

*all this "learning" is
triggered by contemplation of
abandoning run - a larger, diurnal
country*

*I want a business relationship
that will be strong
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*10/5 sketched
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David McIntosh (R/IN) October 29, 1998

- I flew in from New York City, took a taxi(!) to Holiday Inn at farthest side of town (\$75.00) to Holiday Express so Scott could pick me up on his way to Muncie early in the morning. From 6:30 a.m. till 4:00 p.m., I was in the car. We picked up David in Muncie, drove to Plymouth, then to South Bend and then back to Indy.
- David spoke for three minutes in Plymouth and five minutes in South Bend and, maybe, spent 45 minutes in each place. I'll have to check the mileage. It seemed very inefficient to me. He delivered \$5,000 to Bob Beck, running for state rep. in Plymouth. And they had already given \$1,000 to the guy in South Bend--Toth, running for St. Joseph County Prosecutor. In-between the two, we ate lunch at a Burger King somewhere.
- I think they were keeping David busy! We did drop him off in Indy for a meeting and dinner with Carlos Rodriquez (his consultant) and Al Hubbard (former? State Rep. Chair).
- *warm engaging* *After the warmth of the Ackerman *fun loving, cheeky, smart* campaign, the essential sterility and coolness of the McIntosh campaign is striking. It is professional, very much so. David answers questions-politely and carefully, with just the slightest hint that he may be telling you something special--but the steam never comes out of his ears as it often does with Gary--good and bad.
- He is very nice. The staff is even nicer. Scott Bowers couldn't be more accommodating. David Buskill is a sweetheart. But when it's over, I'm not sure I know DMC at all. His thought process seems different from mine. He talks as if he's a compromiser, but he's always talking against it on specifics.
- He cannot seem to remember my name--so when he has to introduce me, *to sound more serious* I introduce myself. Gary walks into headquarters and toward me. Hello Dick and says how glad he is I've come. David comes out of his house and says, "Hello, how are you," and I thank him for letting me come. Each time I come here, I get the feeling I'm starting all over. He tells people "He wrote the book about Dan Quayle," and that's what he knows most about me. He never lets me in on his thinking (say, about impeachment) as Jim Greenwood does. He

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is cool--in the original sense. He is not exciting. So getting the two together for research purposes would seem to be a non-starter.

- D. McIntosh
- This may be just the way he is to everyone. "What a nice young man," they would say. But no belly laughs, no heartiness, no letting his hair down. He's not a hugger. No swearing! He laughs, but he is not funny. He doesn't say or do funny things. He doesn't have a love politics, but he thinks a lot about politics. He has juices, but they are invisible.
 - On the positive side, he is self-effacing, not pushy, loud or arrogant. He is not a credit claimer. He is very reserved. His ambition does not stick out all over him, but he is very ambitious. Indeed, my impression is that he's thinking more, already, about the governorship than the Congress. Or maybe that's because this very inefficient day was devoted to state-wide stuff.
 - "I know I'm blessed. I have a district that agrees with my basic philosophy. I don't have to worry about getting out of step. If they do have a problem with something I do, I can explain it to them. Otherwise, they trust me to do the right thing."
 - Do people talk about Phil Sharp? "No, and that's largely due to his own decision when he left here to teach at the Kennedy School. The one thing we took from Phil was the idea of the van that goes around to smaller communities. When I was thinking about running against him--before he dropped out--I went around asking what people liked about him. And the thing they mentioned most was the van. In our first poll, 70% thought it was a good thing. We were committed to it from the beginning. My opponent said it cost too much--which showed how out of touch he was with the constituents. For six months, the local reporter would say 'Phil did this, Phil did that, Phil did it this way.' But after six months, it stopped." Have you put your stamp on the district? "Yes."
 - "We're going to go through with impeachment--if for no other reason because we have to. Thirty percent of our party wants him impeached."
 - When I asked him what the end game would be, he said, "I don't

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know. Perhaps the President will do something." He got very hazy at this point. He hasn't thought it through. He can imagine the President resigning! He still has no idea how tough Clinton is. I think David has no killer instinct. Or, maybe, he has it, but can't recognize it.

