

David McIntosh (R/IN), Muncie, Indiana, February 13-15, 1996

Tuesday, Feb 13

- Town meeting, Alexandria
City hall, Alexandria

Wednesday, Feb 14

- Tour of Tyson Plant (taco shells, corn chips, etc.) Portland
- Lunch with Dr. Stephen Myron, Portland
- Interview - Jack Ronald, Commercial Record - Portland
- Interview - Mike Buckminster, Winchester News-Gazette,
Winchester

Thursday, Feb 15

- Tour of Brooks Foods
- Editorial Board New Castle Citizen News
- Lunch with Tom _____ in New Castle (one of two county
chairmen to back DM in primary and a candidate for state
legislature)
- Hudson Institute (dinner and talk by DM and A. Jacobs)

My emphasis on learning why?

to cut the Keynesian.

*Did it talk about
can we
achieve what
I should see!!*

DM

*"The Spirit
of '94"*

*1/11/96
for*

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David McIntosh: February 13-15, 1996

- Jim Houston, Steve Austin, Scott Bowers
- I flew to Indianapolis via Pittsburgh, rented a car and drove to Muncie--about 1:30 to Hotel Roberts in downtown. Got settled and drove to DM office, waited and joined DM, Ruthie, Jim and Steve in van to Alexandria, a town of 6,000 near Anderson.
- Town meeting in basement of town hall, metal folding chairs, 20 people, two reporters (Muncie, Anderson) I have it on tape (pretty clear, I think).
- It was interesting in that it was very political. People treated him 1/2 time as a party leader and 1/2 time as congressman. Very strong anti-Clinton, pro-Republican audience. "I'm a Rush Limbaugh fan. He's great." Pro-military, "are you going to back Corporal New? He needs backing." (guy who refused to wear UN patch) Anti-gun control, "I'm NRA, let's face it." Anti-Bill Clinton, "Any one of the Republican candidates is better than Bill Clinton." Very out-spoken in views. Only misstep I could see was DM calling attention to "unessential workers" and some laughter--followed by woman who had sister who was called "unessential" and "it was hard on the family." He filibustered on that.
- Otherwise, as Steve Austin said, "The thing he does best is answer questions." He was good and informed. He is soft spoken and patient and serious. Not a lot of laughs. (Though in assessing the Iowa caucus results, he said that party lacked an upbeat candidate).
- He had a bunch of charts; but he didn't use all of them. He had them ready in a plastic bag and brought a few out to start with. (See later description.)
- The Muncie reporter said that Phil Sharp used to get a lot of cases, but DM didn't get any tonight. Was surprised. So was Steve Austin. DM was surprised that "we didn't get a single question on Medicare. Last week, we got a lot of questions about Medicare."
- On the ride to Alexandria, he spent most of time on the phone. The van has a work table in it and I rode backwards all the time.
- Anyway, when he put the phone down, I asked him how long it had been since he'd had this much time at home. He mentioned Xmas, but said not much had been doing then, and Thanksgiving but said it was short. Finally, he and Ruthie said last comparable visit home was in August. "They gave us three

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weeks this time to make up for what we lost in January."

He had said when we first shook hands that, "I was in the grocery store yesterday and people came up and said 'hang in there, keep it up.'" *hang it up*

So I asked him whether sentiment was different from August. "There was a lot of optimism in August. We had passed the Contract and were working on the balanced budget. Now you hear some pessimism. We lost the balanced budget. Shutting down the government didn't work. But I'd say there's still an undercurrent (of optimism)."

Ruthie noted that "it's hard for the freshmen who ran against Washington to convince people that they haven't changed."

DM said that someone had written "that I'd gone native in Washington. In town meetings I get asked the same questions that I answered in the campaign just to see if I still have the same position. Maybe it's the same person who asked it before. 'How do you stand on gun control.' They keep testing me to make sure I'm the same person I was during the campaign." Idea is that consistency is very important.

*Check this kind of suspiciousness--is it new? It's a key to DM's idea of job that he not change! *or is it that they don't know him yet.*

He is very strong for the tax cut. He thinks "it is the bridge between the social conservatives and the economic conservatives." He thinks Bush's tax increase ended up driving a wedge between the two groups of conservatives. He's taking a very strong stand on that.

*It would be interesting to ask him about most difficult compromises for him. When has he compromised? Why?

The one little inside story he told was that, "when I walk into leadership meetings, people ask, 'David, what are the tax cutters thinking today?'"

He talked a little about the primary--didn't say much except that "There were four candidates. But only two of us had money."

