth or St. Cloud or Bloomington? I know all the mayors and councilmen in my district. Does he? Can he? Where does Senator Cranston go when he gets to California? He just goes someplace and waves. The House is representative because members know their districts. Senators aren't representatives. They are conceptualists, abstract thinkers, international figures. I wouldn't hold it against them if they never came home. That's not part of their job as I see it. They might just as well do constructive work for six years and then leave. No one will miss them."

"Joe Karth tells me I spoil my constituents. He says, 'you've been elected twice, you know your district, once a month is enough to come home.' But that's not my philosophy. Maybe it will be some day. I like to come home and it's fun to campaign. During campaigns you see mostly the old faces. But between campaigns I meet a lot of new ones. I hold a lot of office hours so people can come to me directly with their problems."

In the context of several of our Saturday meetings, he complained about the lack of new faces and/or enthusiasm. On Sunday morning, I asked him about the Richfield GOP dinner the previous night. "It was dreary--evidence of the low estate to which the party has fallen. If you subtract all the candidates, their wives, and their managers, there wasn't a 'people' there." Shortly after this comment, as we drove to the Richfield Library to the JayCees pancake breakfast, "I hope we won't see just the same people today that we saw last night. I'm afraid we will." Well, we did and we didn't. As we went out "I met a few new people--mostly in the kitchen. But the test of this trip will come when that girl decides whether or not to put my picture in the paper. That one picture is worth a hundred handshakes--no that's not true." (It was then that he went into supreme value of handshaking--quoted earlier.

At Pauley cocktail party in Eden Prairie, he was upset at how few cars were there and as we walked in he said, "I've been discouraged--nay, dismayed--by the turnout everywhere we've gone this year." Afterward he found a silver lining in the party in that the mayor came. And he said

the Republican mayors were the hope for the party's future and if they were coming to Republican gatherings, lending their prestige, etc. the party could build up locally.

Re flyers. "The more I'm in this business, the more convinced I become that it isn't what you say on the flyer that counts, it's just getting them out." Again, the visibility idea. Is that strongest in suburbia?

"Did you ever see a campaign won by issues? Maybe on an emotional one like abortion or gun control. A candidate has to be comfortable talking about the issues. But most campaigns are not won or lost on the issues."

Again, Sunday morning, "You can see what's bothering me. Everywhere we go we see the same people, the hard core."

"In your first campaign you go for the Republicans. You plow the fertile fields. But once you become identified as a Republican, then you reach out to the independents. That's where direct mail helps. And the advertising media help by trying to humanize the candidate."

Driving through Richfield, the lawn signs had blossomed. Lawn signs are a tradition in Richfield and St. Louis Park. And people think they can tell who will win by who puts up the most lawn signs. Actually it's even more sophisticated than that. You have to know whose sign is on whose lawn. I remember in the State Legislature, I was redistricted into St. Louis Park. During the campaign, my opponent's lawn signs blossomed out all over and I was downcast. I went to see one of the city sachems, and he took me around while he looked. After our tour, he said "You'll win."

All the signs were on yards where they had always been--Democratic yards. He knew all the yards, and there were no strangers. And he was right , I won." All he said here was confirmed in my talk at Richfield with Ward and Carolyn Ring (she's running for state representative from Richfield and he's her manager). They had just put up lawn signs. (They were among those we saw that day and they felt much better, they said. Also, they said, you can't dribble lawn signs up. You have to put them up all at once in a big, intimidating thunderclap. I'm not sure there's a verb "lawn signing" but if there isn't there should be!

Another campaign verb I picked up in Nolan's district was "door knocked". We "door knocked" last night in Jackson. You go on "a door knock" or you go "door knocking".

When I asked him why he went to the Huntington's Disease Group, which was trying and mostly not from his district. "I was interested. I didn't know anything about Huntington's Disease. I would never get a chance to meet these people in any other way. And I was curious about the center it's in. It's in my old home community and there was quite a fuss when it originally went up. People thought there would be mentally deranged people running around and that would be unseemly."

Campaigning. "You look like Bob Riggs." "If I was I'd be wearing tennis shorts." "No, I mean Bob Riggs, Frenzel's opponent."

Also, the lady who left her two kids with Frenzel to help put on bumper stickers and never came back for them. We had to take them home.

He spent \$15,000 in his first primary campaign. Why did he run--

he wasn't clear. Said that he and some others were promoting a Quie for Governor, McGregor for Senator ticket in 1966 and that at the same time he began thinking of running for McGregor Senate seat. That he got a little nucleus of people together just in case--a few in each community. That ticket fell through. But his people were still around, when he did decide to run. But in 1970, all he said was "I had just decided not to run for the state legislature and I said to myself, 'what will you do now, you're going to miss all the fun.' So when McGregor decided to run for the Senate I announced. Said nobody pushed him, he did it briefly.