- He does think that the Republicans need more than just perjury--(which is very legalistic) as a basis--obstruction of justice or damage to the Presidency. The two principles he adheres to in thinking about it are (1) must maintain rule of law; (2) must teach our children that bad behavior has consequences. "A moral message to our children that being unfaithful to your family is bad behavior and has consequences."
- When I asked him whether the party would be better off if the moderates didn't hold the balance of power so the rest could ignore them, he said, "that would be very short-sighted. For one thing, a lot of the money that comes into the party comes from moderate Republican districts. Also, we need the fiscal conservatives among the moderates to help us deal with the appropriators who only want to spend money. On issues involving abortion, like parental consent, we would tell Nancy Johnson, 'you can be against it, but we are the party and we are going to do it. On this issue, you'll have to be a dissident.' I think it would be short-sighted and self-defeating if we didn't try to work things out. What the leaders have to do is what Newt has suggested--go around and ask each group what its top priorities are and what it cannot go along with and see if we can't work out an agenda."
- "I had to learn to be friendly with the opposition. Later on, you may need them."
- On factions, I asked him to describe them. "It's multi-faceted. The biggest group in the party is the middle. They want responsible government, conservative fiscal policy and conservative social policy. They are willing to get the job done. They work on their committee assignments. They are not actively engaged in any ideological faction. How they see things depends on their committee--appropriators like to spend, transportation committee likes to spend in one area. Another group I've only recently been aware of is the defense hawks."

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- "Among the economic conservatives, there are the deficit hawks who want to pay down the debt and there are the tax-cutters who want to shrink the government."
- "In my group of friends, the people with whom I have candid discussions, Mark Neuman is a deficit hawk who wants to pay down debt, and Mark Souder is a social conservative who wants to use government to strengthen the social fabric. We all know each other's ideas, and we know what each one wants and we try to reach a solution, sometimes to one group's advantage, sometimes to another." He thinks Mark Neuman's idea re debt is a good one (whatever that is).
- "Then there are the good government people who are at odds with the leadership--like Mike Castle and Chris Shays who fought hard for certain reforms. They were offended by the budget bill and they joined with us. They want to be responsible."
- "I had a very interesting conversation with Nancy Johnson. She said to me, 'There is not one evangelical church in my district. Every time I associate with you, they think I'm not one of them.' That was a good conversation for me. I guess our allies will have to evangelize in districts that are not accepting." A funny conclusion.
- "The way the party leaders keep us together is by finding common ground. The marriage penalty is common ground. The deficit hawks want spending cuts, but that threatens the other parts of the coalition."
- "For next year, we should tackle social security, the marriage penalty and tax cut. The marriage penalty is essentially a tax cut." He has indeed found a "common ground" issue. But it is not a very big one. A pet of his, but not one to move voters. Mostly symbolic of family values, I think.
- "The leaders have to ask each group for their priorities, how they fit into the party agenda and what is unacceptable. That approach worked well in our initial budget. The group worst off with that budget were the social conservatives. That's when the 'they have no place to go' was used. It's a wrong idea."
- "Newt began to play one group in the party against the other."

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He would tell conservatives that the moderates will block this, and he would tell the moderates that the social conservatives must have that. He would fabricate demands. We need joint projects with the moderate group so we can learn to trust each other, and be willing to compare notes with one another. We need to improve our learning curve. Playing one faction against the other cost us a lot of pro-active energy with our agenda. For the last two years, we couldn't get into any fight with the President. The followers won't tolerate that any more. But Newt is still using it with the Senate. He says 'the Senate made me do it.' I found that out by talking to the senators. Lott does the same thing, 'the House made me do it.' Now we'll be suspicious if the leaders don't step out."

- He is very suspicious of Newt. Thinks he'll hang around. "Can't run for President because his approval rating is so low." When I mentioned Newt's colossal fund-raising prowess, David said, "During the time of the campaign, the moderates said to me, 'don't knock Newt out, we need him to raise money for us.'" (Jim G)
- *When you put Newt's money for the moderates, like Jim, together with fact that the moderates produce money for the party, the money tie between conservatives and moderates in the party is something to be noted.
- In South Bend, I heard ^{DM}Newt advising the prosecutor, "My philosophy is that you campaign by telling people what you will do, and if you win, you do it. That gives you a philosophy to guide you. Some politicians get buffeted and blown by the political winds. If you have a basic philosophy, that won't happen to you."
- He still has a rather formulaic view of the process--to my mind. And that's why it's so hard for me to get inside his thinking. He believes very strongly that his philosophy guides him and, I presume, he acts on it. And if he doesn't, he thinks he does. Of course, he does have (in his eyes) a very easy district and is, therefore, presented with very few tough choices. He may not have thought through the end game of impeachment because it is not a problem for him--as it is for Jim.
- He talked about the work of his subcommittee. Four main

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projects: (1) the moratorium on regulation, (2) welfare for lobbyists via legislation on an appropriations bill, (3) White House data base, (4) global warming and Kyoto treaty.

