

D. J. Leary

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Interview with D. J. Leary

**Interviewed by Professor Clarke A. Chambers
University of Minnesota**

**Interviewed on October 3, 1995
University of Minnesota Campus**

D. J. Leary - DJL
Clarke A. Chambers - CAC

CAC: This is Clarke Chambers and I'm interviewing this morning D. J. Leary. The interview is being conducted in my office, 1152 Social Science Tower. It is Tuesday October 3. We have a big agenda in front of us, DJ, and I know of few persons, probably, who can put together the whole story over several decades better than you. You observed the state capitol, the legislature, the governor's office, the selection of regents . . . There are all kinds of topics. As I suggested, we could begin with just a brief academic, intellectual, career autobiography so we know how you got into this funny trade. Define what the trade is as you perceive your own work and then we're off and running.

DJL: I often said, "My father went to his grave not knowing what I did for a living comforted only by the fact that I was too nervous to steal."

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: I'm a graduate of the University of Minnesota School of Journalism. I came to the university in 1954 and, then, interrupted with naval service. Actually, it surprises people, it was on our side. I went through the Cretin High School Military Academy and they gave me a certificate that said in case of war, I should not be on our side.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: I came out of the navy . . . I had one quarter at the university before I went in. I went in to try to get the GI [Government Issue] Bill at the end of 1994. As generous and as good as that program was, it was also being run by the government and my orders came nine days after the GI Bill ended. I've supported all these goddamned liberal programs all these years and I've never gotten a nickel back out of them, including my education.

CAC: [laughter] Wait till you retire, then you'll be on the gravy train.

DJL: Well, let's hope so. They may have derivatives going again. I came out of the navy in 1955. I had gotten my first job in television when I was fourteen years old. I was going to try something else and it lasted about nineteen days before I went back and got a job at a TV station. It allowed me to go around the state and I was going to look for a place that I could go to school and find some work that would help knock off the tuition, having not gotten a largess from the Holy Mother government. I ended up down at St. Mary's College in Winona and I made a deal with them that I would build them a campus radio station if they'd knock off a bit of the tuition—the station runs to this day. I have a mark on my leg like that of Cain that I've done deals all my life. I built the radio station, stayed there a couple years, and then I came back to the university to the Journalism School.

CAC: You were well served there? You had a good education at that level?

DJL: Yes, it was really good.

CAC: That's a sweet school.

DJL: I tell you, it was particularly good because I had been all around the world. In those days, people who went into the service came back and generally got married. A few, very few—we were in the veterans' club—there may have been twenty of us or something that had gone back to school . . . some were married, some were not. I really wanted to get back to school. It was just driving in me. I'd also developed my writing skills considerably. I'd had breaks that the rest of the students hadn't. I'd seen things all over the world and I would write not only for the school paper but do stuff for the Associated Press and things like that. I really was fond of that work. I came up after two years to the university, got in the Journalism School. These rascals at the university though, even before computers, had been able to find my original records, which was a shocking surprise. They put a mark on me because the old records were very bad . . . one quarter, just very bad as a freshman. I was launching a new thing to go into journalism. The only bright spot in my intellectual development was in that first quarter—god! we won't be able to talk about quarters much more—I got thirteen credits worth of A's. All it really was was age and maturity . . . I'd been around. I said, "Hey! I can do this." I went and found some employment with a radio station.

CAC: You came into a school that . . . the School of Journalism was really a superb school at that time?

DJL: Really excellent, yes, and it was really on top. I tell these young people that I meet with, "It's very hard to convey to you the excitement I got every day that I was going to school. I had been around and I knew I wanted this."

CAC: How do you account for that? Was the environment excitable or were you?

DJL: I think the environment. My biggest challenge was finding a place to park that was close enough so that I could go . . .

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: What I hold the university responsible for—I've used it in conversation with the university a lot—is that they deprived me of the college experience by going to the university when I came back.

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: I knew what the college experience was living on campus at St. Mary's and I probably know three, maybe four, people that I went to school with at the time.

CAC: But you must have some outstanding teachers?

DJL: Oh, yes, and to this day, still have great contact with them, those that are still around.

CAC: And probably in Political Science as well?

DJL: Yes, and was very taken by the Political Science Department; although, that was just an adjunct . . . I would add that. I had this kind of stuff with teachers. I suddenly realized they had those graduation requirements, different things. I needed three credits in History, and I went looking through and I found a course—I've told this story so many times—in Minnesota history. It was the third quarter, and I'd take it, and I'd get my . . . but it was so fascinating, and so compelling, and so interesting, and this guy just made it come alive—it was the first time I had heard about Ole [Edvart] Rølvaag and this stuff—that I went back and took the other two quarters! [laughter]

CAC: Was this Rodney Loehr?

DJL: I must tell you that I quite frankly would have to go back and check. I can't remember. It was so good, the Blegen names and that . . . never knowing I'd have a life like this where I would travel the eighty-seven counties in Minnesota and go around like this . . . I used to buy Minnesota history books when they would come out.

CAC: Well, journalists and historians are very [unclear].

DJL: Very close. I just, just absolutely fell in love with it. Of course, later in life when I traveled the state with [Hubert H.] Humphrey, he taught me so much more, not just the politics

but the history. I've taken a look at people and felt they were fairly shallow if they didn't know this state. I have a very fortunate career in that I, like last week, can jump in the car, and go up to the White Earth Reservation, and spend a day counseling them, and can stop and visit with editors along the way, and have a lunch and a dinner on the way back and talk about the things that are happening. When I give speaking engagements, maybe two or three a month now but more in a political year, I talk about this state as nobody else kind of ever tells them about what's happening in southwestern Minnesota and . . . It has very little to do with the politics so much as the people and the changes that I've seen.

CAC: I tell my chairman, "We have a hard time sometimes covering Minnesota history now. We'll take it back on a consultative fee."

DJL: About southwestern Minnesota, I told these people, it's like an urban center in transition. I said, "The second largest population of Hispanic people in Minnesota is not in Hennepin County; it's in Kandiyohi County." In western Minnesota, the people in these counties . . . You talk about multiculturalism, diversity, the things that roll off our tongue in an urban center where we went to school of people with different colors . . . They're still trying to get Norwegians and Swedes to understand each other.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: In Nobles County, Minnesota, which is Worthington, the county court has an arrangement with AT & T [American Telephone and Telegraph] in Language Interpretation Service. They pay \$500 a year, flat, and then so much a minute. In the morning, the clerk of court comes in and he looks over the line-up of the cases; and then he calls AT & T. The day that I visited with him, he needed five separate interpreters and two of them were for different Ethiopian dialects—in Worthington, Minnesota. That shows you the kind of tension, and turmoil, and change that's taking place. The other thing—let's use Worthington as an example—that was part of the old Republican *L* corner of the state that was very conservative.

CAC: Oh, you bet.

DJL: It stayed conservative even when those old farmers moved off the farm and came into town. You can use June of this year, or the last three, four, five years, about 150 kids graduate from the Worthington High School. That's a pretty good sized class. Within eight weeks after graduation, about 60 percent of them will leave town, most never able to again live—they'll visit but not live—in Nobles County. They will go off, unlike a generation ago where many came to the Twin Cities [Minneapolis and St. Paul] for jobs, they will primarily go for education; and we will do to them as we've done to no others, we will saddle them with a huge debt. Invariably, that debt marries another debt of college and they cannot come back to Worthington, Minnesota, for a job. They go to the big cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, Chicago, Denver, Milwaukee, wherever they can find something; and we lose the best and the brightest.

Now, how about those that stay behind? The business people in town, laughingly say, "Well, they're the part you wish had left. Their biggest ambition is really to own, maybe, their old man's filling station and have a pair of fuzzy dice and a pickup truck." Now, I don't mean to put that down but it goes to the fact that the average household income along those streets in Worthington, Minnesota, is now about \$20,000 and they love those DFL Democratic programs.

So, about 1980, suddenly, some DFLers got elected down there. We all kind of chuckled, here's some Democrats living on Republican land. The next election came . . . gee, maybe, they just survived. Then, the next election and then, ten years, and we look back and we say, "There's been a major kind of change." So, it was not so unusual when you would come up to a 1992 election with Dave Minge against Cal Ludeman, who is clearly one of the more conservative people and a name in southwestern Minnesota that is well-, well-known for their farming. The Ludeman name among soybean growers and corn growers is widely known. Both he and his brother had very, very good reputations and yet he beat them because the people had changed considerably.

CAC: Let me tell you—I come from Blue Earth . . . no reason you should have known that—my graduating class were eighty-seven students.

DJL: That's pretty good sized for Blue Earth.

CAC: Well, with consolidation . . . Three of them, at our fiftieth anniversary, had committed themselves to Blue Earth. Everybody else had left.

DJL: Yes. Nowadays, imagine what it would be.

CAC: And the first vote . . . I was voting still when you had to declare what you were in the primaries and you got a separate ticket, Farmer-Labor, Democrat, and Republican. The DFL wasn't invented yet. I had to go in and ask for the Farmer-Labor ticket as a young . . . How on earth I got that disposition, I don't know. I remember the election clerk making fun of me. He said, "Old 'Doc' Chambers' boy wants a Farmer-Labor ticket. Do you think we can give it to him?"

DJL: [laughter] Where everybody would know and so much for the secret ballot. These are enormous changes that have taken place, and I've seen the changes as they affect the university, and I'll talk to you about that later. Basically, that sense of Minnesota, both its historical and changing sense, has been something that has been a real level of excitement for me, and drive, and makes me very excited about every day that I face it.

CAC: Do you know what we thought of Irish Catholics down in Faribault County, don't you?

DJL: They were an endangered species . . .

CAC: Yes!

DJL: . . . with a price. [laughter]

CAC: [laughter] They were Democrats and they were drunkards.

DJL: And had a lot of kids.

CAC: Probably. Remember when there was a governor by the name of Regan . . . or a Democratic person who wanted to be, who was from Mankato? He was a good Irish Democrat and I remember all of my parents' friends joking about these Catholic Irish wet folks.

DJL: [laughter] The great fights in my life . . . Somebody came to talk to me one day about the fight over Sunday liquor. I said, "It's nothing. Pffft!" like that. "Colored oleo [margarine] was the great fight, even better than daylight saving time." [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: I said, "People smuggling colored oleo in their cars from Iowa. God! it's something to behold! The oleo police come into your house." Can you imagine! only to have been a cartoonist or editorialist at that time. [laughter]

CAC: [laughter] You get all started in a course and how innocently things started. I mean you got interested in Minnesota . . .

DJL: And I was so very fortunate.

CAC: But you had a good education here even though you were not having a college experience?

DJL: Yes. In fact, I've used that to make them realize that it's one of the problems they face deeply at the state capitol. It's interesting. They've gotten new ideas, and hired new people about student recruitment this year, and they changed some of the opinion. They guaranteed that anybody who wanted would get dormitory space here.

CAC: Yes.

DJL: Certainly, they're off in motels but the fact of the matter is that I think that's a very big improvement and I will tell you that this is a modern day change. If you were to take the legislators from the communities of Winona, and Mankato, and Moorhead, and Bemidji where there are state universities and they saw something coming down the tracks, a bill or an attitude, or something, they'd throw their bodies across the tracks to stop that, whether they went to those schools; although, most often they had. Yet, when something in the last fifteen years has come

down the tracks regarding the University of Minnesota that might be hurtive, the graduates of this institution who were in the university generally jump on the train and try and fuel it. It's just astounding. When you go to try and get a sense of emotional tie . . . Now, I've said it on television and it's maybe a failing but I have a deep personal commitment. I care deeply about this university and I try to tell people. I say, "So I have license to criticize [unclear]."

