




5-1989

Race of the century : Guy vs. Young, 1974 North Dakota U.S. Senate election

Allan C. Young

Follow this and additional works at: <https://commons.und.edu/theses>

 Part of the [Political History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Young, Allan C., "Race of the century : Guy vs. Young, 1974 North Dakota U.S. Senate election" (1989). *Theses and Dissertations*. 1124. <https://commons.und.edu/theses/1124>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, and Senior Projects at UND Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UND Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact zeinebyousif@library.und.edu.

RACE OF THE CENTURY: GUY VS. YOUNG
1974 NORTH DAKOTA U.S. SENATE ELECTION

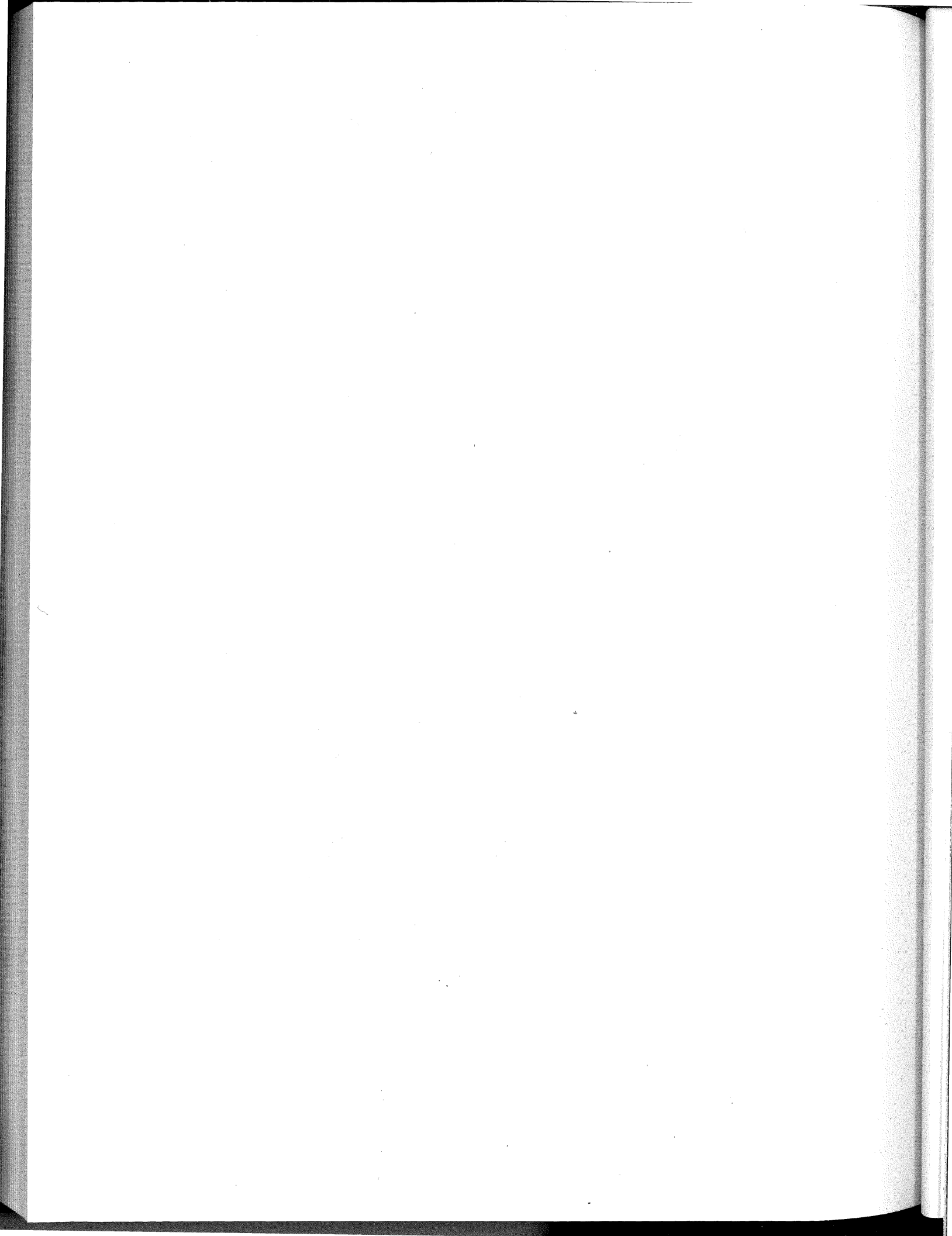
by
Allan C. Young

Bachelor of Philosophy, University of North Dakota, 1987

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
University of North Dakota
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

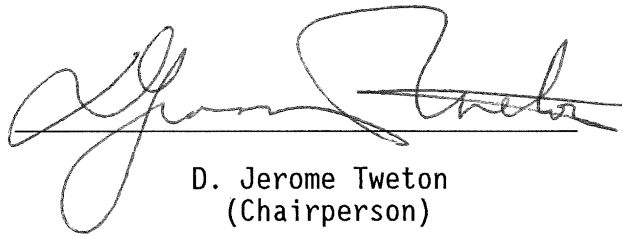
Grand Forks, North Dakota

May
1989

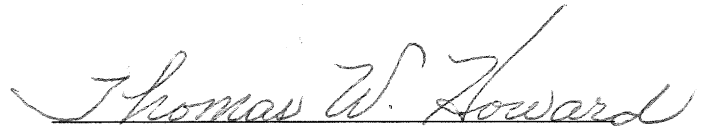


T1989
Y84

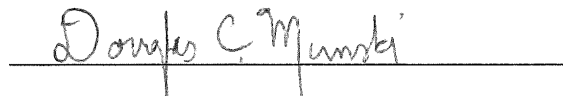
This thesis submitted by Allan C. Young in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.



D. Jerome Tweton
(Chairperson)

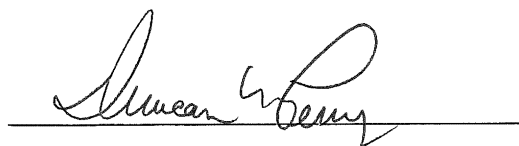


Thomas W. Howard



Douglas C. Munski

This thesis meets the standards for appearance and conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.



Dean of the Graduate School

Permission

Title Race of the Century: Guy vs. Young 1974 North Dakota
U.S. Senate Election

Department History

Degree Master of Arts

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the Library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my thesis work or, in his/her absence, by the Chairperson of the Department or the Dean of the Graduate School. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this thesis or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Signature Allan C Young
Date 4/27/89

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE REPUBLICAN CAMP: MILTON R. YOUNG, NOVEMBER 1972- DECEMBER 1974	9
III. TOWARDS A LONG SOUGHT GOAL: WILLIAM L. GUY TO 1974	31
IV. CONTROLLING DAMAGE: YOUNG, 1974 TO THE PRIMARY	43
V. CONFIDENCE TO ALTERING STRATEGY: GUY, 1974 TO THE PRIMARY	60
VI. STAYING THE COURSE: YOUNG, PRIMARY TO THE GENERAL ELECTION	76
VII. THE LEAD SLIPS AWAY: GUY, PRIMARY TO THE GENERAL ELECTION	86
VIII. CONFUSION: THE RECOUNT	104
IX. REFLECTIONS: HEEN, GUY, AND WRIGHT LOOK BACK	123
X. CONCLUSIONS	145
BIBLIOGRAPHY	149

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the support and encouragement of my wife Harleen, the writer would not have returned to the University of North Dakota and produced this thesis. My interest in politics and history comes directly from my mother and her mother, my grandmother. This work is dedicated to those three women. Special gratitude is given to Dr. D. Jerome Tweton, chairman of my thesis committee, and to the University's History Department. For Dan Rylance and staff of the Special Collections section of the Chester Fritz Library, my appreciation for their assistance, forbearance and consistent cheerful cooperation. A special thanks also to Lieutenant Governor Lloyd Omdahl for making possible my interview with William Guy. My greatest indebtedness, however, is to the people of North Dakota who sustained their University, making this paper possible, and who were the real authors of the Race of the Century.

ABSTRACT

As the 1972-1974 election cycle began, Republican incumbent Milton Young, who had served in the U.S. Senate for twenty-seven years, decided to run for another term with realistic confidence in his ability to repeat prior election victories. His initial optimism began to erode as national Republican leaders questioned his ability to defeat his apparent opponent, former North Dakota Governor William L. Guy. Results of public opinion surveys added credibility to the perception of Young's weakness. Guy saw an opportunity to achieve his long-held goal of becoming a U.S. Senator and cautiously laid the groundwork for his campaign. As the two rivals continued their efforts in 1974 and the Watergate scandal reached a crescendo, political observers recognized that a basic realignment of political party dominance could occur when, as seemed most likely, Guy defeated Young. When statewide Democratic candidates received more votes than Republicans for the first time in the history of North Dakota primary elections and Guy's lead in the polls held steady, it appeared that Young would not be able to reverse the tide running against him.

The reasons for the eventual reelection of Milton Young can be most effectively determined by recounting the events of the 1974 U.S. Senate election chronologically rather than by tracing subjects or issues, and doing so with each candidate separately. The campaign,

devoid of public policy discussion by either candidate, focused on Young's age and congressional seniority. Robert McCarney, a maverick Republican, ran in the Democratic primary, and James Jungroth, a former Democratic legislator and state chairman, ran as an Independent candidate in the general election; both these candidates did so not because of substantive beliefs concerning issues but because they disliked Guy.

Young won the election in part because Jungroth took votes away from Guy. Guy lost because he did not accurately perceive the effect of the McCarney challenge, the damage of the financial support that he had accepted from a national lobbying group, and the damage caused by his very cool relationship with North Dakota's Democratic U.S. Senator, Quentin Burdick. Because the outcome of the general election placed Young over Guy by just 177 votes (less than .005 percent difference between them), Guy took advantage of North Dakota law and requested a recount. During the period of the recount, Young and Guy developed an attitude that the winner would be decided by the process. However, the recount was only the final review of the general election results and the winner had been selected by the voters on election day.

I. INTRODUCTION

The two principals pitted against each other in North Dakota's 1974 U.S. Senate election understood well the state's political landscape, and the voters of North Dakota held both men in high esteem. During the campaign neither man publicly issued bitter or brutal personal attacks against the other nor did either side charge the opponent with incompetence. Two well-respected, powerful partisan politicians put all their resources into winning, and their efforts dominated North Dakota's political scene for two years, attracting considerable nation-wide interest. Voter and press attention focused on William L. (Bill) Guy and Milton R. Young. Both represented the products of North Dakota agricultural families with traditional values found in prairie farm life.

Born on September 30, 1919, in Devils Lake, William Lewis Guy attended public school at Amenia, where his father managed the Amenia Sharon Land Company. During Guy's high school years he played on Amenia's Class C basketball team for four years, being named to the second All State Team in his graduation year, 1937. Other high school activities in which young Guy participated included the Boy Scouts, band, and the 4-H Club. Moving on into higher education, Guy received a Bachelor of Science degree in Agricultural Science from North Dakota Agricultural College (now North Dakota State University-NDSU) and a Master of Science degree in Agricultural Economics and Business

Administration from the University of Minnesota in 1946. During World War II, as a naval gunnery officer, Lieutenant Senior Grade Guy survived the sinking of his destroyer in the Pacific during June 1945. He married Jean Mason in January 1942 and over time their family grew to seven with the births of Bill, Jim, Debby, Holly, and Nancy. Between 1947 and 1960 Guy operated an eight-hundred-and-forty-acre farm near Amenia and a farm supply business. During winter quarters he taught agricultural economics at North Dakota Agricultural College.

From 1950 to 1960 Guy served as a Democratic precinct committeeman, member of the Democratic State Central Committee, member of the State Democratic Executive Committee (1952-1960); he joined the Non-Partisan League (NPL) in 1954 and worked for and became instrumental in its merger with the Democratic Party in 1958. His elective political career began when he served as Amenia's Public School Board President (1949-1954).¹ His partisan elective career started in 1952 with an unsuccessful race for the state senate; he lost his bid for North Dakota's Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor in 1954 and in 1956 again lost a state senate contest.² In 1958 the people elected him from a western Cass County legislative district to the North Dakota House of Representatives in which he served one session as Assistant Minority Floor Leader and as a member of the Appropriations Committee. Then North Dakota voters elected William L. Guy as their governor in 1960, 1962, 1964, and 1968.³ For twelve years he served as governor of North Dakota--longer than any other person in the state's history. What is even more remarkable is that this longevity of service occurred in a state in which only three other

Democrats since statehood won election to the governorship. In 1906, 1908, and 1910 John Burke defeated Republicans, serving three two-year terms. In 1934 Thomas H. Moodie claimed a win for governor, and John Moses won the governorship in 1938 and 1940.⁴ Guy, the first Democratic candidate to be elected governor in twenty years, remained in that office for twelve years, during which he also served as chairman of the National Governors' Conference in 1967, as well as chairman of the Council of State Governments.⁵ In 1974 Guy presented an impressive record to North Dakotans who since 1960 had repeatedly elected him their governor until he decided not to seek a fifth term in 1972.

John Young settled in northern Dakota Territory in the 1880s.⁶ Born on his father's farm outside Berlin on December 6, 1897, Milton R. Young attended county schools and graduated from LaMoure High School in 1915. After attending North Dakota Agricultural College and Graceland College in Lamoni, Iowa, he returned to his parents' farm where he worked and farmed until 1945. Young began his fifty-six years of public life in 1924 when he took office on a township board in LaMoure County. He was elected to the North Dakota House of Representatives in 1932 and to the North Dakota Senate in 1934 where he served until 1945. His three sons from his forty-year marriage to Malina Benson, who died in 1969, took over the farm at that time. Senator Young later married his office manager of twenty years, Patricia Byrne of Bowman.⁷

Young's influence in the North Dakota Senate began to rise with his election as President Pro Tempore in 1941 and as majority leader in the 1943 session. During this same period Young joined other

Republican conservatives to establish the Republican Organizing Committee (ROC), which took control of the Republican Party away from the NPL. In 1944 Young ran for and lost (his only electoral loss) a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, but also that year he successfully managed the gubernatorial campaign of Fred G. Aandahl, who appointed Young to the U.S. Senate upon Senator John Moses' death in 1945.⁸ According to North Dakota historian Dan Rylance, his effectiveness on behalf of the ROC became critical; Rylance noted, "The person most responsible for the political success of the ROC was Milton R. Young."⁹ The next year he won the Senate seat in his own right and went on to be reelected in 1950, 1956, 1962, 1968; Young carried all of North Dakota's fifty-three counties in three of those elections. Being a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee provided Senator Young a platform from which he championed federal programs to increase farmers' income; this led to his nickname "Mr. Wheat." By 1974 Young held the ranking member position (the minority Senator with the most seniority) on the Senate Appropriations Committee, and as the 1974 election cycle began, Young held his Senate seniority as a campaign trump card which he believed would work to his benefit.¹⁰

In the 1974 Congressional elections Democrats won a sweeping victory, picking up three seats in the U.S. Senate because of Nixon's resignation, Watergate, and an economic slump.¹¹ Since this trend did not produce a Democratic seat in North Dakota, however, a look at the history of incumbent North Dakota U.S. Senators who lost elections up to 1974 may provide a useful backdrop. Ratified on April 8, 1913, the seventeenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution provided for the

election of Senators by qualified voters in each state. Because of this, in 1914, the first electoral contest took place for a U.S. Senatorial seat in North Dakota. Republican Asle J. Gronna defeated Democratic W. E. Purcell by 19,092 votes that year, but incumbent Gronna lost the 1920 primary election to E. F. Ladd by 4,815 votes. Elected to the Senate in 1916, Porter J. McCumber suffered Gronna's fate in the June 28, 1922, Republican primary in which Lynn J. Frazier defeated him by 10,566 votes. When in the 1940 primary Frazier attempted to win an opportunity for a third term in the Senate, he failed when, by 13,097 votes, William Langer won the Republican nomination. Senator Gerald P. Nye's Senate career of eighteen years ended in the general election of 1944, when Democrat John Moses defeated him by a margin of 25,572 votes. During the years 1914-1944, four incumbent Senators did not achieve a reelection bid, but from 1946 to 1974, the incumbent won each time he ran because competing factions within either party ceased to command enough votes or support to cause an incumbent's defeat.¹² (Nye lost his 1944 reelection bid in the general election by 25,572 votes because Lynn B. Stamburgh, who lost to Nye in that year's primary, ran as an independent in the general election, capturing 44,596 votes and ensuring Moses' election.)¹³ As the Guy-Young race approached, twenty-eight years of incumbent-North Dakota Senators' victories indicated Young's tenure would be a definite strength in the 1974 electoral contest.

FOOTNOTES

¹William L. Guy, "Governor William L. Guy," vol. 1, in Ramsey County North Dakota: 1883-1983 (Devils Lake, N.D.: Centennial Heritage Book Committee, 1983), 38-39.

²Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, October 12, 1974, 2784-2786.

³Guy, "Governor William L. Guy," 38-39.

⁴Denise Laugtug, Research Associates, and Boyd L. Wright, Assistant Director, North Dakota Election Statistics Report #1 (University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.: Bureau of Governmental Affairs, Election Division, September, 1977).

⁵Guy, "Governor William L. Guy," 38-39.

⁶Senator Milton R. Young (publicity biography), Folder 15, Box 150, Milton R. Young Papers, Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota. Hereafter referred to as MYP.

⁷"Funeral for Sen. Young set for Saturday in N.D.," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, June 1983, p. 1, 2.

⁸Mike Jacobs, "Sen. Milton Young Dies in Arizona at 85," Grand Forks Herald, 1 June 1983, p. 1.

⁹Dan Rylance, "Fred G. Aandahl and the ROC Movement," in The North Dakota Political Tradition, Thomas W. Howard, ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981), 167.

¹⁰"Former Senator To Be Buried Near Hometown," Grand Forks Herald, 1 June 1983, p. 1.

¹¹Melwyn Dubofsky and Athan Theoharis, Imperial Democracy: The United States Since 1945, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), 217-218.

¹²Laugtug, and Wright, North Dakota Election Statistics Report #1.

¹³Elwyn B. Robinson, History of North Dakota (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 440.

II. THE REPUBLICAN CAMP: MILTON R. YOUNG,
NOVEMBER 1972-DECEMBER 1973

In mid-November 1972 Senator Young denied that he would not run for reelection and promised that he would make public his decision on the matter within the next three or four months, providing a clear signal that he did intend to seek another term. He made those comments at a one-hundred-dollar-a-plate dinner to a gathering of twenty-two supporters who formed an organization to push for the Senator's reelection. At that time Milton Young, also expressing an interest in the forthcoming election, raised the issue of his age, explaining that he would repeat his twenty-year pattern of annual health checkups at the Mayo Clinic and expected the report would agree with his personal feeling that he continued to enjoy excellent health. He declared that, should he be reelected in 1974, he would pledge to North Dakota's citizens that if because of impaired health he could not carry out his senatorial duties, he would offer his resignation immediately.¹ As an issue Milton Young's age maintained center stage throughout the campaign and no one worried about it more than the Senator. Even five years earlier in his 1968 reelection campaign his age had become an issue and he instructed one of his aides to do a study on the "average age of members of the United States Senate."² His manner of dealing with the age question varied, but his positive view of his U.S. Senate seniority did not.

These two items surfaced the next month in a letter to Young from Gary Hendricks, a Republican party activist and campaign director, who suggested media strategies that the Senator could employ in a campaign against William Guy. He also pointed out that the Democrats would try to turn the Senator's seniority and age into liabilities.³ Replying to Hendricks, Young agreed that age could be a factor, noting a Farmers Union resolution that opposed the election of any major candidate over the age of sixty-five. On the issue of seniority Young held that his many accomplishments for North Dakota came about because of hard work coupled with his seniority, and if he used seniority effectively, it could be an asset rather than a liability to him.⁴ But age and seniority did not crowd out other matters on Young's political agenda.

Before his formal reelection announcement, Young in January 1973 took action to protect his perceived advantages over former Governor Guy. During that year's legislative session the North Dakota Senate considered and passed a measure that would change the state's primary election date from September to June. The bill moved on to the House where the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Myron Atkinson, Jr., prepared to testify in favor of the legislation. But before he made his statement, he received a message that Young did not want the primary date changed. The Senator felt that holding the primary three months earlier would offer Guy more time to oppose him as the Democratic party's official candidate. The House voted an indefinite postponement and sent the bill back to the Senate, where it died.⁵

On February 8, 1974, four days prior to his reelection announcement, Senator Young wrote to Ray Dobson, publisher of the Minot

Daily News, enclosing a copy of the speech that Young intended to deliver at a Lincoln Day dinner in Bismarck. In the speech Young announced for reelection but asked Dobson not to use any part of it prior to its delivery because he might change his mind about running. Young informed the Minot publisher that only he and the editor of the Grand Forks Herald had received an advanced copy of the speech.⁶ This indicated that in all likelihood Young would announce his reelection bid; however, some of his close political friends tried to persuade him not to run. He later recalled that John Rouzie, a former state Republican chairman of Bismarck; Dr. Ben Clayburgh, Republican National Committeeman from Grand Forks; and Roland Meidinger, a former State Senator from Jamestown, met with him an hour before the dinner and "begged" him not to announce his candidacy. But they did not prevail because, as Young said, "I already planned to do it though and I did."⁷

"I will be a candidate for reelection," announced the seventy-five-year-old Senator Milton Young at a Republican Party Lincoln Day dinner honoring him in Bismarck's Grand Pacific Hotel on Monday, February 12, 1973. He pledged to resign if his health prevented him from fulfilling his senatorial duties and announced that the Mayo Clinic found him to be in excellent health. He said, "I had always expected to retire by the time I reached my present age. I find that isn't so easy, especially when my health is good." As Young continued his speech, he did not mention by name former Governor William Guy, whom the Senator considered his potential opponent; yet he clearly referred to him when he stated, "We sharply disagree on the fundamental philosophy of government and on almost every major issue or policy."

Turning again to Guy, Young noted that he had entered the Senate at age forty-five and "that was a little too old." Guy would be fifty-five in 1974. Thus the incumbent again acknowledged that his age might be a factor in the campaign but counted his experience and seniority an asset for North Dakota, pointing out, "Few members of Congress have ever been very effective in their first years of service."⁸ In 1970 Republican West District Congressman Thomas Kleppe had delayed his entry into that year's U.S. Senate race until just a few weeks before the Republican endorsing convention, creating hard feelings among those candidates who had announced much earlier for the office. To avoid a situation such as that in 1974, Young decided to make his announcement very early.⁹ The Senator also claimed his turf to keep out other Republican candidates generally and North Dakota's lone congressman, Mark Andrews, specifically.

It is not clear just what considerations prompted Young to decide in favor of running again. In late January a group of eleven weekly newspapers conducted a poll, commonly referred to as the North Dakota Poll, throughout their subscription areas on a choice between Guy and Young in the Senate contest. The results of the North Dakota Poll did not appear until the week of February and showed Guy leading Young 46.4 to 44.6 percent.¹⁰ When Young made his Lincoln Day speech, he did not know the results of the poll, and that is significant because it meant the veteran politician did not have any hard data that he would have serious problems in retaining his Senate seat. Commenting with hindsight about his decision to run, Young said, "That was one of the most difficult decisions I ever made" and his wife ". . . pretty much

left it up to me." Referring to the group of three who asked him not to run, the Senator commented that ". . . they probably had good reason for it because actually I hadn't realized that I was as darn old as I was."¹² In 1980 Young recalled in a television interview that he had decided to run in 1974 because the Democrats claimed that he could not win:

My Democratic opponents used the wrong strategy though. They said that I couldn't win again. That really was what prompted me to run again. At least, it started that way It was their own strategy, but it backfired. They made it difficult for me to quit.¹³

For whatever reasons Young entered the race, he would continue to find them over and over again as the campaign proceeded.

Fargo's Forum did not find Young's announcement a surprise. Its editorial reviewed the strengths and drawbacks of Guy and Young and concluded, "The price of wheat, though could well be a determining factor."¹⁴ Taking another tack at the end of March, the paper admitted that while it appeared that the Republican party would back Young at its 1974 convention, someone could appear from within Republican ranks to challenge Young in the primary. According to the Forum, this possibility depended to a large degree on an unnamed challenger's ability to raise enough money to conduct a credible campaign.¹⁵ The Fargo paper was most likely referring to Bismarck auto dealer Robert McCarney, who had entered Republican primaries in 1968, 1970, and 1972 to challenge endorsed candidates for governor and U.S. Representative. According to Jack Hagerty of the Grand Forks Herald, McCarney did receive an April telephone call from an unidentified person in

Washington, D.C., asking about his availability as a primary opponent to Young. McCarney, however, rejected the idea, declaring his firm support for Young.¹⁶

The state's weekly newspapers generally wrote favorably about the Senator without being negative about Guy, reflecting the esteem in which they and the public held both men.¹⁷ At the time Young did not sense the wide support for Guy and underestimated what lay ahead of him. Kulm Messenger's editor wrote that in referring to the upcoming contest between himself and William Guy, Young had said, "No doubt this will be a tough election, but in some respects it will be easier than some of the past ones. This is because of our sharply differing views on major issues and policies."¹⁸ Young would not hold that attitude for long and soon began to confront the age issue.