I sat with Bob Marsh, one of his opponents--a citizen with lots of information and energy. He talked a lot, asked lots of questions--a Limbaugh fan--very conservative but very smart in a rough and ready way. Reads a lot.

For ^{Marsh} him, the highlights of the campaign--"I had no money"--were the actual signing of the papers to run. The idea that he could actually run for Congress was overwhelming. And the

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night his wife had to substitute for him and did a good job--a shy woman who "came out." "I know the issues. I thought I wouldn't be able to talk about them, but I found that I could. If you believe in something and you don't lie, it's easy. I enjoyed it."

- Ruthie says of him, "He's been a great supporter of ours."
- He says, "David's doing the best he can. I don't blame him. But the country is in a mess."
- Re Frazier race, says DM, "I was a carpetbagger and he had run five times and lost." He laughed at this. I said, "It was a battle of liabilities." He laughed and said, "yes."
- Of Frazier, "He was unsophisticated. He was not in touch with the business community. They were not happy with him."
- "I had not lived in the district. I was (born and) raised in Kendallville. But it was just like the district. I knew the carpetbagger issue would come up. But I listened to people (here he put finger to his head) and their reaction, when it came up. It didn't bother them. Kendallville might as well have been in the district. People could think of Kendallville as part of the district easier than they could think of some other parts of the district. It wasn't Richmond, it wasn't Columbus--which wanted to be in Lee Hamilton's district anyway."
- Re primary, "It was issueless--except for one issue that crept in. He had lent himself a lot of his own money and was in debt. I pledged to run a debt-free campaign. That made him angry."
- "I knew I wanted to get involved in politics sometime. When we moved to Muncie, I began asking people 'Why are the Republicans having such difficulty beating Phil Sharp?' And they would speak of this person or that as a weak candidate. Frazier had run several times and people thought he was unsophisticated. He did not appeal to the business community. Phil Sharp had lots of strengths. He had ties with the business community. As I met people, I would talk about Republican choices against Sharp. People would say to me, 'You're not thinking of running, are you? You don't have a chance.' My friend from the Quayle office, Al Hubbard, had become state chairman. He told me, 'You can't win. You haven't got a chance. But if you want to do it, go ahead. Get it out of your system.' When we finally decided to do it (and Ruthie was part of the decision) we thought that the best outcome was that we could put it together and do it. The worst outcome was that I would have gotten around, people could know me and we could build for the future. We felt we

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couldn't lose." Ruthie chimed in, "It was win, win."

- "One of Sharp's strengths was his moderate voting record. But when Clinton became President, Sharp was pressured to vote with the President. He voted for the President's budget with the tax increase. It was a very unpopular vote. We went to his town meeting two days after that vote, and we saw him face an angry crowd. Many of them were union members--his biggest supporters. The leader of the union spoke and said 'We understand you have to cast some tough votes sometimes, and we appreciate all you've done for us.' But people yelled 'we do not.' The crowd booed and hissed. They would have none of it. When I watched their reaction, I smiled and I looked at Ruthie." Then Ruthie chimed in, "I saw him smiling and I said to myself, Oh, oh, he's going to run. And that was it, right there." The decisive moment--in a Phil Sharp town meeting! A nice touch.

- He spoke of all the luck he had. ^{always} "It ^{on Friday} happened ~~today~~." He mentioned (1) The Muncie dinner--social event when "we happened to sit at a table with the Gilchrist's, the Hoover's and _____. We had a blast. We talked about my running. They encouraged me. Each of the families (women esp.) became key people in the campaign. (2) The Devore incident--they saw her as "involved in state politics and very uncomfortable with national issues--a great campaigner." (3) Sharp retiring. "When Beth Ann Schneider, the Star's leading political reporter called to tell me about it, she just giggled for two minutes before telling me, 'you'll never guess what happened. Phil Sharp has just announced he's retiring.'" Ruthie chimed in "David and I didn't see each other till the end of that day. When we finally got together, I said to him, 'God must think we can't do this by ourselves. He's giving us so much help. It must be God's will.'"