I went to the capitol . . . I was a young radio newsperson and I was still at the university . . . you know, the view of what's happening at the university . . . I was disengaged. I was very engaged in my studies but I was disengaged from university life. I've really only gotten that in my later adult life. Part of it is by marrying the university but a good part of it is having a real understanding of what an engine of both social change and economic development this university can be. It disappoints me to see it having fallen on hard times. I think the first session that I covered . . . I was working for a radio station that didn't have full time coverage on the thing. But I got to know some of the people, and this was an interest of mine, and I started to hang around the capitol and got to know some players. I got to know Governor Elmer Andersen, our friendship dates back to those days. I went to my first DFL caucuses in 1960 having come back from Winona and the navy before that. I'm in a caucus in Roseville and I'm kind of sizing up this room. Now, it's in somebody's home so it was about as big as caucuses get today but it was not one of those large caucuses. Everybody is deferring to this one balding gentleman there; so, I'm kind of listening. This is the year that Humphrey, of course, runs against Jack Kennedy in the primaries.

CAC: Yes.

DJL: The caucuses are before those primaries, generally speaking, for Wisconsin and what have you. There's a lot of talk about going down to Milwaukee and stuffing envelopes. It turns out to be that this guy who was kind of knowledgeable was Karl Rolvaag . . . [laughter]

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: . . . who at that time was lieutenant governor. It was kind of an entree into first getting to know Karl and then kind of getting on the periphery of DFL politics, of being able to go to Wisconsin and do some things. My memories of that election of 1960 and the presidential election are two. Number one is that I went as a young reporter, primarily on my own, to Ashland, Wisconsin, and kind of traipsed through snow, following Jack Kennedy—absolutely mesmerized. This idea of the reporter's objectivity went right out . . . My father even lectured to me about it. I said, "I would certainly try."

CAC: Was there an Irish connection?

DJL: It could have been that. It could have been the glamour of the thing but I just . . . It's like Humphrey had been around all my life. I distributed leaflets in the 1948 campaign for Gene McCarthy, Hubert Humphrey, and Harry Truman, on one piece of leaflet. I had a bunch of kids

from the grade school that would take over. I would knock on the door of the Quonset huts at St. Thomas and Abigail McCarthy would open the door and she would give us a bunch of this stuff.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: Then I'd get my guys to go down through the streets of St. Mark's parish in St. Paul. Humphrey had been kind of a part of my life. I had met him back when I was back in college, and I was really taken, and I thought he'd be fine but, gee! this guy, this Kennedy. I can't say I knew as much about him but his stump style and everything really captured me; so, I'm slopping through that snow. I can remember them now that night counting those votes and I'm really pulling for old Humphrey. They just get four of the congressional districts rather than three. I think at that time, the swing . . . He might have lost five to three or something in the number of congressional districts which was a strange way but in that primary over there, it's how they did it.

CAC: Sure.

DJL: Later, I did presidential primaries in Wisconsin with Humphrey. Of course, they had a little different kind of result but I would recall all the time having done that.

CAC: The Kennedys were using the veteran status of Jack against Hubert in Wisconsin . . .

DJL: They did. I will tell you a story that won't fit into your tape but it's one of my little treasures. I went with Humphrey . . . I was never on Humphrey's staff like Norman was . . .

CAC: This is Norman Sherman.

DJL: Yes, Norman Sherman. Norman has been my mentor and dear friend, a great forgiving friend of my inadequacies over the years. I traveled with Humphrey frequently. All through the 1970 campaign, I was with him day and night pretty much. Norman was writing the book at the time and he would say to me, "I need to hear from you things you hear out there." So, I would feed him back things and I have some little interesting stories from that. Then, I went to Washington in the beginning of 1971 and I opened an office there. I had a few clients that they found for me but I was basically there to serve Humphrey. I was able to travel around the country with him. One of the visits that we made was to his Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing. I remember, I would always kind of stay a little back and as Humphrey is moving in and he's going to sit down, Cardinal Cushing said, "Hubert, sit over here in this chair. That's the chair Joe Kennedy sat in the night that he decided how much to pay those Baptists preachers to preach against you down in West Virginia."

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: Gee! I just . . . I just died laughing and then we said, "I thought they were [unclear] such a great . . . Of course, it's what we'd always suspected and everybody had said but to hear it come from Holy Mother church at that high level was just delightful. [laughter] I didn't know in the earlier days that much about Humphrey and I had no personal relationship. But I was able to view the legislature . . .

CAC: This is in the 1960s now?

DJL: In the very early 1960s.

CAC: Before you went to Washington in 1971?

DJL: Before I went to Washington in the early 1960s as a kind of part time journalist at the capitol and newsperson who had this kind of longstanding and long abiding affection for politics. I got to know some of the players but I'd watch. I'd watched the bigger players because in those days, it was liberals and conservatives—liberal wasn't a dirty word.

CAC: Well, and no party designation?

DJL: No, party designation as such in Minnesota. There wasn't much doubt about . . . I mean, nobody ever hid if they were a Democrat, DFLer. In the early days of the DFL Party, they didn't seem to want to embrace liberal as much and there weren't as many of them around. There were some of those elections, some of those people, that still stand in my memory, both when I was in college watching it and . . . As I said, I was still in college. I didn't graduate from the university until 1961; so, my first sessions over there, my involvement in politics, was as a job while I was still a student. There were some guys that we thought were very tall trees, like Don Wozniak in the state senate. I can remember well some of that work on behalf of education, which caused me to take a look at . . .

CAC: But Wozniak was very skeptical of the university.

DJL: Exactly. I've never talked to Don about why he was but I can remember when I was at St. Mary's, he'd gone out of his way to come down there and be a speaker for the Young Democrats or something. It was kind of heady, I suspect, for these guys who were Democrats to finally get up to someplace.

CAC: Peter Popovich was part of that?

DJL: Peter Popovich. The stuff that they wrote into state law in the early days, Popovich and I have talked at length about. I could remember that he and Don Wozniak were kind of the voice. They wrote that open meeting law. Popovich told me that as a young . . .

CAC: Which then was enforceable against the university?

DJL: Yes. I asked him where this came from—this was an interest as a journalist—and he said he used to be a reporter as a young kid for the *Miner's Daily* in Virginia [Minnesota], now known as the *Mesabi Daily News*. He got paid by the word, like ten cents a word. He'd go to cover a city council meeting and when the bids for the new snowplow, or whatever they were going to buy . . . they'd close the meeting. If he had to write a death notice, he found all the words in the world because he got paid for it. He said, he really resented it and he said at that time, I made a kind of a pledge that if I ever had a chance to do something about opening up these meetings, I was going to do it, which was a very interesting story. He also told me about the time he wrote an article strongly critical of the snow plowing and the Public Works in Virginia and his father was director of Public Works. Later, when Popovich gets to the legislature, he is able to introduce—he and Wozniak—the open meeting laws but they can't put any teeth into it. The Republicans won't let them put any teeth into it; so, he waits twenty some years . . .

CAC: Well, they're still in the minority?

DJL: They're still in the minority but this looks good on the law; so, they don't put any teeth in it. There are no penalties. He waits until twenty years later, when he's a powerful lobbyist for the school board and he starts working with them to put in all of the penalties that exist in the law today. The interesting thing is that in 1992—which I think was his retirement year . . . it could have been 1991—as chief justice, he . . . In the Annandale decision the dissent is brilliant and is worth reading because there is so much emotion there. He dissents eight to one against his entire court, or seven to one, whatever the number is on the Minnesota Supreme Court. He's the only dissent and it is just a blistering dissent because it was, basically . . . The chief of police in Annandale had used his gun and they said that state data practices said you don't have to reveal the stuff if it's still under consideration. The Supreme Court upheld all that and it's one of the great . . . He was so angry—in the dissent you can see it—that he went back the next legislative session even as chief justice and privately lobbied to change the law; so, he remained active. These were big people.

The other thing I remembered about Popovich—it was my first introduction to a guy who became a very dear friend and that was Bob Short—was in 1952. Popovich, Don Wozniak, Jack Davies, and Bob Short had . . . Humphrey and [Orville] Freeman, all of them said, "Oh, we've—it was 1956, excuse me—got to be for Adlai [Stevenson]. He deserves it. He's the darling of the liberals." They find this funny guy with the coon skin cap and they take him around the state of Minnesota. It's a very important part of the history of Minnesota politics to know that election. If you know the one before that where [Harold] Stassen was supposed to win and instead they write in [Dwight D.] Eisenhower's name and the Democrats are laughing like hell . . . Well, the next time this happens, the DFL, they take away . . . They finally say, "We can't have this happen anymore," and they end the presidential primary in Minnesota. [laughter] I watched all of that happen from afar both in high school and the early years of college. My

political awareness was blossoming pretty good then. I started doing that stuff when I was in the eighth grade.

CAC: Well now, DJ, as you speak, it occurs to me that the people you speak of are outsiders to the core group, which is Humphrey, Freeman, [Art] Naftalin, and so forth, who are all university folks?

DJL: Exactly.

CAC: Was there a conscious decision on the [unclear]?

DJL: I don't think so. We talked about this frequently. It was something that was really the hallmark of his public life with Humphrey—he was criticized for it. With Naftalin . . . somewhat with Freeman, really with [Walter] Mondale . . . nobody expressed it as much as Humphrey in that . . . In the DFL, you don't make long term enemies because we're going to have to be working together on this. I used to say it should be like military ribbons. You ought to put them up there and say, "Oh, I see you're with Rolvaag and I was with [Sandy] Keith." It's a reminder that you eventually get together. We talked about that at various times and I think it was the idea that there were very few of them that were long term haters. There was a difference with Short. Short almost to the day of his death used to talk to me about how Freeman has never forgiven him for locking him out of the convention in Chicago in 1956, or things like this.

CAC: But you don't think they were perceived as a university mafia?

DJL: No, I don't think . . . In all of that stuff, it was never heard in that regard. Of course, those were the days . . .

CAC: Did Popovich, and Wozniak, and Short have connections to the university? Were they educated here?

DJL: No. I don't recall that anyone of them were. Short was Georgetown and he had longstanding ties with St. Thomas.

CAC: But you're describing really folks who were outsiders . . .

DJL: That's right.

CAC: . . . and the university as an institution is kind of an inside institution. I'm wondering [unclear].

DJL: I'm not sure. It's really hard for me to say at that point. I must say that I never heard anything relative to the university and that stuff come up.

CAC: Maybe, it's later in the 1970s that were more sensitive . . . ?

DJL: I think that's probably true. My first recollection of Stan Wenberg is 1960, 1961, around in there.

CAC: Okay. Met Wilson has just come in as president?

DJL: That's right. I'm at the university, and I'm at the legislature, and I'm doing some occasional news coverage on legislative stuff; so, I'm taking some interest in stuff for the university. But I will tell you that my recollection is that those university issues and the funding at the university were hardly on the horizon, on the screen as we say today, compared to more emotional things like sales tax, like even colored oleo, or daylight saving. In fact, I have this recollection of the university when the legislature turned down daylight saving and Miles Lord as attorney general said that it was okay. The university said that they were going to abide by the law. The rest of the state was going to be on daylight saving and I can remember having done a story on the campus about on University Avenue, there was a sign in front of one of the fraternities that said that now the University of Minnesota is only one hour behind the rest of the world. [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: It's very funny how you hold those memories. They weren't a part of that debate on the public policy. It was unusual for them to stick their head up.