Along with a dozen other federal legislators Senator Young practiced Tae Kwon Do, a Korean self-defense art akin to karate. Young's involvement in Tae Kwon Do began several years before it became public and of it Young said, "It's one of the best physical arts I know of. It's good for self-defense, physical fitness, and good sportsmanship." He indicated that because he played twenty-seven holes of golf on weekends, his Tae Kwon Do activity did not take a high priority.¹⁹ The Tae Kwon Do story presented an image of Young as a man capable of activities normally associated with men much younger than seventy-five. Photographs that accompanied an article of the Senator while engaging in Tae Kwon Do appeared in newspapers across North Dakota and received coverage nationwide.²⁰ Young also dealt with personal matters that he saw as possible campaign problems. In his

March newsletter Young turned to the matter of how he administered his Senate office. In response to questions that he had received asking if he employed his wife Pat on the senate payroll, Young said he did and had done so for twenty-seven years. He pointed out that after they were married, he cut her salary in half although she continued on in the position of office manager. Young maintained that he could not run an efficient office of fifteen to twenty people without her.²¹ During the balance of the campaign no more was heard about this topic.

As the year progressed the political climate of the United States revolved around the Watergate scandal. By April no public official could avoid commenting on it and least of all a Republican senator running for reelection. Young saw Watergate as a threat to his reelection and whatever he said about it reflected this view. In mid-April he observed, "The Watergate affair seems to be one of the worst cases of political skulduggery in history."²² At the end of the month, just minutes before news of the resignation of presidential aides Robert Halderman and John Ehrlichman, White House counsel John Dean, and Attorney General Richard Kleindienst became public, Senator Young from his Capitol Hill office called for that same action in a telephone interview with the Grand Forks Herald. Sensing there would be decisive presidential action in the Watergate affair, Young declared, "I've never known the President to wait so long to act on any major political problem." He also recognized that Watergate would affect his 1974 reelection bid but felt that it was much too early to ascertain in what way and to what degree.²³

On April 21 a group of Republican state legislators met with Senator Young to discuss preliminary plans for Young's campaign. Discussing tactics, they mentioned his liabilities, including Watergate and age; however, they believed that these did not outweigh his record of attracting new industry into North Dakota, his seniority, and his appeal to farmers, which together would assure his reelection.²⁴ The group, meeting privately, consisted primarily of Republican state legislators. Others present included John Hjelle, editor of the Bismarck Tribune, who made an assessment of the Guy-Young contest. Hjelle indicated that the Senator's age would be both an advantage and disadvantage, that emphasis should be put on what Young could do for people "today, tomorrow, and next year," that a campaign plan should be prepared, and within six months a campaign chairman named.²⁵ No doubt Young took comfort from the advice and support of his one-time administrative assistant and editor of North Dakota's fourth largest daily newspaper. In the second week of May, temporary chairman Republican State Senator C. Warner Litten of Fargo announced the formation of a committee comprised of GOP legislators to assist Young's reelection effort. Litten looked forward to a close contest but stated, "We anticipate a victory for Senator Young."²⁶ After this announcement nothing more was heard from or about the committee. Young entered 1973 expecting few major problems, and his seniority enabled him to use political pressure to obtain a tremendous amount of federal assistance for North Dakota. Holding elective office since 1924, never losing a reelection bid, known as Mr. Wheat, and carrying every county in North Dakota in several elections indicated to Young that in 1974 he

would be reelected. However, the continuing Watergate revelations forced an adjustment in his campaign calculations. Returning to North Dakota over the Memorial Day recess, Young had anticipated that frequent questions concerning Watergate would greet him, but he was not prepared for what happened. "Everybody was talking about it. Everybody." His plan to spend in the \$50,000 range during the campaign toppled under the Watergate problem and he believed that he would need to spend at least three times that amount. About the scandal he commented, "It'll hurt. It'll hurt the Republican party and to some extent all its candidates and all incumbents, whatever their party."²⁷ At the end of June, Young again repeated his view about Watergate: "There have been many messy cases of political skulduggery over the years, both alleged and proven, but this seems to be one of the worst. The public is entitled to a better answer than they have been given so far."²⁸ Indeed, political danger did exist as evidenced in a poll taken by Mark Andrews in the summer of 1973 which revealed the results of thirty-five thousand North Dakotan replies to the question, "What effect will Watergate have on 1974 N.D. elections: 16.9 a great deal; 26.7 some; 19.8 none; 36.6 too early to tell."²⁹ Nearly 44 percent, seventeen months prior to the election, stated that Watergate would have an effect on their vote.

With experience and insight the Minot Daily News' political editor, columnist, and reporter Dick Dobson wrote consistently penetrating analyses concerning the Guy-Young race. As June came to an end Dobson wrote that Young's age made him vulnerable because only three other members of the senate were older than the North Dakota

Republican. His article briefly covered Young's seniority but concentrated on statistically proving that at fifty-five Guy would be a bit younger than the average senator. Dobson concluded, "It appears, therefore, that the age issue will help Guy and seniority will benefit Young in next year's election."³⁰ Young claimed that Guy, in his mid-fifties, was too old to begin a U.S. Senate career, but North Dakotans thought in terms of Guy as a young man, just forty-one when he was elected governor, and people continued to think of him as "young William Guy." He did not look fifty-five years old. The age issue just would not go away and neither would Senator Young stop providing reasons why he decided to seek another term.

Speaking to Republicans at their Summer Roundup in Medora and recognizing criticism that implied that at seventy-five he should not be running for reelection, he explained, "I have found that it isn't so easy to quit as to run again." He pointed out that if he were to leave the Senate, his power as the ranking member on the Appropriations Committee would be lost for North Dakota. Turning to personalities, Young speculated, "But, if I didn't run, it is almost certain that former Governor William Guy would be elected to the Senate, because Mark Andrews has always said he is not interested in running for the Senate. If Mark draws a tough opponent, Bill Guy, then you will want to devote more money to Congressman Andrews. If I draw the tough candidate then I think you should give the bulk of your financial support to me."³¹ In so saying, Young warned Andrews not to put designs on his senate seat and made it clear that an important element in Guy's defeat depended on Republican faithfuls giving him the bulk of

their campaign contributions. Over five months after his candidacy announcement, the incumbent still spoke as if a Republican challenger would appear.

During the summer the Young campaign canvassed fifty-seven hundred voters in every county, requesting that a stamped post-card be returned indicating preference between Guy and Young for the U.S. Senate. Senator Young believed that the 30 percent reply factor was unusually high for that type of survey and delighted in the results that put him ahead of Guy 53.5 to 46.5 percent--particularly because the Senate Watergate hearings paralleled the time span of the taking of the poll.³² This piece of good news did not substantially raise Republican confidence nor their understanding of what Watergate meant to them on a statewide basis. Sixteen months before the next general election North Dakota Republicans expressed more concern about the outcome of the 1974 elections and continued success in fund raising than about the effect Watergate might play in determining these two activities. Acknowledging finances as a key ingredient in a winning campaign, Young observed that he never raised appreciable amounts of money in prior campaigns because he had no reason for such activity. But he said that anticipation of facing Guy caused many more offers of assistance to him than at any time in the past. As to the effect of Watergate, Young predicted, "I think it will hurt both Democrats and the Republicans in the election."³³ How or in what way Watergate could damage Democratic electoral prospects he did not explain.

During the final days of August, Young took yet another opportunity to expand on the reasons he rejected retiring from the

senate. Being the only Republican Senator from the six-state area of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana gave added importance to his reelection because ". . . it would be nice to have someone who can go in and talk to the President." Discussing the President's conduct of his office and not approving of Nixon's handling of Watergate during the first few months of the affair, he commented, "He is doing better now, but he should have spoken up before and told more about the operation of the White House. He delegated too much authority and trusted people too much."³⁴

While Young put forth these views from his office in LaMoure, events taking place in his D.C. office would have long-range effects on the 1974 U.S. Senate election. On August 24 Bill Wright, Young's public relations assistant, wrote a thank-you letter to James (Jim) Jungroth for having sent him a Jamestown Sun column written by the paper's editor, Jack Evans, and a note from Jungroth himself. A Jamestown attorney, former chairman of the North Dakota Democratic-NPL Party, a Guy appointee to North Dakota's Water Commission, and yet an anti-Guy Democrat, Jungroth would enter the U.S. Senate contest in the 1974 general election as an Independent. Wright concluded the letter, "Jim, I discussed this with the Senator briefly on the telephone. He was real pleased at your thoughtfulness in providing us with the column, as well as your analysis. I will be leaving for Jamestown Saturday morning and hope we can discuss this further on the weekend." Evan's column quoted at length a speech that Guy had delivered at the grand opening of Summers Manufacturing in Maddock. Jungroth noted to Wright, "It is not the story itself but the fact that it was run. This

is out of the circulation area. You will recognize this fellow is clever when he got this run in the Sun." Neither Jungroth nor Wright mentioned Guy by name in their correspondence.³⁵ Evans often used material of prominent people to fill his weekly "Buffalo Territory" column and because during 1973 Guy maintained a very low news profile Evans' use of his Maddock speech simply followed Guy's own format.

That Jungroth believed Guy somehow cleverly arranged to get Evans to print the speech represented his personal feelings about the former governor rather than what actually occurred. But of more interest, Wright said he had told Senator Young about Jungroth's communication, confirming contact between the two (albeit through Wright) nearly a year before Jungroth's senate candidacy; and Wright's intention to travel to Jamestown to discuss further matters pertaining to Guy indicated a close working relationship. Senator Young maintained throughout the campaign and after that he had nothing to do with Jungroth or Jungroth's campaign. But this summer-1973 exchange puts that denial in question.

Just before Labor Day the Washington Post took a look at what the make-up of the U.S. Senate might be after the 1974 elections. The paper predicted that if former Governor Guy challenged Senator Young, the incumbent would have a tough race and could be beaten, but the paper rated the Republican a slight favorite.³⁶ In North Dakota the first editorial endorsement in the 1974 U.S. Senate race appeared in the Divide County Journal, which aroused comment because the paper traditionally supported Democrats, but in the Guy-Young contest it backed Young.³⁷ Young used the August congressional recess to make

North Dakota appearances and dealt decisively with two political problems. His wife, Pat, canceled her appearances at the Republican party's First Ladies Club events scheduled for September after the Senator learned the "Chat with Pat" social events actually would be fundraising affairs. He did not want to be associated with invitation-only meetings. The second item involved Senator Evan Lips and Robert McCarney, both of whom were from Bismarck and personally detested each other but shared a strong commitment to Young's reelection. In order to channel their talents and energies productively into his campaign, Young asked McCarney to form a committee of "Democrats, Independents, Nonpartisan Leaguers and miscellaneous renegades," while Lips took chairmanship of a Republican legislators' committee to promote Young.³⁸

Seasoned political observer Dobson wrote in early October "that several former high-ranking officials in the state Democratic-Nonpartisan League party are going to support Senator Milton R. Young, R-N.D., for reelection next year." The reason for these defections stemmed, according to Dobson, from past fights between Guy and some members of his party and others who believed Young's seniority and record should be continued. Former state Democratic-NPL party chairman James Jungroth headed the list and could use both reasons to oppose Guy. Jungroth's intentions became clearer when he suggested he would even run as an Independent for U.S. Senator if that would cost Guy votes. Another unanswered question of who would support whom dealt with what Democratic Senator Quentin Burdick planned for the campaign in light of the uneasy relationship between Guy and Burdick through their years of public life. In fact, they did not have a close

relationship, and Burdick worried that if Guy won in 1974 his own chances of reelection in 1976 would be diminished because "North Dakota voters could decide then that two Democratic senators is one too many." One option that some observers believed he would take, would be for him to simply not become involved in 1974's campaign.³⁹ Young found more good news in a column written by nationally syndicated Jack Anderson, who praised the Senator as a bonus for North Dakota and told readers that if he lived in North Dakota, he would cast his vote for Young.⁴⁰

Optimism (if not realism) infected the long-time incumbent Senator in late October. At a Fargo press conference Young discussed politics, saying he wanted former Governor William Guy as an opponent because "I think I know how to beat Bill Guy. A young man might be harder to beat. I'm sure they (Democrats) will make quite a campaign issue out of my age but I've had a physical recently and they could not find anything wrong with me." In the same tenor he assessed events on the national level, stating, "Apparently Watergate and Agnew hasn't hurt as much as I thought it would. It all looks very encouraging. I feel I have a better chance now than ever before to be elected. I don't think there's any possibility at all the House will start impeachment proceedings."⁴¹ In press releases, speeches, and general correspondence Young gave the benefit of the doubt to President Nixon regarding the Watergate affair. What the Senator felt personally he expressed in a letter to former Republican Senator Frank Carlson and his wife of Kansas: "I am sure you have been following the Watergate mess and are concerned as we are. It is too bad that President Nixon can do so many things exceptionally well especially Foreign Affairs,

and mess up this whole Watergate affair. I think you would agree with many that he has handled that very badly."⁴²

In November Kevin P. Phillips, the author of The Emerging Republican Majority (1969), in which he predicted long-term Republican control of the White House, reported in his periodic newsletter, American Political Report, that a public opinion poll conducted by Central Surveys (an Iowa-based firm) for Senator Young indicated Guy a victor over Young. This, according to Phillips, created concern among GOP planners who believed that Young did not understand his vulnerable position as he continued his candidacy. The newsletter implied that Young's wife kept him in the race because of her attachment to Washington, D.C. Phillips then pointed out that if Young quit the race, Congressman Mark Andrews, who had expressed an interest in the senate seat if Young decided not to run, would enter the contest.⁴³

According to the Minot Daily News' Dobson, "Young's response to Phillips was volcanic." The Senator sent a letter to his party's top officers, several Republican legislative leaders, two past state chairmen, and John Hjelle (but not Mark Andrews) expressing surprise at Phillips' newsletter and questioning the source of Phillips' information. Young dismissed the poll as non-representative and doubted its accuracy. Having brushed aside the poll, he strongly objected to Phillips' allegation that Pat Young was keeping the Senator in the race. Young was certain that Andrews "wanted to remain in the U.S. House of Representatives because of his ten years seniority and his seat on the House Appropriations Committee." Young concluded, "He didn't care what political strategists in Washington, D.C., thought but

that he would step down if Republican Party leaders in North Dakota felt he should do so."⁴⁴

More broadsides from the eastern press hit the Young campaign during December. In an article that reported a meeting that President Nixon held with Republican campaign officials, the New York Times observed in mid-December "that the seat of Senator Milton R. Young, who is retiring, was in grave jeopardy."⁴⁵ Three days later the paper printed a correction stating, "Senator Young said yesterday that, contrary to earlier reports, he had decided to seek reelection."⁴⁶ He seemed unable to persuade national GOP leaders of the validity of his candidacy, and Washington reports reflected this. On the day after Christmas an article by Lee Egerstrom, the Grand Forks Herald's Washington correspondent, compared the style of seventy-seven-year-old North Carolina Democrat Senator Sam Erwin with that of Senator Young. Noting that their colleagues respected both, Egerstrom said Erwin's chairmanship of the Senate Watergate Committee created for him a large following nationally while Young's style kept him almost completely out of the national scene. But in their home states a different situation surrounded the two lawmakers. Erwin declined to run for reelection because, he said another six-year term for a man of his age would be too much to expect; this pleased North Carolina Democrats. In North Dakota Young announced early in the year that he would seek another term, and Republican rank and file solidly supported his decision. National Democratic leaders wanted Erwin to run but, when he decided not to, the support evaporated. Republicans on the national scene,

however, were concerned that Young's age and a tough opponent could combine to lose a GOP senate seat.⁴⁷

Young's campaign people thought that the New York Times article originated from plants "by staffers for Senator William (Bill) Brock, R-Tenn., who heads the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, if not by Brock himself." Young's associates believed that Brock's motives for leaking negative information were Brock's desire for a younger Mark Andrews to be the Republican senatorial candidate and his desire to establish a national power base for himself. Andrews, however, wanted to remain in the House and increase his seniority in that body. A close friend of Andrews said candidly:

Young is the surest candidate against a tough opponent we have. All these national stories are doing, because the people of North Dakota do not read the New York Times daily, is drying up the national money. And that can hurt if this does become a nationally-watched fight. If everybody thinks we are in trouble, then we may be in trouble, because we won't be able to match the opponent's money. That's what the New York Times means to every state.⁴⁸

Brock could very well have been influenced by news of the results of the North Dakota Poll in which Guy received 44.6 percent to Young's 47.6 percent. But in a trial heat pitting Andrews against Guy, the Congressman showed up as a strong Republican candidate with 55 percent to Guy's 35.8 percent and 9.2 percent undecided.⁴⁹ No comment on this poll came from Young, who concentrated on matters within his own party at the national level. By the end of the month, however, he learned that the national opposition party did not intend to ignore his race. National Democratic strategists listed Senator Milton Young of North

Dakota as one of their prime targets, noting that he faced the "most vigorous challenge of his career from former Democratic Governor William Guy."⁵⁰

Editorial comment on Egerstrom's article appeared in the Bismarck Tribune the day after it ran. Ripping into the chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Hjelle opened, "William Emerson Brock, the third, is an obscure United States senator from Tennessee. The diminutive but handsome and nattily-dressed Brock is obscure because most freshman senators are obscure and also because in the less than four years he has served in the Senate nothing of significance bears the Brock imprint." Accusing Brock of interfering in North Dakota internal politics, Hjelle condemned him for it. The editorial did include Brock's denial of mixing in North Dakota politics but dismissed Brock's position. The blistering column pointed out that Brock did not realize Mark Andrews did not intend to enter the senate contest, and that by endangering Young's out-of-state financial support, Brock was playing into the hands of the Democrats. Hjelle ended the Tribune's editorial as he opened: "Thus, however, does a man whose name is not even known to most North Dakotans, a little known senator from Tennessee, play a role in North Dakota politics."⁵¹

Hjelle's opinion of Senator Brock had changed dramatically from the one he had formed earlier in the year when, at the request of Senator Young, he had met privately with Brock in Brock's office to seek funds for Young's campaign. Senator Young's response to the Egerstrom article changed Hjelle's attitude because Young became ". . . hopping mad at the GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee and its chairman Senator

William E. Brock III, R-Tenn., who is suspected of being the chief promoter of the retire Young and run Andrews strategy."⁵²

FOOTNOTES

¹Roan Conrad, "Young hints at new term, promises decision shortly," Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 12 November 1972, p. 1.

²Neal Bjornson, Memo to Senator Young, 27 June 1968, Folder 18, Box 600, MYP.

³Gary Hendricks to Milton R. Young, 5 December 1972, Folder 21, Box 615, MYP.

⁴Milton R. Young to Gary Hendricks, 5 January 1973, Folder 21, Box 615, MYP.

⁵Allan C. Young, Changing North Dakota's Primary Election Date 1960-1984: A Partisan Struggle, Special Report #78, (University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.: Bureau of Governmental Affairs, March, 1987), 18.

⁶Milton R. Young to Ray Dobson, 8 February 1973, Unfiled, Box 61

⁷U.S. Senator Milton R. Young, interviewed by Dr. D. Jerome Tweton, 8 August 1979, Transcribed tape recording, Folder 26, Box 794, MYP, p. 4.

⁸Gary Wolberg, "Its Official: Young Asks Re-Election," Bismarck Tribune, 13 February 1973, p. 1.

⁹Jack Hagerty, "Political Pulse: State senate race discussed," Grand Forks Herald, 6 May 1973, p. 32.

¹⁰Phil Matthews, "Young-Guy Strength Assessed," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 19 February 1973, p. 9.

¹¹U.S. Senator Young, interviewed, p. 5.

¹²Ibid., p. 15.

¹³Boyd Christenson, Boyd Christenson Interviews (Bismarck, N.D.: Prairie House, Inc., 1983), 48, 49.

¹⁴"Forum's Editorial: No One Greatly Surprised At Sen. Young's Decision To Seek Re-election in '74," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 15 February 1973, p. 4.

¹⁵"Forum's Editorial: There's Possibility Young May Be Challenged in 1974 Republican Primary Race," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 26 March 1973, p. 4.

¹⁶Jack Hagerty, "Political Pulse: Teachers are excited," Grand Forks Herald, 13 May 1973, p. 32.

¹⁷Garrison (N.D.) McLean County Independent, 15 February 1973, Clipping, Folder 2, Box 334, MYP; Larimore Chronicle, 15 February 1973, Folder 2, Box 334, MYP; Langdon Republican, 15 February 1973, Folder 2, Box 334, MYP.

¹⁸Kulm Messenger, 15 March 1973, Clipping, Folder 3, Box 334, MYP.

¹⁹"Muggers Better Steer Clear of These Congressmen," Oakland Press, 22 March 1973, p. B-13.

²⁰Bismarck Tribune, 25 March 1973, p. 15; Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 22 March 1973, p. 1; Minot Daily News, March 23, 1973, p. 1; Christian Science Monitor, 27 March 1973, p. 10; Ibid.

²¹"Young Says He Cut His Wife's Pay," Minot Daily News, 26 March 1973, p. 2.

²²"Young Sees Skulduggery in Bugging," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 17 April 1973, p. 1.

²³Jack Hagerty, "Election effect eyed: Young called for house cleaning," Grand Forks Herald, 30 April 1973, p. 1, 2.

²⁴Jack Hagerty, "Political Pulse: Campaign Launched," Grand Forks Herald, 29 April 1973, p. 44.

²⁵James Backlin, to C. Warner Litten, 24 April 1973, Unfiled between Folders 24, 25, Box 615, MYP.

²⁶"N.D. Legislators For Re-Election Panel for Young," Bismarck Tribune, 10 May 1973, p. 7.

²⁷"GOP plans for '74 adjusted in scandal's wake," Twin Falls (Idaho) Times-News, 5 June 1973, p. 5.

²⁸Garrison (N.D.) McLean County Independent, 28 June 1973, Clipping, Folder 6, Box 334, MYP.

²⁹Jack Evans, "Buffalo Territory, Andrews Gets 35,000 Answers," Jamestown Sun, 17 July 1973, Clipping, Folder 7, Box 334, MYP.

³⁰Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Age, Seniority Factors," Minot Daily News, 23 June 1973, p. 7.

³¹Phil Matthews, "Young Says It's Harder to Quit Than Run Again," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 22 July 1973, p. 1.

³²"Senator Reveals Own Survey: Young Leads Guy By 53 to 46 Percent," Bismarck Tribune, 24 July 1973, p. 2.

³³Gary Clark, "Democrats Concern N.D. GOP More Than Watergate in 1974 Election," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 5 August 1973, p. 1.

³⁴Gary Clark, "Young Considered Quitting the Senate," Bismarck Tribune, 27 August 1973, p. 3.

³⁵William I. Wright to James Jungroth, 24 August 1973, Folder 20, Box 411, MYP; James Jungroth, non-addressed memo, non-dated, Folder 20, Box 511, MYP.

³⁶Spencer Rich, "'74 Democratic Gains Seen," Washington Post, 27 August 1973, p. A2.

³⁷J.M.A., "John A. Dreams," Crosby (N.D.) Divide County Journal, 29 August 1973, Clipping, Folder 8, Box 334, MYP.

³⁸Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota Some Democrats May Back Young," Minot Daily News, 6 October 1973, p. 3.

⁴⁰Jack Hagerty, "Observations," Grand Forks Herald, 28 October 1973, p. 4.

⁴¹"Bill Guy Beatable, Says Sen. Young," Bismarck Tribune, 20 October 1973, p. 7.

⁴²Milton R. Young, to Senator Frank and Mrs. Carlson, 7 November 1973, Folder 26, Box 528, MYP.

⁴³Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Young Would Retire If GOP Leaders Recommended It," Minot Daily News, 17 November 1973, p. 3.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵R. W. Apple Jr., "G.O.P. Aides Discuss '74 Outlook With Nixon; Watergate 'Never Mentioned'," New York Times, 12 December 1973, p. 27.

⁴⁶New York Times, 15 December 1973, p. 33.

⁴⁷Lee Egerstrom, "Young, Erwin powerful duo," Grand Forks Herald, 26 December 1973, pp. 1, 2.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹"N. Dak. poll shows Andrews favorite and Young topping Guy," Harvey Herald, 6 December 1973, Clipping, Folder 39, Box 336, MYP.

⁵⁰Carl P. Lenbsdorf, "1974 Election Strategy 'Act Fast, GOP Chiefs Say'," Washington Star News, 27 December 1973, p. 2.

⁵¹"Tennessee in North Dakota," Bismarck Tribune, 28 December 1973, p. 4.

⁵²Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Erwin's Decision Affects Young," Minot Daily News, 29 December 1973, p. 9.

III. TOWARDS A LONG SOUGHT GOAL:

WILLIAM L. GUY 1962-1974

The possibility of William L. Guy running against Senator Young circulated across North Dakota long before any official announcements, and Young had seen Guy as a possible adversary quite early in Guy's political career.¹ As early as 1962 serious speculation had arisen over whether or not Governor Guy would challenge Senator Young instead of seeking reelection.² However, with only a little more than one year in the Governor's office, Guy chose to seek a second term (four-year terms did not go into effect in North Dakota until 1969). Still, even the remotest hint that Guy might have an interest in the senate stirred political cords as reflected in a March 1962 Grand Forks Herald editorial commenting on Guy's announcement for a second term. The paper was not surprised by the Governor's statement that he would run for reelection, but it praised him for displaying the political wisdom of not deciding to confront North Dakota's senior senator because "there he would have finished an 'also-ran.'"³ Senator Young also took more than casual notice of what might become a threat to retention of his senate seat early in 1962 when the Senator challenged Governor Guy to debate him on the issue of how the mechanics of legislation which enabled farmers to hay soil bank land operated. Young did not deal gently with the young Governor: "If you persist in your continued

partisan political approach and untruthful charges, you are not only confusing the issue but making it more difficult to work with you on all other important legislation affecting North Dakota."⁴ These harsh words came to characterize the Senator's attitude toward Guy.

