

conference with Mike + reflections on STP process by DP
like to tapes
RE further

DAN QUAYLE

August 30-September 3, 1982

glimpse of activities animation
right-minded recording too
There are guys better

Annie Eckrich, Jim Loomis, Orvas Beers, Eddie Kettler, Jean Huegenard plus the entire staff--especially Mike Loomis, Jim Sanders, Steve Risley, Ron Braymeier, Joe Watkins.

I got to Fort Wayne from Cape Cod (3 hrs. from Boston) about 1:30 and was met by Larry Smith and Judy Joslin. Spent afternoon listening to Larry make calls about the schedule and then we went down and had a snack. He said the day had not gone well, Dan had been making changes in the schedule, the press conference had not gone well (only one TV station showed up out of three and no reporters). They spent the rest of the day trying to get some of the delinquents to accept a second chance. And as late as 10:00 when we were back at the hotel having a beer one of the reporters called on the phone and Dan talked to him at length about sugar. (Story in paper next day.)

This says with less story about what Dan + good of his

I met a number of people who had started with Dan "back when--in the first race for Congress." Orvas Beers was generally credited with picking him to run. He had an organization of young people who worked outside the regular organization. He brought a lot of people into politics who had not been involved before, said ^{Mike?} ~~Jim~~ Loomis. Jean Huegenard who managed his two congressional campaign and travelled the state setting up organizations for his Senate race, said she first met Dan when he came to speak to a neighborhood group and 3 people came--she, her husband and a house guest. And there was a ski group meeting in the next room and they asked them to come in to make it respectable. When Dan spoke, his arms were pumping up and down. "It was awful."

Beers said "I told the fellas that I thought he could win because every woman in the district would want to _____ him. Now you can't put that in your book. But that's the facts." "He's coming along beautifully. Pretty soon he'll be in the class with Bill Ruckelhaus and Dick Lugar. There are only two people I give A plus to in politics--Ruckelhaus and Lugar. Lugar is the smartest man in politics. He's the smartest man I ever knew. But Danny will be right up there with them before long. He's coming along beautifully. "I love him."

Jim Loomis said "He has charisma. And he's very quick. He has a great memory and he catches on very quickly...And he got into office owing nothing to anybody."

They talk about his being President.

In his talk he called them a "political family." And he said all families shared values and philosophies. He called greatest problem "getting the government out of the capital markets." (applause) He said "No one said it would be easy" and asked for continued support for program to keep spending down. Said he had great affection for Coats and Lugar. Kiddled about wife not being there. "No she's not going to have another child! (Laughter) "Who said that? (Laughter) I might have known it would come from that table". (Laughter) "Did you pay?" (Laughter) There was banter like this--he kidded the Ohio Congressman (Mike Oxley) who was there--Afterwards Dan said to me "It was pretty relaxed wasn't it." He was "home" and said, "It's good to be home with family."

It was his core group--country club, drinkers, businessmen, golfers, well dressed" ladies." I sat with people who own lot of Pizza Huts and are members of Republican Senatorial Trust (25,000). They said there were 3 or 4 such from Indiana.

Lincoln Life intro - "In 1980 he did the impossible. He defeated the great liberal BB. On election night, the first announcement was that Dan Quayle had won and that finished most of us off for the rest of the evening. That was really great. For the first time the CEO of Lincoln Life took a public stand in favor of a statewide candidate, and that candidate was Dan Quayle."

Quayle "strange phenomenon in Washington" - we all have civics - gov't hasn't been operating according to civics - tax bill started in Senate - "an aberration in way things are happening" not one approp. bill passed "institutional change" *"divided Congress produces all sorts of institutional changes"* - fight coming up is on appropriations - reduce or status quo. RR veto of supp. was a surprise and indicates what will happen "has set the tenor and the ground rules for the debate we will have in September." Pres. has been successful in dealing with Congress.

On Budget Committee - how you get federal government out of capital market - now 56% could go to 60% soon. Now, everyone agrees it is bad for ec. recovery--when I first went to Congress, there was argument over that "no longer a debatable argument (sic). The debate is, where is it going to come from."