CAC: Is Gerry Mullen still in the Senate in the early 1960s?

DJL: I can't recall.

CAC: There were some old Republican senators who nursed through the university budget during those years when the conservatives were in the majority.

DJL: Those were the days when . . .

CAC: There was lots of money.

DJL: . . . so many things were done at the Gopher Grill. If the railroad lobbyists didn't figure you were a problem for them, you could generally get some things taken care, as old legislators have told me.

CAC: Who was sitting in the Gopher Grill?

DJL: That was the second capitol. That's where the agreements were made before there were conference committee things that were open. Conferees would meet down there. They'd have

a few drinks. They'd go up to a room in the old St. Paul Hotel and they'd decide how the stuff was going to be in the next two or three days.

CAC: I was told yesterday that's where Stan Wenberg hung out.

DJL: He did. The most successful of the lobbyists had regular spots and could be seen in the Gopher Grill doing their work. Stan Wenberg . . . I can tell you this impression. Stan was a huge guy and that big cigar . . . Today, he would be such an anachronism that he would be cartoonish. He had the big cigar and the thing I remember is . . . See now, this will relate to one other thing . . . 1960, 1961 were the [Murray] Warmath national championship years . . .

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: . . . and going to the Rose Bowl two years in a row. I can remember, I was doing a sports feature on the radio and I overhear Stan Wenberg telling a legislator, "Get ready. Have your stuff ready to go to California for the Rose Bowl." This is the second year. We'd gone the first year and lost. The contract between the Big Ten and the PAC Ten, the Rose Bowl people, had run out; and they hadn't renewed it. The old contract said nobody could go two years in a row; so, having gone and been humiliated, everybody thought this was the end of it. But Wenberg tells these legislators, and I overhear this. I'm sure he tells more than one. So, I go on the air and I predict that in spite of everything you're hearing, let me tell you, the university . . . Because Stan Wenberg, to me, was somebody that knew. I saw him make things happen; so, I go on and I predict that the University of Minnesota football team will play in the Rose Bowl on January 1st.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: "You mark it," I said. They have a big rally on campus here, a football rally, and one of the players gets up—I had the tape for years—saying, "We know that it's going to be because Leary said it on the radio today," . . . on what was a rock and roll station.

CAC: We'll share stories. I interviewed Met Wilson about seven years ago when I was in Oregon. He said that when he came here, when he was being looked at in 1959, that he was told, "One thing, Professor Wilson, you'll have to worry about is a winning football team." The first issue he has to take to the Senate, Will Minnesota accept an invitation?"

DJL: That happens because of the second year.

[break in the interview]

CAC: This is a good time for my stock question—I've asked everybody who has had anything to do with the legislature and the state capitol—does it really make a difference in the

appropriations or in the reception of the university generally that the basketball team is doing well, or the football team is on its way? How does one assess that?

DJL: Well, I was with Humphrey one time when he told Mac [Malcolm] Moos over at Eastcliff—I think Mac was the first to live there—when we were at some little event and he said, “Just get a winning football team and you’ll get everything you need.”

CAC: People say that but it’s empirically [unclear].

DJL: In the early days, I think that was really true. I remember these 1960, 1961 glory days. They felt that it was a very positive thing. I’m going to move this up later to talk about a reflection of that. I’ve got to tell you an International Falls story that will reflect that. I think that clearly has changed. There is great resentment of the governor’s affection for sports at the university now among legislators both of his party and opponents.

CAC: Speaking of Governor [Arne] Carlson?

DJL: Governor Carlson. You will hear them say that I wish he cared as much about the homeless, or as much about farm prices, or whatever the particular issue. I’ve heard it in four or five contexts but it’s always a negative thing. They will tell stories about . . . we went in to talk to him . . . I’ve had business leaders saying they’ve talked to him about a \$330 million plant we’re going to build and so on . . .

CAC: Three hundred and thirty million?

DJL: Yes, a co-generation plant that one business is talking about.

CAC: Oh, I see.

DJL: They said, “He was absolutely distracted, and disinterested, and all of the focus turned to a discussion of university sports and the basketball.”

CAC: Even though he doesn’t think well of the university generally?

DJL: Well, I think he’s able to compartmentalize that. I had some arguments with him when he was state auditor when Dick Sauer was interim president. One day, he called me and he said—he’s just screaming on the phone—“That son-of-a-bitch lied. That son-of-a-bitch lied. We’ve got to get him.” I said, “Calm down. Now, calm down.” This was about the time that he fired Paul Giel.

CAC: Oh, sure.

DJL: "He said he wasn't going to be making any changes." I said, "Arne, I think you have to look again. I'm not sure he said exactly that." He was clearly driven by the emotion of the moment rather than . . .

CAC: Many people were. I had an interview with Dick Sauer that talks at some length about the Paul Giel affair. That's a very interesting one. Wendell Anderson . . . now there's a hero from Minnesota sports and hockey. Does that influence . . . He was a university boy?

DJL: Yes, he was always quite supportive of the university. He never was one to carry the day on any of the arguments on the debate but when he became governor, he had a kind of standing two or three times a week run with Pete Magrath. He'd come over and they'd both go and do some jogging together.

CAC: I see.

DJL: When I came back to Minnesota and went to work on a contract from the governor's office, I asked them, "Do you put out the governor's daily schedule?" Wendy was governor. They said, "No, because he really doesn't do anything. He goes and plays golf," something they hid very good. When they started putting out schedules, they'd say, "He's having a meeting with the head of 3M," or the head of so and so. Well, they didn't point out that it was on the golf course that the meetings were taking place.

CAC: Or running with Peter?

DJL: Or running, yes. He did that an awful lot. I remember that Peter did a lot of lobbying at that point whenever he needed help on something. That was a new form of the old Wenberg kind of stuff. But I'll tell you—just to close out the Wenberg era—we looked at it with a different ethos in those days, you know, and this was how they did it. I sat as a young man watching this and, obviously, I didn't think the university was kind of a dirty special interest. I might feel different about the railroads. [laughter] This guy could kind of stroll around the capitol, meet a couple of people, do favors for them. I can remember having been in the press box for a football game at the university and a couple of key legislators are in there—I don't remember who exactly—and I thought that's special treatment. One of the longstanding photos that's been around for years is one of Humphrey and McCarthy at a Minnesota football game, both wearing hats; so, it was a real central part of that.

CAC: It was the only game in town.

DJL: Yes, and it really and truly was.

CAC: We didn't have Vikings; we didn't have Twins.

DJL: Yes, in those days. The Vikings and Twins started coming in about 1960 and 1961. Some of that started to dissipate about that time. They used to be able to romance them pretty good using the sports stuff. Basketball wasn't particularly big but if they could get tickets for the state high school hockey tournament and stuff like that, that would work in that regard.

CAC: Do you have a sense in the 1960s—we'll still stick to that just for awhile . . . you haven't got all morning; so, we want to cover the territory—how would the university's budget request be processed?

DJL: I don't have any knowledge of that, other than watching, you know. Somebody would tell me at the Gopher Grill that Stan is over there getting the final so and so. I got more of that later in life.

CAC: We'll come back to it.

DJL: Then, I left the Twin Cities in 1965 to go to Duluth to run a broadcast property. Then, I went from there into presidential politics and didn't return, move back to the Twin Cities, until 1970 to do the 1970 campaign. Then, I had an office the next year in Washington; so, I was out there.

CAC: But then, you're back in 1972?

DJL: That's right. There's a period from about 1965 till about 1973 that is a . . . I maintained some kind of . . . but I didn't have the firsthand view.

CAC: By which time Stan Wenberg is gone and Stan Kegler . . .

DJL: Stan Kegler comes and I don't see that transition.

CAC: When you come back in 1972, I'm thinking now the DFL is coming for the first time into a majority in the legislature?

DJL: That's right.

CAC: And Wendy is governor?

DJL: Wendy is governor. An interesting observation is that there are some pent-up liberal needs. They don't tend to affect the university on the outside.

CAC: Okay.

DJL: One of them is our labor issues like worker's compensation and what have you. Dave Roe once said to me, "They wanted to do so much for us that we had to slow them down." When

I took Roe around the state to argue against initiative and referendum in the 1980 constitutional amendment thing—I designed the media strategy on that that defeated the thing—he kept citing that, that we had waited a long time and we didn't go in and say, "We want this and you've got to do that." But he told me privately, "The fact of the matter is, they were pushing through minimum wages and stuff like that. They couldn't do enough for us because they'd waited so long." The other interest that was moved forward in that was the K-12 education and the property tax equalization kind of thing.

CAC: John Haynes . . .

DJL: Right. That was a very close linking of the two issues in terms of how they did the property taxes and how they funded education in the state of Minnesota. Those were the major kind of pent-up things that kind of boomed in there in the early 1970s, referred to later as Minnesota miracle kind of stuff because it tended to work pretty good in those early years until they found little ways around it. Then, they bastardized it so much.

[End of Tape 1, Side 1]

[Tape 1, Side 2]

CAC: I also sense that part of the changing context of the 1970s, when you're back on scene again, is that the state university system is beginning to move aggressively and consume more of the total state budget. Do you have a sense of that?

DJL: Yes, that's very true. These state universities had been the old teachers normal colleges and that and went through three name changes and were parts of real drives. I remember being with Wendy one day when they brought up the issue. They were originally known as teachers colleges, then became state colleges, and then became state universities. The drive on the latter one was in the 1970s and it was pushed by Mankato. Mankato was having bills introduced to rename it as a state university.

CAC: Because they're ambitious for graduate programs?

DJL: But the idea was to get the name changed first. I can remember that in public appearances, being with Wendy on one or two occasions, when the question came up about, there's a bill in to rename Mankato State College, to raise it to university status, do you support that? He said at that time, "Yes, I think rural Minnesota would like that." Then, it was like in Moorhead, Crookston, someplace up there, they asked him again, only from a different area. "Mankato State University is . . ." It was a kind of a competitive question. "Do you support that?" He said, "Yes, I think all of them ought to be raised to university status."

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: I said, "Oh, now the solution has just appeared." [laughter]

CAC: Right.

DJL: I went with him also . . . When I first got to know Stan Sahlstrom was when I went to the Crookston campus. The Crookston campus was lobbying a very interesting thing to lower the drinking age—which you'd get strung up for nowadays, you know. They and Southwest University each had courses in the hospitality industry. The argument—I'll not forget until the day they put me in the ground—was, How can a kid know he's mixed a good martini when he can't taste it? [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: Of course, that originally went through. They put the voting age and the drinking age at the same time and then raised it back up to twenty-one.

CAC: Yes.

DJL: But there was an education component to that in terms of these two, the University of Minnesota-Crookston and the Southwest State University, both having these hospitality courses that were fields of study. In those days, on the university budget, the thing that started to take precedence, to move out from the university in terms of funding, was concentrated partially in the strength of labor and that it became building and building not only here for the University of Minnesota but building around the state . . .

CAC: Ah, for heavens sake.

DJL: . . . and started getting the bonding bills and that to build new buildings.

CAC: That's where David Roe comes in as a regent?

DJL: And Neil . . .

CAC: Sherburne.

DJL: Sherburne is on there before Dave. Neil was a classic piece of work. Nobody would ever have thought he was a labor-skate. He always dressed in the finest English clothes and everything. [laughter] He fit into the university very good. He wasn't used to the rough and tumble stuff of the labor trades and the legislature. Roe was particularly good at that. He was over there doing the cigar chomping and what have you. Then, when Neil Sherburne steps down—I think it was Alzheimers, if I remember—he resigns and Roe becomes . . . There becomes this defacto kind of appointment that was going to be the labor seat.