Young handily won reelection in 1962, and as that term approached its end, rumors again tied Guy to a U.S. Senate contest. In early 1967 a report from North Dakota's political grapevine indicated Governor Guy might not run for a fourth term, and if that happened, he would run for Milton Young's senate seat.⁵ In February the Dickinson Press pointed out steps Governor Guy was taking to soften his liberal image in preparation for his race against incumbent Senator Milton Young.⁶ These types of stories gained validity when in April of that year, Washington columnist Carl Rowan visited Guy in Bismarck, where he found the Governor "agonizing over whether to seek a new term as governor (he will have served eight years), whether to oppose Milton Young for the U.S. Senate, or to try to become one of the state's two congressmen."⁷ Reports circulated among the state's press during early 1967 that CBS newsman Eric Sevareid should return to his native North Dakota to seek a seat in the U.S. Senate. At a William Guy Day dinner attended by fourteen-hundred people in Fargo, Guy read a telegram addressed to the chairman of the event from Sevareid, who said he firmly and finally declined the suggestions that he consider a senate race in North Dakota.⁸ With speculation about Sevareid laid to rest, Senator Young predicted that Guy would be his opponent in the next year's senate contest. Guy declined, however, to announce his plans for 1968.⁹

Early in July Dobson forecast that Guy would not challenge Young, but Guy remained silent.¹⁰

The Williston Herald reported in mid-January that "a source close to the governor commented . . . , 'I think Governor Guy has made up his mind. I believe the governor will make a bid for Senator Milton Young's senatorial seat rather than seek reelection to his present post.'"¹¹ Governor Guy himself contemplated the principal issue in a contest with Young when he noted the Senator's career in the U.S. Senate stretched back twenty-three years and predicted that if Young sought reelection, "I doubt if that would be held against him."¹² Whatever his personal preference might have been, it made no difference because in effect Governor William Guy found himself by May 11 being drafted by his own Democratic-Nonpartisan League. Of the twenty districts which held conventions, eighteen passed resolutions urging Guy to run for reelection. Not one party leader or officer made a public statement advocating that Guy run for any office but governor.¹³ Guy eventually ran for governor, yet just days before he announced for reelection, a report by Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer staff writer Joyce Conrad made it clear that Guy had told many of his party supporters that what he wanted to do in 1968 was to run against Senator Young.¹⁴ At the press conference in which Guy announced his intention to seek another term for governor, he began by declaring, "Chances are much better than previously realized that North Dakota will send a new senator to Washington next year." He mentioned that while the current average age of a U.S. Senator was sixty-seven North Dakota would select a younger man to be its next U.S. Senator.¹⁵ That did not happen and

Young retained his senate seat, but the stage had been set for Guy to seek the office which he so very much desired.

Governor William L. Guy dramatically changed North Dakota's political landscape on January 5, 1972, at a Bismarck news conference with his announcement that he would not be a candidate for reelection as governor and ruled out a congressional candidacy. Citing family considerations as one reason for deciding not to seek a fifth term, Guy admitted his interest in a U.S. Senate contest, declaring, "I do not believe it would be proper to seek reelection as governor for another four-year term knowing that I might run for the United States Senate in 1974." However, the Governor explained, that statement should not be considered an announcement for the senate contest.¹⁶ Democratic State Chairman Richard Ista of Fargo expressed disappointment that Governor Guy would not seek reelection, but he also said, "We are extremely happy that he is planning to run for the Senate At the age of 52, he is still a young man."¹⁷ The North Dakota poll taken prior to his announcement showed that after serving as the state's chief executive for eleven years, he remained very popular. In response to a question concerning Guy's job performance, 48.5 percent thought "he had done a good job and should be reelected"; 36 percent said "he has done a good job but should step down"; and 15.5 percent replied "he has done a poor job." To the question of whether or not the respondents would again support him, 49.6 percent said yes, 31.1 percent answered no, and 19.3 percent expressed no opinion.¹⁸ North Dakota political writers recognized that Guy would be a "formidable candidate for U.S. senate in 1974."¹⁹ Mandan's Pioneer, North Dakota's only Democratic daily

newspaper, thought that not being on the 1972 ballot would not harm him politically because "as a campaigner for his party's candidates and as Governor, he will command as much attention as if he were running himself."²⁰ Dobson commented, "Guy's chances against Young probably would be pretty good. A poll taken in 1968 for the state Republican Party showed the veteran senator leading Guy by only a 46-42 percent margin."²¹

Speculating on what direction Guy's career would take after he stepped down as governor in January 1973, most observers believed he would not leave elective politics and would run for the U.S. Senate. The Governor himself commented, "I might do that, but I reserve the right to change my mind. Lately I've looked at Congress as a body trying to show the world that democracy does not work."²² Interviewed in December, Guy said his plans for the future included going into business, accepting an invitation from a college to teach, and building a house in Casselton. On the political front, he indicated that even without an official position in his party he intended to stay in touch with people he had come to know during his twenty years in politics.²³ On the Republican side, no doubt existed as to what Guy intended; as 1972 came to a close, the first partisan attack on Guy appeared.

During 1973 Guy kept a very low news profile, yet his future remained part of North Dakota's political dialogue. Believing Guy's next political move would be as a candidate for the U.S. Senate, M. W. Thatcher, retired general manager of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, sent a telegram to the soon-to-be ex-Governor enthusiastically endorsing such a development.²⁴ Just two weeks later,

Dobson speculated on what Guy's defeating Senator Young would mean to North Dakota's congressional delegation, especially Quentin Burdick, and reported that Young might possibly announce his reelection bid at a Republican Lincoln Day dinner on February 12.²⁵ Early in the 1973 legislative session, House Democratic Minority Leader Richard Backes spoke of building a positive record to assist electing Democrats in 1974 and predicted that William Guy running against Young in 1974 would be a bonus for his party.²⁶ At mid-point 1973, during their state convention, North Dakota's Democratic-NPL women dedicated the convention to Jean Guy and passed a resolution strongly urging former Governor William Guy to seek party nomination for the U.S. Senate.²⁷

Towards the end of the summer, Guy began to sound like a candidate. "As a livestock, grain and sugar beet farmer, I've never before sold hogs, wheat and soybeans at the exorbitantly high prices of today. I should be dancing in the streets, but I am not," declared former Governor Guy at the opening of Summers Manufacturing of Maddock. Speaking out for a more balanced, constant marketing and consumption system, he cautioned farmers to be wary because the economy showed signs of developing high interest rates.²⁸ During the week before Labor Day the state GOP chairman stated that former Governor Guy would be Young's 1974 opponent and "Bill Guy will use the age issue against Senator Young because it's the only issue Guy has." The Republican spokesman went on to conjecture that Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan would oppose Congressman Mark Andrews.²⁹ During this same period, in private conversations, Guy left almost no doubt that he would run against Senator Young. Democratic party leaders in Bismarck made

frequent calls to Casselton and stopovers at Guy's new home. Jean Guy observed she looked forward to the U.S. Senate campaign. Guy did not confirm rumors that he wanted Dorgan to challenge Andrews but did describe the state's Tax Commissioner as ". . . one of the brightest young lights on the horizon in either party."³⁰ Pinpointing the condition of the nation's economy as the major issue for 1974 campaign, Guy admitted that he did have an interest in Young's senate seat but again did not make a formal announcement. Commenting on Young's statement that Guy's age made him too old to run for the senate because he would not be able to attain meaningful seniority, the former Governor replied, "If I were to run for the Senate and if I were to win, I would be 55. If Senator Young were to run and win, he would be 78, so I don't quite understand the senator's meaning." As to the matter of seniority, Guy asserted that he considered "the congressional seniority system one of the gravest weaknesses in the federal government."³¹

Not yet an official candidate, Guy traveled the state during the fall of 1973, attending Democratic-NPL functions and explaining that he would focus on "visiting with old friends." As he made his appearances, national-level assessments gave encouragement to Guy prospects. The Washington Post placed Young on its list of Republican incumbent senators who faced strong Democratic challengers and possible defeat, and a liberal Republican publication, "The Ripon Forum," reported that a Republican sponsored spring 1973 poll "indicated an edge for Guy."³² Throughout October Guy received strong encouragement from his party to enter the U.S. Senate contest. Early in the month

Minot's Fifth District Democratic-NPL organization presented him with petitions signed by two-hundred and twenty-five people who urged him to take on Young.³³ At mid-month the Twelfth District Democratic-NPL (Benson and Eddy counties) asked Guy to challenge Young,³⁴ and late in the month Lisbon Democratic-NPL party workers called for Guy to run for the senate.³⁵ Also in October, a nation-wide public opinion poll (Harris Survey) pointed to a Democratic landslide in the 1974 congressional elections: 53 percent for the Democrats to 31 percent for the Republicans.³⁶ Guy's position seemed strong as he headed toward the election year.

Expressing a feeling held by quite a number of North Dakotans during late 1973, a weekly editor wrote, ". . . what the dickens are we going to do if Senator Young and former Governor Guy tangle for the senate seat now held by Young? It's going to be a bad deal. I don't want to vote against either one of them. Wish I could vote for both."³⁷ Yet the approaching contest provided a choice of only one of the candidates and Guy was gearing up for his efforts to achieve victory. Bob Valeu of Bismarck, former successful campaign manager for both Guy and Arthur Link, began making contacts in Washington on behalf of William Guy, arranging preliminary organizational campaign material for a senatorial campaign reciting that "If he (Guy) is a candidate, I look forward to being involved in his campaign." Valeu strongly hinted that Guy's formal announcement would take place in early 1974.³⁸ As 1973 came to a close, Guy's fortunes looked excellent with his campaign organization taking shape. In Wahpeton's paper a columnist wrote that Senator Young received far more credit than he deserved in farm bill

involvement and federal spending in North Dakota because both represented simple pork barrel legislation. The piece suggested the incumbent senior Senator "should gracefully withdraw and retire."³⁹ Guy hoped that this would become a widespread sentiment.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Press Clippings, Folder 19, Box 287, MYP.
- ²Grand Forks Herald, 7 January 1962, p. 36; Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 19 January 1962, p. 14.
- ³"Editorial," Grand Forks Herald, 6 March 1974, p. 4.
- ⁴Grand Forks Herald, 6 March 1974, p. 3.
- ⁵Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 14 January 1967, Clipping, Folder 3, Box 307, MYP.
- ⁶Dickinson Press, 8 February 1967, Clipping, Folder 3, Box 307, MYP.
- ⁷Carl Rowan, "Dakota Democrat Weighs Chances," Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, 26 April 1967, Clipping, Folder 5, Box 307, MYP.
- ⁸Memo Called to Young's Washington Office from his Fargo Office, 15 May 1967, Folder 6, Box 307, MYP.
- ⁹Minot Daily News, 27 June 1967, p. 1.
- ¹⁰Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Senate Bid By Guy Unlikely," Minot Daily News, 8 July 1967, p. 19.
- ¹¹Jackie Anderson, Williston Herald, 11 January 1968, Folder 20, Box 314, MYP.
- ¹²"Guy Plans to Remain In Politics," Minot Daily News, 10 February 1968, p. 15.
- ¹³Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Demos Draft Guy For Fourth Term," Minot Daily News, 11 May 1974, p. 13.
- ¹⁴Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 23 June 1968, Folder 24, Box 314, MYP.
- ¹⁵Bismarck Tribune, 25 June 1968, p. 1.
- ¹⁶"Guy Will Not Seek Fifth Term - Won't Run in 1972 But Eyeing 1974 Senate Race," Minot Daily News, 5 January 1972, p. 1.

¹⁷"Ista Has Mixed Emotions," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 6 January 1972, p. 1, 2.

¹⁸"North Dakota Poll-Even After 11 Years Guy is Still Popular," Harvey Herald, 13 January 1972, Folder 25, Box 331, MYP.

¹⁹"Guy's Blockbuster," Grand Forks Herald, 6 January 1972, p.

²⁰"Spinning Wheels," Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 7 January 1972, Folder 13, Box 331, MYP.

²¹Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Big Year In State Politics," Minot Daily News, 10 January 1972, p. 7.

²²Geri Joseph, "What next for North Dakota's Guy?," Minneapolis Tribune, 12 November 1972, p. 14A.

²³Frances Carrick and Milt Vedvick, "An interview with Governor Guy," North Dakota REC Magazine, January 1973, pp. 10-13, 38-39.

²⁴"Thatcher Sees Guy Capturing Seat In Senate," Minot Daily News, 2 January 1973, p. 11.

²⁵Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Guy Topic of Speculation," Minot Daily News, 13 January 1973, p. 13.

²⁶Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 22 January 1973, p. 9.

²⁷"Guy Urged To Run By Democratic-NPL Women In Convention Here," Carrington (N.D.) Foster County Independent, 27 June 1973, Folder 6, Box 335, MYP.

²⁸Jack Evans, "Buffalo Territory: Guy Comments on Agriculture," Jamestown Sun, 15 August 1973, Folder 8, Box 334, MYP.

²⁹Jack Zaleski Jr., "Allan Young Discusses Watergate, Dorgan, Guy," Devils Lake Daily Journal, 29 August 1973, p. 1.

³⁰Jerry Hagstrom, "William Guy plays the waiting game," Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 9 September 1973, Folder 9, Box 335, MYP.

³¹"Guy Says Economy To Be Main Issue," Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 10 October 1973, Folder 9, Box 335, MYP.

³²Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Intrigue Surrounds Guy-Young Race," Minot Daily News, 5 October 1973, p. 5.

³³Minot Daily News, 6 October 1973, p. 3.

³⁴Doris Stadig, "Dems Urge Guy To Run For Senate Seat," Minnewaukan (N.D.) Benson County Farmers Press, 18 October 1973, Folder 12, Box 335, MYP.

³⁵Jeff Carter, "Guy keeps candidacy option open," Lisbon (N.D.) Ransom County Gazette, 25 October 1973, Folder 10, Box 335, MYP.

³⁶Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 3 November 1973, p. 2913.

³⁷Richard M. Peterson, "Poor Richard's Almanac," Minnewaukan (N.D.) Benson County Farmers Press, 22 November 1973, Folder 11, Box 334, MYP.

³⁸Phil Matthews, "Valeu Scouting for Bill Guy," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 17 December 1973, p. 3.

³⁹Chuck Coghlan, "As One Reader To Another," Breckenridge-Wahpeton Daily News, 19 December 1973, Folder 12, Box 334, MYP.

IV. CONTROLLING THE DAMAGE: YOUNG, 1974 TO THE PRIMARY ELECTION

As the election year began, Milton Young voiced concern over several political problems he felt might hurt his candidacy. He expected that the raising of campaign funds would be difficult and a goal of \$100,000 nearly out of reach. Young hoped that his fund raising efforts to attract small donors would center around the themes of agriculture and his work on behalf of strengthening commodity prices. Accepting contributions from reputable sources, even if from outside North Dakota, posed no problems for him as long as he felt no special obligations to any organization.¹ Two days before his opponent entered the 1974 campaign, the Senator said that if President Nixon resigned it would benefit his senate reelection bid, "But I'm not advocating that. Politically, I'd be better off right now with Gerald Ford as president." He maintained that as an issue his age, not Watergate, worried him most. Anticipating Guy's attack on the congressional seniority system, Young planned to explain to the voters the advantages of power through seniority. Continuing to describe why he decided to run again, Young said, "You don't become a powerhouse in the U.S. Senate in your first term and that's really the compelling reason I'm running again. It's hard to give up the influence I've finally attained."² When Guy blasted senatorial seniority in his

candidacy announcement, the age and seniority issues received attention from several North Dakota leaders.

Welcoming Guy's announcement, Young repeated his defense of seniority, labeling it "a big issue in the campaign." The state's Democratic Governor Arthur Link took the middle ground, suggesting seniority might become an important but not the principle issue. Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan (correctly for everyone but Young) observed, "I think the principle issue, although it may not be spoken, will be Young's age." From North Dakota's Republican Attorney General Allen I. Olson came a different (but equally accurate) view: "It may or may not be a good system. But seniority is extremely important, especially to a small rural state like North Dakota."³ Unwilling to allow the age issue to fade, Young hammered away at it in a Bismarck news conference: "Age will be a big issue. Some people are burned out. Others are still going strong at 80. It's hard for me to realize I am 76." Moving on to the seniority system, Young was emphatic: "The seniority system has its faults, but there's no other system you could devise that would give the small states better representation. I think it's the greatest system ever devised."⁴ North Dakota's junior senator, Quentin Burdick, did not indicate whether or not he thought seniority the greatest system ever devised, but he believed that age should not be an issue in the Guy-Young contest.⁵

Little fanfare accompanied Bismarck businessman Robert McCarney's January 14 press release which said he might run for the U.S. Senate by entering the Democratic primary or running as an Independent. To political observers that brief statement made just one day prior to

Guy's announcement signaled the beginning of yet another McCarney attempt to disrupt North Dakota's partisan electoral process.⁶ Three days later Senator Young said he "understood all along he (Robert McCarney) was going to support me," adding that he told McCarney he should not go ahead with his plans of running for the senate in the primary.⁷

William Guy's announcement of his candidacy came as no surprise to North Dakotans who recalled the former Governor's remarks at the time he announced in 1972 that he would not run for reelection but retained an interest in the U.S. Senate. He enjoyed recognition for his accomplishments and considerable support from all areas of the state.⁸ It would, however, have surprised the public to learn the extent to which Senator Young saw the differences between himself and the former Governor. Not long after Guy's announcement, Young's attitude towards Guy surfaced in his reply to a constituent: "My opponent, former Governor Bill Guy, is 100% opposed to all of the views you express. He is a far-out liberal and opposed to everything you represent."⁹

During the first week of March news reached North Dakota that Democratic Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi, Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, rejected Democratic State Chairman Richard Ista's accusations that Senator Young misused his franking privilege by distributing speeches made on the floor of the senate to North Dakota news outlets. Regarding Stennis' statement, Young wrote Guy, urging "a clean and honorable campaign" and saying he intended to campaign on his record, taking full responsibility for what

others in his campaign might say. He asked Guy to do the same "with those closely associated with your campaign." When Ista initially made his charges, Young called him a "stooge of Bill Guy" whose accusations were "Not only inaccurate but malicious."¹⁰ On a more positive note pertaining to use of the postal service, a fund raising committee calling itself "North Dakota Farmers for Senator Milton R. Young" sent a mass mailing to farmers asking them to contribute an amount equal to whatever number of bushels of grain they wanted to give to the Young campaign. The slogan used in the appeal was "Bushels for Mr. Wheat."¹¹ This was a timely appeal considering the information released by Young that the Department of Agriculture statisticians reported that from 1972 to 1973 North Dakota's net average farm income rose by over two and one-half times, marking the biggest increase of any state.¹²

Young's mail reflected citizen concern about Watergate, and many of them told their Senator that Nixon should leave the presidency. Explaining that the House Judiciary Committee initiated impeachment hearings, Young told one North Dakota couple, "If the House voted to impeach the President and especially if they did so by a sizable majority, I am quite sure he would resign."¹³ But he opposed Nixon's resignation to avoid impeachment proceedings, declaring that if the President resigned for that reason "it would set a bad precedent." As he so often did, Young talked about the effect of Watergate on his campaign: "It . . . can't help." Admitting that he faced a difficult race, Young reflected that "If the President wasn't in trouble, I don't think I would have any reelection problems." As evidence of that, the Senator mentioned support he received from Democrats and the National

Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives.¹⁴ He blamed Watergate and federal campaign regulations for inhibiting donors and making political fundraising more difficult; yet he insisted that in his personal campaign fundraising, he found little reluctance on the part of contributors.¹⁵

Two months after he implied he might run in the Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate nomination, perennial candidate Robert McCarney announced circulation of petitions to place his name in the Democratic-NPL column on the September 3 primary ballot. McCarney pronounced that his actions did not oppose Young but gave him a platform from which he could attack former Governor Guy; he pointed out that "the only way you can get the facts out is if you're a candidate." He charged Guy with Watergate tactics in his 1968 reelection campaign (Guy beat McCarney that year by a wider margin than any of his previous Republican opponents). Guy answered the accusation angrily: "None of these charges are true." When asked if he knew beforehand what McCarney planned to do, Young replied, "No, I did not ask Robert McCarney to seek nomination I found out long ago that McCarney does as he pleases. If he had asked my advice, I would have advised against it." It fell to Democratic State Chairman Richard Ista to lower the partisan boom, declaring, "He is doing this as a ploy to assist Senator Young. I would say McCarney is about as phoney as a three-dollar bill when it comes to being a Non-Partisan Leaguer. We have regular meetings. I have never seen him at one." Ista's Republican counterpart commented simply, "What can I say?"¹⁶

In a speech that Guy delivered at Washburn (see page 62) he mentioned something he and his wife Jean had experienced several months earlier during a vacation trip they made to California. The Guys spent some time with the Lawrence Welks, who invited them to a taping of the Lawrence Welk show on which a song would be sung in tribute to the former Governor while the Guys sat in the front row of the studio audience. Guy also told the Washburn rally that on April 20 (three weeks from the night of the rally) they could watch the show.¹⁷ The story appeared on Thursday, April 3, and the following Monday an airmail letter left Senator Young's Washington office for Lawrence Welk in Santa Monica, California. Young erroneously told Welk that the Washburn paper's story could be considered "typical of the stories appearing in North Dakota papers since former Governor Guy's return to North Dakota It seems apparent that former Governor Guy will use his friendship with you as a part of his forthcoming campaign."¹⁸ The Senator went on to observe:

Lawrence, I think it was real nice of you to have former Governor Guy appear on your program a couple of years ago when he was Governor, and again recently. Also, I thought it was real nice of you to play a number for Jean and him. If these films were to be used in the campaign this fall it would be quite a different matter, however. The great respect and admiration the people of North Dakota have for you could well be the deciding factor in this election if the films were to be used for political purposes.

Last fall, I appeared on NBC's Today Show. I would like to have used this film for campaign publicity, but NBC has a rigid policy prohibiting such use of their film.¹⁹

Young explained further to Welk that while Guy's position on abortion could not be determined but most probably pro choice, while his record was one of actively supporting the right to life policies. Not until half way through the letter did the Senator get to the point:

Lawrence, this is a very difficult letter for me to write to you, as I realize that though you are probably even more conservative than I am, you have always been very close friends with the Guys. My only purpose is to express the hope you will not permit the films concerning former Governor Guy to be used in his fall campaign.²⁰

The promptness with which Young responded to the news of Guy's appearance on the Welk show reflected his realization of just how persuasive a Guy spot that incorporated a Welk appearance might be. Others shared the same concern and communicated it to the Senator. His campaign coordinator, Ray David, wrote the day after Young's letter went to Welk that he had seen the Washburn article, had talked to others about it, and that "Mac [McCarney] called and was concerned about the impact this might have on Welk fans across the State."²¹ A communication pipeline existed between Young and McCarney.

Apparently the mood of anxious concern over the political ramifications of Guy's appearance on the Welk show did not reach the West Coast because Welk's reply to Young took nearly three weeks to appear. In a two-page letter, filled with chit chat, Welk wrote, "I can assure you the films you spoke of will never go out of our studios."²² Several weeks later, Young responded, "I was real pleased to know that the films won't get out of your studio"; he also revealed his apprehension of events surrounding the Presidency:

Everything looks good, but I am deeply concerned about this whole Watergate mess and impeachment. It's too bad this whole thing happened. In many ways Nixon has been a good President, but he certainly let certain things get out of hand. His handling of the tapes and their release, as well as other information, has been pretty bad. The news the last couple of days indicates the President is in deep trouble. It's just a question of how long he can last.²³

Watergate took over the political agenda in the nation and in North Dakota during the spring of 1974, and as the climax drew closer Senator Young explained that how he might cast his vote in a Senate trial (after impeachment) troubled him because of the effect it could have on his reelection bid. Expressing his concern, he said, "If it comes to a vote in the Senate, no matter which way you vote, you'd be in trouble. I don't know how many solid Nixon supporters there are in North Dakota, maybe 25 percent. I figure maybe 35 percent." He thought that voting for conviction would turn many of the hard-core Nixon supporters against him.²⁴ Speaking to a convention of the North Dakota Federation of Republican Women in early May, Young noted that the mood of Congress changed after President Nixon released to the House Judiciary Committee edited transcripts of White House conversations. In a decidedly different tone than he expressed privately, Young told his partisan crowd, "There's been nothing yet to prove he President Nixon knew about the whole Watergate mess, that he encouraged it or had any responsibility for it."²⁵ On the second Friday in May the headline of the Minot Daily News read, "YOUNG URGES NIXON STEP OUT," and the lead story reported that Senator Young suggested President Nixon use the twenty-fifth amendment to step aside

until the Watergate matter could be resolved.²⁶ In a related story Young (identified as a respected conservative) was reported as saying, "I think the President is getting in deeper trouble. I have been deeply concerned about how he has handled this whole thing."²⁷ In his May senatorial newsletter to North Dakota, Young wrote that he did not himself know how he might vote should the Senate convene as a court after an impeachment of President Nixon. Then the Senator proclaimed, "I have been severely critical from the start of the whole Watergate mess."²⁸ As a Republican U.S. Senator running for reelection, Milton Young could not shake the Watergate scandal as summer approached in 1974.