- When they moved to Muncie, "No one knew who we were."
- They put together what he calls "a grass roots coalition" and as he spoke of it, it was a one-by-one piecing together. Angie (IU student), Mr. Pence's sister as campaign manager, a woman volunteer head (from the dinner party).
- "I knew the issues--from my work for President Reagan and for Vice President Quayle. And the Federalist Society--that was the third part of the triangle. I had begun with first principles (on the phone I heard him talking about "macro-philosophical differences") and I worked out the practical policy implications from there. I knew issues, but I did not know how to communicate with people. Once I started, I found out that I liked people. And I've learned a lot about communicating with them. Communication is such a huge part of this job--not only campaigning, but in Washington. I've

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his learn
don't presentation

learned as I went along. The main thing I learned was that when you talk about policy, you put people to sleep. I learned you can keep them interested if you have an anecdote or a story. I also learned that people want to hear how you stand or what you think at the beginning. Then they may listen to you explain, but they don't want to listen to the long explanation before you get to the point. Another thing I've learned is that people may not hear what you are saying, but they will watch how you say it. What you say may be less important than how you look when you're saying it." (I said, "Body language is important" and he agreed.)

- The reporter, Brian (I have his article on the meeting) said that one change he noted was that Sharp got more cases than showed up this time. He emphasized the change in communication. "Phil Sharp would sent out a press release and we'd get it four days later. David faxes a press release to me and I get it immediately. As Scott said later, "everyone in the political loop is 'on line.'"
 - Ann Delaney (former state chair, now running for Andy Jacob's seat) wrote something about "Ruthie's job" in Washington and "everybody we meet wants to know what Ruthie's job is." She has none--works on children's problems, education. She raised money for Ball State University. Later she said that job was not as fulfilling as she wanted. Which is why she did give it up.
 - "We took some of Phil Sharp's ideas--the idea of the mobile van." He has a white van, "Congressman David McIntosh" on side in dark blue letters. Can't miss it. A nice touch 1974-1994 Watergate to Contract.
- *If you think policy and politics are separable--take a look at that town meeting. The issues are deeply partisan now. Were they ever less so--in the 1970's?
- In the van the next morning, David summed up "conservative crowd; good meeting. They were favorable to me, but upset with the Republican party nationally. 'When are you guys going to get your act together and help us to beat Bill Clinton.?'"
 - "Chris wants me to talk to "his" reporters. I want to do this job correctly. We don't have many ways to communicate with the public. Newspapers are one of the few important ways. One of the reasons I like Chris so much is that he keeps reminding me of that. He tells me that the last person he worked for didn't like the media."
 - He had a long talk with George Stouteville (?) the Indiana Star man in DC. It had a lot to do with freshmen class.

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- DM said to him re David's reminder in leadership meetings that Clinton was not going to compromise to get a deal.
- To the reporter: "I said several times that we should think of Clinton's budget position as the start of his reelection campaign and that we should deal with it appropriately. The senior guys would say, 'We hear you,' but they didn't take it seriously. They thought Clinton wanted a budget deal. They probably thought that here was some freshman who hasn't had any experience. I had served in the executive branch and I know how they see things. You know my style. I don't walk into a room and pound on the table. I just want to be a part of the discussion and see my ideas incorporated into the thinking of the group. I don't have to be the one who walks out of the room and says 'I led the discussion'--so long as my ideas are incorporated in the decision."
- ✓ ✓ - At other points in the day, but without recalling the context, he admitted that Republicans "overstated" and "over promised" what could be done. "We overstated what the freshmen could do -- with the Senate ~~able~~ to disagree with our ideas and with the President ~~able~~ to knock them down." At Hudson when asked what he learned in first year, he said he learned "the limits of what House could do by itself," without Senate and President.
- I think he sees Armev as the policy leader. "He is the one who organizes action on the floor. He is also the one who draws the line and say 'if we go any further, we'll sacrifice the revolution.'" At other points he spoke of going to Armev for this or that (see Bob Barr case).
- I tried to get him to talk about "the freshmen class" as a phenomenon that is very different from the "every-person-for-his/her-self, that is conventional wisdom. He's very strong on keeping it together.
- He began by repeating what he said when we met. "We had spent a year and a half of our lives focussing on one district. And it was a wonderful experience to find 70 other people who had had very similar experiences and who had very similar ideas about changing Washington. And we liked each other."
- "Usually when some politicians are good at getting publicity, other politicians will get jealous. There is none of that with the freshmen. I get more publicity than most. Sue Myrick gets a lot. Steve Largent does--Sonny Bono. But there is no jealousy."
- Says Newt uses the freshmen. "He'll say 'they're holding my feet to the fire' and he can slip out from under. Sometimes that's true, sometimes using the freshmen class is

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convenient."