How do we become more productive? Tax laws, regulatory climate, labor management relations, -

"mainly hitman line" encourages political participation
productivity - uses terms "representative democracy" to describe what we've got - Said he sees more citizen participation as big change in his time - cites his town meetings. Speaks of having "the opportunity and pleasure of serving the public." - more interest in private sector. Praises PACs as result of small contributions.

"I now yield ~~to~~ the floor."

Qu. - Pres. has to face problem of reducing defense budget. Will he?

Ans: RR first budget was scaled back from 9 to 7%. "I and others were critical of lack of evenhandedness." Wants "across the board cuts" to produce "credibility" and "support" but goes on to talk about previous defense policy, build up of Soviets, lack of arms agreements. "Threat of Soviet Union is real and imminent--...^{number} ~~no~~ one priority."

Ques: When is Congress going to exercise responsibility on social security. Ans.: "I wish I knew." There's a problem - would support Dole on lame duck session - but wouldn't be optimistic. Wants soc. sec. commission to report. ~~It~~. Got to be bipartisan. "Republicans don't have much credibility on social security. Lyndon Johnson couldn't go to China etc.--Republican get in hot water. Pickle tried and was "cut off at the pass." Must be bipartisan and at some time it has to be perceived as a vote of political courage. Right now if you vote for change you will be accused of taking away something from 25-30 million people and no one who wants to stay in public life will do that." Compares to tax bill - Would never have predicted passage early.

Ques. - pipeline problem. Ans.: He went abroad - "absolutely overwhelmed," by it. He will support the decision; but he thinks communication of it has been "absolute failure". Argument of admin is "Poland". He wants to focus on subsidy issue" - wants trade with USSR but should not subsidize trade with them - i.e., favorable interest votes - wants normal commercial standards" wants "agreements between us and our European alliance" (sic).

Ques. - flat tax. Ans.: Hearings this fall. Absolute flat rate" "not doable" - not progressive and you hit middle class (15-60,000). Sees bipartisan movement, "people are fed up with complexity of income tax code."

60% have professional help today "absolute outrage at complexity and confusion of tax codes" great feeling that "Jones has a tax dodge." "simple inherent ~~is~~ unfairness about that." "people are far ahead of ^{the} Congress." Says that a man said to him "That makes too much sense. Washington will never do it." (laughter) but people will hold feet to fire and he thinks in the long run it will pass. But there will be protest by industries affected - 20-25 of these were affected in tax bill.

Ques. - Regulation future. Ans.- no deregulation in banking.

Ques. - new federalism - not much enactment - some block grants - "a furor of undegree...great degree of magnitude" (sic)

"Best example of new federalism in that jobs training legislation I am pushing. "It combines a number of categorial programs into one program - gives more power to governor, business and industry... That, to me is what new federalism is all about... We are taking power from Dept. of Labor and giving it to the states and private industry. If it passes in Senate version, at least a model of what other new federalism should look like. It is the only program I think we will get in this Congress."

Ques. - What about economy and Indiana? Getting a little better - wants home mortgage vote to 13%. Volker has changed. "He won't say he's changed, but he has." If he goes back to old policy, great pressure to do something.

The questioner says he's concerned about about employment and Dan says two are interrelated. No one will invest while interest rates are high.

Ques. - What about gov't's effort on crime and narcotics. "We're going through this with the Secretary of Labor." (murmer) He mills around with the question. Must go "to actual source" of cocaine and heroin--other countries. Turkey, China, etc. That's tough.

Ques. - Panama Canal - Why hard on Torrijos ? What about retrospective

view of Canal transfer and attitude toward Central America. Said Carter should have been hard on human rights in Panama to be "evenhanded". "Whether it's the budget or foreign policy, you have to be even handed." He supports thrust of CBI - sees some countries as "Soviet camp" and "anti west" - RR is placing emphasis on Central and South America - Middle East has overshadowed Latin American policy. CBI "proper one."

"That's why I've been critical of sugar program"...Refused to import sugar "flies in the face of what we are trying to accomplish."