CAC: Which would be at large and not from one of the congressional districts?

DJL: Yes, at that point and they started sniffing around. There was still tenderness among the Democrats, the old liberals that were still left in the legislature about what had happened in the 1960s when Jerry Haney was named to the Board of Regents for about ten minutes; and then the conservatives got a hold of the legislature and bingo! changed it like that. Out of that also came the idea that Duluth should have a strong representation.

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: As a congressional district [it] was much bigger, more people than it is now. Land wise, it's bigger now. Roe gets into it and he works very hard behind the scenes on building stuff.

CAC: Making certain that the construction contracts are recognized labor?

DJL: Well, there's some awfully good labor deals around the university here. The university's relationship with labor has been very good for labor. It's only come into question somewhat in recent years.

CAC: Civil service?

DJL: Talk to people who have to put in a window air-conditioner. You can go to Best Buy and put one in and it would be \$200 or \$300 but you go through Plant here at the university, it ends up being on your budget at about \$1800 to get somebody to come over and put this thing in. So, while there was some of the rumbling, it was well acknowledged that the university was a good friend of labor. Anybody that wanted to organized, they didn't have a hell of a lot of a problem over here . . . only on occasion. Where the problems really started is when you had competing unions competing for the same bodies, at the hospital or someplace like that.

CAC: Or the teamsters and AFSCME?

DJL: AFSCME, that's right. Teamsters looking for some additional places to go. I worked closely with Roe on a number of things, watching, and I was one of those that wanted to help with the Humphrey Institute, for instance. Roe was very, very helpful on that. Roe was very much a part of what we put together when we built the domed stadium. He could find ties all . . . If I remember the deal—I'd have to ask a couple of the lobbyists at the time, like Bill McGrann—one thing we did on the Humphrey Institute was that we got lobbyists . . . The lobbyists who were at the capitol who were the best in the 1970s and the early 1980s were all people who had ties to Humphrey, had worked for him. Bill McGrann is an example. He'd run a couple of his campaigns. We talked to the university, and Humphrey made a couple of calls to people, and we all got together in some rooms over there and said, "We'll work with you. This would be as an unpaid client to help get this thing through." I remember at some point, it gets to a thing with Phyllis.

CAC: Phyllis?

DJL: Kahn. Phyllis wants the Music School. [laughter] I think, if I remember right, in order to get the Humphrey Institute, we had to put the thing in for the Music School. That's the kind of trading that was done for the university but it was going into the bonding bill and it wasn't so much into the university budget as such.

CAC: Ah! Yes.

DJL: To move it ahead a little bit, the budget went through process but there was a consistent thing about the budget things when there were tight budget years. You've got to remember, the 1970s were salad days. There was a lot of money to go around. They were finding new ways . . . It's only on occasion like in 1980 when they suddenly realized . . . Nick Coleman has got a Republican governor and he positions him in such a way that he's having shortfalls every twenty minutes over there, which takes the guy out. Before that and after that, pretty good budget years. Before that, whenever there was the suggestion that there might be any changes in that, the most visible lobbying activity, that was absolutely separate from Central Administration, was done by the Ag related people, Bill Hueg, and very effective. The only people they had problems with were like the urban legislators. [laughter] But they had the numbers and they had the ties. I will say that there was a general attitude from legislators that the rest of the university can be damned but we're not going to let this Ag school suffer in anyway, or Ag research.

CAC: The Health Sciences had pretty good independent representation also?

DJL: Yes, and nobody had ever paid much of a look there.

CAC: Ray Amberg, he's a towering figure?

DJL: Yes, but they worked the inside game really good.

CAC: I see.

DJL: The Ag guys were more forward about it. They would serve on the board—Hueg did—even up to [unclear].

CAC: The Board of?

DJL: Of Minnesota Agri-Growth Council, which is basically a lobbying organization in many respects. They would make no bones about going to the Farm Bureau and the Farmers' Union and asking their friends for help. They were very open about it. So, there's was an outside game that was more evident. We need you to call this legislator and so on.

CAC: Did this spill over to help the university [unclear] generally?

DJL: There was a fairly good feeling that helped some of the university but as long as these people were assured that these . . .

CAC: St. Paul campus was in?

DJL: . . . programs and these research programs . . . fine! Later years, not real late, when the budget squeezes come and you've got to cut back . . .

CAC: In the 1980s?

DJL: That's right . . . and Ken Keller is saying, "While the cuts will be at this level, Agriculture is going to have to take a bigger hit." Well, they went right back over there to their friends and the message came back and he said, "Agriculture won't take as big hit as everybody else." They took it out of the hands of administration how they would handle these cuts. So, you start to see this emerge.

I have to talk for a moment about the birthright provision, or the sense of birthright. I've talked about it to other people. There was prior to 1980-ish a sense in Minnesota that it was the birthright of the sons and daughters of farmers, and miners, and engineers, and working people that when they were born, they could go to this university.

CAC: And main street kids.

DJL: More and more, and increasingly, fewer were even applying. They were going to the state universities and what have you and then we saw the explosion of St. Cloud, and Mankato, and that. They had this ongoing affection and identity and many could easily blur the lines that St. Cloud State University was part of the University of Minnesota.

CAC: Sure.

DJL: I heard that many times. Then, comes Commitment to Focus and for the first time ever somebody says publicly, "That's not true. We're only going to take certain kids and we're going to improve that." I want to tell you as one who went throughout the state and took the temperature and the pulse . . .

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: . . . it was *the* major blow to the university, the university's long sense of ground and grassroots feeling, out there. I mean, it was palpable. I can tell you that one day I took the current president of the University of Rhode Island, Bob Carruthers—he was the head of the chancellor state university system—into the *Fargo Forum* just to do some briefing about state

university budgets and things like that, an update because they had Moorhead State University there. That's a powerful newspaper. The publisher came into the meeting. The editor's were in there. I looked around and saw this guy. They are just kind of antsy. Then, after a few minutes, there's this huge explosion. I can remember one was standing there saying, "You're saying, goddamn it, that our kids are got to go all the way to Montana to get a Ph.D! We won't stand for that!" He said, "Wait a minute, that's not me! That's not us." It didn't matter, they had this anger at the university that they were just going to lash out at anybody. Clearly, that was felt from the population and it was felt from their legislators.

CAC: It was felt within the Board of Regents. Wendy Anderson, for example, and David Roe, both were . . .

DJL: And Mary . . .

CAC: Schertler.

DJL: Schertler. They were kind of a solid block on the thing.

CAC: And you think on these ideological grounds—what you're talking about—the birthright?

DJL: Oh, absolutely. Let me tell you, that's where it started. I went to International Falls . . . Boise Cascade was a client of mine and they were caught in the middle of that building problem they had where they used non-union help, and it was a hell of a strike, and they had a riot.

CAC: Where was this?

DJL: Up at Boise Cascade in the late 1980s.

CAC: Oh, yes, I remember.

DJL: I go up there; I don't wear a suit. When I wanted to get a bite to eat, I got far away so nobody could identify me. I happened to go into a bar in International Falls—this is a great anecdote—and I have a hamburger. I'm about the only one in the place with the bartender and we're having a nice little conversation. I'm also doing some work for Dick Sauer at the time.

CAC: You mean this was when he was interim?

DJL: When he was interim. I'm asking some questions, just trying to get a feel . . . every time I went around like this but the I. Falls one stands out. I had heard this repeatedly. I said, "Do you ever go down to the university football games?" He said, "I've got to tell you, when I was a kid growing up, every year, my dad, and my uncle, and me went to at least one university

game. God! I can remember when I was little some years we went twice if dad had a meeting."

He said, "I'll tell you how bad it was. We used to go deer hunting and take the radio out in the woods with us and we never, of course, saw a deer; we'd listen to the football game." Then he stopped and he said, "You know, I don't even know if they still broadcast the goddamned games." Now, he suggests, there's a big gulf; so, I said, "How did this happen? it just got to much running the business and that?" He said, "No, I'll tell you, when I was a kid at Falls High School, there was a guy a year ahead of me named Frank Uso . . . geez, a big guy, a hell of an athlete. From my first memories, the university sent scouts up here to watch Frank Uso and they recruited him hard. He went to play at the university, and later played for the Minnesota Vikings, and played in the National Football League. It was the biggest thing since Bronko Nagurski." On a team who's lived on a legend . . . a town that's lived on a legend like that . . . He said, "I would be willing to bet that's the last time the University of Minnesota had any interest in people like us up here. All they're interested in"—with more than a subtle touch of racism—"are those big black kids from Ohio and Pennsylvania."

CAC: Sure.

DJL: And he said, "They don't care about us. We don't care about them." That captured, in that conversation, things I had heard in a lot of other places for a long, long time. The thing that followed that was that as the budget process . . .

CAC: In the meantime, they would have had no idea what Commitment to Focus was intending to be?

DJL: No, no, no, no, never. God! I probed people that had long affection for the university.

CAC: Right.

DJL: Dr. Roland Dennistoun, Ph.D.—who understood this university, and understood the education, and understood agriculture, and was the deputy commissioner of agriculture—would take gratuitous speaking engagements around the state just to attack Commitment to Focus on some very narrow thing. He said, "They're going to close down education, and they're going to close down agriculture, and try to run everything in a secondary position." It was the idea that the message that went out and was interpreted and was interpreted in editorials and stories, and what have you, is that they don't care about us anymore. We don't have the right to go to that university. Now, they had the challenge all right. There is one reporter at the capitol, who's been there the last few years, named John Sundbor, and we've honored him. He writes from a rural perspective better than anybody else. One of his columns recently said, "Of course, all the things they said that wouldn't happen to rural schools are exactly what's happening." We've been wide apart on a number of issues but he reflects very readily what they're thinking out there, as I can see when I go around. What happened as you go through the budget process for the university at the legislature is that after the Keller stuff, legislators learn something and it's a very

bad lesson for the university. I've written about it a little bit. They learn that there's no political consequence to hurting the university.

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: They learn it and they learned it too good. They start to realize that when the education bill comes, the higher education, university's [unclear]. Somebody else is taking care of it. They don't have to stand up and say, "We've got to amend this and change this." They just pass it and the hand full of people that get involved with doing the budgets at the higher education committee level on the Appropriations and Finance also have learned that when they go back to Austin, or Lac qui Parle County, or Yellow Medicine County that nobody . . . very seldom will anybody . . .

CAC: But they are concerned about the outlying state university budget, or the Vo-techs and community colleges?

DJL: Very, that's right. Increasingly, they're talking about parity. They know the university needs to . . . Of course, it got to be a circus the way they felt about the university. Nils did a hell of a job in that he built up an affection for himself and the university, as such . . .

CAC: Again.

DJL: . . . when he got at the university. But they still had this residual understanding, a political thing, that, hey you can cut these and nothing happens to you. Now, why is that so? Here's one of the very sad things. I am a lifetime member of the University Alumni Association. I get so much mail from them. I don't even open it because I know it's a tour package to someplace. On occasion . . .

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: . . . I'll get something about a meeting that's going to . . . You have over in St. Paul, the College of St. Thomas, now St. Thomas University. When I was growing up over there, it was a sleepy little school like Macalester or Hamline. It's now larger than Notre Dame University.

CAC: It is?!

DJL: It is. When I tell that to editors . . .