Young again encountered opposition within the ranks of his own party at the national level. The New York Times reported on May 7: "Republicans at party headquarters in Washington wish 76-year-old Senator Young had stepped aside in favor of the state's popular at-large representative, Mark Andrews. They fear the worst against former Gov. William L. Guy, a Democrat."²⁹ Young did not reply to the Times story nor did he comment on opposition to him from a more traditional source, nationally organized labor, which targeted him for defeat.³⁰ But Young did handle the matter of candidates' making public their personal financial positions. After Guy released a statement of his financial assets, the Senator followed suit even though he strongly indicated he did not believe in such action. However, Young did not place a dollar value on his farm land, in contrast to the former Governor, who released the acreage he owned and its worth. Instead, the Senator made public the number of acres he owned, but not its

value, explaining, "It would be very difficult to appraise the value of this farm. It has never been for sale and there have been no offers to purchase it."³¹

Young continued to cultivate and stay in contact with his friends in the North Dakota press as demonstrated by an incident which occurred in early July. The Grand Forks Herald noted Guy's statements that he saw inflation as the nation's number one problem and its solution as the combination of federal spending reductions and higher taxes to balance the budget, but the paper satirized Guy's position as inconsistent with his political history. The last line of the editorial made the observation: "Maybe since Guy started drawing \$6,300 as a part-time director of a Fargo insurance agency he's joined the Chamber of Commerce."³² A week later Senator Young wrote to the Herald's editor, Jack Hagerty, expressing admiration for the editorial. He also told Hagerty, "Jack, I would like to say something to you confidentially. My reason for asking you to keep this confidential is because I intend to use it at some time in the campaign." The something to which Young alluded consisted of a record of Governor Guy's having written him fifty-six letters asking him to vote for proposed federal expenditures but never a communication from Guy as Governor asking him to vote against a federal spending program.³³

Even if Young did not believe that Guy's answers to reducing inflation were sincere, he did come to agree with his opponent that attention should be paid to the inflation issue. Both campaign camps took public opinion polls not only to discover who commanded the most support but also to find out what the voters considered to be the most

important issues. A measure of Guy's superior polling data is that early in his campaign he singled out inflation as a key issue, but not until just before the Republican state convention in mid-July did Young join him in calling inflation the most important issue.³⁴ Parroting this view (and confirming the delay of polling results to the Republicans) the Republican state chairman said, "Inflation will be the number one issue at the convention and in the campaign."³⁵

During the second day of the Republican state convention, George Bush, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, arrived in the convention city, Minot. Stressing recurring themes in Young's campaign, Bush stated that because of the Senator's seniority and his position as ranking Republican on the Senate Appropriations Committee, his reelection held special importance to the party nationally.³⁶ The next day, accepting his party's endorsement for the senate, Senator Young defended the seniority system and repeated his disdain for North Dakota's losing the ranking position on the Senate Appropriations Committee, which he said counted as a major reason for his candidacy. He mentioned the damage caused by inflation but did not utter one word about Watergate or ethics in government. Stressing his strongest point, Young continued, "Ending the Cold War made possible the huge wheat sale to Russia which was strongly condemned by my opponent and his associates As a direct result of the Russian wheat sale, we have the first \$5.00 wheat in history . . . and the greatest prosperity in our state's history." Asking for ". . . the biggest possible vote in the Primary," the veteran Republican discouraged his fellow party members from crossing over in the September Primary

Elections to vote for Robert McCarney. Projecting optimism, Young claimed the pessimism expressed about his chances for reelection earlier were gone, and he concluded saying, "I see no problem in winning this election."³⁷

Young received his endorsement by a unanimous vote, brought the convention to its feet cheering (he received the only floor demonstration during the convention), and touched the themes he felt worked best in his behalf.³⁸ As he left the Minot convention, Young believed his tactics would put him ahead of Guy and keep him there. This seemed reasonable, especially when in a quiet and almost unnoticed manner Robert McCarney, on July 22, filed petitions with North Dakota's Secretary of State to place his name on the Democratic-NPL ballot for U.S. Senator.³⁹ On July 25 Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Senator Young made a brief visit at the Grand Forks Air Force Base. Kissinger, at a press conference, praised Young but denied his visit could be considered politically motivated. Despite the denial, Young received favorable political fallout from the visit of the famous Secretary of State, shoring up Young's claims that his seniority gave him powerful influence and through him all North Dakota.⁴⁰ Scott Anderson, a former North Dakota Democratic party leader, received little attention as he supervised the filming of Kissinger's visit for TV ads in Young's campaign. In 1960 Anderson as Executive Director of the state Democratic party had played a key role in Guy's election to the governorship. Anderson's appearance as an official of a Washington-based firm, Concept Films, Inc., working for Young,

displayed that some important Democrats in the nation's capital did not want former Governor Guy replacing Young.⁴¹

Noting that his membership on the Senate Agriculture and Appropriations Committees consumed a large share of his time and his determination to maintain his high percentage of senate attendance, Young announced in early August he would not have as much time to campaign as he had originally planned.⁴² Perhaps the Senator anticipated the final moments of Nixon's presidency and used the press of senate business to allow him to remain in Washington and in his office when the President resigned. On the day of Nixon's resignation, in a brief press release, Young expressed an almost melancholy mood. He noted that because Nixon faced a House membership about to impeach him, a Senate in which his support continued to deteriorate, and an absence of public support, the President had no option but to resign. Young then repeated the thoughts he had included in his spring letter to Lawrence Welk: "Even though the President has brought most of this on himself, I cannot help but have a feeling of sadness. In many respects, especially on foreign matters, he has been one of our very best Presidents."⁴³ However, when asked how Nixon's resignation would affect his reelection campaign, Young's mood brightened immediately: "This should assure my reelection. I never at any time supported Watergate. I was always critical of Watergate. I never once defended it."⁴⁴

Not until after the Primary did Senator Young make an effort to reach out for extensive statewide press coverage. His statement that Nixon's resignation assured his reelection played a part, but more

important to him was avoiding any publicity in the Democratic Guy-McCarney Primary fight. But before that significant event, the Senator took note of an attitude that surfaced regularly as he campaigned across North Dakota in the fall. In a letter to the editor column published two weeks after Nixon resigned, a Ford dealer from Western North Dakota, H. Spier, Jr., wrote:

Who gave our farmers \$5.00 a bushel for wheat? Isn't it much nicer to get \$5.00 a bushel without a war than \$2.00 like we had experienced years ago with a war. I've been in business for 25 years and I've never seen so much money in the country, and buying power, yet we don't appreciate it.⁴⁵

Unlike the national economy in 1974, North Dakota's economy was booming because of the high prices of its agricultural products. While it is not possible to quantify the extent to which this influenced the outcome of the U.S. Senate race, there is no doubt that Milton Young, Mr. Wheat, could not have received the votes he did without it.

FOOTNOTES

¹Dave Bartel, "Senate race funding poses some problems," Grand Forks Herald, 7 January 1974, p. 1.

²Chuck Haga, "Young sees U.S. in 'critical situation'," Grand Forks Herald, 14 January 1974, p. 8.

³Valley City Times, 16 January 1974, Folder 6, Box 599, MYP.

⁴Dave Bartel, "Diversion Said In Danger," Minot Daily News, 17 January 1974, p. 1.

⁵Jack Hagerty, "Observations," Grand Forks Herald, 17 February 1974, p. 4.

⁶Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 15 January 1974, Clipping, Folder 4, Box 599, MYP.

⁷Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 18 January 1974, p. 1.

⁸Grand Forks Herald, 16 January 1974, p. 4.

⁹Milton R. Young to E. Stanndard, 22 January 1974, Folder 14, Box 50 , MYP.

¹⁰Grand Forks Herald, 9 March 1974, p. 1.

¹¹Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: 'Young, Andrews Gain In Seniority,'" Minot Daily News, 2 March 1974, p. 15.

¹²Bill Tillottson, "On the Hill," Bismarck Tribune, 29 March 1974, p. 15.

¹³Milton R. Young to Mr. and Mrs. Jack Redmond, 21 February 1974, Folder 12, Box 508, MYP.

¹⁴Jamestown Sun, 21 March 1974, p. 1.

¹⁵Jamestown Sun, 22 March 1974, p. 2.

¹⁶Gary Clark, "McCarney Says Purpose Is Solely to Oppose Guy," Bismarck Tribune, 12 April 1974, p. 5.

¹⁷Oliver Borlaug, "Guy Laments Lack of Leadership at Fund-Raising Dinner Attended by Nearly 200 in Washburn," Washburn Leader, 3 April 1974, Unfiled, Box 615, MYP.

¹⁸Milton R. Young to Lawrence Welk, 8 April 1974, p. 1, Unfiled, Box 615, MYP.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid, p. 2.

²¹Ray David to Milton R. Young, 9 April 1974, Unfiled, Box 615, MYP.

²²Lawrence Welk to Milton R. Young, 26 April 1974, p. 1, Unfiled, Box 615, MYP.

²³Milton R. Young to Lawrence Welk, 8 May 1974, p. 1, Unfiled, Box 615, MYP.

²⁴Minot Daily News, 3 May 1974, p. 7.

²⁵Minot Daily News, 4 May 1974, p. 13.

²⁶Minot Daily News, 10 May 1974, p. 1.

²⁷Carl P. Lebusdorf, "GOP Joins Cry of 'Quit'," Minot Daily News, 10 May 1974, p. 1.

²⁸Minot Daily News, 13 May 1974, p. 2.

²⁹Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: 'Naaden Campaign Horse Shot Down'," Minot Daily News, 18 May 1974, p. 14.

³⁰Grand Forks Herald, 11 June 1974, p. 4.

³¹Gary W. Clark, "Young's Holdings Include But One Share of Stock," Minot Daily News, 18 June 1974, p. 1.

³²Jack Hagerty, "Conversion," Grand Forks Herald, 2 July 1974, p. 4.

³³Milton R. Young to Jack Hagerty, 9 July 1974, Unfiled, Box 615, MYP.

³⁴J. D. Wilson, "GOP expecting to endorse Young, Andrews, and Wolf," Grand Forks Herald, 10 July 1974, p. 8.

³⁵Jim Willis, "Inflation; coal development key GOP convention issues," Grand Forks Herald, 10 July 1974, p. 8.

³⁶Jim Willis, "Bush: Young Re-Election Top Priority," Minot Daily News, 13 July 1974, p. 7.

³⁷"Speech For Republican Convention Senator Milton R. Young (R-N.D.) For Release," July 13, 1974, Folder 21, Box 615, MYP.

³⁸Jack Hagerty, "Young, Andrews endorsed," Grand Forks Herald, 14 July 1974, p. 1.

³⁹Grand Forks Herald, 23 July 1974, p. 5.

⁴⁰Jack Hagerty, "Kissinger displays both diplomacy, charm at base," Grand Forks Herald, 26 July 1974, p. 8.

⁴¹Jack Hagerty, "In My Book," Grand Forks Herald, 31 July 1974, p. 6.

⁴²"Young: Must Cut Back On Campaigning," Minot Daily News, 3 August 1974, p. 13.

⁴³"Press Release," 8 August 1974, Folder 18, Box 503, MYP.

⁴⁴"Young: My Re-election assured," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 9 August 1974, p. 1.

⁴⁵Washburn Leader, 22 August 1974, p. 2.

V. CONFIDENCE TO ALTERING STRATEGY:
GUY 1974 TO PRIMARY ELECTION

"William L. Guy will announce 'very soon, within a few weeks,'" forecast North Dakota's Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan in the first week of January 1974, anticipating Guy's challenge for Young's U.S. Senate seat. Dorgan, certain that Guy would win, suggested that Young's age should convince the incumbent to retire and stated that Young's age would be a major campaign factor if he continued in the race. Expanding on the theme, Dorgan expressed his belief that it was "absurd" that ". . . because a man has been around longer he's necessarily better."¹ Turning to his own political plans, Dorgan indicated that he considered a race against the Republican U.S. House member very appealing, but he did not say definitely that he planned to run for higher office.² Although Dorgan predicted that Guy was on the verge of announcing for the senate, the former Governor himself maintained, ". . . I am not a candidate. I want to keep my options flexible." Acknowledging that two staff members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee had flown to North Dakota to consult with him Guy denied that any arrangements, agreements, or funding had come out of the meeting. For the 1974 campaign he expected small contributions to finance the Democratic effort because ". . . we cannot go on allowing corporations to finance political campaigns."³ According to the 1972 Federal Election Campaign Act, in North Dakota's

general election (and in the primary election as well) U.S. Senate candidates could spend no more than \$52,150 and of that amount only \$31,290 for media. Both Guy and Young agreed the limits did not pose any problems.⁴

Guy scheduled two press conferences for Wednesday, January 16, one at his home in the morning and another in Bismarck that afternoon, to unveil his political plans.⁵ Thus, twenty-four months after he announced he would not run for governor, William L. Guy used the living room of his Casselton split-level house to confirm that he intended to run for the U.S. Senate. Not mentioning Senator Young by name, Guy said he planned to campaign "on the issues and against no one" and that "I believe it would be helpful for North Dakota to have a senator who is a farmer and who can speak out on our basic industry." Considering what the next eleven months held in store for him, the former Governor seemed unaware of the scope of the political battle into which he entered. Looking back over his twelve years as governor, he told the twenty cameramen and reporters that the upcoming race did not seem as difficult as past contests. Stating flatly that he saw no reason to use Watergate as an issue, Guy did comment, "From my years of experience in North Dakota state government, I know it is possible to conduct the affairs of government and politics honestly."⁶ Guy credited the urging of his family as an important factor in reaching his decision.⁷

Leaving Casselton by car and carefully observing the speed limit, Guy arrived at his Bismarck news conference at the Holiday Inn several minutes late. Primarily designed to give his candidacy announcement TV

news coverage in Western North Dakota, the Bismarck setting also provided a platform to raise the issue of the congressional seniority system. As in Casselton Guy did not mention Young by name nor did he mention age as an issue, but he found a way to put both squarely on the table, declaring, "I have long believed that the seniority system is one of the grave problems in Congress. It places too much responsibility on people who are neither willing nor able to carry it out." Attaining leadership in congress under the seniority system, according to Guy, resulted from living longer than congressional peers rather than displaying ability. Guy met head on Young's touting of his seniority, and used seniority to focus indirectly on the Senator's age. Having thrown down the gauntlet, Guy repeated his more mellow theme from earlier in the day: "I do not plan to campaign against anyone in the months ahead but simply for the privilege of representing North Dakota in the United States Senate."⁸

If nothing concrete had come out of Guy's meeting with representatives of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee prior to his formal announcement, a month after he became an official candidate national level Democrats targeted North Dakota's senate seat for a turnover.⁹ Also on the national level Watergate held the attention of the two opposing senatorial campaign camps, and signs of change could be detected. The North Dakota Poll showed that in late January a majority of respondents did not favor Nixon's resignation or removal from office. They also replied that if Nixon and McGovern should again face each other in a presidential election, they would give North Dakota's electoral votes to Nixon. However, only 24 percent

rated Nixon's performance as near average.¹⁰ Eight months prior to election day Nixon's popularity did not show signs of collapse, but a downward trend appeared evident.

Lloyd B. Omdahl from Conway, former State Tax Commissioner, long-time Democratic-NPL activist, UND assistant professor of political science, director of UND's Bureau of Governmental Affairs,¹¹ and a close friend of Guy acted, without salary, as the Guy campaign's media director. Eyeing the battle ahead Omdahl told a meeting of the North Dakota Democratic-Non-Partisan League's policy committee in early March, "You're probably going to see one of the dirtiest campaigns for the United States Senate that you've ever seen in this state. Be prepared for a Watergate here only on a smaller scale." Later Omdahl explained that his remarks had referred to Republican Robert McCarney, who had announced earlier his interest in running in the Democratic primary for the party's U.S. Senate nomination.¹² During March Guy and his wife Jean crisscrossed North Dakota, attending party functions, mentioning few issues, and devoting time to fund raising efforts. The impression he gave to voters presented a serious, confident, and sensitive candidate who was concerned with the conditions in which he found the nation's politics.¹³

A campaign event in Washburn's Memorial Hall late in March reflected a typical North Dakota partisan meeting. Labeled a "Meet Bill and Jean Guy" meeting and priced at \$25.00 per couple, the evening included dinner, speeches, and a dance that drew a crowd of nearly two hundred people. Reverend Elmer Odlund, minister of Washburn's United Methodist Church, gave the invocation; county Democratic chairman

Gerald Oberg emceed, and the ladies of United Methodist Church served a ham dinner. It should be noted that no Jewish vote existed in McLean County and any effort to lure Catholic voters to the festivities went unreported. Providing the entertainment (not even the most partisan crowd thought political speeches entertaining) Turtle Lake (a McLean county community smaller than Washburn) residents Connie Hofer, Janeal Singer, Steve Hill, and Gail Orman sang popular songs and were followed by the political speakers. Candidate Guy's talk stressing the themes of Watergate, energy, leadership, and the power of the electorate broke no new ground. Washburn's weekly newspaper devoted more space in its coverage of the "Meet Bill and Jean Guy" night than Guy had received in any North Dakota daily or weekly between his formal announcement and the Democratic-NPL state convention.¹⁴

Prior to speaking before a thirtieth district Democratic-NPL dinner in Linton the next month, Guy told a reporter, "A junior member of a majority party could have more power than a senior member of a minority party." As he said, "Seniority works within a majority party." This seemed to be a change from Guy's earlier position but he added he would not limit "any congressman's right to serve on committees [but] . . . if he is to serve on a committee, he should be elected by its members. At present, the party caucus names the chairman."¹⁵ If the former Governor's position appeared fuzzy at times on the seniority issue, both he and Senator Young expressed strong support for the Garrison Diversion project, a proposal to divert annually 875,000 acre feet of Missouri River water to central and eastern North Dakota for municipal, recreation, and agricultural

purposes. The Committee to Save North Dakota and its chairman Richard Madson of Jamestown attacked Senator Young for his pro-Garrison Diversion stand, but not Guy. Other than Madson's occasional protests, no partisan division took place on the issue of Garrison Diversion.¹⁶

In reply to questions concerning McCarney's intention to run against him in the September primary, Guy in early May answered, "So what's new? In every election I've been in since 1961, McCarney has played some role, always in violent opposition to me."¹⁷ The lack of concern on Guy's part reinforced the picture of a confident candidate who could control the political agenda. Guy did just that when he continued to emphasize inflation as North Dakota's and America's most important problem. To combat inflation Guy proposed, "We must balance the federal budget by deciding what we can do without and then cutting back. Congress must adopt a budgeting system whereby it sets budget priorities, goals and ceilings on appropriations."¹⁸

The parallel between North Dakota's senate contest and that of Arkansas' in 1974 caught the attention of North Dakota politicians and sent concern through the Young camp. James William Fulbright of Arkansas entered the U.S. Senate in 1945, the same year as Milton Young, but on May 28 Arkansas' forty-eight-year-old Governor Dale Bumpers defeated Senator Fulbright by a landslide in that state's Democratic primary.¹⁹ From Guy's point of view his generational gap with Young matched the Fulbright-Bumpers example, yet Fulbright's national reputation worked against him with "back home folks" while Young did not suffer that type of liability. In order to grasp the opportunity to test his strength against Young, Guy realized that a

decisive defeat of his primary opponent must take precedence over a final general election strategy; with just two months remaining before the primary, Guy pondered his campaign tactics because the McCarney factor could not be accurately calculated.²⁰ In the same vein political analyst Kevin Phillips commented on the North Dakota senate race: ". . . 76-year-old GOP incumbent Milton Young is running like cold molasses. GOP insiders worry that he'll lose to Democratic ex-Governor William Guy unless Guy himself gets badly cut up in a primary challenge from Bismarck auto dealer Robert McCarney (who will be rehashing Guy Administration bank scandals)."²¹

On the eve of the Democratic-NPL state convention in late June at Minot, McCarney paid for a half-hour TV program titled "Special Political Broadcast" that accused Guy of corruption during his governorship. At a news conference the next day the former Governor responded:

Last night with heavy hearts my wife Jean and I watched the vicious attack on me made by Robert McCarney in a paid political broadcast over several North Dakota TV stations. Nothing he said in that TV advertisement regarding me was true. Nothing! It was just one lie or crude innuendo after another.

Mr. McCarney has apparently taken on the assignment to try to assassinate my character

. . . . I am very proud of my own personal integrity in politics and government service. I am even more proud of the extremely high standards of morality and honesty followed by the people of my administration for 12 years.

McCarney's attacks on me raise some serious questions. Why is McCarney trying to blacken my name? Who is benefiting by his attacks? Certainly not him--certainly not me--certainly not the Democratic-NPL party. Then who is

benefiting? And why has the decision been made to conduct politics on this level?

Guy stated he would not debate McCarney because debates should be based on facts and McCarney had none.²²

Turning his attention from Young to McCarney, for the first time in his campaign, the former Governor diverted his energies from the principle objective of defeating Milton Young, and he would be similarly side tracked again and again in the months leading up to November's election. Guy reached a turning point without realizing it, nor did he later recognize the pattern repeating itself. Unaware of any hidden pitfalls Guy went before the convention which gave him his party's endorsement for the U.S. Senate and pledged an "open-issue-oriented campaign."²³

Some days later Senator Young interpreted Guy's answer to McCarney's TV ad as an accusation of his having arranged McCarney's candidacy and shot back, "This kind of attack by innuendo, is typical of Bill Guy's way of doing things." Carrying the matter further, Young charged, ". . . McCarney is now a Democrat candidate. Guy is barking up the wrong tree if he thinks I am responsible for all the goings-on within the Democratic party," and he observed that the charges McCarney had leveled against Guy were serious.²⁴ Picking up on Young's statement about the serious charges, Guy in a telegram sent to the Senator declared, "Let me assure you that these charges are false, frivolous and shopworn." The telegram continued, "I propose that we meet at your convenience in Carrington or at any other place in North Dakota to have a friendly discussion of the seriousness of McCarney's

charges. . . ." He suggested Carrington because both his and Young's schedules placed them there at an annual legislative golf tournament. Such a meeting did not take place, however, because the Senator replied to his opponent, "This legislative golf tournament has always been a sociable, fun affair. I have no intention of using that gathering as a place for you to get me involved in a political debate over a problem that is entirely your own."²⁵

In late July Guy returned to McCarney's candidacy being a front for somebody else when he remarked, "I'm convinced in my own mind Mr. McCarney is being used to carry out a special assignment against me by a group which I can't identify at this time." He did not speculate on which group, but he said his defeat could benefit the transportation industry, the military-industrial complex, and coal companies. He also announced the appointment of former Board of Higher Education member and state senator George Sinner of Casselton as his campaign manager.²⁶

In July an exchange took place within the Young camp which foreshadowed Guy's ultimate undoing. Jim Backlin, Senator Young's Bismarck Field Representative, sent Young information he had received verbally from Bob McPherson of the International Union of Operating Engineers. Backlin informed the Senator that McPherson had revealed that ". . . he had learned that the environmentalists are pushing James Jungroth of Jamestown to run for the Senate in November. He said some Democrats don't think this was serious but he believes it is since he said the environmentalist groups are loaded with money and are looking hard for candidates supporting their viewpoint."²⁷ Several days later in a letter to McPherson, Young commented, "I had heard, too, from

several different sources that Jim Jungroth of Jamestown was considering filing as an independent candidate for the Senate in the general election. Undoubtedly his major support will be from environmentalists.²⁸

On August 5 James Jungroth announced his candidacy as an independent for the U.S. Senate in the November general election. Jungroth, explaining that he did not want to be involved in the issues between McCarney and Guy in the primary contest, said, "We don't want to get embroiled in the primary with the McCarney things." Explaining he planned to run on an environmentalist platform, Jungroth observed, "It seems necessary to me that there be a third candidate for the U.S. Senate in this fall's race. I find very little difference between the two party-endorsed candidates except for age, seniority and party affiliation." He continued, "Today North Dakota is at the crossroads. If industrialization comes, as has been proposed by the coal developers, major decisions affecting North Dakota will not be made in the city halls . . . county courthouses . . . nor the legislative chambers . . ., but instead will be made in out-of-state corporate board rooms." Jungroth advocated "Total nondevelopment beyond the water permits that have already been voted." That proposal took aim at Guy's support of a permit granted in July to United Power Association Cooperative.²⁹

Minot columnist Dobson answered important questions concerning McCarney's motive for entering the Democratic primary and why Jungroth had chosen the general election and independent status. Dobson believed that McCarney's dislike of Guy--and not an assignment from Young--had

played a paramount role in his decision to run in the primary, offering him an opportunity to attack the former Governor. Dobson also noted that Jungroth had told Young in 1973 that his candidacy strategy would be to take votes away from Guy. Dobson went on to quote what he judged to be "an astute commentary" made by the executive editor of the Grand Forks Herald, Jack Hagerty: "It is true that Jungroth is likely to win most of his votes from Democrats. But given the antagonism which exists with a sizable part of the Democratic party, those votes might otherwise go to Young--and the Republican incumbent might get them." Dobson concluded that "Independents usually take votes away from both major candidates, with the result that the outcome becomes more unpredictable. The simple truth is that many thousands of voters do not make logical, rational decisions."³⁰ Richard Ista expressed a different view; he believed Jungroth's presence on the ballot would hurt Guy more than Young; the Forum predicted the Jamestown man's candidacy would probably have no impact on the voter's decision.³¹ Even though agreement did not exist in North Dakota political circles as to the outcome of the senate contest in early August, national Democratic leaders at that time named North Dakota as one of the five states in which their candidates would have the best chance to take Republican senate seats.³²

The September 3, 1974, election marked the first time in North Dakota's history that the Democratic candidates polled more votes than Republican candidates in a primary. Guy identified independents, not Democrats, as responsible for his party's strong showing and saw it as "something quite profound . . . the emergence of an extremely large

block of independent voters in North Dakota."³³ Young, running without primary opposition, received 51,705 votes as opposed to Guy's 55,269 and McCarney's 11,286, making a total Democratic vote in the senate race of 67,555.³⁴ McCarney's ploy to deal the former Governor a mortal blow or at least to inflict major damage to him met with little success. On the day after his strong primary showing, Guy said that the election outcome was "extremely encouraging and reflects a showing of confidence of North Dakotans in their state government." He declared that he intended to emphasize issues that faced North Dakota and America in the general election campaign, putting inflation as the number one issue. He went on to point out, "I plan to spend an awful lot of time talking with people in the next few weeks to get their ideas of what they think should be done and what they want done."³⁵

Labeling the primary election "An Historic Outcome," the Mandan Morning Pioneer editorialized that Guy's outpolling Young, even with McCarney as an opponent, pointed towards "an intensive political campaign."³⁶ Fargo's Forum took a different view, forecasting it would be logical that most of McCarney's primary votes would be cast for Young in the general election. However, the paper admitted that this did not negate the Democrats' primary vote ranking as their highest ever. The primary did settle who won the parties' nominations, but "didn't give a clear perspective on what will happen in November." Concluding, the Forum commented that, while Nixon's resignation should have cleared the air for Republican candidates, "President Gerald R. Ford's unconditional pardon of Mr. Nixon has shoved Watergate right back into the campaign."³⁷ Twelve years later political analyst Dobson

would explain that a majority of voters in the 1974 primary had gone into the Democratic column because the party had employed a get-out-the-vote drive to ensure William Guy's victory over political maverick Robert McCarney. The primary vote, therefore, had not adumbrated a Democratic sweep in the general election.³⁸

FOOTNOTES

¹Chuck Haga, "Guy predicted to soon enter U.S. Senate race," Grand Forks Herald, 8 January 1974, p. 1.