Office - Ft. Wayne

Press Conference - Channel 21 and 2 Radios (1/2 the market, they say)

"What do you want to talk about?" They joke - Dan starts in "real battle between Pres. and Congress" in September. - "real surprise" when RR vetoed supplemental. "No one knew about it." "Everyone thought it was part of a deal with reconciliation." RR message is one dime over my budget and a veto is possible." Sees "battles on the horizon." "contentious period." (He's working toward the September shoot out idea slowly.)

Will Pres. be successful? Dan says he has "upper hand". Rep. Senate will be very very cautious in overriding a presidential veto."

Tax increase "I believe it makes GOP look responsible...We have the responsibility of governing...No one likes everything in it...If we hadn't passed it you would have had business as usual...massive massive deficit\$. They are totally unacceptable...There was no alternative. What is the alternative? If anyone has a better alternative, let them come forth."

Dems felt it was way to deal with deficits - now will have different coalitions.

E Systems, Memcor deal

"flabbergasted to learn that none of radios...were manufactured in Huntington."

Reporter breaks in and says he talked to Huntington guy says that they make "components" that go into radios.

"There has been less than clear information coming forth...so now we have a new element...It's very unfortunate. We should all be pulling the same oar--If it's 35 or 30 or one person laid off, I'm upset about it. It's unacceptable."

Should have "America first" bidding system - will pursue the case further.

Ques. on tax simplification SELF. "Overwhelming support for it in 4th district and in Indiana generally." "People are taking it seriously now... A lot of people like myself are coming forth with proposals. Senator Dole is going to have hearings and I will be there giving testimony."

Reaction to Lebanon situation in terms of relations with Israel. "Keep special relationship with Israel...that was near and dear to our hearts." Now have to deal with homeland problems. Arafat and PLO "bunch of bums" "splinter group." "Joran is critical" now in process. Expulsion of PLO was necessary. One radio guy pushes the Israeli questions.

On the way out, Mike Loomis talks about the Ft. Wayne media--prompted by fact that Ch. 21 reporter did not know what Dan's SELF (tax simplification) program was when radio guy asked him about it. "Ron Huston is not the brightest reporter in Fort Wayne. His not knowing what SELF was is very unusual." But he points out that Ft. Wayne is a stepping stone toward larger markets and there is turnover. Also, there aren't any full time reporters on politics on the TV here. Yesterday, Larry talked about how TV media feeds off the print media locally as well as nationally. The Journal Gazette (AM) and News Sentinel (PM) do all the political digging.

Last night, Dottie who manages the restaurant and sells underwear (like Tupperware) bugged us a lot. But the age factor comes through when she

bantered with us about "fast break" underwear for men - you pull the string, I guess, and they come right off quickly! You couldn't imagine the conversation with John Glenn. Dan was a little embarrassed but we all had some laughs about it, at Mike's expense. Mike and Larry spend a lot of time commenting on the women they see, which is a little different from, say, the Tsongas staff. They would make banter about issues, not women. Well, I don't know about that. Paul talked about ^{Laurie} Larry checking out the Israeli women. But it was on a very different plane.

Change from House.

I asked Dan if the tax bill was a problem for him. "No. It was the right thing to do. Being on the Budget Committee, I was pretty well committed to it anyway. The mail was overwhelmingly against it. If I had voted the way my constituents wanted me to vote, I would have voted against it. The only part I really did not like was the withholding of interest. I have always been against that. During the Carter administration I came out strongly against it. So it was hard for me to swallow that. I know there's an argument that you have to get the revenue, and that it's not a tax increase. But the loss of the compounded interest is an increase. Nobody liked all of it. But I think overall it was a good bill. Of course they called it everything but a tax increase--revenue enhancement, tax reform. They used a lot of funny words."

8/30

Said Dole did good job. They do use each other as justification even out on the hustings. Maybe Senators do it more than House members, because people know who other Senators are.

Larry said mail ran 9-1 against the tax bill. But after Reagan's speech, it went to 2-1 against.

Copy

Dan asked me as soon as we got into car when last time of divided gov't was. I said 31-32. He said 34 in his speech at Lincoln Life. But we talked

about peculiar institutional set up, House and Senate, RR leadership, etc.
on way over and that's the way he started his talk.