- "Now it's getting to be a problem for some freshmen to be known as a freshman. It hurts Tom Davis to be a freshman. I've talked to him to try to get him to stay with us. The other day I told him about Tod Tiahart way out in Kansas--he was a nobody when he won, came from nowhere. It's a help to him to be known as a freshman. It might make the difference for him."
- ✓ - "The freshmen class is a real thing."
- In Winchester, the editor asked DM: "How does the public think the freshmen class is doing?" Ans: "Ruthie and I were in the Marsh Grocery the other night and a couple of people came up and said, 'Hang tough, you're doing a good job.' They want us to work for a balanced budget; but they want us to be honest about it. Go back and tell people what part of the job you have done and what you have not done. That's part of the ethics we need in politics. Follow through on your promises and develop trust. If you can't do it, who can. I see it happening in Washington. It's not just us, but its the big change we have gotten out of 1994. It's hopeful and exciting to be a part of it. I come back each weekend from our little apartment in Washington and bring a sense of that change. I hope the change is an enduring legacy of 1994--at least I hope it's enduring."
- ✓ - Point is, again, media at home see freshman class as a relevant political force--David talks about freshmen class as his reference group, his identification. It's like he's willing to live or die with them. Except that he's raised \$450,000 for his own campaign--and will raise \$1 million!
- Talking about his race and money: "Among the three freshmen, John Hostettler has the most difficult district. Then there are two races for the open seats. I'm hoping those three races will keep the Democrats busy. One of the reasons I worked hard to collect so much money was to convince the Democrats to put me low on their priority list."
- ✓ - "At first, I took my liaison job very seriously. Maybe 20 freshmen would go directly to the leadership with a problem. But the other 50² didn't want to do that. They would come to me. After three or four months, I said 'David, you can't do everything for everybody.' We started having regular meetings to talk about what we wanted to tell the leadership. About 20-30 would come each time; but I noticed that they weren't the same ones."
- "Sue and I still go to leadership meetings every week. Sometimes, we still can convey the thinking of the freshmen."

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There is also a lot I can do to help them individually. Bob Barr was very upset with the terrorism bill that came out of the Senate. He came to me about it. I said I can't help you, but I will tell Dick Armey about your reservations and you and he can sit down. I took Bob's material to Armey; he read it. He talked about it with Barr and told him he agreed with him on many of his points!

(see later disc of his use of subcommittee to help others.)

leaving
- "Mark Souder said something to me when we first got to Washington. He was right and I have internalized his thought. He said, "Who ever stands up and says 'I'm the leader,' will not be the leader. Our President can suggest, but he cannot say 'I'm the leader. Follow me.' The only possible one might be Steve Largent. He's the one we'd all like to have come to our district. But that's not his style. He's more passive." (I think it was Largent who spoke for the group in the Mark Newman case.)

*doesn't
help
destroy the
debate*
- They have stuck together--except that Zach Wamp organized some (can't recall the name) truth squad or something like that--raiders?) of about 20 people to cope with media. "Some of the freshmen came to me and asked, why wasn't I chosen to be in that group." It was divisive. I suggested that before such a group was formed, notice should be given so that anyone who wanted to could join. That helped. But if there was anything that made George Radanovich the new class president, it was that."

- With doctor at lunch, re his emerging reputation. "I think it helps when people see that their representative is doing things."

- He takes his subcommittee to districts of freshmen not on committee to help them.

- District? "It's rural with a large auto parts industry. It's about 50-50 Republican and Democrat--slightly more Republican. But the Democrats are conservative. It's a small town district. Muncie and Anderson are big small towns. Anderson is changing, becoming more of a bedroom community for Indianapolis. And Shelbyville, too, to an extent. Anderson is giving people a bonus to move in and mostly blue collar workers are moving in."

- Anderson is in most populous county--union strongest in Anderson.

- "I targeted the union rank and file in the last election. I would to to the plant gates with a union member who supported me and we would hand out pamphlets. People would come up and tease me. But they were always polite. The day after I was

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elected, I went back to two of the plants and thanked them. They were surprised. One guy came up and said 'I didn't vote for you. But if you come back here and let us talk to you like this, you're going to do alright.' I think so, too."

- Re freshmen. He said he was anxious and interested to go back to DC to see whether other freshmen had heard the same messages he's heard "hang tough, go for the tax cut." And I said "to see who held on and who backslid and he said yes-- and smiled.
- At one point he said "You can't really say it's just the freshmen class, because there are others who feel the same way we do." (He said this several times to preface a general comment about the freshmen.)
- The biggest change since 1970's was the van and all it 'conveys'--the two telephones, work desk in office, they are 'on line' with Wash office (or Muncie). Communication inside the team is nearly instant--and constant. David talks to office and gives interviews all the time we are moving along.
- He's very patient--never loses his cool or raises his voice. Speaks in a very level, even tone--almost reassuring tone--nods his head appreciatively when he is listening or when he's making a point.

