

DAN QUAYLE

September 25-27, 1980

Rich Galen, Steve Nix, Ralph VanNatta, Patty Cray, Mark Miles - (Campaign manager), Ray Moore

Memo from Patty Cray to DQ. "I have told Mr. Fenno that he is welcome to travel with us on Thursday and that a decision about his travelling Friday will be made by you on Thursday evening. The only drawback that I can see to his continuing on the trail may be his inability to keep up with the pace. However, it also may be advisable to not let him travel Friday due to the two CCC (Conference of Concerned Christians) events. He seems personable on the telephone. He will be coming from Birmingham where he has just finished reviewing the Senate race there.

I got in to the Airport Hilton finally (8:15); called the Quayle office to see about tomorrow schedule. I got Rich Galen, who was on the way out to meet Dan at the motel. So we agreed to have a drink. Steve Nix came with him and we had a drink. Then Ralph VanNatta came in and he and I stayed up and had a beer. That proved to be very beneficial. They found out I was "OK" and apparently told Dan. (p. 61). Ralph ran 2nd in Republican primary for Lieutenant Governor. Almost won - but his opponent dropped 90,000 post cards in selected areas in last week.

DP at Pfizer plant - Terre Haute

"I don't feel federal government should be beneficiary of inflation."

Wants to index tax rates downward to reflect inflation of previous year.

Inflation an indirect tax.

Vs. marriage tax penalty.

"Tax code is a disgrace and those are two reforms that will help the working

people of America."

"We shouldn't have to pay higher taxes because of inflation."

Question re savings on dividends and interest. "We want to encourage savings and investment." "I want to encourage exports of Hoosier grain and Hoosier technology. I happen to be a free trade advocate. BB advocates a lot of quotas and government controls. That's a major difference between BB and myself." "Dumping is illegal and I will recommend government retaliation, tat for tat."

"Middle income people are overburdened with taxes, and regulation and government." "I'm as compassionate as anyone for the poor and downtrodden but let's think of a little relief for the working people of the country."

"Talk is cheap. What we want is action. We don't want to hear Washington politicians come home and say we're fighting for you. They haven't done a very good job because majority in Washington believe we need a big government. Wherever there's a problem, throw money at it and the problem will go away. I think creating a bureaucracy creates the problems. Congress has created 399 p¹⁵ bureaus and commissions since Birch Bayh as been there. You'd think he could find one agency he could vote vs, but not him." "We have 3 parties, Republican, Democrat and bureaucratic party."

Chrysler loan: "I had to balance what was written in economic book about the free enterprise system and real situation that there would have been thousands and thousands of people out of work. When I had to vote I coted for the workers. I wish that Chrysler hadn't come. But they did. And we made it a tough bill.

Energy situation. "There are sufficient energy resources here that can be put to use and, through conservation, we can have energy independence. The difference between Sen. Bayh and myself is that he believes in all kinds of

controls on the energy industry and I do not. He's happy about decontrol.

Sen. Bayh would be happy telling the industry what to do.

"Sen. Bayh voted for gasoline rationing. I voted against it. I think we should go out and produce more energy... of all sorts and we can get out of the crisis in one or two or five years.

"In every campaign there's a psychological moment when the campaign turns around and really takes off. People get excited and start to work harder. It happened with the debate. People start calling and asking if they can help. You get more attention. It helps the candidate and the staff and the workers. The campaign ^{gets} a big kick. We got that when the polls came out. Same thing happened in my debate in 1976 with an 8-term incumbent. That time it happened early October; this time it came in mid-September. In a statewide race, it needs to come earlier."

In the evening, Rich Galen had made the same point, that the debate had had an important effect on staff. "We rented a room downtown where all the staff and supporters gathered to watch the debate. When we came in, with Dan, after the debate, there was a big cheer. Everyone felt we had won and it was just like a victory party. It was a kind of turning point in the campaign...But you have no idea how much we worried about it. We took 5 days from campaigning to prepare. The goal was to hold our own; but we even had a plan in case Dan flopped. We were going to release the poll results immediately to counteract the bad publicity."

Vincennes - Indiana Broadcasters Association. Introduced one of 6 rising stars of Congress - as named by [?] ~~Republicans~~. *High Tribune - see mH article*

3 topics - communications. "I'm a strong advocate of deregulation."

Speaks parenthetically of "the world's greatest newspaper--the Huntington Daily Press."

"I'm concerned about the concentration of power in a few hands." "In our industry, Gannet, Knight-Ridder Newhouse control about 60-70% of all the news in the country."

The "crusty editor" or "local commentator whose strength is that he is local ~~and~~ is the strength of the system--the small businessman."

He identifies with these people by moving from print media to TV media. On ^{my} last night he ~~said~~, "you may have noticed that the only time I made notes was for the Broadcasters. I had specific points I wanted to make, I identify most closely with these people because of my background."