Breakfast in exec. dining room at Lincoln Life, 15th largest Life
Insurance Co. in USA.

Mike on Ft. Wayne banks. "There isn't the competitiveness among the
banks that you would expect in a town of this size. The President of the
5 largest banks all grew up in Ft. Wayne. They know each other, they socialize
with each other, they play golf with each other; they are all very active in
the community. That's why they have had such success with the downtown
rehabilitation project."

Indiana is last in return on tax dollars says Dan.

Lincoln Club - Lafayette - "Lack of viable alternative" in economy.
Talks about "different picture" than you hear and read. Inflation cut. "I
remember well on the camp. trail in 1980. The clarion call was to get infla-
tion under control. We've done it." Now--calls involves interest rates. Now
"13 1/2% and coming down." "We've got to focus our sensitivity on interest
rates" (sic).

Again, stress on getting gov't out of private capital market. Still
the stress on problem of big government. - "responsible cap on federal
spending."

He cites "positive signs" RR "remarkable success" "we do have a leader
in this President."

regulatory reform, grain sales, "We need exports and exports and exports."

He keeps saying "another bright sign is..." Another positive sign is..
His optimism is evident.

Middle East - "We have gotten terrorists and murderers out of Lebanon."
Re change in our relations with Israel "I reject that out of hand. We have
a very special relationship with Israel."

Then he talks about "the September showdown" (language escalates as he goes along today).

Ends with traditional values of Republican party and pitch for Lugar and Meyers.

What's def. of small business? "Someone who thinks of being a big business if only the gov't will let him do it--climb up economic ladder, etc. Quote from Lincoln. "Future of country rests in your hands and not mine." "Because of you we will prosper. We have done it before and we'll do it again." A good upbeat speech altogether. Contrast with close of Paul Tsongas ^{town} this meeting. "Let me end on a light note before I depress the hell out of you."

After Caterpillar Plant Tour Tom ^{Eagleston} Eagleston - candidate for state Sen. at press conferences - stresses jobs "Happy to have author of jobs bill 95-0 here. DQ "He puts finger on problem - jobs, training, growth." Legis - jobs and training important to Lafayette and Indiana, moving to diversified industry need new talent pool - jobs training will provide pool to match with engines Caterpillar expects to have come off assembly line.

Ques. - coord of training? How" Eagleston talks of PICS-IVY Tech plan - secret of success is local coordination and as State Sen. I will be best suited to do that coord.

DQ - training program didn't work because inc. maint. - new one will be for training for new jobs - along lines of new federalism - decisions not made in Labor Dept, but in Lafayette, Ind. Businessmen in Lafayette know where new jobs will come from. Do you think some bur. in Washington knows where new jobs will come from? No. Your State Sen., ^{you} local businessman knows where the jobs will come from."

This press conference - 5 reporters and one TV - 18 here where Eagleston plays off Quayle's Job Training bill.

Caterpillar Tour - employs 273 now and will get to 1000 by mid '80s.

On re Quayle / Tsongas bill (TV reporter can't pronounce PT and has question written out). DQ calls it moderate reform to help corn farmer - don't want barriers. *read free* ~~for~~ trade.

Tax Bill ^{man} ~~man~~. No one likes bill 100%. It's a package. Either you're going to reduce the deficits through tax reform or you're not."

Went to Warren (Puzzle Making Co.) then to Great Lakes Chemical Corp. for interview with Purdue reporter. I recorded that and Eagleston came into it and delivered campaign speech.

During our discussion of institutions that first day, Dan expressed the view that big issues should be bipartisan. He thinks in bipartisan terms.--soc. sec., tax, jobs. He's not a rousing partisan. At the exec. meeting Griffiths said he had just seen Dan called a "pragmatic conservative" and said "I like that." He's Dan's oldest friend in the group said Dan and the original link to most of the others.

Kokomo fund raiser for State legislative candidates. "I'm going to take a little different twist than what you may hear and even talk about in your coffee shops. Of course, things aren't as good as we want..." but...I'd like to take a few moments to talk about the positive signs and positive trends in the country." Infl 12% to 6. Int. 20 1/2% to 14%. Compare to Carter 6 to 20 1/2% int. rates. Who is doing something? Congress enacted 400 B in saving (applause). 3 dollars of reduction for one in revenues. "Remarkable turnaround and still it's not enough." Big deficits projected. "Going to have to reduce spending even more." RR will be adamant and support that adamancy (sic) to balance budget once and for all (applause).