CAC: Without a football team . . .

DJL: Basically, without a football team or anything else. If you were to go, as many people do, and take a course in their business thing, an evening course, or what have you . . . Jerry Rauenhorst bought the old Powers building and didn't want anything . . .

CAC: Downtown Minneapolis?

DJL: . . . and he's on their board. He opened up for them and they put some class rooms in there and suddenly the skyways were flooded with people. That's why they built the downtown campuses . . . they suddenly found out. If you were to take a course over there, you would instantly be a member of their alumni association and you would get mailings about what the school is doing, things like this, and more than just the magazine, which I get from the Alumni Association. They would make you feel that you had a tie to it. Plus, as the four-year undergraduate school, they have that campus life thing. They're a community not unlike the university in that most of their students come from the Twin Cities but there's a hell of a . . . They get them more involved so that they go away from there caring about that university. One of the reasons Denny Dease, the president of St. Thomas, presided at Rudy Perpich's funeral was the incredible private relationship. . . he was always figuring out how to get them more computers, and to put them into this bill, and to put them into that bill. They can touch a thing here and touch it there and legislators . . . They are minor things that don't cause the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union] to get upset but they need them for this computer thing, or what have you, and legislators suddenly get calls from their neighbors, "We thing this is really an important thing." They don't get those calls from University of Minnesota graduates.

CAC: Because there are too many of us?

DJL: It's one of the great opportunities out there but they don't have the links. You've got to send them, what, thirty-five bucks to belong, to be a member of the Alumni Association?

CAC: We'd have to send out a mailing of 300,000.

DJL: But I want to tell you, they treat everybody like World War II used car salesman if they don't have that dues paid at the Alumni Association.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: I can tell you when I was doing work with Sauer and that, I'd say, "Let's go and meet with the editors in Austin because we've got some legislators there and we'll get editorial support." They'd say, "Well, we'll have to have a meeting with this group from the Alumni Association." It's the same old people and they're getting older. I mean, Christ! you and I know what it's like in terms of getting older and there's not young people replacing them, generally speaking, in terms of the numbers that are going through this place. So, legislators hear about the university from some constituents but it's the same people.

CAC: We don't curry a sense of loyalty to those students when they are here?

DJL: No, because most of them live in the Twin Cities and most of them have a double . . . Their big problem is finding a place to park so they can get to their job.

CAC: I want to come back to the birthright and Commitment to Focus. It is, after all, Governor Perpich, who if anything is a populist on educational issues as well as others, along with his Commissioner of Finance Gus Donhowe, who later becomes vice-president for Finance in the university, who really pushed the university to that commitment?

DJL: That's right.

CAC: So, what do you make of that and that story?

DJL: Well, I think that Rudy was a very complex person. I was on the inside there. I'm the one, if you'll check the notes—I was not working for anybody—that went to Eastcliff to tell Ken, "You've got to go." I tell you, I thought he as a very decent person . . .

CAC: Ken Keller?

DJL: Yes . . . and I said, "I can come up with strategies that will give you life for six weeks or six months."

CAC: Initiative on your own . . . to go see him?

DJL: No, I get called from over there and there's a couple people there. It's a Sunday afternoon, just after the football game.

CAC: Who know that you're well-informed?

DJL: I had been called into some meetings with the Alumni Association's heavy hitters and it was a cheerleading session for Ken. I stood up and I said, "I've got to tell you folks, we're in deep trouble and they're hanging them out. Here's what the university is perceived as." That wasn't a moment of great courage but the point is that they suddenly started to re-look [unclear]. You tell from the facts. It's like I used to say, I was always the guy when I was doing politics that was from out of town; so, I had to go tell the candidate how to react that night when he lost the election. [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: Nobody else dared bring it up with him. I had that good sense, and because I had kind of taken that, and I was willing to say the truth, I think that's why they called me over. There were three or four people at the residence that afternoon. I said, "I can come up with some strategies to save you six weeks, six months, but I can't think of anything that's going to rescue you." I told him, not unlike I had told other people, "If you leave on your own, rather than being run out, which you will be . . ." There had been a story in the paper that morning and that had clearly told me that they had kind of gone and called Mike Jarosz in Duluth. Jarosz was a chair at one of the funding committees in the House.

CAC: Okay.

DJL: It was kind of an initiated story. Jarosz didn't call up and say . . . He said basically that Keller has to go. I said, "This is just the start of other stories like that that are being initiated on the enterprise of the paper, I'm afraid. It's just going to be bad times ahead for you. Now, if you leave on your own accord, what you say as part of your departure about this university will be remembered longer than anything you've done the whole time you're here. If you're particularly gracious [unclear], it may cause people to say, 'Well, maybe we're wrong about this guy.' Because in most of the stuff you've been a victim of bad judgement." [sigh] We talked about it alone and he said, "What kind of a statement?" There was another guy there and I said, "You're an attorney. Who are you an attorney for?" He said, "For the university." I said, "I think you have to leave now because I have to give him some advice." That was when we talked about . . . if you go back and read his statement, you will see he did not resign that night. He just said that he would give his resignation to the Board of Regents when they were able to select a successor, or something like that. I wanted to save him a severance deal . . . that was in his contract. Then later, that became an item for some of the news on the thing. While he wasn't my client, he was asking my advice and this guy's advice would have to be different, representing the university. The whole impression of the Keller stuff and the Commitment to Focus, the birthright message of the Commitment to Focus—forget about anything else—it's the same message with a different dress on it now . . . University 2000.

CAC: Oh sure, yes.

DJL: It was just lost in this first blow. The fact that just astounds me to this day is that nobody would stand up and make the kind of effort . . . I spent an awful lot of time with editorial writers and I've talked to them about it. Nobody was coming in.

CAC: To defend Keller?

DJL: Or to the university and to say . . . I'll give you one example. There was a discussion at the time that it cost \$600,000 or \$800,000 to fix up Heathcliff . . . or Eastcliff . . .

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: No, I'll tell you, Wyman [Spano] called me a couple weeks ago on the phone and he said, "Where's Heathcliff?" I said, "He's in a book!" Now, I'm doing it like him.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: I told Linda [Leary] and she almost fell out of the chair laughing. And it was only worth a million a half or something like that. I used to say to these editors over lunch, "You know, it is time for somebody to say that a university is a repository of our humanity and that the great works of our writings have to have . . . and it's not a value on the street. This is a gift and that

you send a message if you say, "This is a gift of the university and we're going to sell it or get rid of it." I said, "You can forget about getting any of the great manuscripts and that if you're going to have a role as a repository of research and what have you." But nobody was making those cases on behalf of the university because it was just too hot to touch. It became evident then how weak the Alumni Association is.

CAC: Ah.

DJL: There's some major players . . .

CAC: In the meantime, there's a major block in the regents that are . . .

DJL: Yes, and they're hanging them out to dry. I mean, Dave Roe goes on *Almanac* on that Friday night, and I look at what he says, and I said, "This is it." Then, we have a meeting Saturday out at one of the golf clubs with some of the leaders in the Alumni Association. I said, "If you didn't see Roe's message last night . . ." Then, I think it was Sunday that Keller [unclear] last weekend. It was in March, if I remember right. But they never knew, I will tell you . . . I would sit in these meetings. They'd call me into some of these meetings and before the legislative auditor's report came out, I remember I said, "Are there any time bombs in this?" That's what I do with clients; so, we can go out and take care of this ahead of time. They said, "No, no. We've read it." Man! that's the one that they had the slush fund, as it later became known.

CAC: The reserve fund?

DJL: The reserve fund. They never understood. I said, "Let me tell you what happens. You have had to this day enormous support in the university family, in the university community. You're going to lose it now because every associate professor that's put in a request to go to the conference in Cleveland that got turned down . . ."

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: He said, "Those sons of bitches had that money setting in the bottom of the drawer and [David] Lilly and Keller wouldn't let it out that I could go present this paper."

CAC: Now, what is your understanding of how informed the Board of Regents was on the existence of the size and the use of the reserve fund?

DJL: Well, I'm . . . The whole thing about governance and the Board of Regents, the problem, and it continues all the time, is these are political people. It's a political job.

CAC: That's the way they're appointed.

DJL: That's the way they're appointed, and that's the way they react, and that's they act about everything whether it's tuition increases or what have you. It's really measuring the impact that's going to happen on them, and the people who support them, and their chance to get re-elected the next time. I will tell you, I plan in my twilight years to put them in my book, "Profiles in Jello" because there's no real courage. They want to act in more of a herd instinct and they don't go out to touch the people to really communicate about this university.

CAC: Why do they want to be on the board?

DJL: Oh, it's so very prestigious.

CAC: Does it lead to anything? Does it help Wendy's law practice?

DJL: No. Wendy is one of those sad cases. I must preface that . . . I dearly love the man. He did a lot of great things . . .

CAC: He was my advisee.

DJL: He has had the reverse of the classical career. The classical career is that you start out as a poor lawyer and end up as a fairly successful, rich politician. He started out as a fairly successful politician and has ended up as a poor lawyer and struggling would be . . .

CAC: And he still wants to be on the Board of Regents?

DJL: That's his whole identity, his whole public identity . . . former governor, former senator, but it's his whole identity. He reflected those feelings. I think if there might be a fairly tough opponent in some future election that he might not be able to carry the legislative support.

CAC: But he doesn't get any practice, any contacts for his . . . ?

DJL: No. A former chairman of the board, who was one of his closest friends, has told me, "I had lunch with him, and I looked over there, and there he's in a threadbare suit, barely making it from day to day." Things have not gone well for him, I don't think.

CAC: This comes back to the original question, To what degree did the regents know of the existence, the size, and the use of what Lilly had put together?

DJL: I think that they knew and had not paid any attention. They were basically . . .

CAC: They didn't want to pay attention?

DJL: Yes. They basically rubber-stamped most of the stuff for twenty years around there. The things they got involved with were the kind of stuff that involved the public, political things, raising of tuition, closing of campuses. Those are all very different, for instance, than . . .

CAC: How about a power plant on the Mississippi?

DJL: Well, the steam plant thing was a little bit different in that they all had memories of an energy crisis that they'd shot through. They didn't do a very good job of selling the proposal. The one thing that sold it to the majority of them clearly was the idea that . . . The thing that's gone negative is that it's coal burning.

CAC: Sure.

DJL: But the idea that they can burn anything . . . Christ! they can burn old tires. They can burn leaves. They can burn gas. They can do the switch over. The opponents equally hurt their own . . . because they would stand up and say, "If it has the capability at all to do coal, it's bad." That was at a time when Jean . . .

CAC: Keffeler?

DJL: . . . Keffeler, as chairperson—no, she wasn't chair yet—was the intellectual leader of the thing. She was smarter than almost anybody else. I watched them, and I'd watched her in private business, and I'd had great regard for her because I saw her leave Northwestern Bell—when it was Northwestern Bell . . . later U.S. West—on an issue of integrity and public morals. It was said publicly, and I'd heard it privately from the very top of that company, that she was basically the CEO [Chief Executive Officer] in waiting; and she walked away from it all because of the improprieties that they were doing behind the scene with regulatory bodies. So, I had held her in some regard before that. I think they made the case with her and some others. They lost the votes of Wendy, and Ann Wynia, and Stan Sahlstrom, I think. Two of those were going to vote the liberal, anti- [unclear] position. It has become more of an issue because unlike other things that [unclear], Phyllis [Kahn] has gone to the legislature to pass her own brand of legislation on the stuff. There was something that never got much attention but the proponents for the steam plant proposal that was approved went and hired former university pollster, Bill Morris, who understands neighborhoods. They polled the neighborhoods around the university and basically, the simple question was, Do you support the regents decision? It came out about 80 percent "Yes," 20 percent "No." That just enraged the so-called spokespeople for the people. But it's been basically inside baseball. Those haven't touched many people except . . .

