

Holt - JTPA  
DAN QUAYLE

December 14, 1981

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I asked him what things gave him most satisfaction in first year. He talked about several things he had been active in doing--all issue areas. "I got the most satisfaction out of getting involved in the issues, taking some initiatives, doing the work and getting things accomplished. There was the Youth Training Bill--one of the things the administration has been taking credit for. That's a laugh. Secretary Donovan fought us every inch of the way on it. Then there was the UNESCO thing that we got tacked onto the \_\_\_\_\_ bill(?) And AWACS, getting the freshmen together to help with that. That took more time than anything else I did this year. Then there was the MX <sup>basing</sup> mode amendment and last week extradition of the Jordanians to Israel. And in Indiana we worked on the rail thing (and he listed four or five things). There were several things we got done there. So it was no one thing. It was a lot of things. I can't say one thing gave me the most satisfaction. But maybe you should judge by the amount of time I spent. And I spent the most time on AWACS."

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Later, on way back from his TV interview on the Polish situation, after he had talked about the Israeli extradition, saying that Rich had told him he (Rich) had had the most fun on that case, I asked him if he had had more fun on any one of his issues. "I had fun on all of them. There was no one highlight. The highlight was getting involved and accomplishing a whole lot of things."

cycle

Did you have a sense that you were in the first year of a 6 year term. "Yes. I feel that this is my first year, that next year is an election year, that the third year is the mid point, that the fourth year is the last chance I'll have to make a record and that the last two years I'll be a

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candidate again. Everything I do in those last two years will be posturing for the election. But right now I don't have to do that. You have to go back and understand the situation I was in in the House. My first year I spent getting my family moved to Washington. The second year I ran for reelection. Then as soon as I was elected I started running for the Senate. I talked with Bowen in December. So this year is the first year I've been able to consider issues without worrying about their overt political consequences. It's the first year we had time to reflect. It's the first year I've been able to concentrate on Washington. That's what I've done. Maybe you can tend to back home at the same time--if you work 24 hours a day and don't care about your family. Some guys have tried, but not very successfully, as far as their family goes. There's absolutely no way you can be back home all the time and still take care of your family. I've chosen to take care of my family and to be in Washington this year."

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What kind of Senator do you want to be known as? "I want to be known as an effective Senator. But it isn't clear yet just what issues I'll be working on. A lot will depend on my committees, and whether I keep the same committees. After the election there will be changes in the committees. And I think we'll know better after that what I'll be doing and what themes I'll be developing. Next year I'll probably be active on the Budget committee. And on Armed Service--I just began to get active on the MX Basing Mode amendment at the end of the session. Labor and Human Resources has been a pretty quiet committee. But I'll be the leader on youth training again. If I stay on the Armed Services Committee I'll probably spend more time on defense. That's an area that's going to get more attention from everybody. But it's hard to tell whether I'll be known as someone who initiates legislation

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or as one who takes issues that come to him and moves them through the Senate... My advisers back home ask me the same question. What kind of a Senator do you want to be? When people hear the name Dan Quayle (snaps fingers) what will they immediately think of. It's a good question. But it's too early to tell. I haven't developed any themes yet. If they are still asking me that question after four years, then I'm in big trouble."

He talked at length about the MX amendment (the one Cohen got credit for in the papers). "Baker invites some freshmen/the leadership meetings pretty regularly. At one of them, they brought up a Democratic initiative on the MX basing mode, and they were going to let it go by and try to defeat it. I said 'I'm going to vote for it and gave them the reasons why. Then Bill Cohen said he agreed with me. When they saw two members of the Armed Services Committee were for it, they decided they had better work something out. They did and it passed 90-4. I think my objection turned the situation around.

Campaign skill and electoral skill. "Some of the skills are the same. When you are campaigning you are trying to reach the middle class, the person on the assembly line, the blue collar worker--in Indiana anyway. And you are also trying to reach the people who support you to raise money. You need to communicate skills to make sure you reach the people you want to reach. It's the same here. When you want to reach certain people with an argument. You have to know what they are like. If it's Bob Packwood, you have to know about his Commerce Committee or his attachment to Israel or whatever. So the communication skill is the same. On the other hand, it's a lot deeper here. On the campaign trail it's getting through a 30 second TV interview and Here you have to zero in much more on particular individuals. Here you can't do the job without a staff. A poor staff can get

you in a lot of trouble here. Of course, your staff can get you in big trouble on the campaign trail too. And you rely on staff there!" He began to run down on the answer, and so I asked him about the campaign staff and the office staff.