Book #2

- On ride back to Muncie from the Hudson Institute dinner and talk by DM and Andy Jacobs, I asked him how he got to be the liaison to leadership from freshmen class.
- "Shortly after the election, Newt invited seven of us to come back there (i.e. Washington) and sit with party leaders to discuss what we would do in the next Congress. I think it was a courtesy more than anything else. But it was during that time that the party strategy developed to make the Contract With America the agenda of the House Republicans. At the same time, I decided I wanted to remain active within our class. The class in front of us had had a liaison with the leadership and I thought that precedent would be followed. There were two jobs I thought about: class president--who can call meetings and class liaison--who could meet every week with the leadership. I decided that the liaison job was the one I wanted. Besides, Dick Chrysler was already campaigning for class president. The day after the election, each of us got a packet from Dick telling us why he should be elected president. That put everybody off--actually it backfired. We were all tired out from the one election and weren't ready for another one. During orientation, I talked to people about the liaison job. I talked about policy and politics. I said that

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I had the experience on the other side of the government through my work with Vice President Quayle and that I was familiar with a lot of the policies we would be dealing with. On the political side, I said that it was very important for our class to be active and to stick together as a class because we could have unusual influence. I felt strongly that the freshmen class should work together, and I thought I could help in that way. At the time, the freshmen were more concerned about their committee assignments. Zach Wamp, who became sort of the political director of the class talked about the importance of our getting good committee assignments. He was concerned with the election of freshmen to the Executive Committee--which made committee assignments. Three of the members got together and campaigned as a team for the three positions--Randy Tate, J.D. Hayworth and Jerry Weller. I was not a member of the team, but they adopted me as their candidate for the liaison job. Sue Myrick became the other liaison person--almost in spite of herself. Linda Smith was campaigning very aggressively for the job and was turning people off. So Sue Myrick, whom everybody likes, was asked to take it. She and I have worked very well together. I like her a lot.

- On his committee assignments, I'm not sure at what point he decided to negotiate for the subcommittee or how the subcommittee idea was hatched.
- When it came to committee assignment, "There were several choices: Ways and Means, Commerce, or a subcommittee on Government Operations, where I could deal with the same kinds of regulatory problems I had dealt with through Vice President Quayle's competitiveness council. I decided I could have more influence as chairman of a subcommittee, where you have a staff and can set your own agenda. I typed up a four page paper describing the reasons why a subcommittee should be created and what it would do. Denny Hastert was very helpful to me at this point. He knew his way around, and he suggested I stand outside Newt's door. When he came out, I handed him the paper. He looked at it and said OK. I knew that if I chose Government Operations, I would have the subcommittee. When the assignments were announced, I got two of the worst committee assignments you could get: Education and Government Operations. No one could understand why I was being treated so badly. Denny Hastert came over and whispered in my ear and said, 'You've got your subcommittee.'"
- He and Ruthie talked a lot about how hard the adjustment was--especially for her "to find a role." "Randy Tate, whom we had gotten to know and like, wrote me a note one day and said, 'Would your wife give my wife a call. She's at home crying her eyes out.' I told him yes, but that when my wife called, she'd be at home, too, crying her eyes out."

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- Point was that Ruthie was intensively involved in campaign and all of a sudden he's got a job and is in a whirl and she's out of it. "I've had people step right in front of me to get to David." "I'm lucky because David includes me in a lot of what he does."
- She is President of Spouses Club of the class. She comes to the office often and helps out there. (That's where I met her in March. She remembered when we met in the van the first night. I did, too, and the dog.) She went to the town meeting and Hudson dinner. They hold hands a lot and have sort of a sweet relationship. But she's still shopping, I think, for something that feels comfortable. She has "a child educational project" (literacy, I think) and "a breast cancer awareness project," but I'm not clear on the details. They have an 1826 house on a busy road, with garden in front and fenced-in yard in back for "Maddy" the dog.
- They are friends with Erlichs--ate at same table at orientation. Erlich is on his bill. They are close friends with Tates.
- We talked quite a bit about the Federalist Society which he helped to found at the University of Chicago--DM and three others. He organized first student conference. "I had more organization skills than the others--which is not saying much. We forgot to invite Prof. Winter of the Yale Law School, the person most important to the career of one of the organizers."
- Ruthie told a nice story about David. "One of our first dates, David invited me to a banquet of the Federalist Society. I didn't have any idea what it was; but when I walked in and saw 500 people there, I was very impressed. When I opened up the program, there on the first page was 'Founder: David McIntosh.' He had started the organization. Typical David, he had never said a word about it to me. He must have been very proud to have watched his organization grow. Others would have made a big thing of that accomplishment. But soft spoken David McIntosh, he never toots his own horn." *well, he does, funny, but he no good at it*
- Re his soft spokenness. On the way to the Tyson plant in Portland, Steve asked him if he knew that they had just laid off 60 people at the plant a week before. He said he'd heard that, but didn't realize it was so recent. In the most quiet, slow, unaffected way, he said to Jim, "You might tell Scott that we ought to wonder about doing plant tours where they've just laid off 60 people." That was all--nothing more said. But there had to be a lot of uncertainty as he went there. It turned out OK--they have 315 employees and expect to have the 60 hired back in a month and hope to go to 600 employees in time. Not a disastrous atmosphere, therefore.