²Jim Willis, "Dorgan Hints at Andrews Contest," Grand Forks Herald, 8 January 1974, p. 1.

³"Demos Eye Small Contributor in '74," Bismarck Tribune, 8 January 1974, p. 3.

⁴Dave Bartel, "High cost politics at an end," Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, Folder 6, Box 599, MYP.

⁵Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 15 January 1974, Folder 1, Box 599, MYP.

⁶Phil Matthews, "Pledges Campaign Based on Issues," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 17 January 1974, p. 1.

⁷"Senate N.D. Contest Set," Washington Post, 17 January 1974, p. 26.

⁸Dick Dobson, "Guy Blasts Seniority System," Minot Daily News, 17 January 1974, p. 9.

⁹Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 23 February 1974, p. 425.

¹⁰New Rockford Transcript, Clipping, 13 February 1974, Folder 9, Box 599, MYP.

¹¹"Omdahl to speak at meeting of Democratic-NPL women," Grand Forks Herald, 3 March 1974, p. 11.

¹²"Conclave Will Open June 21," Minot Daily News, 4 March 1974, p. 2.

¹³Clippings, Folder 20, Box 599, MYP.

¹⁴Washburn Leader, 3 April 1974, Folder 32, Box 599, MYP.

¹⁵Linton (N.D.) Emmons County Record, 17 April 1974, Folder 32, Box 599, MYP.

¹⁶"Madson Lashes Out at Young For Statement on Diversion," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 23 April 1974, p. 9.

¹⁷"'So, What's New' Guy Says About McCarney," Minot Daily News, 2 May 1974, p. 1.

¹⁸Dave Bartel, "Guy Terms Inflation As Nation's Largest Problem," Minot Daily News, 14 May 1974, p. 2.

¹⁹"Bumpers Fells Political Giant," Bismarck Tribune, 29 May 1974, p. 10.

²⁰Dick Dobson, "Prairie Perspective: Guy to Face Multiple Challenges," Minot Daily News, 1 June 1974, p. 7.

²¹Kevin Phillips, "Doubtful Republican-held Seats," American Political Report, 14 June 1974, p. 3.

²²Dick Dobson, "Speech Blisters Guy--Republican Filing Million Dollar Action," Minot Daily News, 21 June 1974, p. 1.

²³Dick Dobson, "Convention Backs Simonson; Knutson Refuses to Concede," Minot Daily News, 24 June 1974, p. 16.

²⁴"Young Denies He Prompted Mac Charge," Minot Daily News, 27 June 1974, p. 2.

²⁵"Young Declines Guy's Request," Minot Daily News, 29 June 1974, p. 9.

²⁶"Guy Thinks McCarney Being Used By Group To Hurt Him," Minot Daily News, 25 July 1974, p. 2.

²⁷Jim Backlin, to Senator Young, 16 July 1974, Folder 7, Box 508, MYP.

²⁸Milton R. Young to Bob McPherson, 19 July 1974, Folder 7, Box 508, MYP.

²⁹"Jamestown Attorney Runs With Independent Label," Minot Daily News, 5 August 1974, p. 1.

³⁰Dick Dobson, "Prairie Perspective: Jungroth Race Could Backfire," Minot Daily News, 10 August 1974, p. 9.

³¹"The Forum's Editorial: North Dakota Confronted With 3-Candidate U.S. Senate Race in November," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 10 August 1974, p. 4.

³²"How '74 Senate Races Look Now," U.S. News and World Report, 5 August 1974, p. 39.

³³Phil Matthews, "Guy, Andrews Score Impressive Wins: Knutson Captures Dem PSC Nomination," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 5 September 1974, p. 1.

³⁴Jim Willis, "Official Primary Results Show Guy Top Vote-Getter," Jamestown Sun, 17 September 1974, Clipping, Folder 13, Box 597, MYP.

³⁵Williston Herald, 4 September 1974, Clipping, Folder 10, Box 597, MYP.

³⁶Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 5 September 1974, p. 4.

³⁷"Forum's Editorial: No Clear Perspective Gained from N.D. Primary Voting on November Election Outcome," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 12 September 1974, p. 4.

³⁸Dick Dobson, "Prairie Perspective: Advice to GOP: Don't ignore June vote," Minot Daily News, 15 June 1986, p. C-6.

VI. STAYING THE COURSE: YOUNG,
PRIMARY TO ELECTION

Shortly after the Primary, Senator Young, concerned that Guy had received more votes than he did, called a press conference in Bismarck to announce he would depend on local Republican organizations for turning out his vote in November. Earlier in the year Young had contacted the state GOP chairman about the party's get-out-the-vote program. Young said, "he wrote [GOP Chairman] they didn't have the money to get out the vote In the past campaigns, the Republican Party had the responsibility of getting out the vote, which they aren't doing now." Because his campaign did not have money or personnel to pursue a voter turnout program, Young explained that he would rely on his party's local units.¹ Young's representation of the Republican party voter turnout program did not present clearly the situation which existed. The state GOP committee in early 1974 put into operation a program that delegated voter identification, absentee ballots, and voter turnout activities to its district organizations and offered assistance to districts in implementing those activities. At no time did Senator Young receive a letter from the state GOP chairman telling him North Dakota's Republican Party did not have a voter turnout program. In fact Young's interest in a voter turnout program

did not surface until after the primary, and the rush of events soon removed the topic from the top of his campaign agenda.

On September 8 President Ford pardoned former President Nixon for all his possible crimes. The next day Young responded in a statement which provided him with considerable maneuverability. Recounting his earlier position that as a private citizen Nixon fell under the jurisdiction of the courts and "particularly Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski," the Senator also reiterated his earlier stand of not wanting a former President put in jail. The reason he gave for opposition to imprisoning Nixon turned on this sentence: "A former President serving a sentence in jail would be difficult for the rest of the world to understand, and especially former President Nixon who had probably done more for peace in the world than any President in history." That covered those North Dakotans who supported Ford's action, yet the old veteran politician knew enough to cover the other base. Backing away from the pardon, Young became less emphatic: "I can't help but think, though, that President Ford's pardon was premature and that former President Nixon's statement was not as forthright and complete as it could and should have been."² Giving himself a two-sided position on the pardon proved advantageous to the Senator, who just three days after the statement replied to a constituent who supported the pardon that to a large degree he agreed with her but "my mail right now is running heavily in opposition to the pardon."³

Several days after a luncheon with his top campaign personnel in early September, Young wrote to them, discussing decisions he made regarding the campaign. Rejecting a purchase of bumper stickers, he

reflected, "I am afraid it is too late to do anything about it"; however, the Senator agreed to a political survey which he could use to target voters in areas not favorable to him. Analyzing the primary election results, he noted that while 12,000 more people voted in the Democratic column than in the Republican column, Guy out-distanced him by only 3,490 votes; and even though closely associated with Fargo, Guy did not carry the city. Young concluded that turning out his vote for the general election depended on raising the necessary money to get the job done. Quoting an April 6 memo from the Republican state chairman, the Senator recognized that party organization by itself could not deliver 100 percent of Republican voters to the polls, thus leaving his campaign organization with the problem of filling in the gaps.⁴ The incumbent expressed concern over money, but campaign finance reporting forms submitted to North Dakota's Secretary of State covering income and spending from January 1, 1974, to August 31, 1974, showed Senator Young's contributions topped former Governor Guy's \$146,348 to \$42,240. According to the reports, a St. Thomas farmer, William Grandy, made the biggest single contribution to Young's campaign--\$100.⁵

Covering towns from Fargo to Dickinson along I-94 and Williston to Grand Forks along U.S. 2, a Republican Ladies Caravan (September 16-20) that featured Mrs. Pat Young drew a considerable amount of press attention during a week in which Senator Young tended to his senatorial duties in Washington. From breakfast meetings to evening dinners, Republican women legislative candidates and incumbents joined Mrs. Young to promote both their own candidacies and Senator Young.⁶ When the Senator returned to the state in October to campaign full-time, his

schedule repeated the vigorous pace set by the ladies, crisscrossing the state to give him the greatest visibility possible. He stressed his themes of experience, seniority and constituent service which qualified national political observers said ". . . is acknowledged to be among the best in Congress."⁷

Speaking to a meeting of Fargo's Chamber of Commerce on September 20, Senator Young told the group he did not want President Ford to campaign for his reelection in North Dakota. Young related, "I hated to do this, but some of President Ford's aides were planning to have him come out here. But I discouraged them. I don't want to get involved any more in the pardon and amnesty business than I am now." Because of Nixon's pardon, Young knew that many North Dakotans looked with disfavor on Ford, but he predicted Ford's popularity would return.⁸ Just what signals Young's statement sent to the national press cannot be determined, but the status of North Dakota's U.S. Senate race became blurred as viewed by some national reporters. The Christian Science Monitor reported in late October that President Ford's decision to barnstorm for Republican incumbent U.S. Senators and Representatives recognized the problems hurting GOP candidates: inflation, an economic slow down, too much Watergate, and in some places apathy. In North Dakota's case the Monitor declared overconfidence produced Republican weakness and passed on the assessment of the senate contest which the executive director of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee made. Buell Barrison noted that Young faced an uphill battle which "could go either way" and complained, "Our candidate doesn't even have a campaign."⁹ Barrison

must not have read U.S. News and World Report that reported while Democrats on the national level entertained hopes of picking up North Dakota's Republican senate seat, Young would "win by a narrow margin."¹⁰

With a Fargo dateline a Washington Post staff writer filed a story on North Dakota's senate race that went directly to the heart of the matter: "With few, if any, cutting issues emerging, the question of age is dominating the contest." The story outlined how a breach between Young and the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee had occurred and ended when the committee, realizing Young would not step aside in favor of Representative Mark Andrews, put \$50,000 into Young's campaign. Presented with a close race, Young for the first time in his political career returned home to campaign before congress adjourned. With polls showing Guy running fourteen to sixteen percentage points ahead of Young, the Senator's main thrust stressed his seniority and reputation as "Mr. Wheat." But because the same polls indicated voters thought very highly of Young, former Governor Guy employed a strategy of not attacking the Senator directly and instead concentrated his assaults on the seniority system. Yet this caution did not mean that Guy thought highly of Young, who in his opinion had snubbed him during his twelve years as Governor and had engineered Jungroth's candidacy to draw votes away from him. To this accusation Young replied that Guy ". . . is the most sanctimonious, pompous liar I ever knew in politics." The Post's article ended with a telling prediction: "Guy's polls show Jungroth getting little more than two percent of the vote. Should the gap between Young and Guy close considerably between now and

Nov. 5, Jungroth's role could be pivotal."¹¹ Five years later, Young recalled calling Guy a sanctimonious liar and commented "that was a pretty strong statement which may have hurt me. Even though it was the truth, I think the statement was the kind that hurt me."¹²

An article in the New York Times called the Guy-Young race "basically a popularity issue" with the independent vote becoming more important with the major party candidates drawing closer as reflected in the North Dakota Poll. While North Dakota's tradition of voting Republican should assist Young, it might not, the Times reported, because of Watergate. The paper also emphasized a statement made by Edwin W. Smith, President of North Dakota Farmers' Union: "I can't see how the Republicans can win. I think you will see a great swing. But Jim Jungroth is in there now and that really fouls things up."¹³

Senator Young also saw that the distance between him and Guy was closing; and, even though he had been a successful candidate each time he ran for the senate, in late October he declared that the contest shaped up as the toughest race of his career. He announced, "Guy is not a big vote getter. The reason why he is tough for me is Watergate, Agnew, Nixon and the pardon It's surprising it looks so good at this point. I denounced the pardon and perhaps that saved me" (Young apparently no longer had qualms about the effect on the American image if Nixon were in a jail cell). Young estimated that he gained ground during October, but the issues surrounding Watergate for him meant a loss of ". . . at least 10,000 votes Guy wouldn't be any problem if it were not for that." To counter the age issue he continued to emphasize his seniority: "My whole thrust is what

seniority has done for North Dakota." Turning to Jim Jungroth, Young said two-thirds of the twenty-thousand votes he expected Jungroth to attract would come from people who otherwise would have voted for Guy. During the final weeks of the campaign, Young planned to increase his advertising so he could "peak at the end."¹⁴ One of the ads he used to deflect the age issue showed Young breaking an inch thick board with his hand, employing karate type expertise learned through his association with the art of Tae Kwon Do.¹⁵ In addition 1974 was the first campaign in which Young used buttons and billboards.

Young was able to increase his ad frequency in the final weeks of the campaign when Bismarck businessman Harold Schafer contributed \$3,000 to the Republican State Committee. The committee used the money to purchase seven hundred and thirty one spots on North Dakota's top eleven radio stations and to run seven different spots with Schafer as the announcer urging reelection of Senator Young. However, on each spot, Schafer also mentioned the names of Mark Andrews and Ben Wolf, asking for their reelection, for the election of Republican legislative candidates, and ending with the phrase, "Vote Republican." Because the entire state Republican slate was included in the ads, the amount required for a federal candidate to list as a contribution became only 1/124 of the \$3,000. Young needed only to report a campaign contribution from the state committee of \$24.19, and because Schafer contributed to a political party, no reporting requirement applied to his donation.¹⁶

After an earlier concern about turning out the Young vote, the Young campaign made one gesture to assist that effort. A form letter

from Senator Young went out to Republican block workers in Grand Forks praising their efforts and assuring that if he won, it would "be because of all the work that friends like you are doing in my behalf."¹⁷

FOOTNOTES

¹Bill Tillottson, "Young Cites Assistance Of Local Campaigners," Bismarck Tribune, 7 September 1974, p. 1.

²Milton R. Young, Press Release, 9 September 1974, Folder 15, Box 503, MYP.

³Milton R. Young to Mrs. Carlyle Johnson, 12 September 1974, Folder 15, Box 503, MYP.

⁴Milton R. Young, Form Letter, 9 October 1974, Folder 21, Box 49, MYP.

⁵Bismarck Tribune, 9 November 1974, p. 1.

⁶"Pat's Caravan," Folder 16, Box 597, MYP.

⁷Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 12 October 1974, pp. 2785-2786.

⁸Dickinson Press, 21 September 1974, p. 1.

⁹John Dillin, "Sliding economic, political fortune keep Ford on go - He rushes to aid faltering Republicans on campaign," Christian Science Monitor, Eastern Edition, 21 October 1974, p. 1, p. 7.

¹⁰"Republicans Fear Disaster In Their Own Stronghold," U.S. News and World Report, 21 October 1974, p. 40.

¹¹Leroy F. Aarons, "Age Issue Dominates Race for Senate in North Dakota," Washington Post, 20 October 1974, p. A2.

¹²U.S. Senator Milton R. Young, interviewed by Dr. D. Jerome Tweton, 8 August 1979, Transcribed tape recording, Folder 26, Box 794, MYP.

¹³James P. Sterba, "Young Battles 2 Retain North Dakota Senate Seat - Guy, Democrat and Independent Make Race Close One," New York Times, 22 October 1974, p. 30.

¹⁴Gary W. Clark, "Senator Combats Watergate - Young in Toughest Battle," Bismarck Tribune, 23 October 1974, p. 1.

¹⁵Earl Flowers, "Two Giants of North Dakota Politics, Young and Guy, Matched in Senate Race," Medford (Ore.) Mail Tribune, 24 October 1974, p. 6B.

¹⁶Allan C. Young to Milton R. Young, 25 October 1974, Folder 20, Box 511, MYP.

¹⁷Milton R. Young to Grand Forks block workers, 26 October 1974, Folder 21, Box 490, MYP.

VII. THE LEAD SLIPS AWAY: GUY,
PRIMARY TO GENERAL ELECTION

Guy's campaign did make an effort to interject substantive issues into the contest with distribution of nine position papers from mid-August to mid-September¹ but practically none of the material appeared in the media. Door-to-door campaigning became part of Guy's style during the fall campaign. Along with local Democratic-NPL legislative candidates, Guy moved into a community's residential neighborhoods for several hours of knocking on doors and then went to the town's business district to shake hands with voters.² Party workers often arranged a luncheon featuring the U.S. Senate candidate, or Guy would appear before a service club. At these noon-time events Guy continued to stress his themes of open government and the unfairness of the seniority system.³ Guy regularly appeared on radio talk shows or did interviews with the station news people. He repeated that routine on cable TV and commercial stations where available.⁴ In the evening he attended party dinners and/or rallies sponsored by local party officials as pep rallies or fund raisers.⁵ These dinners usually did not function as money raising vehicles but as methods to bring out as many of the party faithful as possible to reinforce their enthusiasm, to display the candidate's popularity to the community and its press,

and to demonstrate to the candidate the strength and effectiveness of that area's party structure.

A North Dakota Poll taken in August but not released until the second week of September revealed an even contest in the Senate race with Young 49.8 to Guy's 45.9 percent and 4.3 undecided.⁶ The survey did not include Jungroth's name nor Kenneth C. Gardner, a Drayton public school social sciences teacher, who obtained the required signatures and filed for the U.S. Senate race as a member of the Freedom and Liberty Party.⁷ Just what effect these Independent candidates would have on the election's outcome remained uncertain; however, Austin Engel, Executive Secretary of the Democratic-NPL party, in late September predicted the result could hinge on Jungroth, who might receive as many as ten thousand votes. The Democratic official viewed the contest between Guy and Young as "a close race" and said, "Those (independent) votes are going to be crucial. They could spell the difference."⁸

Seniority as an issue remained alive and well as the fall campaign proceeded. In Wyndmere a reporter asked Guy what he could offer voters in lieu of Senator Young's seniority. He answered that in the U.S. Senate a junior member of the majority could carry the same influence as a very senior member of the minority: "After all a senator from the minority party never gets to be chairman of a committee, no matter how long he stays." Then, to the reporter's surprise, Jean Guy commented that a young man with good ideas could have influence simply by studying situations and knowing what the state and country needed.⁹ On the Republican side Young continued his

version of seniority, telling a "meet the candidates" forum at UND's Editor Day, "The main thrust of my campaign is what seniority means to North Dakota."¹⁰

During September the Guys campaigned across North Dakota in a whirlwind fashion, reaping extensive coverage in weekly newspapers and some dailies. Also that month the Guy campaign announced the creation of various letterhead committees supporting Guy's candidacy; Farmers and Ranchers for Guy, Senior Citizens for Guy, Students for Guy, and Women for Guy.¹¹ The purpose of these committees rested solely on having as many newspapers as possible print the names of those on the committees; they performed no other function. As the month drew to a close Guy's schedule continued at a rapid pace. On September 30, his fifty-fifth birthday, Guy visited Carrington, Fessenden, and Harvey, and flew to Wahpeton for a birthday party-banquet. On the next day he campaigned in Turtle Lake, Underwood, and Garrison, and the day after he made stops in Parshall, New Town, and Stanley.¹²

Jungroth spoke out in late September to convince his fellow party members to abandon their support of Guy. Using his campaign motto, "North Dakota's not for sale," he declared that his efforts to beat Guy and Young did not make him look foolish and declared, "I want to win." His attacks centered more on Guy than Young, who, he believed, had "lost touch with North Dakota," and on some Democratic party leaders for "straying from the principles of the working man and the small farmer. They talk like a bunch of Main Street Republicans." Drawing a good deal of support from environmentalists, Jungroth stressed energy as his key issue. Commenting on the requirement that candidates for

federal office report publicly contributions of one-hundred dollars or more, the Jamestown attorney explained, "The only reason people want to know is for political reprisals; to find out who in their office gave to me. Nobody has to be afraid to give to my campaign."¹³

With its October 3 endorsement of William Guy for the U.S. Senate seat the Mandan Morning Pioneer became the first daily in North Dakota to take an editorial stand in the senate race. The paper wrote that the former Governor "would be an articulate spokesman for the state" and signal "the culmination of a period of change in this state which became apparent when he was elected governor in 1960." Turning its guns on Young, the Pioneer stated that he "is not only old . . . but over the years he has consistently voted against every type of social program to benefit the people or the institutional structure of this country." Concerning Jungroth, the paper declared that if he drew enough votes to elect Young, it "would be a serious blow to the two-party system in this state."¹⁴

Bernie Shellum, a Minneapolis-based journalist, offered a view of the U.S. Senate race in early October that explained what caused the Senator's problems at the national level with his party and reiterated Young's age as the main issue of the campaign. Democratic-NPL polls, not disputed by Republicans, gave Guy a significant lead over the incumbent and Jungroth. In fact, the public opinion polls themselves "played an extraordinary role in the campaign, which has been characterized by political intrigue and personal animosities." Shellum wrote that a Republican sponsored poll (he did not specify which Republicans) conducted in 1973 gave Guy a wide margin over Young but

had him losing when matched against Representative Mark Andrews. The reporter revealed that "though suppressed in North Dakota, the poll inspired a Washington-based campaign to derail Young's plan to run for reelection. The results started to show up in newspaper columns, which suggested that Young defer to Andrews." In reaction, Young announced that he would not accept funds from the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and did not allow a head-to-head debate between Guy and himself to be included in a poll taken by the North Dakota Republican Party in early 1974.¹⁵

In April the Democratic-NPL commissioned a Washington pollster, Peter Hart, to take a sounding of North Dakota voters in which he found Guy favored over Young 53 to 36 percent. The poll "also provided the D-NPL with choice and unexpected information that has guided the entire Guy campaign: among potential voters the overwhelming argument against Young is his age." To avoid providing ammunition that might take Young out of the race, Guy's forces "suppressed leaking the results until after the primary." In early September another Democratic-NPL poll showed the same results as the April poll, indicating that in the crucial months since the first poll a shift in voters' preference had not occurred. Also important to the Guy strategy, the September poll "confirmed the importance of the age question, camouflaging it by asking North Dakotans if they favored mandatory retirement of senators and house members at age 75. Three-fourths of those polled said they favored such a law." Concerning the effect Jungroth would have on the election's outcome, Shellum consulted what he termed experienced politicians in the Guy and Young camps. One of them said about

Jungroth, "He can't possibly get enough votes to affect the race one way or another."¹⁶

In June information appeared in the national press that the Council for a Livable World (CLW), recognized as a liberal fundraising organization, selected former North Dakota Governor William Guy as one of the U.S. Senate challengers whom it endorsed.¹⁷ The national story broke in North Dakota on October 2 that the Council for a Livable World recommended to supporters that they contribute to the senatorial campaign of William Guy. During his 1970 reelection campaign Democrat Senator Quentin Burdick had received more than \$20,000 from the CLW but returned the money because he did not agree with what he considered its policy of unilateral disarmament. Burdick could identify the contributions he received from the CLW supporters because the contributors funneled their checks through the CLW headquarters; members mailed to the CLW offices their checks that were in turn transmitted to Burdick's campaign. Announcing its endorsement of Guy in a newsletter, the CLW asked its supporters whose last name began A through F to contribute to the North Dakota Democrat, instructed them to make their checks payable to "Friends of Bill Guy," and noted Guy "requested that none of the contributions be for more than \$100."¹⁸

Meeting in Harvey three days later, the North Dakota State Republican Committee passed a resolution asking Guy to "have the political courage and integrity to return any money which might come from the Council for a Livable World to his campaign." The committee went on to accuse Guy of supporting the CLW agenda, protesting, "The Council informing its members of Bill Guy's strong opposition to the

antiballistic missile and to the war in Southeast Asia leaves little doubt about his commitment to the Councils' issues."¹⁹ On the eleventh Guy announced in Fargo, "I consider it a high honor to be endorsed by the Council" and that its out-of-state members' contributions averaged \$15.78 per donor. He recalled that at the beginning of his campaign he had said he would not accept contributions from political action committees or special interest groups and stated, "we have adhered to that strictly, and the Democratic-Non-Partisan League Party has adopted that as its policy."²⁰

Speaking to a Democratic-NPL district eighteen (city of Grand Forks) fundraiser the next evening, Guy made front page news as he characterized the CLW as an organization of "common interest," not a special interest group nor radicals. He then explained:

They are only Joe and Jane Citizen from all 50 states. They do not back candidates as an organization, but as individual members. Their track record shows they endorse progressives in both parties. They've issued no demands as to what a candidate must believe in.