"Completely abolish inheritance tax on farms and small independent business."

Iran-Iraq - religious fight--could we do anything militarily, even if we wanted to? "If the situation continues for more than 2 months, it will be very critical... We will be in the situation of the horror stories of what shall we do."

"Who knows what will happen. I don't know. I just wanted to touch on it... I just wonder if we would be in this situation if we were the strong respected country we were... Something has got to be done about building on defense and gaining respect."

"If you elect same congress, you're going to get.... "

"Indiana is a classic race. You have old style Democrat challenged by new breed Republican."

Challenge of 1980s - opportunity and jobs and ~~is~~ economic growth.

"I've got as big a heart as any...but we also have to have ^{understanding} ~~and heart for middle class that have been paying taxes and~~ ^{P. 13} ~~go to work~~ for middle class that ~~has been~~ paying taxes and go to work and produce the wealth

and have the energy to make the economy work."

Need to find "rules and limitations of federal government."

"Challenge of 1980s and 1990s provide opportunity for people who want to work, want to produce and want to move forward. It's not 1960, not 1970; it's 1980."

Q & A - 1) What would you do in Iran - Iraq solution if things get worse.
2) Communications - what can Congress do to control it, he wants a one house veto" of all regulations promulgated by unelected bureaucrats." (applause)
"Bureaucratic" "arrogant" "conceited" "dichotomous," have no idea what impact of their ruling is in Vincennes - haven't ever been here" "they think they know what is best."

"No new law shall be passed. Let's go look at the ones we have on the books and got rid of some we have," (applause).

"Senators and Congressman have lost control of the government. Now it's time for a new generation to take control of the government."

"Congress' response to Jimmy Carter's regulatory reform was Department of Education and Department of Energy. Ladies and gentlemen, if you elect a Democratic congress you'll get business as usual. Senator Bayh's party has been in control for 37 years."

p. 15 *Limit on terms of Congress* 12 in House and 12 in Senate.

I thought this was his best, most ~~raising~~ speech.

Alcoa labor management meeting - he gets two questions: EPA and air pollution ⁵⁰⁴ problem - they burn Indiana coal and may, if EPA has its way, have to use western coal. Coal prices going up. Qu: What can Congress do?

Union comment = election financing reform. Obey amendment re limiting PAC's - Why did you vote vs. amendment?

EPA, he wants more left to states.

"I believe adamantly in a limit on the number of terms you can serve-- 12 years in the House or 12 years in the Senate. Then you ought to retire and come back and live under all those wonderful laws you passed."

There's an anti congress attitude in his answer re people who use perks to get reelected, who "have to have that job" and his attitude that Obey amendment was just pro-incumbent--trying to sock themselves in - says he was adamantly opposed to Obey Amendment.

For every 1% of inflation, tax income goes up 1 1/2 billion.

Difference between his votes and BB votes on defense - Bayh votes 25 times to cut defense budget, he goes through all the delays Bayh voted for--ticks off "key votes" on national defense. "The attitude in the country supported by Bayh and Kennedy and McGovern" has got to go - he lumps 'em together.

It's "professional politicians" who "cement themselves in". He goes back to limit on terms and talks about how good it was in early days of government when different types of citizens were in Congress. Noted that Hartke has never come back to Indiana. "He's still back there. He hasn't come home. That's his life back there."

Only controversy comes when union guy asks why he voted vs. Fair Housing and he says he did.

"The psychology down there is that you can tax and spend and that's the way to get reelected. "We've got to get rid of big spenders who think there's no bottom to the pail and that you can spend yourself to prosperity."

He wants tax cut to put people back to work. First priority is to put people back to work which he think tax cut will do." He supports Kemp-Roth."

He defends his vote exempting work places with 10 or less people from OSHA.

Occasional malapropisms:

"rapid deployment force is inoperable"

"desecration of armed forces"

"You can only hypothecate like I can."

"People are well intended."

He's sing song and not forceful when speaking in a soft voice. But when he gets worked up, he's quite effective. His command of fact and figures is good. He doesn't seem thoughtful and often speaks in cliches. Attacks Congress pretty bitterly. "Way to get on 6 o'clock news is to come up with a bold program." "It's not their political habit to focus on reduction. They've been trained and educated to have big problems and spend money."

"We are concerned with poor, handicapped and downtrodden, but we are going to pay attention to ----

Washington. "not real world". "Low unemployment rate" "isolated" "insulated."

Rolling Hills - *Dentist* - gave him T-shirt "Quayle Season opens Nov. 4" on front and "Happy Hunting" on back. He put it on and gave talk with the T-shirt on. A nice touch in a country club. At end they gave him a Bayh-bye-bye T-shirt.

Points he made. Must change Congress; just changing President won't do it.