"Most members of campaign staffs couldn't stand being on the office staff. They are just not compatible jobs. Campaign staffs live on the hype, the excitement, the emotion. Here, there is only detail, information, substance. In the office you work under close supervision. You have to fit into a group that works in close quarters. Take Mark Miles (campaign manager). He didn't belong in an office. He helped out on his own somewhere doing his own thing. The campaign people are strung out, worrying about how to get through the next press conference. Their goal is to get 10 seconds on the nightly news. It is a style not at all conducive to office work, to researching the issues, rehearsing the arguments. It's the same with the Presidency, Carter's trouble was that he had all those campaigners around. Reagan has some--Richard Allen is a campaigner. Look at the trouble he has caused. They are two very different styles for the most part. Some can do both; but not many."

Do you feel comfortable in the Senate? "I feel comfortable and I enjoy it. I'm where I want to be and where I belong. The thing that inspires me is when I can take an issue, make certain it is consistent with my philosophy, massage it, articulate it and go to the committee or to the floor and see it through. I like the excitement of the battle--the debate on the floor, the lobbying in committee."

I asked him if he was equally excited by the floor and committee. "Tomorrow the debate on agent identity will be fun. There was one more limit, so it won't be as good as it could be. I like that. But I know you can't

accomplish a great deal on the floor. The committee is where the lobbying and the efforts to win votes goes on. That's the excitement of it."

He's a bit like a guy who is just finding the legislative process and doesn't have a developed legislative style yet. That fits with Rich's description of him as a guy who played a lot of golf. He's had a taste of a number of issues and likes it. He's in no sense a statesman yet. But he could develop into a party leader someday perhaps. I'm not sure how intelligent he is. But he's enthusiastic. "The optimistic kid." At the end of the interview, he said he was going to take the family to Arizona for 10 days "to play a little golf, ride horseback and read."

I asked him, after he painted his staff as non political, where he got his political advice. "I get it from the same people back home. Last week I was back and had dinner with (he named 4 or 5 people who had always been advisers) and breakfast with (2 more). I talk to them about once every 6 weeks. They tell me how things look and what needs to be done."

What are they telling you now, I asked. "It's a quiet time for me. They are mostly worried about the governor. They aren't worried about Lugar--unless the economy drops through the bottom and some article Democrat who can--and I doubt it--raise a lot of money."

I aksed him about his 3 committees and how they are run. "Tower is a very effective committee chairman. He knows more about defense than anyone else on the committee. He knows how to delegate, but when he decides, he expects it to stand. I think he longs for the days of Richard Russell when the Chairman could run the committee with an iron hand. Orrin Hatch is just the opposite. He is completely disorganized. There are a whole lot of issues before the committee that he really doesn't want to handle. He wishes they would go away. And the committee is completely split on party

lines His staff reflects all this--they are totally unpredictable.

Domenici runs a pretty good committee. But my staff tells me they have trouble with his staff. They say his staff is only interested in publicity."

We walked over to the Press Gallery where he gave a low key, don't rock the boat, put an optimistic face, on the Polish situation--all based on a very "factual" kind of briefing senators get on the situation.

I asked him if he could control what he did and do what he was interested in and he said yes. I don't remember much else except: "You can control your time much better than you can at home. There, you have things you are obligated to do and can't get out of them."

I asked about small town and pressure to conform. "In the 1960s, when the Senate didn't have these humungus staffs and these tons of lobbyists, I suppose there was more interest in what went on between senators--dignity, decorum, that sort of thing. I don't think it's as true now. You have a lot of senators who are just water boys for the interests of their states. They aren't interested in conforming. In orientation it was said you could be one of two types of senators, the issue oriented and the problem solver, who handled state cases. I was insulted that they made the distinction" This was garbled--as is my transmission of it. I did not get a clear sense of what he meant except that the idea of the small town has been violated by staffs and lobbyists.

I asked about media relations. "They are pretty good. That's because I've always been pretty open with them. Some Senators aren't. They say, 'We've issued a press release on that, they don't need to talk to the Senator.' But I'll answer any of their questions."

He told Rich that "You go over and get the interviews set up and call me. I hate to go up in the press gallery without anything to do and have the reporters gang up on me. I won't go there unless I have a specific reason.

Once I went to talk about some local issues, I don't know what; and all the reporters jumped on me to ask abortion questions for 20 minutes. Once you're up there, you are fair game. You could shut them off, but I won't. So I don't go there."

He talked about the extradition case. He had stand up request to talk to Israeli Ambassador and after one hour talk, the Ambassador mentioned the case to Can. "I said to Rich, find out what the other side of the question is. We found out there was no other side. It was just part of the tilt to the Arabs over there. I called the Israeli Ambassador back and asked if I should go ahead with it. He said 'By all means.' We started on Monday and on Friday we heard he was on his way to Israel."

Rich said he got instant gratification out of that one. Clark did it. And Rich said "There's no doubt in the world that our intervention turned the case around. They were going to do nothing. The guy would have gone through. It was a perfect example of one Senator's ability to kick up a fuss and get results."