*PD-DQ 82
top and
helping thru.*

Supplemental - veto surprise. "We were occupied with tax and reconciliation and it was the third issue."

He jumps around, shows a lot of animation. Staggered playfully. "It never fails", ^{he said} when asked to speak.

Jobs bill. "We have cut 2B from training under previous admin and give authority not to some bureaucrat in Washington but to people here in Howard County. We are taking lead in talking about jobs and opportunity... Let's not kid ourselves. There will have to be new industry-- Bill in conference committee. We can have leadership issue in jobs and opportunity.

We understand and ~~nurture~~ traditional values. ind. liberty, ~~limited~~ gov't, strong defense, family unit.

Burke quote "for evil to triumph let good people do nothing." roll up sleeves.

They stand up when he starts and when he finishes.

At press conference after fund raiser he talks about section in jobs bill for dislocated workers and wages people in industries to seek training. "The bill's in conference. It passed the bill 95-0 in Senate and ... will go on down and be signed by President" so easy!

He talks about difference between CETA and ^{his} ~~gets~~ bill--performance, training, ~~training~~, state control.

Again uses idea of September showdown on budget." "I'm inclined to support the President..."

pipeline - as per his Washington Post article - "We're really giving them foreign aid in this situation." The three state reps sit there and nod while he talks Poland, NATO, etc. A big difference

Will job training help farmer? Not unless some farmers qualify and want to be trained. Doesn't exclude farmers.

New industry needed - tomorrow's procurement conference stressed again.

Kokomo JayCees - Re better times..."We'll do it because we've done it before and gotten up. We've gotten bloody noses and come back before... We've done it in the past and we'll do it again."

Question - "I'm a supporter of yours, but is the benefit of jobs bill worth the cost?"

Jobs bill - will be beneficial in short and long run - consistent with my philosophy - when I took control of subcommittee we were spending 5B 1st year cut 2B. Now instituted program that will cut more - give power to local busⁱⁿ leader right here in Howard County. We've got to have new jobs. Lots of people not going back to old jobs. Not sit there on food stamps and welfare ~~but~~ train. Serious reduction ^{in amount} ~~was most~~ of money spent - in hey day CETA spent 11B, new program 3.8 and it will far outstrip CETA. It was a failure, we don't want a failure. If you go through it you will find it's a good program at ^{the} least ~~cost~~ to government."

Qu re tax breaks for amateur sports bodies - hasn't thought of it yet and no questions and no focus and no letters. An issue very early on and he's just not ready for it.

He comments on it as soon as we leave. I said I called it an emerging issue. He rolled those words over in his mind and chuckled.

Mike Carroll speech at his breakfast. "The number one issue is jobs... I've come out in favor of some of the bills Dan Quayle has sponsored in Washington. One of the most important is the job training bill. Another is the balanced budget amendment...."

Carroll introduces DQ - calls him "leader in Congress" in House - bills and "legis. leadership has been phenomenal."

"Can't remember a bill, unless it meant nothing to anybody, that passed Senate 95-0...remarkable to get Admin. coop. and Dem. coop. to get bill through, sponsored with Senator Kennedy.

DQ - "everybody knows stuffing (sic) Mike is made of."

Mike Carroll is "cream of crop - kind of young person we have been pleading with to run for office."

In the car, Dan said he didn't want to issue the press release Larry had written because it had something anti-Jacobs in it. "He's too good a friend of mine. I never talk against individuals. I'll only talk about the positive qualities of Mike Carroll."

"We are the ones who are talking about jobs and job training. We are the ones who are out there doing things not just criticizing. I get a little bit distressed sometimes when I hear so much that is negative. There are a lot of positive signs. We are training people for jobs, giving them new skills. We aren't just sitting on the sidelines. There's an old saying 'Don't give people fish. Teach them how to fish.' That's what we are doing."