Endorsements by common interests are important and legitimate. They then let their individual members make contributions as they like--that's perfectly alright.²¹

He said his endorsement by the Council and contributions from its individual members could be compared to ". . . a farm organization endorsing me and urging its members to support me with their checks. That would be proper. But if that farm organization were to levy against all its membership and then let a board decide to support one candidate with a block grant--that's not acceptable to me." Guy charged that Senator Young received such support from the defense

industry and eastern banks. He admitted that an aide had contacted CLW officials concerning Republican allegations that the CLW supported unilateral disarmament and ". . . they said absolutely not. They said the Council is for a strong America." Guy charged that the Grand Forks Herald handled the disclosure of the CLW involvement in his campaign poorly.²²

Several days later in an editorial very critical of Guy the Bismarck Tribune commented, "What is significant now, however, is that though federal law requires disclosure even of earmarked contributions, Guy has never yet reported a single contribution mailed him by the Council for a Livable World--though the Council raised more than \$25,000 for him."²³ Joining the criticism of Guy's method of handling his contributions, the Forum's editorial on October 18 revealed that an associate of Jungroth's had visited the Council's headquarters in Washington, hoping to enlist its support for Jungroth's candidacy. He learned that CLW support could not be given to the Jamestown attorney because of the Council's prior endorsement of Guy. Jungroth then watched Guy's financial reports for indications of contributions from CLW members and noticed that the amounts received from donations under one hundred dollars jumped from just several thousand dollars to nineteen thousand dollars in one reporting period. From this he concluded that the transfer of funds from the Council to the Friends of William Guy constituted ". . . a clumsy attempt at 'laundering' the source of the money." Jungroth took strong exception to the "hypocrisy" involved when Guy did not report the donations.²⁴

The Forum editorial agreed with Jungroth's assessment and quoted a Guy campaign ad that sought financial contributions two days before the primary:

Recent events in Washington have exposed the tremendous power special interest groups gained through political campaign contributions. This power can be curbed only through the cooperation of candidates and citizens.

We are taking the first steps toward election reform in my campaign for the U.S. Senate. We have decided to conduct our campaign without contributions from interest groups even though their political action funds are perfectly legal under the present laws. Rather, we will rely on financial support of individual citizens to support us in this campaign.²⁵

On the evening of October 22, after he had made his opening statement, the first question put to Guy on a Bismarck TV "Meet the Candidates" program dealt with the former Governor's acceptance of \$25,000 from the Council for a Livable World, an explanation of what the Council stood for, and if it asked "for any commitment from you in exchange for their support." Guy began his answer inaccurately, identifying the Council's founder, Leo Szilard, as the man who asked President Roosevelt to appoint Albert Einstein to head the Manhattan Project that built the atomic bomb. Guy then correctly identified Szilard's concern with the prevention of nuclear war as the major factor in the formation of the CLW. He went on to defend both the Council's philosophy and his acceptance of the money sent to his campaign by Council supporters, admitting, "I didn't realize that more than 1,600 Americans from all over the country would send me money as members of the Council for a Livable World that would total as much as

they did."²⁶ As October drew to an end Jungroth held a press conference in Jamestown, announcing that he had notified Francis R. Valeu, Secretary of the U.S. Senate, of ". . . alleged violations involved in Council for a Livable World contributions" to Guy's campaign and that "I have been informed by the Secretary of the U.S. Senate's office that the auditors are now reviewing such earmarked contributions."²⁷ Robert L. Valeu, Guy's campaign manager, the next day quickly responded, announcing he ". . . had filed a formal complaint with the Fair Campaign Practices Committee at Washington, D.C., regarding accusations by James Jungroth." Valeu also charged, "James Jungroth, just seven days before the election committed character assassination on Governor Guy when he falsely accused the Guy campaign of violating the federal campaign reporting law."²⁸

Guy's interruption of his campaign schedule to call a press conference in Fargo just five days before the election reflected the importance he placed on the CLW issue. He felt it necessary to deal with the information in a letter from Valeu to the chairman of the North Dakota Republican party. Valeu noted that while the funds Guy received did not pass through the Council's bank account, they were earmarked funds according to the federal regulations manual and were thereby subject to reporting requirements on the part of the Council. The letter continued, "In the interest of reasonable and timely disclosure, this office is requesting such committee to report promptly the total amount of funds forwarded to each candidate. In the future recipient candidates will be required to disclose the fact that

reportable contributions in excess of \$100 have been forwarded through an intermediary committee."²⁹

Guy claimed that the charges against him made by Jungroth and the Republicans that he had violated federal campaign financing regulations contained no substance. He explained, "I must state that a letter from the Secretary of the U.S. Senate reaffirms our position that the Guy campaign financing and accounting set up by a certified public accounting firm, in accordance with federal law, continues to more than comply with federal law. We have not violated any law." He believed Jungroth had made the charges as a ". . . trumped up diversionary tactic . . . to divert voters from the real issues of the campaign."³⁰

The next afternoon at a Grand Forks press conference Minnesota Democratic Senator Walter Mondale, campaigning for Guy, said that if he were conducting a reelection campaign and the CLW supporters offered him donations, "I'd accept and be honored." Referring to the Council, Mondale stated it "is one of the most farsighted organizations in the country. It's made up of individuals from all over the country who are trying to prevent waste in the Defense Department. It wants a strong defense, but it doesn't want waste. It wants defense and detente."³¹ Mondale made the final reference in the month-long controversy, but again Guy had diverted his time to answering charges rather than concentrating on Young's defeat.

During the second week of October the weeklies of the North Dakota Poll reported that their latest findings showed Guy 45.9, Young 45.9, and Jungroth 2.1 percent.³² Several weeks later the editor of Cass County Reporter asked Guy why the North Dakota Poll indicated his

popularity had risen four percent from September to October. He answered:

You have to remember that the poll usually has a five percent Republican bias so we're even farther ahead. I really discount the changes in the poll, however, because it's not really scientific. This campaign is fairly well locked in and I think we'll see some desperation politics in the last ten days but think it will not change anything . . . desperation politics by my opponent I might add. I regard Jungroth and Young as a coordinated team out to beat me. Their joining together signifies the desperation of the Republican Party in this state.³³

If doubtful about the accuracy of the North Dakota Poll, Guy displayed full confidence when he stated he would win a "substantial" victory because "we know from our polls already that the votes are here. It is a matter of turning them out."³⁴

Congressional Quarterly equated Jungroth's shoestring campaign with a noose which if successful would ". . . throttle Senate hopes of Guy, a long-time political enemy of Jungroth." Having high hopes at the time Guy announced, Democrats felt 1974 would be the year they could pick off "Mr. Wheat." With Jungroth's entrance into the race in August their optimism cooled, but by mid-October it appeared that the former Democratic state chairman did not have the anticipated impact. Republicans viewed Jungroth's presence on the ballot as a device to siphon voters away from Guy, while Democrats saw him taking votes from Guy and Young because he attacked both men. Jungroth found ". . . very little difference between the two-party endorsed candidates except for age, seniority and party affiliation."³⁵ Recapping and handicapping tight U.S. Senate races across the country, Time magazine observed that

while Democratic challenger former Governor Guy did not say it directly, his principle issue was Senator Milton Young's age. Guy's campaign emphasized it repeatedly with the slogan of a need for a "future" leader. The national news weekly rated Guy as the leader because of Young's inability to fend off the age issue.³⁶

Maintaining that age would not be an issue when he entered the senate race, Guy's final campaign ads stressed the point. In a four column by twelve inch ad the headline stated, "For vigorous new leadership a proven leader . . . for the future." After briefly mentioning Guy's record as chairman of the Midwest Governor's Conference and his activities with the National Governor's Conference, the ad continued that "the time has come for North Dakota to look to the future by renewing its leadership in the U.S. Senate Bill Guy can step into the U.S. Senate well-known and well-respected by its leaders . . . he will simply pick up where Milton Young leaves off."³⁷

On October 31 Guy predicted that fellow Democrat U.S. Senator Quentin Burdick would endorse his candidacy which would ". . . be very beneficial to my race." Guy said that congressional business had not permitted Burdick to campaign actively for him but that in any event he would be elected by a "significant margin."³⁸ As forecast, Senator Burdick five days before the election appeared before a fifth district Democratic-NPL luncheon in Minot and announced that North Dakotans should elect the former Governor to the U.S. Senate, where he would be ". . . not only a North Dakota senator but a United States Senator."³⁹ Not placing all their hopes in Burdick's less than ringing endorsement, the Guy campaign made a defensive move the next day. Guy's campaign

chairman, George Sinner, charged Jungroth and Young with conspiring to defeat the former Governor and explained, "If this weren't so serious, I assure you I wouldn't make the accusation." Sinner admitted he did not have tangible evidence of collusion but knew of brothers-in-law, one of whom had worked in the Jungroth campaign and one in the Young campaign. In response Young thundered, "It is difficult to understand how any reasonable person could blame me for all the troubles within the Democratic party. When serious charges are levied against Guy involving his honesty and integrity, his only answer is a diversionary counter-attack and more spots on television sanctimoniously telling the people how pure he is."⁴⁰

On the Saturday prior to election day the Minot Daily News announced in large bold headlines that a poll it had commissioned from the University of North Dakota's Bureau of Governmental Affairs showed the senate race too close to call because of the size of the undecided vote.⁴¹ In his political column that day Dobson commented on the tenor of the senate campaign:

This has been a strange campaign. It has been a campaign largely devoid of substantive issues. Inflation is probably the foremost problem, but it's difficult to start an argument about it. Nobody is for it.

Most of the political debate in this post-Watergate autumn has been over campaign financing. Each candidate strives to appear purer than his foe. Actually, it's pretty much a pot vs. kettle contest.

He went on to note that the sizable margin Guy had held over Young during the summer and early fall seemed to be declining with Young's effort picking up "momentum" in the closing weeks of the campaign.

Dobson continued, "The senator's campaign was nicely orchestrated to 'peak' in the final fortnight. The race has now become what many spectators felt all along it would be: a toss up." He did not predict the outcome but forecast a total vote of 250,000 and urged his readers to watch the results from Barnes County, which he termed a bellweather along with Cass and Ward counties for indications of which candidate would win.⁴²

An Associated Press article from Washington predicted Guy would win North Dakota's senate race but expected Jungroth to pull votes away from him.⁴³ Secretary of State Ben Meier forecasted that voter turnout would be "about 225,000" compared to 289,205 in the presidential year 1972 and 225,859 in the off year 1970.⁴⁴ Senator Young in New Rockford at his last rally as a candidate told his audience, "I am encouraged by polls taken in the last two weeks and other developments which indicate I will win, although there are no cinches in politics."⁴⁵ Guy said the 1974 campaign for the U.S. Senate had created more interest than any previous campaign in which he had been involved.⁴⁶ As election day--Tuesday, November 5, 1974--dawned, low clouds and fog greeted North Dakota's early voters.⁴⁷ According to morning reports from Wahpeton, Fargo, Minot, Williston, and Devils Lake, voter turnout was running ahead of the 1970 pace.⁴⁸

FOOTNOTES

¹Campaign Position Papers, Folder 9, Box 1, Democratic-Nonpartisan League Party Papers, Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

²West Fargo Pioneer, 11 September 1974, Clipping, Folder 10, Box 597, MYP.

³Jamestown Sun, 13 September 1974, Clipping, Folder 10, Box 597, MYP.

⁴Ibid., 17 September 1974.

⁵Cooperstown (N.D.) Griggs County Sentinel Courier, 11 September 1974, p. 6.

⁶Stanley (N.D.) Mountrail County Promoter, 11 September 1974, Clipping, Folder 13, Box 597, MYP.

⁷"Gardner against tax proposed," Grand Forks Herald, 1 November 1974, p. 7.

⁸Williston Daily Herald, 26 September 1974, p. 4.

⁹Louise Frost, "Over the Back Fence," Lidgerwood Monitor, 12 September 1974, Clipping, Folder 8, Box 597, MYP.

¹⁰"Young Cites Seniority in Editor's Talk," Bismarck Tribune, 14 September 1974, p. 5.

¹¹Clippings, Folder 10, Box 597, and Folder 6, Box 598, MYP.

¹²Minot Daily News, 28 September 1974, p. 3.

¹³Stuart Smith, "Staunchly opposes strip mining: Jungroth runs against Guy, Young because of coal issue," Grand Forks Herald, 29 September 1974, p. 11.

2

¹⁴"An Editorial," Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, Clipping, Folder 1, Box 598, MYP.

¹⁵Bernie Shellum, "Can karate cut age issue for a not-so-young Young," Minneapolis Tribune, 6 October 1974, p. 1, 4A.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Congressional Weekly Report, 15 June 1974, p. 1552.

¹⁸Jack Hagerty, "In my book," Grand Forks Herald, 2 October 1974, p. 6.

¹⁹Dickinson Press, 9 October 1974, p. 9.

²⁰"Clayburgh 'socked' by remark," Grand Forks Herald, 12 October 1974, p. 4.

²¹Chuck Haga, "Guy defends receipt of contribution," Grand Forks Herald, 13 October 1974, p. 1.

²²Ibid.

²³"Editorial" Secret Funds Become Public," Bismarck Tribune, 15 October 1974, p. 4.

²⁴"Forum Editorial: There's a Difference Between Pledges, Performance in Case of U.S. Senate Candidate Guy," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 18 October 1974, p. 4.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶KFYR-TV Bismarck, "Meet the Candidate, William Guy The Guest," 7:00-7:30 p.m., 22 October 1974, p. 2, 3, Transcript, Folder 19, Box 511, MYP.

²⁷Bill Tillottson, "Guy Distorts Truth to Win, Says Jungroth," Bismarck Tribune, 29 October 1974, p. 1.

²⁸Jamestown Sun, 30 October 1974, Clipping, Folder 6, Box 598, MYP.

²⁹"Guy Refutes Charges On Campaign Money," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 1 November 1974, p. 13.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Chuck Haga, "Guy will be recognized as leader in U.S. Senate, Sen. Mondale says," Grand Forks Herald, 2 November 1974, p. 1.

³²Casselton (N.D.) Cass County Reporter, 11 October 1974, Clipping, Folder 6, Box 598, MYP.

³³Gary Wright, "William Guy Critical of Senate Seniority System," Grafton Record, 31 October 1974, Clipping, Folder 6, Box 598, MYP.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 12 October 1974, pp. 2784-2786.

³⁶Time, 21 October 1974, pp. 35, 36.

³⁷Hillsboro Banner, 31 October 1974, p. 9.

³⁸"State Campaigns Nearing Wrapup," Bismarck Tribune, 31 October 1974, p. 2.

³⁹"Burdick Endorses Guy," Minot Daily News, 1 November 1974, p. 12.

⁴⁰"Sinner, Guy Aide, Sees Conspiracy," Minot Daily News, 2 November 1974, p. 3.

⁴¹Dick Dobson, "Young And Guy Race Tossups-Polls Shows Undecided Hold Key; Andrews and Knutson Ahead," Minot Daily News, 2 November 1974, p. 1.

⁴²Dick Dobson, "Prairie Perspective: Guy-Young Contest Undecided," Minot Daily News, 2 November 1974, p. 3.

⁴³Carl P. Leubsdorf, "State-By-State Summary on Key Election Contests," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 3 November 1974, pp. A-16, 17.

⁴⁴Jim Willis, "Election Spending Nearly \$1 Million Average Turnout Foreseen," Bismarck Tribune, 2 November 1974, p. 3.

⁴⁵"Political Roundup," Minot Daily News, 4 November 1974, p. 15.

⁴⁶Jim Willis, "Decision Day On Tuesday: Mild Weather Seen; 225,000 Turnout Predicted," Bismarck Tribune, 4 November 1974, p. 1.

⁴⁷Jim Willis, "Andrews vs. Dorgan also highlight on state ballot-N.D. vote spotlights Young-Guy race - Two will win . . . two will lose," Williston Daily Herald, 5 November 1974, p. 1.

⁴⁸"Vote heavy locally and around N.D.," Grand Forks Herald, 5 November 1974, p. 1.

VIII. CONFUSION: THE RECOUNT

As the first scattered returns from 687 precincts came in on election night, Young took a 500 vote lead, but as the number of reporting precincts increased, Guy moved ahead and steadily pulled away. At 2:50 a.m. the next day Guy's margin over Young lengthened to 2,700 at which point the Associated Press declared him the victor. But, as the count continued, that lead diminished. When the AP closed its election night reporting bureau, Guy's margin stood at 1,200. When counting resumed later in the morning, it slipped to 801 by 11 a.m.; at that point confusion took command as to who had won the senate seat.¹ By early afternoon the AP counted Young ahead by four votes, with the totals Young 114,670, Guy 114,666, Jungroth 6,576, and Gardner 858.² Nationally, the AP stated, "In North Dakota, Senator Milton Young, one of the Senate's most senior Republicans was unseated . . . beaten in his bid for a fifth full term by former Governor William Guy, 55, after a campaign in which age was the dominant issue."³ A more accurate assessment appeared in a Williston weekly:

Right now, at this moment at 4:30 p.m. Wednesday, as the newspaper goes to press, William Guy has 14 more votes than Senator Young.

That's an unofficial tally.

Naturally there will be mistakes on both sides when the canvassing boards meet within the next few days. And there still are some absentee voters ballots to be counted.⁴

In the early morning hours of that day Jack Hagerty wrote:

. . . it is apparent that--unless there has been a massive error in the unofficial tabulation--Sen. Milton R. Young has been defeated for re-election. It is the first time he ever has been beaten for re-election to an office he has held in a political career extending back more than half a century. And we are sad, for Mr. Young, for North Dakota and for the nation.

But we offer our congratulations to former Gov. William L. Guy, the victor by a narrow margin. Like Senator Young, he has had an all-winning political career for the past 20 years, having served four terms as governor and now, after a two-year layoff from public office, winning his way to the Senate.⁵

The next day Young pulled ahead and Hagerty opened his column "WOOPS! Hold on to your hat"; he noted that the winner in the senate contest would have such a small margin that the state could expect a recount after the state Canvass Board issued its report. He ended the column, ". . . we accepted the AP's decision Wednesday morning to the extent of saying Guy apparently had been elected and offering our congratulations. Whatever happens in the next five weeks or so, those congratulations stand for making such an exciting race of it."⁶

According to North Dakota statute, each county's canvassing board, consisting of Democratic and Republican district chairmen, clerk of the county court, and chairman of the County Commission, would convene within seven days after the election. The boards did not handle the actual ballots, which remained in the custody of the county judges, but verified that the figures in the poll books agreed with the slash marks, and corrected any errors. In addition, if the county auditor received absentee ballots postmarked prior to election day, the

board would open the ballots and add them to the official tallies.⁷ All of the canvass boards' reports had to be received in the Secretary of State's office by November 13, and the state Canvass Board's report was due by November 19; candidate recount requests could not be submitted until after the state Canvass Board had completed its work.⁸

When the first county canvassing board meeting in Bowman increased Young's lead over Guy by six votes (Guy lost five and Young picked up one), providing the Senator a 96 vote edge, state officials and both candidates fixed their attention on the canvass boards. Governor Arthur Link, Secretary of State Ben Meier, and Attorney General Allen Olson issued a joint statement that urged election officials to take ". . . 'extreme care' and to be 'vigilant'" in the handling and counting of ballots. Meier warned, "It is vital that every precaution be taken in processing election returns correctly." Guy reflected his concern: "I just hope all the judges in the election precincts recognize the seriousness of the situation and keep tight security on the ballots." This, of course, was an unnecessary admonition since election-day judges did not at any time have possession of the ballots. Young showed no less concern (or more understanding of the process) over the operations of the canvass boards and expressed suspicion of vote totals that seesawed. He declared, "I want to check all of these counties personally. It surprises me that a county can change its votes like this. They are supposed to have those ballot boxes sealed and with the county auditors after the votes have been counted."⁹

Five days after the election, with 48 of 53 county canvass boards reporting, the incumbent held a 240 vote margin over the challenger.¹⁰ That very narrow margin turned attention to North Dakota's recount statute passed in 1971 and amended in 1973. It provided that if in a congressional election the spread between the winner and the next candidate was less than .005 percent, the runnerup could request a recount within ten days after the state Canvass Board's report. The legislation required the applicant to make a demand in writing to each appropriate district judge in North Dakota's six judicial districts. When the recounting of the ballots took place, the county canvass boards, or other persons named by the judge, would open and count the ballots in the judge's presence. Candidates or their representatives could challenge ballots which would then be presented to the judge for his decision whether or not they would be included in the final tally. When completed, within fifteen days of receiving the recount application, the judge would certify the results to the Secretary of State.¹¹ However, the statute did not require a record to be made of the judge's rulings on challenged ballots, nor contain provisions for an appeal of the rulings, thus making it difficult for the state's Supreme Court to make discretionary rulings in an appeals case.¹²

After the election, in a letter to the editor distributed across the state, Guy wrote:

The final outcome of the United States Senate race will not be known for several weeks. My wife Jean and I extend our sympathy to Senator Young and his wife Pat for the anguish that this waiting period is causing them. It is hard to get on with life as usual while this matter hangs in the balance.

. . . Looking back, I don't think we would carry out our campaign any differently. We stuck to the issues and the voting records. That's what our American system of free democratic elections should be all about. We had a great go at it--and no matter what the final outcome might be--my wife and I have no regrets.¹³

To a vastly more restricted audience Young expressed himself in the Kulm Messenger:

This was my last campaign for public office. You have always given me a good majority ever since I first ran for the Legislature in 1932.

Win or lose in the recount, I want to express my deepest appreciation to my friends and neighbors all over LaMoure County who have supported me all these year--through all these campaigns. Your friendship and support has meant more to me during my public life than anything else.¹⁴

The mood of gratefulness and reflection did not prevail as the ever lengthening 1974 senate contest continued.

Ten days after the election the Secretary of State released the fifty-three county canvass board results, which put Senator Young ahead of former Governor Guy by 176 votes. Young knew Guy would request a recount, but Guy announced that his decision concerning a recount would not be made until after he had consulted with the state Democratic Policy Committee. The Senator commented that he believed a recount would not change the outcome of the election, while Guy observed that he did not expect any major changes and added, "I've been in politics many years, and I'm conditioned to accept things as they come." Young declared, ". . . the swarm of COPE workers and Farmers Union leadership" caused the close election, but he reflected, "I was most

pleased that I got that big a vote with that kind of opposition."¹⁵ When the Democratic-NPL State Committee met in Bismarck, it urged Guy to ask for a recount of the U.S. Senate election.¹⁶

Looking ahead, political reporter Dobson predicted what he believed would occur during the recount, focusing his attention on totals from machine and paper ballots separately. In the 114 precincts that used voting machines Guy led Young 41,203 to 37,982, but in 1,529 polling places that used paper ballots, accounting for 65 percent of the total votes cast, Young led Guy 76,868 to 73,472. Because recounting voting machines just involved rechecking printout totals, Dobson doubted those counts would vary from the reports of the canvass board. However, in the case of paper ballots several possibilities presented themselves for challenges that could result in ballots being disallowed. Ballots could be thrown out if not initialed or stamped by election officials, if the voter placed the "X" outside the box provided, or if the voter's candidate selection could not be determined; the recount would also correct any tallies previously miscounted. Because of those elements, Dobson concluded that Guy would be in the best position to increase his total.¹⁷

The State Canvass Board, chaired by the Secretary of State and composed of the two political party chairmen, the State Treasurer, and the clerk of the state Supreme Court, met during the morning of November 19. It reported Milton Young the winner in the U.S. Senate election by a margin of 177 votes--114,852 votes for Young to Guy's 114,675. Because the winning margin was less than one-half of one percent, Guy could avail himself of North Dakota's recount statute,

which gave him ten days to petition the district courts for a recount.¹⁸ That same day Young told a Washington based reporter that he planned to ask the senate's Rules Committee, Privileges and Elections Subcommittee, to send observers to be present at the recount. He expressed concern over recount procedures, noting that Democratic Governor Arthur Link would select the six judges who would have "final authority" over the recount outcome. Contacted at his home in Casselton, Guy joined Young in requesting that observers be sent by the Rules Committee to oversee the recount but corrected him on his statement concerning Link. Guy explained that Young was ". . . misinformed when he says that Governor Link has anything to do with the recount . . . only the Supreme Court can name lead judges in each judicial district." He went on to say lead (presiding judge of a North Dakota Judicial District) judges came from the state's nineteen judges but ". . . are not named because of the recount, but to have supervisory responsibility for all judicial affairs in their districts." The lead judges, Guy said, would establish procedures governing the recount, but "the actual responsibility for overseeing rests individually with the 19 district judges."¹⁹ When the recount took place, the lead judges both set the recount procedures and conducted it.