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- One thing that I can fill in later, perhaps--but he does not look like a politician and does not act like a politician. He is open. He talks often about how he "likes" certain people; and how he likes visiting with people generally. But he is not prepossessing. He's a neat, ivy leaguish, but quite self-depreciating and does not seek the limelight. In the wood paneled, gracious old boy network atmosphere of Hudson, he was at home--and in contrast with the witty, quotable, loosey-goosey attitude of Andy Jacobs, he came across as serious, young, eager to get started, not good at small talk. He smiles very easily and very quickly; but he doesn't exactly make people laugh. He's quite proper. He always speaks of DQ as Vice President Quayle. Once, I heard him (re CRS responses) say "that pissed me off," and he ended his talk at Hudson with "god bless you." A little bit goody-goody. I think he makes people feel comfortable. The woman who showed me around Tyson said, "I voted for him. He doesn't talk down to you." I think that's right. He assumes you have intelligence. And he has a lot. I thought at Brooks Foods, he was a lot like Chuck Wiggins with his knowledge and inquiries. "I like to learn how this machine works." He is generally optimistic--always sees something "that might help." Wishes Republicans had an upbeat, pro-growth candidate like RR. He is "having fun," he says. He likes it! Not jaded.
- At Brooks Foods, where they make chili sauce, ketchup, chili beans of all sorts, he talked to four or five of the executives about their problems. The subject went from the product to their regulatory problems. He knew something about the former and a lot about the latter. There were fungicide problems with tomatoes and Bravo was the fungicide FDA worried about it. David spoke of "biogenetic experiments." Beans have white mould and its not so big a problem. They know how to handle. David wants to know if they can get their tomatoes "closer to home" and they talk about soil problem that prevents that--soil is too dry (or moist?). "We are a major player in the local economy." They've cut fresh packed tomato and ketchup use in half; 90% of their product is chili beans.
- When one man starts talking about labelling on the can (which he likes, but urges that it be kept at the federal level, since state regulations would be chaotic), David says, "You wouldn't believe how much time we spent with the FDA on that when I worked with Vice President Quayle."
- When engineers complained about EPA regulations and lack of follow-up re waste water storage problems, David argued against pre-clearance procedures and in favor of post-audits, like FTC does--let private sector set the standards and then apply oversight. Engineer complains that to spend 30% of his time with compliance problems when he should be spending it making the plant more efficient. But they can't afford to

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hire another engineer.

- David tells them of the benefit-cost legislation that's in the House-passed bill--risk assessment--the bill is in the Senate--tells how he thinks this will help.
- He is relentlessly constructive--always tries to leave people with some small suggestion of how things will be better because they're working at it. Usually it involves less regulation (like Karen Thurman in this way.)
- When asked at Hudson how to build people's confidence in Congress, he has two suggestions: 1. Cut regulations that Congress imposes on people. He spreads his arms high and low, "I've got a pile that high of foolish regulations." 2. Keep the promises you make at election time--link campaigning and governing.
- After Brooks Foods, in Mt. Summit (Curtice Burns), "That was a good meeting. They are going to work with us to set up a brown bag lunch so I can talk with their workers." He tried that idea out on the Tyson guy (Tony) who said they had to keep the machinery going constantly and could only do it between shifts somehow. Not encouraging. That's an idea he has to meet people--which he (like all members) works at constantly.
- Brooks troubled by waste water discharge permit--EPA can't come around and they are working on old permit with old equipment. They have a storm water lagoon. They have "internal committee" to check their compliance.
- Church of God-- I saw lots of little churches or buildings with that sign. They support Anderson University, are non-partisan, very active in the community. "Their liturgy is like the Methodist--a little more liberal." Strong in Madison County (Anderson).
- Back to Brooks Foods when they say they spending a lot of time doing self-audits, David says that they put a provision in the law that self-audit couldn't be used against a company by EPA--and the 17 so-called ideas on environment that got big play--failed.
- To editor in New Castle: "The day after the election, I said, We can't take a vacation. Every day we lose will make it harder to get things done. It is an historic moment. During the campaign, I promised the people at New Venture Gear that I'd be back after the election. I was at their gate at 6:00 a.m. the morning after to say thank you. The President (Clinton) essentially adopted our agenda in his State of the Union address. Ronald Reagan could have delivered it. On the