Taxes going up 100B because of inflation and bracket

Marriage penalty

National debt. Balanced budget once in 18 years. Quotes

typical
"New philosophy of 1980s - yes we will help poor and downtrodden, we are going to have to have government that is compassionate, but...lets get government off our back and out of our pocketbook...leadership of 60s and 70s can't get us through 1980s. Since 1962 when Sen. Bayh was elected, Congress created 399 new bureaus, agencies and commissions. How many do you think your senior senator voted vs. Not one. Only board Congress has eliminated in 26 years, Renegotiation Board, Birch Bayh voted to keep it.

We need sunset legislation to sort out agencies and eliminate some.

"Present leadership believes in big government."

3 parties--most powerful as bureaucrats.

"57,000 pages of federal regulations in first 4 months - it costs taxpayers 120B to comply. We have taxation without representation by unelected bureaucrats."

Time for a change and we are free to express satisfaction and dissatisfaction. "1980 is watershed year as we move to set the foundation for the 21st century."

Again, he uses the Persian Gulf situation to note that we must be neutral because we don't have enough muscle to do anything else.

"I'm not on a campaign vs. BB. I'm crusading for ^{the future. I'm crusading for} opportunity to produce, for dismantling regulations, for small businessmen and women, small family farms, etc. etc.

We need 9 seats in Senate. "Let me tell you one thing. Your friend Ted Kennedy will not be Chairman of the Judiciary (applause) and there won't be any Kennedy national health insurance bill (applause).

"It costs to run Congress 1B/yr House member has staff o 18 budget of 3 year. Senator has staff of 100 and 800,000 budget. Purpose to large staff is to build House building for 150,000,000 to house 30 senators--6 million/ Senator. To fill building you'll need more and more staff. I voted against

it and that's difference between Sen. Bayh and myself. That's where the

perks are, with the staffs, and that's the extravagance."

Question: What do you think about perks? When will interest rates come down? What will new congress do about immigration policy? What do you think about CIA secrecy? (Isn't it necessary?) (DQ said there had been abuses by CIA but it is too ^{p. 27} hobbled. Won't tax cut before the balanced budget be inflationary? Why did you support windfall profits tax? What are you going to do about social security system? Do you favor western coal over Indiana coal as Bayh says?

He got applause when he suggested putting congress and staff on social security.

✓ In 1962 BB said to H Capehart 18 years is too long for a US Senator to serve. For once in my life I agree with BB. ^h

We went to a fund raiser at a private home in Chesney, an hour or so east of Evansville. Dan gave a good speech, I thought, and it looked like he got a lot of money. As we left, he said, "That was a pretty good pop for a town of this size. I had never even heard of Chesney. I don't have an idea of where we are. I don't even know the county seat of Spencer County. I really don't know this part of the state at all. It's at the farthest opposite corner from my district. We are weak down here--all along the river. We may just have to live down here the next month" Rich had said that Vanderberg ^{Count} could decide the election.

I asked him what it was like. "I really don't know. All I can tell you is what I feel by instinct. People here are slower than they are up north. They are more southern. You can even hear a southern accent. They seem more parochial. For instance, they make fun of Kentucky a lot. They compare themselves favorably to Kentucky. I don't know why. They have Kentucky jokes instead of Polish jokes. In the Northern part of the state, they are more

ethnic, more cosmopolitan. Northwest Indiana is different still. It is pushy. People go after each other and cut each other up. It's rough."

Sent to media in general

He came back to this idea later when I asked him about the state and how he managed to digest it. "It's a hard state, because it has so many media markets. Northwest Indiana is a suburb of Chicago. But the Chicago TV and papers don't cover Indiana--the Tribune gave us a nice story, but the TV people never cover us. So you have to work person to person there. You have to spend an inordinate amount of time there for the number of votes you get out of it. But you have to do it. We're doing better there than the other Republicans. Then part of the Southern part of the state is in the Louisville market. One third of the Louisville market is in Indiana. Their newspapers cover us, but the television doesn't. Then Cincinnati covers part of the state, and I've never even gone there. And Dayton comes in there same as in the eastern part of the state. That's not counting the media markets inside Indiana. Lee Hamilton's congressional district is covered by 5 or 6 major media centers, Louisville, Cincinnati, Dayton, Indianapolis and Evansville." The interesting thing was that when I asked him how he went about digesting the state, he moved to media market.