The following day Young again voiced his concern that Guy, as governor, had appointed many of the district judges and so had Governor Link. He related, "I am somewhat concerned about the recount law itself. For example, Bill Guy can pick the six judges for the recount but I have no recourse." Yet he did add, "I have every confidence in

all the judges."²⁰ That prompted both Guy and Link to issue statements that they resented Young's implications.²¹ Infuriated, the Senator issued a blistering statement from his Washington office, proclaiming that Guy and Link deliberately tried ". . . to discredit me with the recount judges and the public." Quoting from letters he had sent to both Democrats, Young's release lashed out:

According to press statements, you charged that I question the integrity of the District Judges who will handle the forthcoming recount of votes for my U.S. Senate seat.

This is a complete misrepresentation of my position. On at least two occasions I have publicly expressed confidence in the judges' integrity.²²

He repeated his concern that Guy had selected the six judges who would handle the recount and that in the recount procedure he did not have an equal voice in their selection. Additionally Young observed, "The most serious objection to the procedure . . . is each Judicial District has sole and final jurisdiction over the validity of the contested ballots." He noted that the statute did not contain a "specific provision" for an appeal which upset him because "a cardinal principle of our judicial system is the right of appeal, which is denied under this statute."²³ Senator Young did not understand the recount legislation.

In preparation for the recount Guy employed Fargo attorney P. W. (Bill) Lamier, Jr., as his chief counsel, and Young hired a Jamestown attorney, Kenneth M. Moran, as his principal counsel. The Guy camp established a William Guy Recount Center in the former Democratic-NPL headquarters in Fargo to organize volunteers who would represent Guy at

all fifty-three county recounts. Moran followed a different strategy and selected an attorney in each of the six judicial districts who would be personally involved in the recount proceedings.²⁴ Meeting in Bismarck, the six presiding (leading) district judges drew up the rules by which recount procedures would be conducted. Once an official demand reached a presiding judge, he would issue a directive to each county auditor in his district to deliver the general election ballots and the poll books to the district court. Proceedings would be open to the public and subject to rules maintaining order. Candidates would be allowed representatives who could challenge ballots upon which the judge would then rule; an exhibit number would be assigned to each challenged ballot and an official record would be made of each decision.²⁵ North Dakota's District Courts were prepared to accept a petition for a recount.

On Wednesday, November 27, twenty-two days after the general election, Guy set the wheels in motion to decide who had won the election. He sent a formal demand for a recount to Secretary of State Ben Meier and an application for a recount to the six presiding judges on the day before Thanksgiving.²⁶ On the day after Thanksgiving, District Judge Ralph B. Maxwell began recounting ballots in Fargo, where Guy and his recount manager David Strauss looked on as one of Young's attorneys, Frank Magill, made a motion challenging the constitutionality of North Dakota's recount statute. Judge Maxwell denied that motion.²⁷ After two days work Steele County became the first to have its ballots recounted; Guy added one vote to his tally.²⁸ Four days into the recount two themes emerged. One dealt with judges

rejecting paper ballots on which the voter had marked more than one U.S. Senate candidate. The make-up of the ballot gave Young and Guy a separate column each but both independent candidate names appeared in the third column. Even though "vote for one" appeared at the top of the ballot, some voters apparently selected either Young or Guy and then marked their preference for one of the independents in the third column. Three recount centers reported this phenomenon and it damaged Guy's count. He observed that the ballot make-up ". . . did lend to the confusion of some voters," and his recount manager went to the heart of the matter pointing out, "It's killing us."

The other theme involved daily reporting of who gained or lost votes; the press, however, did not have an ability to identify what daily results meant vis-a-vis the final result.²⁹ Headlines gave a sense of election night returns: "Young Recount Lead Gains 5," "Ramsey County Recount Shows Gain for Young," and "Young lead drops to 160." Such reporting reflected a sense of excitement without offering a trend that could indicate who would finally win.³⁰ When recounts of thirty-seven counties had been completed their results could only be compared to the totals previously reported by the State Canvass Board, putting Young's lead at 177 votes.³¹ On December 10, with forty-four counties recounted, Young's lead increased to 201, but the next day, as the completion of ordeal neared, Young's margin fell to 185.³²

The suspense ended at 6 p.m. on December 11, thirteen days after the recount began and two days before the statutory deadline. "It's Young by 186, Recount Shows," announced the Bismarck Tribune, reporting Young's final total of 114,117 votes to Guy's 113,931; in November the

State Canvass Board, however, placed the total at Young, 114,852; Guy, 114,675.³³ Secretary of State Ben Meier announced that he intended to reconvene the State Canvass Board as quickly as possible.³⁴

During the recount process Senator Young made no public comments, but after its completion he released this statement:

I am most grateful to the people of North Dakota for reelecting me to the United States Senate. My razor edge majority is not like the more than 60 percent margins I have received in every election in the last 30 years. This was the worst possible year for an incumbent Republican to be seeking re-election and especially when I had a formidable opponent.

This was the longest and most difficult campaign I have ever been involved in and I am happy it is over.

I plan to continue working hard in the Senate the same as I always have, using my position of seniority to help people with their problems as well as the State of North Dakota and its communities.³⁵

In a telephone interview the day before the meeting of the State Canvass Board, Richard Ista suggested he did not consider the door closed to further challenges of the recount results. However, Ista made it clear that "The ultimate decision will be made by Bill Guy and he won't make a decision until after the weekend."³⁶ But Guy did not delay his decision and held a press conference in Fargo on Friday afternoon, December 13th, saying he did not plan to challenge the recount results. He then presented his prepared statement:

I wanted to win that election and it would be dishonest of me if I said I was not deeply disappointed to lose.

It is difficult to understand the figures that swirl around a state-wide recount unless you follow the process very closely. For instance there was a shrinkage of 1,479 votes from the State Canvassing Board totals. But this figure does not reveal that 1,884 votes

were rejected . . . because the voters had voted accidentally for two candidates for the U.S. Senate instead of only one. The double vote tabulation shows that 710 voters cast their ballots for Milton Young and either Gardner or Jungroth. But a whopping 1,174 voters cast a double vote for William Guy and either Gardner or Jungroth. Many of those double votes were rejected at the precinct level and do not show up in the shrinkage of the State Canvassing Board.

Even though Senator Young will be declared the winner, it is consoling to me to know that more voters turned out on election day and put their X behind the name of William Guy than turned out and put their X behind the name of Milton Young. By voter preference, I won the election but by the technicality of the law, I lost it.³⁷

Next Guy took aim at what he viewed as one of the primary reasons for his defeat:

James Jungroth, a former Democratic party official and recipient of much Democratic Party patronage over the years, also added to the confusion. Many Democratic voters did not realize that he had turned against his party. They thought he was running against Gardner and not against Guy. It will be interesting to see how the Republicans show their appreciation to Jim Jungroth in the years ahead.

He expressed his appreciation for the efforts of the party and volunteers who worked for him. Taking a philosophical look at the campaign, Guy reflected that for himself and his wife, "We have no regrets at all--only great memories and satisfaction in the achievements we've made. Our plans for the future are indefinite. As soon as we get on top of the mountain of work that has accumulated this past year we've been campaigning, we will take a couple weeks of vacation."³⁸ In a question and answer session that followed, Guy

reiterated his belief of what had actually happened on election day: "If all the voting had been by machine, I would have won."³⁹

Because the recount statute did not state how the results of a recount should be certified, Attorney General Allen I. Olson advised Meier to recall the State Canvass Board to make the recount tallies official. Consequently, as the former Governor held the last press conference of the campaign, the board reconvened in Meier's office. Immediately after Meier called the board to order, state Democratic party chairman Richard Ista declared, "My participation on the canvass shall be under protest. It is my opinion the recount figures as provided by the judges . . . in the recount are not accurate." He cited reasons to support his contention: judges had permitted uninitialed ballots in voting machine precincts to be counted contrary to state law; judges had exhibited extreme inconsistencies in allowing ballots to be counted because of errors on the part of local election officials; in the case of double voting, voter intent had not been protected, and the recount statute did not provide for judicial appeal. Stressing his dissatisfaction, Ista continued, "It is also my opinion that the judges were acting in an administrative position and not in a judicial capacity and directly ruled part of North Dakota election laws unconstitutional by allowing uninitialed ballots to be counted." After completion of the canvass that certified Young the winner, Ista refused to sign the canvass, declaring, "I don't think a winner has been selected Therefore I feel the rights of William L. Guy have been taken away from him as well as (the rights) of the Democratic Party." The last of the board members to sign the canvass, the

Republican party representative, commented, "I feel the judicial system in North Dakota is adequate, the judges were honest and they conducted the recount." Ista shot back, "In no way am I challenging the ethics of the judges."⁴⁰ Three days later on December 15 Governor Link certified to the U.S. Senate that North Dakotans had elected Milton R. Young on November 5.⁴¹

An early explanation of why Senator Young had done better than polls predicted came from Lloyd Omdahl. He saw the late concentration of Young's direct mailings, newspaper ads, and TV spots as responsible for the surge. Omdahl noted that Young deflected Guy's essentially low key attack on the age issue by promoting his Washington experience and seniority. Young's press secretary, Bill Wright, credited his boss' diminution of Guy's lead to the conduct of a ". . . well-planned campaign that was intended to peak late, and he broke his neck getting around the state, showing that he's healthy."⁴² Jungroth commented on his impact on the outcome: "I don't know if I'm the difference in this race . . . the difference I made in this election is that I said essentially 'pox on both houses.' Maybe I added a little leavening to the race."⁴³ Both independent candidates disputed Guy's contention regarding the double voting issue. Jungroth spoke right to the point: "It's terribly presumptive on his part for him to believe he was going to get all those votes. How can he say that those votes would not have gone to either myself or Mr. Gardner if there had been only one vote? There was a legitimate following for both of us." In a prepared statement, Jungroth struck back at Guy's suggestion that he expected future favors from the Republican Party: "As to the innuendo that I

have or had some arrangement with Young or the Republican Party for a job, I state categorically that I do not have nor have I ever had any such desire for a political job, other than U.S. Senator. Nor did I have any relationship with Young or with the Republican Party other than as political opponents."⁴⁴

Only two incumbent U.S. Senators, both Republicans, lost their reelection bids in the 1974 general election: Marlow W. Cook of Kentucky and Peter H. Dominick of Colorado.⁴⁵ Across the country voting by those eligible to vote was the smallest percent since 1942.⁴⁶ North Dakota did not follow the national trend.

1974 North Dakota U.S. Senate Election⁴⁷

Milton R. Young (R)	114,117	48.4 percent
William L. Guy (D)	113,931	48.3 percent
James R. Jungroth (Ind.)	6,739	2.9 percent
K. C. Gardner (Freedom & Liberty)	874	.4 percent

The voter turnout of 1974 topped that of 1970 by nearly ten thousand votes and was higher than Meier's prediction by the same amount. Considering the funds expended by the candidates, each vote Young received cost him 44 percent more than Guy.

Campaign Expenditures⁴⁸

Milton R. Young	\$300,121
William L. Guy	115,561
James R. Jungroth	13,187

Several days before Christmas Young replied to a letter from a woman in Golden Valley: "Just a note to thank you for . . . your congratulations on my winning the recount. This was quite a campaign and with the recount it certainly was a long one . . . those 186 votes look more like 186,000 now."⁴⁹ The Senator believed that his victory came in the recount rather than at the polls on November 5.

Two-thirds of North Dakota's broadcast news directors and newspaper editors voted the Young-Guy race as the state's number one news event of 1974, calling it the "race of the century."⁵⁰

FOOTNOTES

¹"Guy, Young Down to Wire," Minot Daily News, 6 November 1974, pp. 1, 2.

²Jamestown Sun, 6 November 1974, p. 1.

³"U.S. Senate gains fall short of hopes," Grand Forks Herald, 6 November 1974, p. 20.

⁴Corinne Shemorry, "There's never been a 'cliff-hanger' like this," Williston Plains Reporter, 6 November 1974, Folder 19, Box 600, MYP.

⁵Jack Hagerty, "In my book," Grand Forks Herald, 6 November 1974, p. 4.

⁶Ibid., 7 November 1974.

⁷"Burleigh T Canvass On Friday," Bismarck Tribune, 7 November 1974, p. 1.

⁸"Who Won Senate Seat," Bismarck Tribune, 7 November 1974, pp. 1, 2.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰"Young Still Holds Lead Over Guy," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 10 November 1974, p. 1.

¹¹Phil Matthews, "Outcome of Senate Race to Take Time," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 10 November 1974, p. 1.

¹²Bill Tillottson, "Senate Could Settle Recount Question," Bismarck Tribune, 15 November 1974, pp. 1, 2.

¹³Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 10 November 1974, Clipping, Folder 5, Box 600, MYP.

¹⁴Kulm Messenger, 14 November 1974, Folder 17, Box 600, MYP.

¹⁵"Young Wins by 176 In Complete Tally," Bismarck Tribune, 15 November 1974, p. 1.

¹⁶Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 16 November 1974, Clipping, Folder 20, Box 600, MYP.

¹⁷Dick Dobson, "Prairie Perspective: Young's Lead In Paper Ballots," Minot Daily News, 16 November 1974, p. 3.

¹⁸Bill Tillottson, "Canvass: Young by 177 Votes," Bismarck Tribune, 19 November 1974, p. 1.

¹⁹Al Eisele, "Young asks Senate to observe recount." Grand Forks Herald, 19 November 1974, p. 1.

²⁰"Young Voices Concern Over Recount Law," Bismarck Tribune, 20 November 1974, p. 2.

²¹"Young claims discredited by Link, Guy," Grand Forks Herald, 22 November 1974, p. 2.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Jamestown Sun, 25 November 1974, Clipping, Folder 17, Box 600, MYP.

²⁵Phil Matthews, "Guy Files Petitions Asking Recount," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 27 November 1974, p. 12.

²⁶Bill Tillottson, "Guy Files Request for Recount," Bismarck Tribune, 27 November 1974, p. 1.

²⁷"Recount Challenges Voiced: Whole Process Is Alleged Illegal As Steele County Work Starts," Minot Daily News, 30 November 1974, p. 1.

²⁸Phil Matthews, "Recount Changes So Far Minor," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 1 December 1974, p. 1.

²⁹"Recount Trims Young's Margin By Five Votes," Bismarck Tribune, 3 December 1974, p. 2.

³⁰"Young Recount Lead Gains 5," Bismarck Tribune, 4 December 1974, p. 2; "Ramsey County Recount Shows Gain For Young," Devils Lake Daily Journal, 5 December 1974, p. 1.

³¹Jamestown Sun, 9 November 1974, Clipping, Folder 14, Box 600, MYP.

³²"Young's Margin Jumps to 201," Bismarck Tribune, 10 December 1974, p. 1; "Young's Lead Moves to 185," Bismarck Tribune, 11 December 1974, p. 1.

³³"It's Young by 186, Recount Shows," Bismarck Tribune, 12 December 1974, p. 1.

³⁴"Meier Plans Quick Action to Certify," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 12 December 1974, p. 2.

³⁵"Thanks Are Given People," Minot Daily News, 12 December 1974, p. 1.

³⁶Bill Tillottson, "Will Guy Challenge Young's Victory," Bismarck Tribune, 13 December 1974, p. 1.

³⁷William L. Guy, Press Statement, 13 December 1974, Folder 18, Box 600, MYP.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Phil Matthews, "Guy Contends Double Voting Cost Him N.D. Senate Race," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 14 December 1974, p. 1.

⁴⁰Bill Tillottson, "Canvassing Board Says Young Winner," Bismarck Tribune, 14 December 1974, p. 1.

⁴¹"Vote Count Certified By Governor," Bismarck Tribune, 17 December 1974, p. 9.

⁴²"Who Won Senate Seat," Bismarck Tribune, 7 November 1974, pp. 1, 2.

⁴³Hal Simons, "Jungroth Says His Role Was 'Leavening' in N.D. Senate Race," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 10 November 1974, pp. 1, 2.

⁴⁴Hal Simons, "Independents Doubt Effect of Double Voting on Election," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 15 December 1974, p. 1.

⁴⁵Congressional Quarterly Report, 18 January 1975, p. 151.

⁴⁶Ibid., 1 February 1975, p. 246.

⁴⁷Ibid., 5 April 1975, p. 721.

⁴⁸Ibid., 19 April 1975, p. 721.

⁴⁹Milton R. Young to Agatha Weigum, 21 December 1974, Folder 1, Box 508, MYP.

⁵⁰"Young-Guy Race Top Story in 1974," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 31 December 1974, p. 1.

IX. REFLECTIONS: HEEN, GUY, AND WRIGHT LOOK BACK

Fourteen years after the Guy-Young race three significant participants who had been involved in the process, Judge Douglas B. Heen, former Governor William L. Guy, and senatorial aide William Wright, reflected on what had happened in that "race of the century." These three provide personal perspective to the three key elements of the 1974 North Dakota U.S. Senate election: Guy's campaign, Young's campaign, and the recount. Heen directed and presided over the recount of more paper ballots than in any other Judicial District; Guy best represented the story of his campaign; and without Young (the Senator died in 1983) to speak for his campaign, Wright adds to that story.

As presiding judge of North Dakota's Northeast Judicial District (Bottineau, Cavalier, McHenry, Pembina, Pierce, Ramsey, Renville, Rolette, Towner, and Walsh counties), Douglas B. Heen conducted the 1974 U.S. Senate election recount for his district in his chamber city, Devils Lake. Heen detailed the meeting of the six presiding district judges (prior to Guy's request for a recount). They promulgated rules which governed the recount procedure. To the best of his knowledge, each judicial district followed those rules. While aware of Senator Young's comments that Guy and Link appointees would be in charge of the recount, he said the meeting disregarded them because the judges felt "that they were bound by our oath as judges to fairly and impartially

and honestly administer the judicial affairs of the State of North Dakota and that included the recount procedures."¹

In Heen's district all of the ballots were paper and required hand counting that took seven days. Zeroes or check marks between the boxes on the ballot and ballots that contained no mark in a box were the errors that most often caused him to disqualify ballots. Considering Guy's claim that double voting hurt him more than Young, Heen said "there weren't sufficient to really cause me to remember that as a significant discrepancy in voting to void the ballot." Recalling the effectiveness of the candidates' representatives during the recount, he observed that both sides fielded quality men but a law student from Valley City representing Guy, Mr. Pomeroy, impressed him the most. Safeguarding the ballots presented Heen with the most difficulty because he "wanted no hint that any tampering had been done with the ballots after they had been delivered here to court members in the City of Devils Lake."²

Asked to respond to the charges Richard Ista made at the State Canvass Board meeting in December 1974, Heen stated that he did not permit uninitialed ballots to be included in tallies, and that he followed North Dakota law and case law established by the Supreme Court "assiduously" in dealing with errors on the part of local election officials. On the issue of the recount statute not providing for judicial appeal, Heen declared:

. . . I was not concerned with judicial appeal. That did not influence my ruling one whit . . . that was not my problem. My problem was . . . supervising recount of the votes--to

see that it was accurate and that each ballot measured up legally to the requirements of law.

When he heard the Ista charge repeated that the judges did not act in a judicial capacity but in an administrative position, thereby ruling part of North Dakota law unconstitutional, the judge said, "That point was made, but so what else is new?" To him his decisions met the standard of legal requirements; he rejected any implication of having declared statutes unconstitutional. As to the denial of rights of the Democratic party and William Guy by the recount, Heen observed, ". . . that's perhaps not an unexpected statement by a representative of the defeated candidate."³

Judge Heen believed that the courts' time would have been better used if all the states' district judges would have been employed in the recount procedure, instead of only the presiding judges.⁴ Heen displayed considerable pride in the manner in which he conducted the recount in his district and expressed confidence that the other five presiding judges also did a very credible job. Praise and respect of the presiding judges did occur at the time in the press, and criticism of the judiciary did not appear after the final meeting of the State Canvass Board.⁵

Comfortably seated in the den/office of his north Bismarck townhouse, former Governor Guy reminisced about events and people that shaped his bid for the U.S. Senate a decade and a half earlier. He related that in 1962 he did not have an interest in running against Young and that while some Democratic-NPL leaders thought he should challenge Young in 1968, he wanted to run for reelection. Guy

considered that 1974 would be the year to run for the senate because he did not believe he could run, as a sitting governor, for congress nor resign his office and make a congressional bid. The former governor thought his tenure as the state's chief executive would make a move to congress a natural progression because of his having acquired ". . . some very valuable experience and information and knowledge of the people of the state that could be put to good use as a Representative or a Senator in the United States Congress."⁶

As noted previously, Guy kept a very low news profile in 1973. He explained that during his twelve years as governor he had made a great deal of news and for several years the press recognized him as the state's number one newsmaker. But in 1973 Arthur Link became governor, and Guy wanted to create no doubt that Link should be acknowledged as the leader of the Democratic-NPL party and head of the state's executive branch. Guy said that he ". . . very studiously tried to stay away from commenting on any activities of state government and any activities of Governor Link so there would be no conflict that might arise between the two of us or any misunderstanding that could arise and I wanted all the loyalty of the people that I left behind to be solidly to Governor Link, the new Governor, and not to me. And so, yes, I did in a calculated way just tried [sic] to stay out of the news."⁷

The only polling Guy recalled in 1973 gave him a 73 percent approval rating and Young 72; that indicated a close race, but in early 1974 polling showed that he commanded a substantial margin over Young. With that in mind the former Governor discussed some of the background

that dictated his campaign strategy. Not having a close association with Young, Guy assessed him as ". . . very partisan, very political, in his views." Guy revealed that Young never phoned him or consulted with him concerning congressional matters that affected North Dakota, even though Guy paid the Senator a courtesy call every time he went to Washington. Guy nevertheless believed that at seventy-six Young deserved to retire with the public respecting him and appreciating the years of service that he gave to North Dakota. That conviction led Guy to tell his campaign lieutenants "that we would not attack Senator Young in any way on the basis of his record or on the basis of his age because I felt we could win the election without doing that. And, in retrospect, of course, that was not good planning."⁸

Because of prior experiences Guy knew Young to be skillful "in generating public sympathy" for himself. As a case in point, Guy noted that Young used his speech impediment as a positive factor in eliciting sympathy from the public who did not expect Young to "project well" in interviews or on the stump. Guy realized that if he attacked Young personally, the Senator would turn it around on him, and that included age, which Guy viewed as "such a personal vulnerability" for Young. Guy remembered:

So, to my knowledge, nobody said anything about Senator Young's age in that election; that is, in our campaign organization. I am sure that a lot of people talked about his age, but that was not an organized sort of thing. Toward the final days before the election, I think Senator Young actually felt frustrated that nobody was attacking . . . his age, and so he started to talk about it himself, saying that I and the Democratic-NPL Party campaign was [sic] attacking him on the basis of his 76 years, but that is not true⁹

Well, in retrospect, it might have been effective to use his age. That is something that we will never know. I've never blamed anybody for losing the election other than myself. But I do realize that if other people had done certain things, it might have turned out differently. I don't know that the age issue was one that could have made it turn out differently.¹⁰

Moving on to personalities, Guy recalled his appearance on the Lawrence Welk Show in 1974 but stated he did not ask Welk for a copy of the film and did not know of anyone on his staff who did. Even though Welk and he were close friends, Guy said Welk's political views were "so extremely conservative that he would have done nothing to assist my campaign but he also felt the band leader would not have acted to harm his chances of being elected."¹¹ Young's deep concern that Guy would obtain the film from Welk appears to have been without foundation.