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stump I say, "And he would have meant it."

- He emphasized, as he did often, what he calls "the ethics of campaigning and governing. George Bush's view was that the two were separate--that you campaigned on one platform and then governed without regard to it. That view bred enormous cynicism. The new cohort of Republicans is saying 'hold us accountable.' That puts us on the right path. I can see a changed ethic in Washington already. But it will take a much longer time."
- He talks like a person who has time and (though he has 12 year limit) he intends to be a player.
- He was asked, 'Was it like you thought it would be?' He said he and Mark ~~Sonder~~ compare notes. He speaks often of ~~Sonder~~ whom he likes and with whom he works easily. "I was used to turf battles in the executive branch, but I didn't expect it in the House--the committee turf battles." (turf battles)
- Q: "Have the freshmen been able to erode that activity that had built up?" (Again, the freshmen).
A: "Newt and his task forces have helped. And the freshmen ethic is that it is wrong. I've picked up the opposite. The freshmen talk to each other across committee lines. (He gave an example--health? 40 people involved.)"
- Q: "Is it a generational thing?"
A: "It's partly generational. Linda Smith said to me, 'David, why are you so worried about keeping the freshmen class together? Pretty soon we'll be sophmores.' DM mused. "I'll have to figure something out--maybe involve the next class."
- "When the BBC started broadcasting news of the 104th Congress to Russia, they got a message back from the Russians, 'What is a freshman?' They had a vocabulary problem!"
- [DM is (and the editor said it, not David), "The first freshman to chair a subcommittee since Richard Nixon was in Congress." "And maybe further back than that," said David. "That's as far back as we've researched.
- They ask re Newt. David calls him thoughtful. "Listen to one of his speeches. He's much more thoughtful than people think. He's also thoughtful about running the Congress. I wanted us to keep super majorities on all the committees. But he said, 'no, we may pass something in the committee, but it won't pass on the floor.' He was right. He listened to the freshmen. He knew that would help him run the body. He really does use his listen, learn, help, lead management philosophy.

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- "His ego got involved when he decided to punish one of the freshmen. I disagreed with that decision. I thought he ought to reward, not punish."
- The AP picked up DM's disagreement with Newt over Neuman Q. "Newt said, 'I'm hardly one to criticize comments that appear in the press--no hard feelings. The problem was I was looking at my schedule and I was exhausted and didn't have time to go to the districts of members who opposed me on the vote.'" DM says maybe it was the truth and maybe not, but he liked the fact that Newt gave him an answer.
- DM thinks Newt has admiration for the Presidency and that affected him adversely in his negotiation with the President. "Sitting outside the room, it was clear to me what Clinton was doing. In December, he told the leadership that he wanted a deal. And Newt lost track of the insight that Bill Clinton was a political animal and would veto our budgets. I remember saying, 'why was anyone surprised that he vetoed the bill? Of course he would veto it? I had the advantage of having seen it from the executive branch.'"
- Says he came home "almost every weekend." home: "more fun, less pressure."
- Talked about Ruthie and him and post-campaign. "We campaigned together. After the election, when we started thinking about going on two tracks (DM in DC, Ruthie at her job at Ball State) we were very unhappy about that. Ruthie quit her job; we have a little apartment in Washington. (The Bat Cave) It's much more enjoyable. For the first couple of months, she felt left out. We do as much as we can jointly. She accepted a shift as President of the Spouses group--it's a bi-partisan group. (She and ^{Mary} Sally Bono joined to make blue jeans permissible wear for wives around the Capitol. That gave her the spotlight.) They do a newsletter for spouses outside DC. Most of the spouses stayed back home. Dick Armey's wife--she's a psychologist--came to a retreat where she talked to spouses about what they were going through." ("She knew all of our problems," said Ruthie.)
- R is "mortified" to be compared with Mrs. Clinton. I guess, the point is, it happens--and there was this talk about "Ruthie's job." Child literacy and breast cancer awareness (her mother is a survivor).
- When asked what he hears most from rank and file, he says, "cut my taxes."
- His sense for freshmen class is related to his sense of history--the idea of the "historic moment." Ruthie apes his stock campaign speech. Says she could give it and does--

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"country is at a crossroads"--one path goes to bigger government, one to people's control or whatever.