I asked him when he started his campaign. "You should know this. Governor Bowen was thinking about running for the Senate. If he had decided to run, I would not have run. But he had not made up his mind. He was 63, and I never thought he would run. His wife is very ill. You need not print this, but I was very bored in the House. It's an awful job--especially being a Republican in the House. You can't get anything done. I couldn't be satisfied just taking care of my district and getting reelected. If I had not run for the Senate, I would have run for one more term and then I

would have looked around for something else. I might have gotten out of politics. But I didn't want to stay in the House. Ever since I was elected, I had thought about the Senate if anything came up; so you could say I had my eyes set on the Senate for a long time. Right after my election in 1978 I went to see Governor Bowen to ask him if he would have any objections if I started to go around talking to people on an "If not Bowen, then Quayle" basis. The governor told me I could go ahead. He said he hadn't made up his mind, but the way he said it led me to believe that he was not going to run. So I started moving around the state. My assistant in the district could handle things there and I went to a lot of Lincoln day dinners in 1979, to rotary clubs and Kiwanis. I talked about the Senate. People were shocked; they thought Bowen was going to run. And, anyway, what was this unknown congressman doing talking about a senate race. Well, a week before the spring primary, Bowen announced he was not going to run. I had 20,000 left over from my congressional campaign and we transferred it to the Senate Committee. We had a campaign going by March 14th 1979. And we have been going--getting better and better, in a straight line--ever since. We are four points behind. That's farther along than I thought we'd be at this time."

CCC - Huntington - as far away from Evansville as you can get and be in same state. Worked for Governor Bowen on inheritance tax division.

He gives life history - basketball team - wife - law - family newspaper business - talked re birth of 3 children - 1st before bar, next after 1976 election, one after 1978 election, *and more in mysterious ways.* p.37
You're wondering what I'm going to do in 1980.

Downside of politics - absence from family is tough - talk to her every night, strong convictions, religious convictions keep family together ~~were~~ made *Commitment* ~~conditional~~ to public service and *excited* ^{p.37} about running.

Problem of participation - Number of *Xians* don't take time to register to vote - and we wonder why government has gotten away from us."

Bussing, *Xian schools* schools and tax exemption, prayer in schools.

Federal government very dominant in this area. Whole philosophy of Congress of US anytime there is a problem, throw money, create a bureau and dictate what to do."

"If we don't get people concerned."

"We have a bureaucracy that I have to admit, friends, is more powerful than the elected officials" (that's right, from audience)

Attacks unelected bureaucrats and calls for more control by Congress (sunset, one house veto) and then calls for limits on congressional terms to counteract "Washington mentality".

Defense

Two functions - "What's wrong with reinvigorating the churches, the volunteer groups and the neighborhood groups that always did help people. We can do the job. We don't need to look to Washington," etc. (that's right, said audience.)

"The people are perpetuating the problem they are complaining about-- through their apathy." (That's hitting it on the head.)

Minister: "Gays and queers and women's libbers and minorities have their lobbies. What's wrong with *Xians* doing the same."

"High time that *Xians* come out of closet, go to polling booths and get America to move again... One of reasons we have problem is the lackadaisical and removed attitude people like yourself have had. Finally, people are saying "hey, we've got to do something... What's dangerous is when *Xians* do not speak out on the issues of interest to you--abortion, homosexuality, prayer in schools."

Ministers ("I'm a fundamentalist. I make no bones about that." "I'm a fundamentalist and proud of it") feel a little defensive and want Quayle to reassure them that they should speak out, and be active.

Minister "My people are interested in foreign policy, economic policy, energy, but what I hear everyday are problems of morality--(then to list of minorities.) That's what hits close to home."

Question - what have you done for Indiana? "I'm not the Senator from Indiana. I can't say what I've done for Evansville because I don't represent Evansville. He would like everyone to compare what I've done with what the Senator has done. Secondly, a Republican can do only so much. Republican Bills don't pass. The Democrats have the majority and they don't allow it. But we can put a stop to bad legislation. I led the fight against Birch Bayh's Consumer Protection Agency. I led the fight to put a cap on employees in the new Department of Education. I've done my job as a part of the loyal opposition. But I'm not a Senator. When I am, then we can compare BB's record and mine."

Ralph on CCC - "He wasn't very good in there. Usually he gets into it with the ministers. He's hokey as hell. Steve Mix says he always goes to the bathroom when he does that. He can't stand it."

We go to Reserve Center in Evansville for media event. Channels 25, 7, 14, to speak on National Defense with army equipment in the background. He has 3 cameras, 6 microphones in his face, 3 reporters taking notes.

Reservists after 2nd 6 year reenlistment should have GI Benefits - "Rapid Deployment Force is like stealth--it is invisible." Carter and Sen. Bayh's congress have slowed down production of strategic forces and the result is that people around the world are asking whether we could do anything militarily if we wanted to. I don't say we should. I'm just asking whether we could."

Indiana Association of Realtors - a squabble over how to get in to a

meeting of 500 realtors who were listening to a speaker ("I've got a man in there speaking who costs me \$2500 and there's no way I'm going to break that up."

Speaker took a break and Dan hopped up on podium to great applause. Gave free enterprise speech. Big applause. At end guy got up and said "You're all salesmen. You've just seen one of the best sales pitches you'll ever see. When his office called me several days ago asking for some time for him to speak, we said our agenda was full and we had no time. Well, you've just heard him, which proves that where there's a will you can sell. Thank you Dan Quayle."

On way out. "That worked beautifully. Those are the small businessmen who are most hurt by government regulation. They see their friends go ^{really} badly up. They're our natural constituency."