No person occupied Guy's attention more than Robert McCarney. He declared that because of his standing in the 1973 poll, his opposition [Milton Young] gave McCarney the mission of doing "whatever was necessary" to lower Guy's approval rating. Recalling the contest with McCarney, Guy insisted that McCarney:

. . . was a totally media-created political person. He came into his candidacy with absolutely no experience in government He wasn't a precinct committeeman or legislator or anything like that. He knew very little about state government. I recall one statement that he made in which he said the state does not need new taxes . . . because it has a \$60 million surplus The fact of the matter is that he was referring to the resources of the State Land Department . . . all of which was dedicated to . . . public education. That is just an example of how he could go out and with no knowledge of state government make statements like that He was almost like Yogi Bera when it came to making

statements . . . the press liked that sort of thing and so they just kind of made a political person out of him.¹²

Guy believed that after he had defeated McCarney in 1968, the Bismarck auto dealer became willing to take on the assignment of reducing Guy's popularity. But in order to do that with a sense of credibility, McCarney decided to enter the Democratic primary, and as Guy put it, ". . . in order to attack me legitimately and be heard, he couldn't be Joe Citizen." Having filed his candidacy, McCarney paid for a full page ad that made an indelible impression on Guy. He recalled that the ad implied ". . . that my wife was doing something illegal" concerning the financing of a headquarters for the Democratic-NPL party; also implied that McCarney had obtained a letter from Humphrey's campaign manager that thanked the Guys for lining up prostitutes, and he accused Guy of accepting illegal airplane trips. Guy deeply resented the ad and mentioned that Fargo's Forum had refused to publish it. What astounded Guy the most appeared at the top of the ad in fine print: "I, Robert McCarney, do not vouch for the truthfulness of anything on this page." Guy felt at the time that people would not believe that type of negative campaigning but over time his view changed: ". . . on looking back, I should have . . . nailed that right now, but I didn't." Guy made that statement shortly after the 1988 Presidential elections, and, making a very revealing reply as to whether or not Governor Dukakis might in the years ahead have similar feelings, said, "Well, no question about it. I think he conducted his campaign with the same naivete and parochial viewpoint that I used back in 1974."¹³

Not expressing surprise that his position papers received very little press coverage, Guy charged that the media showed slight interest in positive campaigning or issues on which candidates ran. Instead Guy saw negative advertising or accidents, such as "falling down and tearing your trousers just before . . . a speech," as the topics that would appear in the papers. Continuing, Guy broadly indicted North Dakota journalists who covered his campaign but did not report the positions he considered were important:

They never had and, frankly, I don't think they ever will in this state. We used to put out what you might call sound bites, although at that time they were not put out for television consumption, but we knew that if we would put out just a sentence or two that described the position that the news media might use a sentence or two or might send that sentence or two on to the radio newsrooms or the TV newsrooms, but the news media was totally incapable of digesting anything more than one or two sentences a day in a political campaign.¹⁴

Guy related another event that reflected his displeasure with the press in early September of 1974. An AP reporter interviewed him by phone at some length as to his stand on lignite coal development. He felt comfortable with the interview because only a few days before he had met with Governor Link and Democrat Public Service Commissioner Bruce Hagen to ensure that they presented a unified front on the development issue. However, several days later in Harvey, Guy read the story, based on the interview, in Fargo's Forum, and it shocked him because of the inaccuracies. He called the AP, asking for the reporter who had conducted the interview, and learned he was no longer in North Dakota but had been assigned to another state. Then Guy complained

about the story and asked what he should do. The AP answered that he should write a letter to the editor correcting the story. He did not find time to do this because of his campaign schedule and hoped that few people would read the article, diminishing its impact. He regretted the decision because, according to Guy, Jungroth used the article as the centerpiece of his campaign at NDSU and UND, portraying Guy as an anti-environmentalist. Still bothered by the incident, Guy said:

I have always wondered why the Associated Press sent this reporter in here to take that story and to write the story wrong and then to leave the state after writing the story and then refuse to interview me again to set the story right. I might have called a press conference. But we didn't call a press conference very often in those days because the press were reluctant to show up during campaigns.¹⁵

Speculating on whether his stand against seniority worked for or against him, Guy first thought it worked against him but did not know just how it affected voters.¹⁶ However, he displayed no confusion over the effect of James Jungroth who, he declared, ". . . was the diversion candidate. His mission was to divert votes from me." Pointing out that Jungroth did not campaign for himself or against Senator Young, but directed his fire on him, Guy declared that Jungroth's strategy involved stirring up college students against him to ". . . divert sufficient Democratic votes from the young people at the colleges, that would be the richest ore in which to mine. . . ." ¹⁷ Thinking about who did the most damage to his campaign, Guy stated, "Well, there is no

doubt about the fact that Jim Jungroth is the one that won the campaign for Senator Young."¹⁸

No issue occupied more of Guy's conversation than the Council for a Livable World. He retold the story of how he came to be aware of the CLW, decided to accept its endorsement, and was surprised at the number of contributions he received. He went on to explain that, as he remembered, the CLW became an issue because the Grand Forks Herald's Jack Hagerty thought ". . . he had really found the Achilles heal in the Guy campaign when he found out the Council for a Livable World had endorsed me and the membership were sending me individual checks." Guy recalled that Hagerty's first story concerning the CLW received little attention so the editor later ran a front page story that implied the Council was a subversive organization that advocated unilateral disarmament. The former Governor then went to Hagerty's office and asked him about the source of his information. Hagerty, after he "hummed and hawed," admitted he ". . . just accepted the far right's description of this Council . . . instead of doing any investigative reporting on his own."¹⁹ Guy's account is not accurate. Hagerty did run the first CLW story in North Dakota. No doubt Guy visited him, but the front page story to which Guy referred reported a speech he had made pertaining to the CLW.²⁰ Furthermore, it is not possible that Hagerty told Guy that his story on the CLW was based on descriptions given him by the far right.

Guy's recollection of events surrounding the CLW issue became even murkier when he was asked if the uproar over the CLW had surprised him. He replied, "I don't even recall that there was an uproar, but

maybe there was." He stated that the issue really represented ". . . negative advertising that existed at that time," which he felt, ". . . causes the negative advertising of the 1988 campaign to pale a little in comparison" Guy remembered that he did feel the issue had hurt him and ". . . did peel off a few votes," because four years earlier Senator Burdick had returned the money he had received from the CLW. That, said Guy, gave his opponents ". . . an extra leg up . . ." because they could say that when Burdick learned the nature of the CLW, he returned their money. But Guy didn't think Burdick understood what they stood for. Rather:

. . . he just didn't want to fight the battle of trying to defend the Council. And I decided if they were good, if they were right, then that's one of the battles that I was willing to fight. And to this day, I think that the Council for a Livable World is one of the finer public service organizations that we have.²¹

Turning next to why Senator Burdick took no part in his campaign, Guy explained that only Burdick could provide the correct answers, but he ". . . felt that Senator Burdick worried that the state of North Dakota would not send two Democratic senators to the U.S. Senate and I have always felt that Senator Burdick felt that I represented a threat to his keeping that seat and, therefore, he would prefer that I didn't win the election."²¹ The record indicates that on this point Guy is correct. In October of 1973 Dobson wrote that reports in political circles said some Democratic-NPL leaders would not back Guy and that another factor that could hurt Guy revolved around whether or not North Dakota's junior Senator Quentin Burdick would support Guy's senate bid.

He and Guy did not have a close relationship, and Burdick worried that if Guy won in 1974 his chances of reelection in 1976 would be diminished because "North Dakota voters could decide then that two Democratic senators is one too many."²³

Guy's disappointment with and resentment toward Burdick became evident as he continued to relate the Senator's role in 1974:

So, it is true that Senator Burdick did not really pull an oar in that election on my behalf, that he would arrange for a television studio appointment to cut some tape in my behalf and then he would fail to show up. That was twice and it is true that party leaders did, several of them, corner Senator Burdick in the closing weeks and ask him to come out with a strong statement on my behalf . . . on television and radio, and again he refused to do that I have always felt that Senator Burdick, as far as I was concerned, was always paranoid in all of the years that he was in the senate and I was in the Governor's Office. I said earlier that Senator Young never contacted my office at any time during those years. Neither did Senator Burdick. Now, I called his office many times and talked to him about things that I thought the state was interested in regarding federal legislation But, at no time did the Senator ever call my office or me to ask what I thought Every time I went to Washington, I always made a point to stop in and talk to Senator Burdick just as I did Senator Young.²⁴

In spite of Burdick's nonsupportive role, Guy commented he always supported Burdick and that Burdick may not have been elected to the senate in 1960 if he and his wife had not campaigned so tirelessly for him. His support of Burdick reflected a belief that it would make the Democratic-NPL party a stronger contender in legislative, state, and congressional contests. Guy related that Burdick's reaction to him did not develop from his lack of support for the Senator. What effects

Burdick's actions or lack of action made on the outcome of the election, Guy did not know. He noted that a shift of ninety-five votes would have altered the results, but, he added, "I don't blame Burdick."²⁵ Yet when he turned his attention to Kissinger's Grand Forks Air Force Base press conference filmed by Scott Anderson for the Young campaign, Guy's charity towards Burdick vanished. Repeating his feeling that Young and/or his supporters drew Jungroth into the race, Guy lashed out:

Scott Anderson and Tom Bergum and I can't think of some others used Senator Burdick's office as their Washington headquarters almost. For the Jungroth operation. But I'm not accusing Senator Burdick of being the instigator of the Jungroth mission. I'm just saying that whether Burdick realized it or not, his offices were the gathering place for the group supporting Jim Jungroth's candidacy. Yes, that is well known.²⁶

Discussing the recount, Guy stated that he did not have any hesitation requesting the recount, that volunteers represented him during the recount, but that he nevertheless acquired a \$10,000 debt which took four years to bring down to \$600, which Guy then paid himself.²⁷ He did question the recount process, relating that Judge Burdick at Williston allowed "a couple hundred" ballots to be counted even though they did not have the required election judge stamp on them and that those votes ". . . went heavily to Young." Guy did not suggest that anything illegal occurred, but he did believe Judge Burdick ". . . went around the law a little bit in order to have those votes counted." He said other judges he had talked to agreed with his assessment.²⁸ The former Governor also reiterated his position taken

at his last press conference in 1974 concerning the effect on the election produced when a voter marked both Guy and Jungroth on the ballot.²⁹

Trying to sort through the reasons why he lost the election, Guy thought he could have campaigned more strenuously and energetically because ". . . the campaign plan and tactics that we used were not the effective tactics that were available to us." First saying lack of funds did not hamper his campaign, Guy reversed himself and suggested more advertising would have garnered him enough votes for a victory.³⁰ Zeroing in on one polling place in Enderlin, in which the students of Trinity Bible College voted, Guy said Young carried it solidly because when he campaigned there he claimed to be a born-again Christian. He said that if the college at Enderlin had remained a state school ". . . the vote out of Enderlin . . . would have been different."³¹ Guy knew he could have done more but was not able to define how he would have accomplished that.³² Unsure of what reasons he should single out that lost him the election, Guy declared, "I really thought I would win that election, so it's hard for me to say what were the reasons I lost. I really don't know why I lost."³³

When asked if he could redo the campaign of 1974 what he would do differently, Guy replied:

I would react to Bob McCarney's negative advertising in the primary very strongly and with a high degree of outrage. I would go on to the college campuses following Jim Jungroth and try to unravel the tale that he was spinning to the college students, although I did go on to the college campuses, but I could have done that more vigorously than I did. I would have corrected statements like the AP story on my position on lignite development (by

calling) a press conference and . . . correct that. Other than that, I don't know how much more I could do.³⁴

Guy cited possible actions that would have been reactive and defensive, but none that involved Senator Young or the CLW.

William (Bill) Wright began his journalistic career as sports editor with the Jamestown Sun in the 1950s and advanced to editor. Wright's friendship with Senator Young began when his editorials defended the Senator against attacks from the John Birch Society. He joined Young's 1962 reelection campaign as a press secretary, and a short time later accepted a full-time position in Young's D.C. office.³⁵ Looking back to Young's effort to gain a fifth term, Wright recalled that in 1972 he told the Senator that important friends of his in North Dakota did not believe he would be able to win reelection.³⁶ Wright reflected that within days of that conversation Young made up his mind to go ahead with a reelection bid. Young's wife Pat disapproved of Wright's having told the Senator what his North Dakota supporters said because she did not want him to run and believed she had come close to convincing the Senator to retire.³⁷ However, Wright stated "a case of senatorial ego" caused Young to run. "I don't want to call it an illness, but something that affects United States Senators. It isn't just peculiar to our North Dakota Senators. They really hate to leave. It is quite a life and I must say with all due respect to the gentleman from Berlin that ego had a great deal to do with it."³⁸

Taking up the age issue, Wright said that Young did not "disparage his age but used it as a plus and to counter any negative

effects saying 'Bill Guy . . . was too old'--of all the incredible things . . . a masterpiece of political judgment." As to what notice Young took of polling data, Wright remembered that Senator Young ". . . was dangerously behind in the beginning of poling season for the 1974 election"; yet, faced with a twenty point spread, he ". . . didn't pay a whole lot of attention to it." Wright ascribed Young's poor showing to Guy's popularity and Watergate. As a former member of North Dakota's press, Wright enjoyed a close friendship with Dick Dobson and kept the Minot newsman ". . . advised of certain activities and events and strategies" used in the campaign that at times ran in Dobson's column, which Wright described as "wonderful." He realized:

It was extremely influential in terms of the political astute community of North Dakota and so it was to our advantage whenever Dick would write something that was either optimistic or showed the potential for the Senator to defeat the very popular Governor and my recollection is that he did that fairly often Dick started out being a Guy supporter. In fact, in that very election, he was one of the last people to be convinced that Senator Young would win that election.³⁹

Wright did not recall to what degree Young encouraged McCarney in his campaign against Guy, nor did he remember "it being a major contribution to the overall picture of trying to diminish your opponent's standing."⁴⁰ But he remembered with greater clarity Jungroth's role and shed some light on why Jungroth went to the lengths he did to prevent Guy from being elected to the U.S. Senate. Having met Jungroth at UND in the late 1940s, Wright renewed their friendship when he moved to Jamestown and they became "very close hunting friends" as well as social companions who did not agree on political matters.

Wright declared that Jungroth's opposition to Guy stemmed from a philosophical base that resulted in their becoming "severe antagonists." He described Jungroth as a "true liberal" not only in a political context but also in the way he "defied many of the tenets of societal acceptance whereas the Governor, in those days, was a model of good behavior." At one point, Guy proposed to the legislature doubling the size of the highway patrol, whereas Jungroth advocated cutting it in half, denying patrolmen firearms, and making them purchase their own uniforms and the gas their patrol cars used. The former senate aide observed, "This is a sort of a violent demonstration of how much they did not get along. Jim considered the Governor terribly stuffy and cold and Jim, of course, is just exactly the opposite."⁴¹

Thinking back to the summer of 1973 and the letter he wrote to Jungroth about visiting him in Jamestown, Wright said he recalled talking to Jungroth on his patio. Asked who first brought up the idea of Jungroth being involved in the 1974 campaign, Wright stated, "Well, legend is that I had initiated that thought. I just refute that. It was Jim's idea all the time. Obviously, it was a fascinating possibility I wish I could claim credit for that but I deny credit." Wright reported that when he told Senator Young of the possibility of Jungroth's candidacy, the Senator said nothing but his facial expression conveyed the sense of "my, that would be interesting." He recalled only one phone call between Jungroth and Young⁴²; however, Wright stayed in touch with Jungroth and kept Young informed of those communications. As an example, Wright learned of the CLW connection with the Guy campaign from his friend, Jungroth.⁴³

At the time Tom Bergum, Scott Anderson, James Jungroth, and William Wright lived in Jamestown, they became part of what Wright called a "small cabal"; when all but Jungroth moved to Washington, the association continued. Bergum and Anderson shared Jungroth's disdain for fellow Democrat Guy, and they also favored incumbents achieving reelection. Those two reasons, Wright maintained, formed the bases of their working for Young's reelection; but he stated that they were "devotees of Senator Burdick," and had Burdick opposed their favoring Young, they would not have proceeded. As to Guy's contention that Bergum and Anderson used Senator Burdick's office as Jungroth's campaign headquarters, Wright indignantly asserted, ". . . there is just nothing to that. That's beneath the dignity of Senator Burdick and those two people. There is nothing to that."⁴⁴

Anderson's firm, Concepts, Inc., filmed the Kissinger visit, and Wright claimed he made the suggestion to hire the firm. As to how the visit of Secretary Kissinger came about, Wright explained:

Not easily. It was through the higher-- much higher levels of Republican politics than I was swimming between the Senator and the Administration and then Secretary Kissinger himself. It was worked out. It was considered to be a strong plus in the political atmosphere . . . there is a whole lot of detail involved in that of which I was a part, but not a principle part. That's high level stuff. Staff people don't really get that intimate with cabinet members.⁴⁵

Wright could not remember the reason or circumstances surrounding Senator Burdick's dislike of Guy, but he knew it existed and had spanned quite a few years. The Burdick and Young association Wright described as close yet not intimate. He related that the two Senators

conversed often and that Burdick "was not particularly interested in having then Governor Guy defeat his colleague."⁴⁶ The impression he projected put Burdick for Young and against Guy.

FOOTNOTES

¹Douglas B. Heen interviewed by Allan C. Young, 27 October 1988, Folder 1, Box 1, 1974 North Dakota Senatorial Election Interviews, Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota, pp. 1, 2. Hereafter referred to as SEI.

²Ibid., pp. 2-4.

³Ibid., pp. 4-6.

⁴Ibid., p. 6.

⁵"Scrutinize Election Laws," Minot Daily News, 21 December 1974, p. 4.

⁶William L. Guy interviewed by Allan C. Young, 21 November 1974, Folder 2, Box 1, SEI, pp. 10-12.

⁷Ibid., p. 11.

⁸Ibid., pp. 12, 13.

⁹Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 17.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

¹²Ibid., pp. 36, 37.

¹³Ibid., pp. 37-40.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 26-28.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 31, 32.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 19-21.

²⁰Chuck Haga, "Guy defends receipt of contribution," Grand Forks Herald, 13 October 1974, p. 1.

²¹William L. Guy interviewed by Allan C. Young, 21 November 1974, Folder 2, Box 1, SEI, pp. 21-23.

²²Ibid., p. 23.

²³Dick Dobson, "Inside North Dakota: Some Democrats May Back Young," Minot Daily News, 6 October 1973, p. 3.

²⁴William L. Guy interviewed by Allan C. Young, 21 November 1974, Folder 2, Box 1, SEI, pp. 23, 24.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

²⁷Ibid., p. 35.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 40, 41.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 29, 30.

³⁰Ibid., p. 31.

³¹Ibid., p. 34.

³²Ibid., p. 35.

³³Ibid., p. 31.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

³⁵Randy Bradbury, "Longtime political aide comes home," Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 9 October 1988, p. 1.

³⁶William Wright interviewed by Allan C. Young, 22 November 1988, Folder 3, Box 1, SEI, p. 2.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

³⁸Ibid., p. 3.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 7, 8.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 8-12.

⁴³Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 12, 13.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

X. CONCLUSIONS

The 1974 U.S. Senate race was an election for former Governor Guy to lose and Senator Young to win. Until September 1974 Guy retained a substantial margin over Young in the polls even though Young's campaign had begun in February 1973. Guy's domination through that period remained solid because no effective damaging information appeared to hurt him. But in the summer of 1974 the former Governor altered his successful strategy in response to Robert McCarney's attacks. His decision to crush McCarney in the primary led to an election day get-out-the-vote drive that produced, for the first time in a North Dakota primary, a larger Democratic vote than Republican. Although Guy hailed this as signaling the emergence of the Democratic-NPL as the state's majority party, he missed the fact that an undetermined number of Republicans had chosen to vote in the Democratic-NPL column for McCarney. Guy also did not appreciate that, after his party's primary election efforts, its organization would enter the all important fall campaign, not fresh, but in need of a rest; volunteers who work from August to a September primary require time away from campaigning for their interests and energies to recharge. Guy reacted to McCarney's attacks as if they posed a political threat to his candidacy when, in fact, they did not dent his popularity. Certainly McCarney's ads and statements qualified as personal assaults on Guy and his wife, but the

polls showed that in August his lead over Young remained solid. His personal outrage overshadowed his political judgment.

Guy might have been able to overcome the votes he lost to Jungroth with strong and active support from Senator Burdick. That did not occur, and the history of their relationship should have alerted Guy that only extraordinary measures on his part would have provided even a temporary rapprochement. Success in politics is based on addition, not subtraction, multiplication, or division, and Guy faced open warfare from one Democratic leader, Jungroth, and disdain from Senator Burdick. His attack on Jungroth for lack of party loyalty had no effect on the constituency to which Jungroth's campaign appealed. Guy's personal attacks on Jungroth diminished his statesman image without tarnishing the Jamestown attorney.

Confronted in October with his acceptance of \$25,000 that was from outside North Dakota and not included in his campaign finance report, Guy stepped into quicksand. After he had made statements that his campaign would not accept funds from special interest groups, he then righteously defended the propriety of receiving the money from the Council for a Livable World. Because Burdick had returned his CLW contribution just four years earlier, Guy's constant explanations of the issue reinforced his opposition's contention that Guy was putting up a smoke screen. As with McCarney and Jungroth, the CLW controversy prevented Guy from concentrating his time on Young's defeat. That more than anything else accomplished what Guy called the missions of McCarney and Jungroth, and if Jungroth's votes denied Guy a victory,

Young's campaign had to have boosted Young to a vote total where he could take advantage of it.

The answer to how Senator Young won the 1974 U.S. Senate election is that he persevered. Accustomed to landslide victories, Young went into the 1974 election cycle aware that the matchup with Guy would be difficult and that he could face opposition from within Republican ranks. Unlike Guy, Young did manage to achieve unity within his party both nationally and in North Dakota. It took Young over a year and involved him in some stormy sessions to convince national Republican leaders he would not step aside, but when Republican National Committee chairman George Bush appeared in July 1974 at Minot to speak for him, Young had no further distraction from Republicans. The problems that he did experience involved the issue of his age, which remained the central issue of the campaign. Young met it head on with a variety of tactics that kept it before the public. From publicizing his practice of Tae Kwon to engaging in a final vigorous campaign, schedule Senator Young reduced the negative image his age posed.

Another negative factor, Watergate, Young could not remove. He talked about it often as reducing his chances of being reelected, and as a Republican he had no options to counter its effects. He did have his seniority, and that he used skillfully with Guy assisting him by taking a stand against congressional seniority; the tenure in office that provided the seniority worked well for Young, as did a booming agricultural economy. Capping off the campaign with a rush of appearances and heavy advertising, Young peaked at the last moment, winning reelection.

Contrary to comments and statements made by the candidates during the recount, the voters on November 5, 1974, had selected the winner of the "race of the century." A breakdown in the elective process did not happen in the recount procedure; the recount served only as the last and final inspection of the ballots and computation of the candidates' total votes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Collections

Democratic-Non-Partisan Party Papers, Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

Milton R. Young Papers, Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

1974 North Dakota Senatorial Election Interviews, Orin G. Libby Manuscript Collection, Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

Newspapers

Bismarck Tribune, 25 June 1968 - 17 December 1974.

Breckenridge Wahpeton Daily News, 19 December 1973.

Carrington (N.D.) Foster County Independent, 27 June 1973.

Casselton (N.D.) Cass County Reporter, 11 October 1974.

Christian Science Monitor, 23 March 1973; 21 October 1974.

Cooperstown (N.D.) Griggs County Sentinel Courier, 11 September 1974.

Crosby (N.D.) Divide County Journal, 29 August 1973.

Devils Lake Daily Journal, 29 August 1973; 5 December 1974.

Dickinson Press, 8 February 1967 - 8 December 1974.

Fargo (N.D.) Forum, 19 January 1962 - 31 December; 1 June 1983; 9 October 1988.

Garrison (N.D.) McLean County Independent, 15 February 1973; 28 June 1973.

Grafton Record, 31 October 1974.

Grand Forks Herald, 7 January 1962 - 22 November 1974; 1 June 1983.

Harvey Herald, 13 January 1972; 6 December 1973.

Hillsboro Banner, 31 October 1974.

Jamestown Sun, 17 July 1973 - 9 November 1974.

Kulm Messenger, 15 March 1973; 14 November 1974.

Langdon Republican, 15 February 1973.

Larimore Chronicle, 15 February 1973.

Lidgerwood Monitor, 12 September 1974.

Linton (N.D.) Emmons County Record, 17 April 1974.

Lisbon (N.D.) Ransom County Gazette, 25 October 1973.

Mandan (N.D.) Morning Pioneer, 14 January 1967 - 16 November 1974.

Medford (Ore.) Mail Tribune, 24 October 1974.

Minneapolis Tribune, 12 November 1972 - 6 October 1974.

Minnewaukan (N.D.) Benson County Farmers Press, 12 November 1972; 18 October 1973; 22 November 1973.

Minot Daily News, 10 January 1967 - 21 December 1974; 15 June 1986.

New Rockford Transcript, 13 February 1974.

New York Times, 12, 15 December 1973; 22 October 1974.

Oakland Press, 22 March 1973.

Stanley (N.D.) Mountrail County Promoter, 11 September 1974.

Twin Falls (Idaho) Times-News, 5 June 1973.

Valley City Times, 16 January 1974.

Washburn Leader, 3 April 1974; 22 August 1974.

Washington Evening Star, 26 April 1967.

Washington Post, 27 August 1973; 20 October 1974.

Washington Star News, 27 December 1973.

West Fargo Pioneer, 11 September 1974.

Williston Daily Herald, 11 January 1968; 5 November 1974.

Williston Plains Reporter, 6 November 1974.

Magazines and Journals

Phillips, Kevin. "Doubtful Republican-held Seats." American Political Report, 14 June, 1974, 3.

Carrick, Frances, and Vedvick, Milt. "An interview with Governor Guy." North Dakota REC Magazine, January 1973, 10-13, 38-39.

Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 3 November 1973, 2913; 23 February 1974, 425; 15 June 1974, 1552; 12 October 1974, 2784-2786; 18 January 1975, 151; 1 February 1975, 246; 5 April 1975, 721; 10 April 1975, 790-793.

Laugtug, Denise, and Wright, Boyd L. North Dakota Election Statistics Report #1, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.: Bureau of Governmental Affairs, Election Research Division, September, 1977, 6-49.

Time, 21 October 1974, 35-36.

U.S. News and World Report, 5 August 1974, 39; 21 October 1974, 40.

Young, Allan C. Changing North Dakota's Primary Election Date 1960-1984: A Partisan Struggle, Special Report #78. University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.: Bureau of Governmental Affairs, March 1987, 18.

Books

Christenson, Boyd. Boyd Christenson Interviews. Bismarck: Prairie House, Inc., 1983.

Dubofsky, Melvyn, and Theoharis, Athan. Imperial Democracy: The United States Since 1945. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988.

Guy, William L. "Governor William L. Guy." Vol. 1, In Ramsey County North Dakota: 1883-1983, 38-39. Devils Lake, N.D.: Centennial Heritage Book Committee, 1983.

Robinson, Elwyn B. History of North Dakota. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1966.

Rylance, Dan. "Fred G. Aandahl and the ROC Movement" in The North Dakota Political Tradition. Thomas W. Howard, ed. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981.