- If you think your group has come at a special time, it's almost a mission to be cohesive and make changes. He cites Steve Largent's theme that WWII generation sacrificed for freshmen generation. Now its their time to sacrifice for the next generation, i.e. take the burden off children and grandchildren.
- He pinpointed the Mark Newman case as something that pulled the class together. They all saw it as a threat. "It was instantaneous and visual. You could look across the floor and people were pointing and talking. Lots of people came up to me and said, "Do you know what happened? What are you going to do about it?" Everyone in the class saw the same threat and everyone was in agreement that we could not let it go by."
- He and Ruthie talked about Enid Waldholtz. Newt asked David for suggestions as to whom he should put on the Rules Committee--a nearly unprecedented move and the committee plum for the class. David said he gave Newt "a list of seven people including Enid." And when Newt decided to pick her, David backed her. They like her and they think she is very bright. They met her husband during orientation and found him very gregarious. Now they blame him. "Jennifer Dunn said that every Republican would like to put a pistol to his head and pull the trigger." They think she is likely not to run, but that she is undecided at this point. (She didn't.)
- Talking to a reporter, he said he would have three issues in next ~~section~~ ^{speech}: regulatory relief, welfare for lobbyists and marriage penalty.
- He talked, too, about being pro-environment by finding places where regulation holds back environmental progress and promotes environmental damage. Thought it very important that Republicans have a better way of protecting the environment.
- On the farm bill, he opposes subsidies, but recognized the necessity of compromise on sugar and peanut subsidies. That is, he didn't hold out for the full loaf in that case--made progress and was satisfied. Not as adamant as on tax cuts. Here's a compromise!
- He talked about the reporters-- Brian (Munice) followed him the most and did best local reporting. Richmond paper is part of a chain. "The reporter doesn't cover me much, and when he does, the story is tailored to look good back at the headquarters. His career is oriented away from the district." The Columbus paper runs on a shoestring and they don't have a reporter that knows much about politics. Anderson I can't

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recall, except that the Anderson reporter (Jim) I met at the town meeting, was not their main reporter on the political beat.

- When he asked me whose district I was in and I said Louise Slaughter, I thought Oh, Oh! He didn't say anything at that point and I offered the reassurance that it had no effect in Rochester "a non-starter" I called it and he nodded. Later, at lunch with the doctor at the Portland Country Club, the doctor raised it (shrewdly, I thought, since David was recruiting him to head up his campaign and his fund-raising in Jay County). David's reply centered on the fact that a staff guy did it, that it was a mistake, but that "It was my responsibility and I took responsibility. He wanted to take the blame himself and insisted on it. I told him that I would not stop him, but that the consequences for him would be serious. When he saw the media treatment of it, he decided he'd better keep quiet. I took the view that we all have to learn and that I could not honestly say that if I had been in his shoes, I wouldn't have made the same mistake." That seemed to satisfy the doctor.
- He took several charts with him to the town meeting.
 1. "Balanced Budget Basics": showing how much a 2% drop in interest rates would help in home mortgage, education and car.
 2. "Impact of \$500 per child tax credit on Family Budget with Two Kids": pie-shaped showing increase in family budget with the credit. Average 2nd district family income \$26,185.
 3. "Medicare Spending Per Beneficiary": under balanced budget of Repubs, spending will increase 47%--bar graph 1995=\$4,000, 2002=\$710, not a "cut!"
 4. "A Child Born Today will pay \$187,000 in taxes just to pay for their share of interest on the debt."
- He sees three groups of Republicans re tax cut: 1. Tax cut is the central part of their campaign promise. Won't give up on it. 2. Will give up the tax cut if the budget balances. 3. Want to cut spending and pay down the debt(?).
- He sees a majority in favor of a tax cut, but not all are equally adamant about it. He thinks its the key to party success.
- Re Columbus: "The people in Columbus were more comfortable with Phil Sharp than they are with me. He developed strong ties with the business community there. Columbus will take some extra effort for me. I'm working on it--trying to get down there to meet people."

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