On way to airport:

Ralph: "Look at that sign 'If you kill her now, it's murder. Three months ago it was abortion."

Dan: "We've told those people to tone it down. They are just hurting their own cause when they go to extremes. I hope they don't call Birch Bayh a baby killer. It doesn't help their cause to call him a murderer."

Ralph: "The great trouble with campaigns are the uncontrollable situations."

Butler University talk to students. Comments re press conference -
"Shows you how press covers campaign of U.S. Senator. We had something we thought was constructive to talk about - limitation of terms. If you listened to the press conference, it was completely consumed by questions about how many contributions I got from some oil people, whether I got more than Birch Bayh got and nothing about issues."

He had a press conference on library steps of Butler and it was completely devoted to his votes on windfall profits, (he voted for windfall profits but for 60% instead of 80% tax first and he got badgered as to why he supported 60%) why he went to Houston to talk with certain people, what they wanted from him, who he could take contributions from--over and over--trying to demonstrate that he's in pocket of major oil companies. His position is "I will not accept contributions from major oil companies or major oil company PACs, period, exclamation point." He does support independents--of whom there are a number in Southern Indiana. He then did a Q & A in the Butler U. cafeteria:

Supports compromise on Alaska lands.

Supports Basic educational opportunity grants.

Supports equal rights but not amendment. Against abortion and federal funding of abortion.

How about balanced budget in recession?

What about Iran?

Maybe all I can get as I follow campaign is a sense of the individual and not "the campaign" I should think more about that since I can never get all the way round a campaign.

ACE - (I have all this on tape.)

"Glad to come to a partisan event - glad you didn't say bi-partisan."

Every year we have to try to get revenue service off backs of Xiqn schools. I support dual educational system that has stood as well for 100 years."

Tax credit for private schools ought to be our choice to send our children to private schools.

Department of Education examples of bureaucratic waste - #1 department to get rid of waste is Department of Education.

We don't need federal government coming in and dictating our curricula, or

that God can't be in school on voluntary basis.

We ought to be promoting quality education.

Got to change congress if we are going to change direction of America.

"As one Xion to another, ^{the 17th} ~~the 17th~~ ^{for Xians} ~~have~~ to come out of ^{the} closetth, go to polls, make America work again. We can do it."

In the car, I asked him what kind of campaigning he liked the best.

"The easiest kind of campaigning is the parades. You don't have to think; you just shake hands. The hardest thing is when you have to think on your feet and answer questions. That's hard work. The hardest time of the day for me is right now--from 1-5. In the morning I'm fresh and in the evening I get a second wind. But in between, I drag."

He had a bad cold all the time I was with him and was taking medicine throughout the trip.

The last evening, when Ralph and Dan and I were having a beer, I gave Dan a list of the activities and asked him to rate them in terms of political importance. Immediately he said "Political importance--that means getting elected. The most important were the press conferences. They gave you the widest exposure. I'd rate them all equally, Terre Haute, Evansville, Indianapolis--assuming we do get coverage from the one at the University. Next would have to be the Broadcasters meeting, in terms of the group with the widest influence in the state. Then would come the Dentists and the Realtors. They are already with us, but they will talk to others. Well, I guess I would put the Christian group ahead of those two. There was a larger number of them. Whenever you get 1000 people, that's important. I don't know how much they will do though. The last two events would clearly come last--Eaton and Jaycees.

They were nice, but there was no coverage. And then just before them, I'd put the minister's meeting. That was a courtesy we did for some of our supporters. I have no idea whether they'll mention it to anyone else. I don't know what to say about the fund raiser--you have to have money. Those go on all the time."

Ralph rated them earlier and rated them as straight numbers--Alcoa 1st, Xion education 2nd, Realtors 3rd. He figured we got 2,000 at Alcoa, 1000 Xians and 500 Realtors.

Then I asked him where he was most comfortable. He had trouble with this. "I'm very comfortable at factory gates. Some Republicans aren't, but I am. I like it. I was comfortable with the Dentist and the Realtors. Actually it's easier to say where I was uncomfortable. I was very uncomfortable at the Ian Education meeting, as you know. I almost walked out. And I'm not comfortable with the fundamentalist ministers. They always ask you questions about your religion and to me that's a very personal matter. Otherwise, I was comfortable everywhere. With a few exceptions, of course, I'm comfortable with all kinds of people. I believe that in almost every one you meet, you can find a friend."

Ralph asked me where I thought Dan looked most comfortable. I said I wondered how comfortable he had been at the JayCees. Ralph said he was just tired there. One of his workers and I had talked there. She said "Lugar would never have fit in here. He would have been aloof, with 6 body guards protecting him. Dan fits right in here." It was a rowdy, beer drinking, shouting group of JayCees with, as Dan said, "a lot of labor here." They made Dan an honorary member, made him lead in the JayCees pledge, gave him a pin, etc. He "fit right in," but I thought he looked a little out of place.