He first needed the endorsement of the 3rd district convention--whose delegates were chosen by precinct caucus and then the legislative district caucuses. He ran against Bob Forsythe (MC at the GOP dinner) who was then state chairman of Republican Party and the favorite. Bill thinks he just out-organized Forsythe in getting friends in precinct caucuses, then getting around to delegates and persuading them he could win. One person said Frenzel was the more conservative of the two. Carolyn Ring said that was not so. But Forsythe did keep talking about Harold Stassen when he was MC. Anyhow that was a bitter and close fight for the endorsement. And Forsythe did not go into the primary vs. Frenzel. Why? I'm not sure. (One congressional endorsee had been beaten this year. Perpich beaten by Oberstar in Blatnik's district.)

He said his family not happy about him running for Congress but that "I eked out a 3-2 vote in the family. It cost me a lot of ice creams."

In the campaign meeting he talked about ratings. "These raters decide who their frineds are and then build their ratings so that their

their friends got 100%. The AFLCIO builds their rating around Jim O'Hara. The environmentalists, around John Dingell. And the Ripon Society builds their ratings around me. I'm the only one who gets 100% from Ripon every year--much to my great embarrassment back home."

90% of all Republican money came from Hennepin. And half came from his district.

Said he was lucky to win 1st race vs. Rice but that "there was a lot of campaign competence lying around the district." He also noted that the Lake Minnetonka crowd, the very rich of Minneapolis, were in his district the first time he ran and he got lots there.

On business of leadership in Congress asking you for vote, BF doesn't think that many votes are gotten that way--via direct ^{salutation} ~~salvation~~. "I've been up and down the hill with the leadership on that. I tell them I take my positions solid and early at home. If you want my vote, have a legislative platform and stick to it. Take your position early. They won't do that. Where I can take the lead on a Republican position I feel comfortable with, I do. That makes them feel better toward me."

In that last comment there is a different view of the maverick. For reasons of his electoral support, he takes a position early. He has to. Then he can't move with the leadership when they want him to. Frenzel sees his constituents as demanding early position taking and he is less flexible with leadership. But he tries to make up for it by acting as lead goat for Republican programs he believes in. Two ways of counting leadership favor--but each rooted in a home situation and a home style!

When he ran 1st time, his company let him work part time and draw a commensurate salary. He called that "an unfair advantage." Rick Nolan was kept afloat as a candidate in the off years by having someone intercede for him with Fingershut Company, where he worked in personnel. Many contributions in kind of this sort are hard to pen down. Studs must have gotten a similar sinecure at U of Mass.

BF has a several sided view of his suburbs.

1) Relative affluence. "The most affluent town in my district is Edina. That's strong Republican territory. When you want to harvest, Republican vote, you go to Edina." Next is affluence he lists (in no order) Minnetonka, Golden Valley, Plymouth. Then the others.

2) Relative "maturity." He talks of "mature suburbs" like St. Louis Park and "third tier suburbs" like Eden Prairie. And this is a developmental kind of perception. When did they get their big growth?

3) Sheer size. He speaks of Bloomington as "one fifth of my district-- and we have to pay it special attention for that reason." Bloomington, he says had early development and got the spirits, "the strip", "what we euphemistically call the hospitality industry," fairly early--later than St. Louis Park, but before recent

4) Part of Minneapolis to which they are adjacent. "The blue collar area of Minneapolis was in the North. The more affluent areas of Minneapolis were in the South and West. They busted out into the suburbs in the South and West. The blue collar people busted out into suburbs in the North." He has mostly south and west of Minneapolis.

For political purposes, the staff has "targeted" the top 4 towns in affluence and "some sections of Bloomington" for their door to door, get out the vote campaign.

He probably also characterizes the suburbs in straight out political support terms.

When I asked him if anyone vote could kill him, he said "If congress had voted for impeachment and I had voted against impeachment, it would not have helped me much. But either way I would have lost." He said he came out for impeachment after the final Nixon disclosure. Up till then he talked in terms critical of Nixon but did not come out one way or another.

*1000
has in
more
improvement*

"When I was in the state legislature, one redistricting added 10,000 farmers to my district. On matters where the farmers and the suburbs differed, like daylight savings time, I voted with the suburbs. The farmers ~~get~~ screwed every time. So that talk that you can represent a heterogeneous district easier is only true up to a point."

Bruce Marrick--the BBDO account executive who gets all the moonlighting talent to do BF's media work--showed me thier TV market information and why they bought the time they did--interspersed throughout the day, paying attention to "depth" and "range" of audience, Nielson ratings, etc... bothered by spillover problems.

He said redistricting would most likely hurt him because he's pinned against the city and he'll lose his outlying areas. These tend to be more Republican.

Said, again, that census said he had 100 black families, but he could find only 50--all prominent people. "The best people in the district--doctors, lawyers, engineers."