CAC: But there's another political issue. You're saying that when these sensitive things come, then the regents pay attention?

DJL: Yes, when they're politically sensitive.

CAC: I interviewed Dick Sauer and he said, "What a joy it is"—he's now with 4-H as you know—"to have a Board of Directors that is in support of the mission of the organization I'm running," which was not his experience . . .

DJL: That's right. They had just gone through a disaster and they'd all be hung out to dry. The legislature passed kind of a thing I thought would do more and I'm disappointed . . . the regents Advisory selection thing, which was a compromise that we'd come up with when wanted to try to change some of the thing. It's now degenerated into something rather [unclear].

CAC: Now, you've mentioned Phyllis Kahn several times. We have two of our own in the legislature. We did have three with John Brandl . . .

DJL: Right.

CAC: . . . Phyllis Kahn and Allan Spear. At least with Phyllis Kahn, faculty perceives it that she's never, you see, on a side vigorously to support what we hold dear at the university.

DJL: Everybody sees that. Everybody sees her as anti-university.

CAC: Yes. Is this true?

DJL: I think it is.

CAC: How do you account for this then?

DJL: I don't know. It may be part of that intellectual arrogance . . . I've been in it . . . I know . . . let me tell you . . . and listen to me. She's had a hell of a time against no name candidates just getting endorsed. She does these other goofy things that don't have anything to do with the university but her constituency is the university. I mean, she's leading the effort to have bars open till 3:00. That's not the wishes of these people around here . . . or thirteen year old voting or . . . the goofy stuff that catches on.

CAC: Bicycle trails, that's all right.

DJL: Yes. And no smoking. But that so far back in her career . . .

CAC: Yes.

DJL: The fights for gender equity and that, that's way back. The last two endorsing conventions, you've gone eight, nine ballots.

CAC: Do you think the Rajender thing then relates . . . ?

DJL: The Rajender thing . . . you can go off campus, even on campus, and you can't find ten people that can tell you what it is.

CAC: Okay.

DJL: It's very much inside.

CAC: Ah!

[End of Tape 1, Side 2]

[Tape 2, Side 1]

DJL: I think the university has made some basic errors about the manner in which they lobby in the 1990s. It's two parts. Number one is that there is a sense, as I said earlier, that there's no political price to pay for being against the university.

CAC: Yes. You're the first person I've heard say that. That's profoundly true.

DJL: It really is. And it's more so . . . there isn't really a personal kind of . . . The university—I've said it to them, the people in charge, so, I don't hesitate to say it here on the record—they want to be loved, these people, so that it's the old Norwegian thing. I remember going up into Roger Moe's district a couple years ago and they were having some hearings about siting nuclear waste out in . . . These Norwegians would stand up there and they'd say, "Ah, could it possibly be . . . I don't want to offend you now . . . but maybe you could put it someplace else." Well, they get the hell cut out of their budget for much of the 1990s and late 1980s. Instead of just raising hell and bringing down the wrath and thunder, they'd say, "Well, we didn't do too bad, you know. While it may have cut here . . . there'll be some cutbacks that we'll have to do. I think we can manage and the program's still on track. Now, call University 2000, and you go back, and you look at those statements after . . . I think we did pretty well." It's great to declare a victory but some years they got hurt very, very badly. Instead of just really pulling whatever . . .

CAC: But if they don't have a political base to pull that from . . . You can't play that game unless you have a political base to appeal to.

DJL: You can't expect that they've not cultivated it.

CAC: Yes.

DJL: Plus, I want to tell you, legislators are not impressed, or governors even, with distinguished faculty members.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: I think this university has an incredible record but you come over, and they look at them, and they say, "You're going to be taken care of. You know, you don't live in the world where we live." They don't see it. It's like the Minnesota Business Partnership. Steve Morse, for instance, the senator from Winona, will get called up maybe like by the late Coldie Bloomfield, who was assigned . . . The secret of the Partnership is they'll one on one, CEOs to a legislator, about problems with the tax structure, and problems with spending, and all that. They'll go have lunch at the fancy club or something. Steve will be very attentive and appreciative and they'll have a discussion and Steve goes out that door and says, "That was a nice lunch but he hasn't one goddamned bit of influence with my constituents back home," and he'll walk away from the thing. Now, the same thing happens with the university and they don't effectively . . . or they end up using the same people . . . and that's a limited number. You get no sense of the big numbers that are out there for the university with legislators. But the other thing that happens is they send . . . this is not to denigrate the state relations people . . . they're fine. Do you know what they ought to do? They don't send another part of the heart and soul of this university and that is the people who work here. They ought to create a fund that pays for a day and a bus. You have over there, meeting with Larry Pogamiller, this black woman who's raised three kids and had a job at the university for nineteen years, and gotten on a bus every morning, and gotten off, and says, "It's me that you're hurting when you hurt the university." Make it come home to these urban legislators who are all graduates of the university and couldn't care less! Peter McGlocken . . . god! I love Peter. He's a graduate of the Humphrey Institute and a scholarship graduate of Princeton. As an aside, he once told me, "If you talk about class distinction . . ." Peter once told me that his roommate's parents were at Princeton one time and he said, "Oh, you remember Peter? He's a scholarship student."

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: Jesus! that was in modern time. Peter, who is good-hearted and caring . . .

CAC: What does he do now?

DJL: The Hennepin County Board but he was probably the smartest legislator I had known in there . . .

CAC: Oh, I see.

DJL: . . . in terms of when he was in the legislature. Yet, he was not there to champion for the university because he didn't see any of his people as being affected by the university. The people they sent to the capitol were people who talked in numbers about big budgets and what they'd done in medical history—and that's all fine. But nobody talked about the fact that the state funding really supports these people who come to work on buses and park in these . . . day and night and support families here . . . stuff that really doesn't touch the rest of the university. In

fact, the unions do very little for the university. There is AFSCME. They would deny it up and down but I've watched them. AFSCME is there fighting for the county employees, and the stuff that's being done at those levels, and really not carrying much of a battle with the legislature on any funding for the university. They'll fight like hell with the university administration over negotiations and contract stuff but you don't see them fighting for the university budget, which affects their people. Then you have the cuts. The interesting thing that's happened is that—with some exceptions . . . a couple of Nils' speeches—there's no sense of pain at the university from people having lost their job. I mean, you don't see 150 people like you would farmers standing on the capitol steps and saying, "I lost my job because you cut the budget." They don't even talk about those numbers over there.

CAC: Did you give advice like this to Richard Sauer and how did you come to be a consultant for him?

DJL: I knew Dick Sauer. This is an unwritten story about the university. I've not written it down but I will tell you. The Minnesota Agri-Growth Council was created in 1968.

CAC: Agri-Growth?

DJL: Yes, A-G-R-I hyphen G-R-O-W-T-H. Agri-Growth.

CAC: Okay.

DJL: The former commissioner of agriculture for the state of Minnesota, a one time DFL candidate for congressman in the Second District, Rush Schwandt . . . he had been a commissioner of agriculture. It was his great glory to have been a commissioner of agriculture for both a Republican and a DFL governor, [Harold E.] LeVander and Rolvaag. When he left the Department of Agriculture, he created an organization, the Agri-Growth Council, that would be provide kind of an umbrella of spokespeople, a spokesman organization for agriculture . . . agri-business, what have you. The farmer groups had theirs. The commodity groups were starting to come. So, he created that and it championed for the university's Institute of Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics. I've seen their resolutions and they're almost boiler plate at their annual meeting. They go right down the line. It started with Woodie Berg and went on to Bill Hueg.

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: They had great relations. I was at a meeting recently and Gene Allen was resigning from the board because he got one of the provost positions and his interests were going to . . . while they're waiting for the dean, or what have you. Dick Sauer, when he got in that position, came on the board of the Agri-Growth, and I got to know him there, and really liked him. In fact, we shared an interest in country music.

CAC: You were consulting for them?

DJL: I was consulting. They've been one of my oldest clients.

CAC: I see.

DJL: There's a funny story . . . About a year ago, during the campaign, the *Star Tribune* a [unclear] editor, opinion editor, Eric Ringham, wanted to do four major issues including rural and agriculture; so, he called C. Ford Runge. Runge was going to Brussels. He told Eric, as Eric related to me, "Why don't you call DJ?"

CAC: Was this Eric Black?

DJL: No, Eric Ringham. He's the op- opinion editor.

CAC: Yes, I'm sorry. Yes, yes, yes.

DJL: He said, "What the hell does DJ know about agriculture?" He said, "Well, I don't know but he writes more about it and is in rural Minnesota than anybody I know."

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: So, he calls me to tell me this story and I said, "Okay, I'll write you a piece." It was about rural people around being forgotten by candidates. Now, with television, they'll fly maybe to one or two television cities but basically those are all fly . . . even for state politics. So, I've written weekly columns for the newspapers in the state for them for a number of years. After, Keller started the Commitment to Focus,—you may not recall this—there was a great uproar in the rural community, partly for the birthright thing that I talked about and also for the idea that some these lesser research fields and disciplines were going to be downplayed; and they felt that meant agriculture.

CAC: Sure.

DJL: They were always taking a hit anyway. Keller at one point acknowledged the problems that he was having with the rural people, and he had a couple speeches, and he said he wanted to bridge that gap of misunderstanding. So, I call up Rush Schwandt who was down on his farm in Red Wing County and I said, "I've got an idea." For years, they had had a resolution at the Agri-Growth Council to raise the importance of the Institute of Agriculture by making the head of the institute a vice-president of the university.

CAC: Of course.

DJL: People from the Institute of Technology just fell out of their chair laughing. Everybody that Agriculture was going [unclear]. It was just kind of standard boiler plate one you did every year. I said, "You know, I've got this idea. Let me write a piece for you for the *Star Tribune*, an op-head, that says if Keller wants to . . . he's a good man and so on . . . why not extend a fig leaf to us in some way—an olive branch, I guess you'd call it—by raising the importance of agriculture? Send us a signal by making the head of the institute a vice-president of the university. Let him set at the table where decisions are made." I am telling you, that piece runs. At the next Board of Regents' meeting, Keller proposes it and the next one they vote it.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: And Sauer's in a chair. I used to say, "I love Dick Sauer but he never had any doubts where that appointment came from." We just were good friends. When he got named interim president, he had known of my work and he knew I cared about the university; so, he asked me to come in and advise Rick Heydinger of some things they could do after this terrible disaster to better touch . . . We got him out. He did a lot of speeches.

CAC: He did a lot of traveling.

DJL: And it started the healing process of getting through this whole thing.

CAC: Sure.

DJL: He took the tough hits in terms of Giel but he got out there and at the same time that the Board of Regents was going crazy because they didn't know what they were supposed to be doing. There had been such a huge upheaval. That's why they were micromanaging. There are two stories that tell an awful lot about the university. One of them was at the first meeting I went to after they hired me was over in Rick Heydinger's office. Some woman presided and we were around a round table like this and maybe eight or ten of us. We were planning these trips around the state. It was nine o'clock on a Sunday morning. When it was ten o'clock [unclear], the woman said, "Does this time work good for everybody, the same time next week?" I show up the next week and I go through another meeting. I'm doing a little pushing. Finally, at the end she said, "Well, this time seems to be pretty good." I jumped up and I said, "Jesus Christ! you can't just keep meeting! You've got to do something!" Well, I spent the rest of the day calling the people to apologize. They kept saying, "No, no, no. We need that because we're so used to just having meetings at the university."