- He added that they had looked at individual regulations and sent "oversight letters" regarding some of them. One that he noted was the problem of peanut dust on airplanes as it affected people with allergies. Spoke to the agency involved on that. "I learned very early that there was a regulatory veto--I ran into the veto."
- As result of his work on regulation, however, they won the right for Congress to vote disapproval of regulations through the Congressional Review Act, spring of 1995.
- "I worked with Don Nickles and we added it to the debt ceiling bill. It gave Congress the right to vote up or down on new regulations. It was a substitute for the moratorium. I told Nickles that 'I'd like to have more, but if you think this is what we can get, I'll go along.'"
- "The moratorium was a good tool. We got such things as a list of the worst regulations and we framed an agenda. The CRA gave authority to all committees. The Commerce Committee never moved on regulations and no vote of disapproval was used by any committee."
- "We also established a new set of procedures that an agency had to allow to put out new regulations." (Did they comply with those new procedures?) "We took a whack at some." He mentioned "clean air regs."
- "It's an ongoing project and it hits at the core of what the subcommittee should be doing."
- "We dropped our welfare for lobbyists rider. But I learned about the powerful combination of subcommittee and Appropriations Committee on the Knollenberg rider against the Kyoto Treaty. We put it on an appropriations bill. Joe is worried about the automobile industry, as I am. I built a record in the subcommittee. Then the unions came in. I said to (Appropriations Chairman) Bob Livingston, 'You can veto it if you wish. We know you have problems. But if its ok with you, let's pull together and work it out.' He agreed with us. The order was signed into law."

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- Re Data Base, "Our victory was that we got the data base, and that allowed us to launch the Thompson Hearings. (Be careful how you report this.) They couldn't deny it because we had the data about the Lincoln bedroom and so forth. The question was whether or not the data base was illegal. We concluded it was a theft of government property to help with fund-raising. If the Lewinsky scandal hadn't been around, we might have had much more publicity than we did."
- "We didn't know how to conduct an oversight hearing. I learned how to conduct an investigation--about subpoenas, threats of contempt, how to contact the White House, how to get witnesses to Congress. I also learned to stay back and not out front, to empower the staff to be hard with the White House. (Dan) Burton made that mistake. He took it all on himself and not his investigative staff."
- "I learned to have a review, every six months, of my priorities--subcommittees, personal office, fund-raising. CATS were not in our last strategy plan. I didn't ask for that. They asked me to be the leader. I asked (Carlos) my consultant what should I do. He asked me if staff came with it. I said yes, one person. He said, 'take it for the staff.' My desire was to keep myself out of the day-to-day, but it turned out to be different. We changed from reaction to pro-active. I had to get others to do it. Then I had to learn--with Coburn on Appropriations matters, for example, even though he wasn't doing all I wanted--to follow the detail, but when he got into a problem to create a stink and back him up."
- "I have to learn as I go along. My whole career had been as a staff person who had to know everything. I had to give that up first in my personal office and then with other members, too."
- "I will have a strategy question in the fall. My question is: now after four years working hard to be a successful member of Congress, what should be my plan for the next step, Indiana or House leadership?"
- Who will sit down with you? "Ruthie--she's first. Scott, Jim Houston, Jeff (AA) Chris Jones (press), Carlos (Rodriquez) met when he managed Chris Cox's campaign and was Cox's law

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teacher, Al Hubbard. He calls that "my planning circle." If it involved the House, he would add Millard (?), she's a person in his office, I think.

- Re campaign for governor, I asked him if it would be Congress. 1700 comp. for
"I've thought a lot about that. In six districts, it will be very much the same--a lot of grassroots activity. In the other districts, it will be mostly media. Steve Goldsmith made a mistake. He tried to do it all--with media."
- When he talked about the importance of keeping his PAC money separate from his congressional campaign money, he said, "conservatives are expected to be especially scrupulous about dealing with money." As if non-conservatives were held to a lower ethical standard. I don't have the words just right. But the sentiment--a higher ethical standard for conservatives, because conservatives care more about that--was there. Interesting. It's as if he really believes his own pretensions. He does; and they are not, for him, pretensions. He is a very self-conscious conservative; and the danger is that he will fall into being a self-righteous conservative.
- He wants to have \$900,000 left after the campaign, so that if he decides to run for governor, he'll be in front of all the other candidates.
- In the business of getting Indiana House and Senate to agree on an agenda--property tax, education--the Senate pro ten Bob Gartner, "gives me the credit for bringing them together." In the end says David, Senate agreed to go along because "they were afraid not to." He laughed at that.
- At lunch, he said re campaigning, "I like to learn new techniques, take some that began in California and bring them to Indiana." His example was absentee ballots.
- "I've learned that political capital increases when you use it. If you don't use it, it dwindles away."
- In Plymouth, we had a small (15) meeting in a park in a drizzle, where David gave Bob Beck \$5,000. We waited for the local reporter to come. She did. When asked if she had questions, she said, "No, if I ask a question, I'll say something stupid." Then David and I went to the paper The Pilot. The editor did not want to speak with him because they

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were busy putting out the paper! We went to the Tri-County radio station across the street. The reporter there said, "We just finished taping Mr. X and we went over time." David explains what he's doing around the state. "Would you like to ask me some questions?" "No." "Maybe some other time," he says and we left. So much for his media attractiveness in Plymouth! In his talk, he noted that he lived in Burbon nearby and Plymouth was "the big town." And, I'd say, quite content with itself.