He sat down and drank beer with some Bayh supporters and shook hands all the way around. He has a habit when he shakes hands with women of holding their hand in both of his hands. He has a habit with men of shaking hands with his right hand and punching them on the arm with his left or clapping them on the shoulder with his left, or throw^{ing} his arm around them with his left. And, in all cases, he looks you right in the eye, while he is saying hello. He's good that way. They say he is particularly good with women. Steve Nix mentioned my home style book in that respect; he recalled that one of my guys was good with women and that Dan was. Ralph mentions this often-- that they want to mother him if they are older or love him if they are younger. He looks like Robert Redford and is, without doubt the most handsome candidate I have ever travelled with. But he does not talk about women or sex or that sort of thing, which means that he wears his good looks easily. He will put his arm around women he knows, but he doesn't kiss them when he meets them. He's got a big asset there, but he doesn't act self consciously about it. First person he compared himself with when I met him was Bill Cohen and, later, he said he had talked with Bill Cohen about life in the Senate. There are resemblances here--physical, at least, and ambition-wise, somewhat (maybe) (Of course, he knew I had travelled with Cohen, because I told Steve and Rich and Ralph the night I got in.)

Actually, they checked me out that evening, because when I got into the car, Dan said "how long will you be with us?" I said "Two days if it's all right with you." He said "Fine." That settled it, but obviously, the others had told him I was not decrepit or wild. In South Bend, at the headquarters, where we were waiting for the blitz to start, Ralph and I got talking to a couple of Notre Dame students and Ralph said "I can say this now, because Dick and I have established a nice relationship, that we didn't know what we were going to get--some eastern liberal professor, an egghead. You noticed, we gave you one day at first. But he's a real campaigner. You should have seen his handing out brochures at the Alcoa plant." Ralph introduced me to everyone

(after Alcoa) as a great campaigner, because I handed out literature, and he would tell people how I went into the barrel and picked out the ones thrown away and used them over again. He also told the story a couple of times about my encounter with the reporter at the Army Reserve Center. The reporter said "I saw you last night and at first I thought you were a reporter from the Chicago Tribune or the Indianapolis Star." I asked "How did you know I wasn't a reporter?" He said "I thought you were using a rather small notebook and then I saw you stand up and applaud after the speech." Well, it couldn't have been set up better if I had tried. Ralph heard (He wasn't there) the guy say it and it cemented the relationship for me.

When I first got in the car, Dan said "You've come to a very interesting race, between liberal and conservative and between the old and the new. I'm not a right winger. I'm a new breed Republican, like Dave Stockman or Bill Cohen. It's a classic confrontation in a very important state. Indiana is a rural state, but it is also a major industrial state--more industrial than most people think. It's probably one of the smaller industrial states. It's a bell weather state. Birch Bayh and I differ on almost everything. We'll have a campaign and then we'll see what the people want."

Something that occurred to me the last day, while he was being interviewed by the Notre Dame students was that BB has Quayle on the defensive. He's making charges and Quayle is asked by the press to answer them. Yet DQ emphasizes, I'm not running against BB. I'm crusading for the future, etc. He may have to run "against" at some point, to get Bayh on the defensive.

He has a lot of respect for BB as a campaigner. "He's tough. He's good on the stump. He's a better campaigner even than I am. He can get by with less

sleep than I can. But he doesn't represent the thinking of Indiana. If he were like Sam Nunn, or Pat Moynihan or Henry Jackson, it would make more sense for him to get elected. But he's a survivor. He comes home and says "aw shucks," "golly"" and talks about Shirkeyville and gets reelected. He's tough."

Re the debate - "The reaction has been favorable. The only criticism has come from dyed-in-the-wool Republicans who said I didn't hit him hard enough. They'll vote for us anyway. The Democrats said Birch came out swinging. The people we want are the independents and the soft Democrats. Our polls show there are a lot of soft Bayh voters. Those people have been telling us that Bayh came across as cocky and arrogant. In the car, one of the drivers said "I'm glad to see your name recognition is up to 70%."

DQ - "71%. We're doing well in this area.

Driver: What was it before?

DQ - "We're up from 49%. It took us 2 years and a million and a half dollars -- what do you expect?"

Another conversation in the car in Terre Haute. Driver "When we elect you Senator, we'll need some help for the city. We need 50 million. DQ - "Won't BB help?" Driver - "That dog won't hunt."

1st day, I said I had seen his TV ad about the agencies and commissions. DQ - "How did you like it/" RF - "I liked it. It was different. DQ - My daughter saw it yesterday and said she liked it, too. That makes a professor and a 5 year old kid. What I want to know is what do the voters think of it! I didn't like it very much. But I was outvoted 3-1 by my media advisers. They are are the experts. I just do as I'm told."

Rich Galen, the first night, complained about NCPAC in sense that they were uncontrollable."