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: The other story . . .

CAC: If any faculty listen to this, they'll know that story.

DJL: Yes. I've had faculty members call me and laugh and say, "I've got to tell you this, we were in a meeting where we made a decision today." The other one was that I went to Hy Berman to confirm when Humphrey was coming back and he had that big . . . They were having Humphrey as a professor of Political Science and suddenly the Political Science faculty . . . The guy gets up near the end of the meeting and says in this wonderful, wonderful statement, "He can't be a professor of Political Science. After all, he's been out of the field for over twenty years."

[sound of a clap]

DJL: And I said, "That is such a precious statement . . ." [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: . . . after having been vice-president of the United States under Johnson for president, and a United States senator, and the mayor of Minneapolis. Now, he's been out of the field for over twenty years.

CAC: Poor Art Naftalin had the same trouble when he came back.

DJL: Oh, yes, yes.

CAC: We don't know what to do with them.

DJL: Well, the same thing happens in the Journalism School.

CAC: Ah.

DJL: It's one of the problems . . . The university used to have good relationships through the Journalism School, and Jerry Cline, and those people around because they courted the professional community and got many good things written.

CAC: Ah, I see.

DJL: Those people over there will vote against perspective candidates for director, or what have you, simply because they've had any tie to the professional community. They've got a history of having worked in the business. They want pure researchers.

CAC: That's why it's so good to be an historian because nobody wants us on the outside.

DJL: [laughter] Yes, nobody wants an institutional memory, that's for damned sure. My work with Sauer was helpful in getting . . . He was so agreeable to things and he went out and did a lot of . . . He worked very hard at the thing and I liked the guy personally. I was glad that he

was able to get the . . . he seemed to be very happy with that position out in Washington; although, it left Walker, Minnesota, and that behind and his roots in Minnesota.

CAC: He comes back. When I interviewed him, he was coming back for a five-week vacation in Minnesota.

DJL: Oh, that's good. The four of us, he and Betty and Linda and I, went to a country music show at the State Fair once. He's a great country fan; so, we had a number of different connections. But I liked him a great deal. Since Nils has taken over, the lobbying at the capitol, as the years have passed, became more of the personal guarantees. They could believe in Nils and they came to believe in him; and so if he'd show up, the small riot that was erupting would settle down among legislators. That's why it is particularly disturbing to see the governor at such odds with him and over such petty stuff. The governor has appointed two people on this Golden Parachute thing. He had the one just go out and attack him the day that they gave him the extension.

CAC: I don't know what the reference you're making there . . .

DJL: When the Board of Regents extended Nils for . . .

CAC: For two years.

DJL: . . . two years and he announced he'd be retiring. The governor was enraged.

CAC: But he [unclear] two years?

DJL: He was mad first and he shot from the hip, as he tends to do, because he believed they were doing discussions with Chris Voelz about buying out her contract. The lawyers tend to advise; although, I must say, I think the university has not gotten particularly good advice from some of their lawyers on some of these things. He started to pop off and went public about that. Then the president waited a day or two and went out and said, "There is no such discussions." I think the governor's source had been Sid.

CAC: This is Sid Hartman?

DJL: Yes, and it just made the governor madder. Then, in light of that, when the governor was trying to say, "She shouldn't have any of these long contracts." And Keffeler was trying to force Nils into declaring one way or the other. The new chairman, with a couple of phone calls, they make a motion to extend his present contract for two years and he instantly stands up and said, "I want you to know that I plan to go into retirement at the end of that . . ." It may have looked like too pat a deal on things, perfect for Nils . . .

CAC: I see.

DJL: . . . and the governor called a number of people to have them go personally attack . . . and he's been going on ever since. It's going to be, with the budget session coming up . . .

CAC: It's hard to be effective as a lame duck.

DJL: Well, it is in that respect. It doesn't tend to matter as much over there because with the ethics laws and that that are passed, you no longer can give them tickets to the basketball games, and football, or the hockey stuff; so, it really doesn't make a hell of a lot of difference.

CAC: Do you have any sense that the move toward technology transfer, and the computer corridor, and so forth strengthened the university in any significant way? Some of these folks you must have as clients as well?

DJL: Right. The Minnesota Super Computer Center brouhaha was another example of Phyllis trying to hurt the university.

CAC: Ah.

DJL: It was an arrangement that worked very, very well for the university. There's an interesting story there that one weekend, Jim Enfante contacted the Super Computer Center and said, "If we consolidated all the campus computer operations, could we consolidate them into your building and put them under that thing?" I guess we could handle it . . . you know . . . it wasn't their idea. So, Enfante floats that idea on like a Thursday or Friday. All these three hundred and some people had a meeting in the Coffman Union and I went to it. They now think that the Super Computer Center is the biggest danger to their job and they set out to kill it. A fellow named Steve Collins—who's become a very good friend . . . he ran for the legislature—it became his life's work. He would appear at the legislature, testify on this stuff. I'd tell the Super Computer Center, "Why don't you just go private? I can tell you of four instances where the legislative auditor hates the idea of public/private. You can have public/private but they have to operate fully disclosed as public." And I said, "Part of existing in your private world of clients, is that you can't make this stuff public." So, they floated that and Phyllis and the others became enraged that they would think they could just get out of it by selling it. They couldn't get at them. About this time—it was bouncing back and forth—I get a phone call from a guy who says, "Can we have lunch?" "Yes," I said. And he said, "This is one of the these lunches that never took place. I have a client"—I figured out that it was Cray [Computer]"—what if they wanted to buy the Super Computer Center? Would it be possible?" I said, "Yes. Here's what you would have to propose to the university. Here's what their interests are." One of the things that the university had was an \$8 million a year contract for which they got about \$40 million worth of time. It was very good. Jim Enfante knew he didn't [unclear] lose it. That kept coming up when they'd meet with the board. What hasn't been known is that the university has, apparently privately, told Cray, because I talked to Cray about it, that they're going to review and maybe put that contract out for bid; and Cray thought they bought the contract but the income in the thing . . . they [unclear]; so, they're going a little crazy over there about it at this point.

The Super Computer Center, and the great possibilities, and the wonderful things was never ever understood by the legislature. It was always presented as a problem. First of all, when the original contracts came because Wendy had some ties to Control Data . . .

CAC: Yes, ah.

DJL: . . . and they became highly suspect. They never had anything done in terms of the positive nature of it and what it meant to the university.

CAC: It's a complex issue?

DJL: Well, and within that Super Computer Institute, they were fighting with each other.

CAC: Yes.

DJL: It's the territorial stuff. Legislators don't have time for that sort of thing; so, when one of their own like Phyllis gets up and says, "We think this is corrupt, and there are actually side deals, and they're paying much more than they would if they were on the open market," then, you carry that and it's having to prove yourself innocent rather than being presumed innocent. That's very, very difficult.

CAC: How about technology transfer generally in the university in the medical field, for example, Medtronic and so forth?

DJL: The university has done an extraordinarily poor job of reminding the people of this state of their role in . . . For instance, there was a time, four of five years ago, when there was a housewife in rural Kandiyohi County that had been rushed to the University of Minnesota and her life was saved by medical technology. Had she gone to the Willmar Hospital or had she been in Nebraska, that couldn't have happened. But there never was the sense transferred to the people, her friends and neighbors, and the people of Kandiyohi County—I had the discussion with the newspapers out there—of how important this university is to us as a people in western Minnesota, even though we may not go to school there, but what we get out of it. They've done a very, very poor job of taking the technology transfer, whether it's in agricultural research, pseudo rabies on hogs, whatever it happens to be, or in terms of . . .

I'll give you a perfect example. The taxpayers of the state of Minnesota paid a \$1 million for a four-year generic environment impact study done on timberlands harvesting, looking ahead fifty years. It was forced by the environmental community. It is one of the more extraordinary pieces of science. There's nothing like it. There is an awful lot of it done under the College of Natural Resources, and a lot of Minnesota Ph.D.s that did the science and the research on it, and a lot from around the country. Because they didn't find a train wreck in the forest and they came out saying, "These people seem to have managed it pretty well, as compared to Wisconsin or the Northwest that was having all the problems," the environmental community really didn't like it.

And the university . . . I had lunch with these guys and the new dean the other day and I said, "(a) you got no credit and (b) you kept your mouth shut rather than standing up championing it." So, it was left to the industry and the industry came to me before it was completed and I said, "Let me tell you, the presumption is going to be that the industry on anything environmental is going to be against it. You've got to go out and applaud that a lot." They said, "Jesus! we don't even know what it said." I said, "Whatever it says, that's how you buy a place at the table to make what changes you've got." We were so effective at it—this isn't blowing my own horn but you get the client to go along with—that when they held the public hearings, I remember in Bemidji a guy stood up and said to the hearing officer, "You don't understand, if they're for it, it's got to be bad." [laughter] But at no time did the university's role in this—a third, 17 million acres, in this state are in forest land—life of the forest is known by one-half dozen people. People who live and whose jobs . . . Wood products in this state, according to the Department of Trade and Economic Development has become number one.

CAC: Is something systemic going on here or is this just kind of fuzzy minded folks in Morrill Hall that don't know how to handle their own PR [Public Relations]?

DJL: No, it's the same kind of thing that Minnesota went through in the first sixty years of this century when it came to tourism and hospitality. They had this natural beauty of 10,000 lakes, and forest land, and fishing, and walleyes falling in and jumping out of the boat and into the boat, that they never . . . We don't have to put any money into promoting that. Look at that, the mom and pop resorts are all full. But then South Dakota backed up the dam down there and created a lake, and they started promoting, and other ones starting promoting. Minnesota still sat back, well, people know our reputation. We have deer and we have pheasants—people can remember when we had pheasants and waterfowl.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: They let many, many other states get ahead of them. The university, in some of these things, is much the same. Our reputation . . . when you're in the world of academia, and you go to conferences, and the people you interact with are other Regents professors and people with distinguished papers . . . I live next door to Paul Meehl, one of the most fully recognized in his field, but I've got to tell you the guy on the other side of me doesn't know who the hell he is and certainly nobody in the active life of Minnesota understands. They tend to be insular [unclear].

CAC: Well you know, people [unclear] taconite and how old is that? We're still [unclear] taconite.

DJL: I knew Doctor [E.W.] Davis. Again, it goes back to my love for the history. His son-in-law came and worked for me. I said, "I'll give you a job—I was running a [radio] station in Duluth—and I want to meet your father-in-law and have an afternoon visit with him." He told me he always blamed himself for the delay of the development of taconite. He told me this

marvelous story about how the guys came from Cleveland. He knew the companies [unclear] but he said he was so concerned . . . they had these lovely suits on, coats, and wraps. All they left with was how dirty it was.

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: He said, "Next time they came to visit two years later without all that stuff, that's when they bought process." I get my history . . . it's kind of hands-on kind of stuff. Nobody associates the mine stuff anymore with the taconite.

CAC: Well, but you see presumably—again, I come back to this—inside the university, Dave Lilly was influential, among others, in starting this outreach to the business community at least.

DJL: Right. And it works in one area, tech. There's one outside, besides the agriculture . . . The most prominent supporters, active supporters at the legislature on behalf of the University of Minnesota is the High-Tech Council.

CAC: So, there really is a pay-off in that?