- Scott tells me that the PAC raised \$300,000 and gave away \$175,000 to candidates. They have a top tier of about 7 races they are targeting. Three of those they are really running the campaign. Then they have a "second tier" they are giving some money to. The top three are one in Indy, and two in the southern part of the state.
- Re the final budget bill, "It was not a good bill for the taxpayers, and I came out against it."
- Re data base, "a \$1-1/2 million computer that kept track of the President's meetings and used to locate people for fund-raising purposes."
- Told a reporter over the phone that his major "home" accomplishment had been "the second job fair, the coalescing of the community, the chamber, the unions, Ball State came together to help people"--produced "several hundred jobs, some high paying." He had a hard time identifying the latter.
- In DC, he marked as his accomplishments the marriage penalty and the passage of the bill (rider) prohibiting the implementation of the Kyoto Treaty until the Senate ratifies it. Says he held six hearings on the Treaty, would cost 100,000 jobs in Indiana. "Labor and business came to tell us it was flawed because so many countries were left out of it. Knollenberg was warned about auto industry and we passed the bill."
- "If you have term limits, you focus more on doing things for your constituents. If you don't have term limits, you postpone what you want to do in order to become a committee chairman."
- Reporter tries to get him to talk about future. "I'm very

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happy doing what I'm doing in Washington."

- "My agenda is a working class, middle class agenda. At the factory gate in Anderson, people came up and said, 'I'm voting for you.' We have a broad spectrum of support."
- Kyoto Treaty would "double the cost of energy and send the steel industry overseas. It would cost 800 jobs at Borg Warner, making sports utility vehicles."
- "Our legislation will drive a stake into the heart of the Kyoto Treaty."
- "We've learned the President has the veto and can block things. Newt Gingrich is 100 times better than Tom Foley. If he were still there, we'd have more spending bills. Young people with fire in their bellies will step up to the plate and take responsibility--Steve Largent, Mark Neuman. Our class has a special responsibility to do what we said we would do and complete the Contract With America." He's still hooked on 1994. I think it's a problem. It holds him back from actually going ahead with the "common good" stuff he talks about. And it keeps him from devising an agenda that competes with Clinton's agenda in the world beyond Washington.
- Toughest vote--he really couldn't think of any, but he said, "I guess fast track was the toughest... people know I favor fast track, but I don't talk about it."
- He has no organized pro-environment or pro-choice activity in his district. "The League of Conservation Voters gave me a failing grade that appeared on the front page of the (Muncie) paper. After that, the whole thing disappeared." Is there an environmental movement of any kind in your district? "No."
- Is there an organized pro-choice group anywhere in your district? "No." One of his campaign co-chairs is pro-choice. And another fund-raiser is pro-choice and argues about it with him all the time. "If they had a pro-choice Republican candidate, they would not support me." Pro-choice is only an individual phenomenon, not a group one.
- The point is that David has no such activism as Jim Greenwood has to threaten him with a primary or to threaten him, period. It's an easy district that allows him to contemplate the

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governor's race in leisurely fashion.

- "It's the failing we've always had. We don't have any strategy for how we look outside of Washington. No one speaks for us. Boeher produces a report for us, but how can you listen to such stuff."

*at the
- camp*

"Armey is now a clone of Gingrich. He's surrendered his individuality."

- If Hamilton's district goes Republican, it's a good sign. If Carson's district goes Republican, that's a sign of a big Republican win. Those are the Indiana keys, he thinks.
- It's almost as if David has had to learn the politics of negotiation. That doesn't come naturally to him. He's stiff when he talks about it. Formal almost.
- He agreed with my idea that the only goal of the Republicans should be capturing the Presidency in 2000. He responded that the problem would be finally an issue. I said tax cuts was the only hope. He agreed that President would always win on social security. I suggested making him veto tax cuts over and over until public recognized Republicans as tax cut party. He agreed, but wondered about the feasibility of that. He knows the President has them over a barrel! And he doesn't know what to do about it.
- Something else he said he learned--and my trip was filled with "learning." When the county got highway money and the city (Muncie) didn't the Mayor took some heat. He blamed it on David; David said it was the Mayor's fault. Then David stopped. "I could see that it was not helpful for use to bash back at the Mayor, so I stopped. I called Lawlor and said, let's move on and work together. I learned something from that."
- A key word for Dmc is "pro-active." He sees himself that way and wants the party to be that way.

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