Ralph talked about it lots. Notion of "controllables" and "uncontrollables" is important one to understanding campaigns and why they take the turns they do. Basically, campaigners are scared of uncontrollables, i.e., foreign events in presidential election - last minute tactics in congressional elections.

When he talked about his district at one point, he said, "The Fort Wayne media market covers about 70% of my district. That was the only reason I could win in 1976--with the media." So--again--the preoccupation with the media.

A point re. the media. I don't see the media. I see something else--the press conference maybe, but not the media. You can't judge the impact very easily. But then you can't judge input of a parade ride either. So I don't know what it amounts to. I guess the fact that I can't see the TV is what bothers me. They spend hundreds of thousands on TV and I never see it. Travelling with the candidate does not tell you about TV.

very dull for facts
Another question to ask DQ. "Where did you philosophy come from?" *He didn't talk much about his background.*

was his attitude
He talked about his primary, triggered by billboard we saw. "My opponent used billboards. I didn't. But I used to kid my staff by asking them, "Where are my billboards." So they put up a billboard and drove me around to see it. My opponent, frankly, was an asshole. The only issue he used against me was my attendance record. He claimed I missed 270 votes and said I was not doing my job. I spoke at 23 Lincoln Day dinners, and every time I came to town, there would be an ad in the paper attacking my attendance record. My record was well above average. It was just an *innuendo* ~~innuendo~~ *innuendo*; but he

succeeded in taking away one of my election issues. Birch Bayh has one of the worst attendance records in the Senate--73%--and I was planning on using it against him. My first two years were 90% and my overall record was 85%--much better than his. But after his attacks, I couldn't use it. If he had focussed on Bayh instead of me, it would have helped me. But I got 75% of the vote, so there was no bitterness after the primary. In fact he disappeared completely. I never even met him. He was a jerk."

Question re campaign - Do leads ever get bigger in last couple of weeks? Or, isn't it more likely that leads narrow in last couple of weeks--a compensating effect of some sort over time. Big leads seem to be dangerous - Guzzi, Stewart, Clark. Why? Any generalization there that relates to campaign flow.

Regarding his flow he feels the campaign is "right on target." They said they would visit every county in the state and they did in the summertime. They went on TV at time of Republican Convention and then at time of Democratic Convention. They went off a week and then went on a have been on ever since.

"We started March 14th and have moved in a straight line ever since. At one point we were 30 points down in the polls. One of Bayh's polls had us 40 points down. In August we were 8 points down and now we are 4 points down. There is another poll, done by a sociologist that had us 4 points up. I'd rather be 4 points down. We are right on target. He's obviously worried."

more
His television is getting/negative . And he's looking for another debate. We started March 14th and have moved in a straight line ever since." (They still have another debate in South Bend October 20.)

He talked about Bayh's 2 earlier races in 1968. Ruckelshaus started too late. "He didn't start campaigning till June." Then he was subjected to some charge in the last week of the campaign. "He was campaigning in Southern

Indiana where he needed the strength. But when the charge broke, he went back to Indianapolis and spent the last week defending himself and declaring his innocence. He lost the race in Southern Indiana." (That's BB's home territory). In 1974, the problem was Watergate. He beat Lugar in 1974. Someone advanced the idea that both Ruckelshaus and Lugar were beaten because BB was much better on the stump and that was the margin. With Quayle being equally good on the stump, they feel they will do better.

His favorite ^{interjection} interpretation in his speech is "hey", as ~~is~~: "People are saying, hey, something is wrong here."

Re Senate - it was always said that LBJ knew what everyone wanted most. But, maybe in a group of 100, you can really know what each person most wants and is like etc. etc. - I should push for that. What do people know about each other's political side.

It's part of his makeup that whereas he's quite positive when he speaks, ~~that~~ he is quite flexible when you actually talk to him afterwards. He is not sure he knows what will work. He asks your opinion about things. He is much more moderate about things. "I wonder if the new leadership will really be able to get anything done." "I don't like Ronald Regan. I just hope he picks good people and acts like chairman of the board." "I was so uncomfortable ^{with} that ^{guy} (fundamentalist preacher) that I almost got up and walked out. I kept squirming and looking at my watch. He was talking about beating a 14 year old boy. My god. And how many times did he beat his daughter - did he say she was 3 years old. I couldn't listen to him. That was awful. ^{I wanted to throw up} "What do you think about universal service?" "I'm open to that."