DJL: There is in that respect. I say outside of agriculture, the turkey producers and all those.

CAC: It used to be the Medical School did?

DJL: That's right. The Medical School, you know, has got problems . . .

CAC: Troubles.

DJL: . . . that we don't have enough tape in the whole university to start worrying about that. The fact of the matter is that the High-Tech Council has played that role. My newsletter partner, Wy[man] Spano, who has now got his Ph.D. from this institution and has finished his class work on all that, has the High-Tech Council as a client. The university's interests are the High-Tech Council's interest when it comes especially on the technology stuff. He lobbies university issues and advises university lobbyists, like Virginia Gray when she was over there, based on his client's interest in the university, promoting their program. So, that's about the extent of what's available.

CAC: But other segments of the business community don't have that same investment in the health of the university?

DJL: No. There's an old story told that—I can't remember if it was George Pillsbury who told me—one of the CEOs back thirty, forty years ago at Pillsbury . . . Somebody kept pushing about, we shouldn't be located in Minnesota . . .

CAC: You mean Minneapolis?

DJL: In Minnesota.

CAC: Oh, oh, Pillsbury, I'm sorry. All right.

DJL: We shouldn't be located in Minnesota, headquarters. So, finally, he assigned this young vice-president to do a study of the thing. The guy really got into it and every page was a new, proven reason why they shouldn't be in Minnesota. He submitted the report to the CEO and a week went by, then a month, and a couple months and there was some social event that they ran into each other. He said, "I submitted that report and I never heard anymore about the move." He said, "Yes, it was a wonderful report but you left out one consideration." He said, "What was that?" He said, "I like it here." [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: Basically, all the people that are running the big companies now, that started to come in, are not people from Minnesota anymore.

CAC: Sure, they're mercenaries?

DJL: That's right. On the other hand, you have a guy like the new head of Dayton Hudson who is a graduate of the Journalism School and tries his damndest to keep it quiet.

CAC: Here?

DJL: Yes!

CAC: Oh, I didn't know that.

DJL: Oh! in fact . . .

CAC: Wait a minute . . . what's going on?

DJL: I don't know. Maybe, he thinks it's not pure enough to have come out of the "J" School, advertising, promotion, or something like and is afraid that it will hurt him on Wall Street. I think he's got an MBA from one of those places, too, but he won't talk to the press. He's got a very anti-journalist approach. He's, as a result, getting kind of crucified. But I do not hear the kinds of things that I heard when I first started doing Business Partnership—I don't have them as a client anymore—who would echo some concern, or interest, in what the university was doing.

CAC: See, it was a long, long time we could depend upon John Cowles, Senior, for example.

DJL: Yes, that's right. And John Cowles, Junior, in fact, cared about the university.

CAC: Well, but he was not as effective within the corporation?

DJL: No.

CAC: There's no one in the press, or the radio, or the TV with that kind of general community commitment that John Cowles, Senior had?

DJL: Oh, yes, you don't do that anymore. I'll tell you a story that tells you how things have changed. I get hired by the Industry Square Development Corporation which was the group that put together the domed stadium and John Cowles was a partner in that.

CAC: That was Junior?

DJL: Junior. I would sit on the thing. One day, John Junior calls me. He is sitting on the fourth floor of the *Star Tribune* in his office as president and [unclear]. He said, "DJ, do you think you could get our paper to do an editorial on . . . ?" [laughter]

CAC: Ohhh.

DJL: Unless you understood the change in times, you can't have an appreciation but I swear to God, that is a true story and it says exactly what is happening.

CAC: Boy!

DJL: You know, I've worked for some fairly big business people in this town . . . Carl Pohlard and . . . He said, "I'm going to go have lunch tomorrow at the Minneapolis Club with Roger Parkins." I said, "Jesus! don't ask him for anything! because the guys that are running it are the guys down in the newsroom and they'll kill you if they think you went around them. They're going to show you what little influence you have."

CAC: Ahhh.

DJL: A modern newspaper and modern communications, with the exception a little bit of Stan Hubbard who is still able to call down to the newsroom and say, "Jesus, we got a big thing out on the lake on the St. Croix where they're raising the wake by going by and you guys ought to be able to do a story on the thing" . . .

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: He can still get those kinds of things done. In most instances, you can't get . . .

CAC: How many free-lancers like yourself are there out there doing this kind of general liaison, brokering work?

DJL: Actually, one of the past editors of the *Minneapolis Star* once said to me, "You know in Washington, there's one of you on every corner but you're about the only one I know."

CAC: Ah.

DJL: I said, "That's true." In 1979, I was approached by two separate people, companies, two different times. One would buy me out, which surprised me. First of all, I didn't know I had anything to sell.

CAC: All you had to sell was yourself.

DJL: That's right. There are public relations firms and some advertisers who were trying to do instant public affairs departments. There are now a lot of the bigger PR firms—basically, what I have is public affairs/public relations firm—who have created public affairs departments. Invariably, I bet I have three, four existing contracts with those firms to work with them on projects because I bring a little something different to the table that they don't.

CAC: Sure.

DJL: Plus, I'm the only one that will work so hard that I'll get in the car and drive to the White Earth Reservation.

CAC: Because you have a good time?

DJL: Well, that's it! I love it out there. It's hell if I don't get out there.

CAC: But there is no firm doing this for the university?

DJL: No, no.

CAC: And there never was?

DJL: Well, they've had a couple of them. They've had Mona Meyer McGrath & Gavin whom I work with on occasion.

CAC: In one case, Keller had them changing the logo. How much money did they spend on that?

DJL: Oh, but see, that was a design thing. That was just crazy.

CAC: Oh, that was terrible.

DJL: That was a disaster. They work at the margins. My theory has always been that all of these legislators are from someplace else; and so, when I'm called by the stadium commission to do some work on the thing—there were two of us, Don Himle and I worked on the thing [unclear]—I advised them on the outstate stuff. I said, "You can go down to the *Star Tribune* and we can get an editorial but it isn't going to affect legislators the way it will if I get the *Rochester Post Bulletin* to write one."

CAC: I think this is why Elmer Andersen went into outstate newspapers.

DJL: That's right. In fact, I discussed it with somebody yesterday and I said, "We've got to go out and get Elmer a briefing. Hughes Aircraft people flew in and I talked to them. They're interested in traffic management devices and the state is taking bids on toll road and congestion pricing things. I said, "One of the really important people you've got to go talk to is Elmer and explain the concepts and that to him." Because they just opened the one last Friday to Dulles [Airport]. They're opening them in California and as long as regular folks aren't required to use that road . . . they've got an alternative right next to it. It's interesting in California, the toll portion runs right down the middle between the two free lines.

CAC: I didn't know that.

DJL: The one in Dulles is the same way. They've got the backup on the other one that you pay a dollar and one-half to get this fast road to the airport. I suspect that if people want to get to the airport fast, that they're going to do [unclear] International [Airport]. There are things like that. There are people that do this but don't do it quite the same way I do. They'll send out press releases and do that kind of thing. I will get in the car, and I will actually go around, or I will charter planes. I got called by Phillip Morris, and I went out and met with them, and I said, "I'll tell you, I'll work with you on one of these areas and that is to stop underage smoking. You say you have an interest in it, that's what I'll work on." They hired me. I chartered planes for three days in the beginning of August, and took all three retail associations around, and announced that they would start a program of clerk training all over the state, unilaterally. That's in a bill that's pending before the legislature. I was just doing my calendar this morning, and we will start the training sessions, and I'll invite the press in to that. Then, before the legislative session, I will take them around and we'll do editorial briefings on what we've been able to do on the thing. Because the *give* point were the small retailers in small towns and then in Preston, Minnesota, they passed an ordinance prohibiting tobacco advertising. Jim Larkin's going to argue that. It's going to be a big court case that goes all the way whether or not [unclear].

CAC: Now, with the university, if Gus Donhowe had lived, would he have been the kind of person to make effective this outreach?

DJL: Yes, he would be. Gus played the inside game. He did it at the capitol.

CAC: I see.

DJL: Any of us who were lucky enough to have known him . . . he did it at the capitol, people he'd come and talk with, newsies, but the general public wouldn't know him from a bale of hay. It's the same way with the university. Insiders at the university would know about him and recognize the bow tie but he didn't touch the students or the population at large about university issues. He wasn't a spokesperson as such. He would sit down and do background for some of the reporters. A lot of it has to do on the reporters . . . St. Paul has got Nancy Livingston who is a former educator and is just kicking their ass in Minneapolis on their coverage of the university. Greg[or] Pinney was at the capitol for awhile. He did K-12 education but Greg's known around the newspaper as kind of Mr. Slow Motion. He's a nice guy and that but it takes forever for him to get a story together.

CAC: How long has Nancy Livingston . . . ?

DJL: She's been covering the university now for about a year and one-half. She taught college over at Eau Claire. Story after story, she's just . . . and generally good perspective stories.

CAC: But not of the same use you have been for going back into the 1980s, 1970s, 1960s?

DJL: No, she's writing about the current stuff. It was only recently, the last ten, fifteen years . . . certainly the last ten years, that the newspapers decided the university was a beat and it was only scandal that caused it.

CAC: Joe Rigert.

DJL: An interesting thing . . . Joe Rigert's editor told me that all of their stuff, especially on money versus mission, they never got any tips on it. It was all original reporting, questioning, except for one thing. They got a call after they ran the story on Dr. David [] . . . the guy with the healing stuff, that he owned a company. They got a call that says, "What you really ought to be looking at is ALG [Antilymphocyte Globulin]. That's where they've hidden it all." That was the only tip they ever got in the whole series. In fact, I told Rigert one time—Dr. David whatever his name was and his lawyer called me, and wanted to meet with me, and wanted to hire me—I had breakfast with him and I said, "One thing you missed is that he had been a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune*." Joe said, "What?" I said, "Yes." I said, "He's nuttier than a fruitcake. He thought you were following him all the time. I've got enough fruitcake clients. I don't need to be holding this guy's hand and him, every ten minutes, protesting his innocence." He was, legally, probably innocent but he and his accountants had crafted this system. They had no sense that there was a certain sense of impropriety about what they were doing?

Is there anything we haven't covered?

CAC: Well, that's a question I should ask you.

DJL: I can't think of anything. My notes . . . I kind of checked on a couple of things, the anecdotes I wanted to tell you—about the Falls—that are really so very important about how people look at this.

CAC: It won't surprise you that you've opened up things that many other informants have not.

DJL: Yes, I suspect that but I . . .

CAC: It's good. It's just extraordinary.

DJL: It's being there, and watching, and caring about the university; so, I ask a lot more questions these last ten, fifteen years.

CAC: You've got a range of experience and contacts that most of my informants do not.

DJL: Well, it's also part of the passion of caring about wanting to see why isn't this happening and why . . . ? It's always that I'm' more interested in what I can't see than what seems to be happening out in front. It's like when Norman [Sherman] and I used to talk about when Dale Gustafson suddenly showed up with his hand missing and said that he'd lost it in the propeller of a motor boat. I said, "I was always surprised at how many people bought that and disregarded the message that the Mafia had sent him." [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

DJL: Just incredible. Thank you my friend for . . .

CAC: The thanks is the other way as well. It's been [unclear].

DJL: After you go through this and you want to do follow-up stuff, don't hesitate to call.

[End of Tape 2, Side 1]

[End of the Interview]

Transcribed by:

Hermes Transcribing and Research Service
12617 Fairgreen Avenue, Apple Valley, MN 55124
(612) 953-0730