Similarly, he will enunciate a proposition and, when pushed, make exceptions. He's for free trade, but advocates government action vs. dumping. He's for

free trade, but advocates government action vs. dumping. He's for balanced budget but in a recession deficits are appropriate. So there is flexibility. He surely has a conservative voting record, but he's open to argument and to case by case consideration. He's not an ideologue. Thus, you can't paint him (despite the wild man support he gets) as a wild man. I think liberals have to understand that conservatives are not extremists just because they attract and do not denounce extremist supporters. Liberals have had extremist supporters for years and they get taken for granted--even if liberals do not denounce them. There are radicals on both ends of the spectrum. We can, of course, argue over what is and is not extremism. Or, we can argue about which extremism is more dangerous to fundamentals of the society. But, my ^{point} ~~part~~ is simply, that conservatives may be embarrassed by their extreme supporters and may be much more moderate than their extreme supporters. Guilt by association works both ways. And while it is an old political tactic to use guilt by association, as a matter of politics, we ought not to believe it as a matter of conscience just because it is used. To put it another way, if you go to Indiana thinking you will find a Republican Senate candidate that is an apostle of the New Right, you will not find it. And it's important to acknowledge the fact. Otherwise you will operate with blinders.

Better description is that he's just a kid--or so he seems to me. I wonder what gives a kid of 33 the confidence to go around his state calling for a ^{new leadership} for the 1980's and the 21st century. You might ask, what can he possibly know about the 1980's and 21st century. He's just a kid. Maybe the answer is that if you run for the office, first, you simply adopt a posture of confidence afterward. That is, it's not preposterous for a kid of 33 to think of himself as running for the Senate. Once he decides to run, he has to rationalize why

he's doing it. And he has to rationalize it in public interest terms. That's when he begins to sound grandiose, when he rationalizes a reasonable decision. The decision to run is reasonable; the rationale sounds a little preposterous. i.e., that his "generation of new leadership" knows what it's doing--to the extent that they are kid-like he is. That means, he's got to be a follower. Who will he follow? But, of course, there is that wondering as to whether the new leadership really can get anything done.

All this raises an interesting challenge for DQ. Can he grow? I would guess that if there was a personal side to it, that's it. If he makes it, will he grow?

I asked him if he saw any other good signs besides the polls. ("One poll has us 4 ahead, one has us 4 behind. I'll take the 4 behind.") "You get a feel. The Republicans are excited. I can see a change in them. And at the plant gates today, people were very friendly. And some of them said "You've got my vote." or "I saw you on TV."

I asked him if people treated him any differently now that he's running for the Senate. "People don't treat me any differently. They don't see any difference between the two jobs. Maybe they think it's a higher office, but that doesn't make any difference. But the media hold me to a much higher standard than they did when I was a House member. They expect me to know more and to know more details. Am I treated differently in running for the Senate?: By the people, no--by the media, yes."

He asked me what I thought the difference was between running for the House and Senate? I said the media attention had struck me, too, and that I'd rather have him tell me. He said he had talked to Bill Cohen a little about it. "The House is more informal. You can get a bunch of guys and go down to the

gym and play basketball. You can't do that in the Senate. But in the Senate, you can work with the guys--the top 20 guys anyway--to get something done.

I'll like that about the Senate. But I'll miss the informality of the House."

He described the Senate races he thought the Republicans could win. "I think we'll win Iowa." He thought NH, SD, "maybe Washington," DK Alaska, Idaho" Symms has some barnacles," ILL "maybe O'Neal can catch Dixon", "maybe a chance now with Denton."

As a candidate on the road, the only negative comment I heard was that he's slow and not on time. Don Engle said that in Evansville, Ralph said it, a couple of times. "The staff calls him--affectionately, a spoiled kid." He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Well not silver, but he had a spoon, when a lot of the rest of us didn't." "We have a temperamental candidate. He's got to go to the bathroom when we're racing to get to Indianapolis." etc.

"After the Butler News Conference, which had zeroed in on oil contributions, ^(the press) he said, "They have negatives on Birch Bayh, his liberalism and his stand in favor of abortion. They are trying to get some negatives on me. That's why we decided not to take any PAC money from the major oil companies--to take away the argument that I'm in bed with big oil. And that's why I voted for the windfall profits tax, too. I've caught a lot of hell for that vote, ~~too~~. But we took away their issue. I drove them crazy when I lump big unions and big oil together. I say, I don't take PAC money from big oil or big unions." Not clear in this quote who they are--^(the press, I think) his opponents, I guess, aided by the press, in the sense that the press relays the charges of the opponents. The "what do you say about that" syndrome.)

quite he
would not
have cast
had he
not been
running for
the Senate -
"a transition"
into
born a
penguin
adult

We rode from Muncie to Elkhart on Friday night. It was so clear and so beautiful that we could see Indianapolis on one horizon and Chicago on another. We flew past Marion, Kokomo (in distance) and Fort Wayne. We could see lighted football fields everywhere, with high school football going on. I never saw a night any clearer. As we flew over the edge of Dan's district he pointed out the towns of his district. "My district is off there to the right. There's Fort Wayne. There's Huntington. But up ahead is the 3rd District. Ralph said - "After you win in November, Mark (the pilot) can fly you over here in an 360° circle and you can look down and say "It's mine, all mine." And Mark said "And I will, too."