"Jobs training will do more for people for this area and this state at less money."

'We're not a bunch of Kings. This gov't is the people.'

As we stood outside the door of the Mike Carroll affair talking about the problem of getting Dan out of there, Steve and Larry said that Dan is a great problem but Lugar 'when his staff tells him he's got to leave, he goes along meekly. He does what they tell him to do.' Later, Steve said, "With Lugar, you get the feeling that he's a puppet. He does what the staff tells him to do. With Dan it's just the opposite. 51% of the input is his and 49% is ours. That's good because it means he's involved. But we are trying to get him to sit down and listen a little more to what the staff is telling. As the staff says, ^{he} he still thinks he's campaigning. We don't think he has to go to every little knot hole in Indiana and shake hands. We think he should do things that are more constructive that he should be more interested in quality than quantity. He has done a lot of constructive things in Washington that he can talk about. Yesterday you probably saw him at his best. He likes to jump from group to group, go in, take off his coat, roll up his sleeves, shake hands and talk to people."

*Ask
Responsible
action in
front of
the
in 1982*

Productivity and ^{group} growth - Republicans shy away from Labor Committee. It was "happenstance" that he got committee. productivity not a dirty word any more.

Wants ideas - regulations that inhibit productivity - tax reform - int'l trade - over *whelmed* by trip to Europe dominating thought and politics.

Cqll in show - more about that than anything.

Asks for ideas on trade.

Went over to talk NATO, AS, *overwhelmed* by economy - all upset re pipeline.

Really interested in specifics - union management - Japan harmonious. key objective - what's going on out there and in drawer interests - wants

beneficial to you and to me

(group of 7 people here) Ques - ^{Human} ~~House~~ Resources Committee - what does it do? All labor issues - situs picketing, 14B, pension reform, drugs, health, empl. training.

If I ever get on Finance Committee , it opens up whole tax matter. Dole rather close working relationship campaigned for me in 1976 - said I was only guy he helped who won.

He talks as if he doesn't cotton to r & d, i.e., he doesn't stress it. A guy says with taxes the way they are, companies cut r & d budget.

companies cutting back on their training now - same as r & d - human resources budget gets cut because you can tolerate ^{it} in short run. tendency is to say we'll do it publicly - if we look at it other way, give tax incentive for training.

Dan talks about his bill - some people can't be trained by industry - dislocated workers, etc.

One guy says everyone has incentive and ...no one has incentive. Stop changing rules of game, sell stability - too many new ideas - he thinks interest rates are high because of uncertainty of lenders - we should think stability and not change.

Dan goes to tax simplification

VAT - some go around, claim is it adds to productivity.

^{work} Story reenforcement on stability - "We have to know sun is coming up in morning." "Change creates havoc."

Tax system doesn't make system work - savings, and invest consumption" makes it work.

More labor management coop. big attack on "local content."

Disc. of how to get bus. and labor together, so that they don't have to go to gov't so much.

Upset at gov't - promoted attitude of dependence.

Attack on seniority - keeps newly trained people out of the job. Young people are most productive and seniority is a barrier.

unions don't like idea of productivity - why? Not true. UAW talks about it now - better way is to use "competitive" rank and file will respond to competitiveness - NUCOR

"What can gov't do," asks DQ. "I come away from productivity labor management discussion is for gov't to be out!" They agree--be umpires, be cheerleaders, they say. "When somebody gets out of line, forget the votes and say so..." "air controllers was good example, they agree."

"The enemy is the competitive." Talk re team. "If water ~~boy~~ doesn't show up, they're going to die of heat prostration."

DQ - "Politicians are funny animals. Like to cut taxes and go home and wave flags and say look what we did for you. This year was very strange-- we added taxes. Given nature of the beast, they are always going to be fiddling with the tax code... Problem is how ^{do} we get ^{the} stability you want - th given th nature^s of politicians who want to fiddle with taxes."

Three years maximum says one.

Proposal: stop taxation of ^{dividends} --double taxation. Small Corp. could get cheaper capital and more people will participate.

Other guy wonders about transition rules, and phasing in and out problem.

Can we keep it sacred from special interest groups? Guy points out every one in room has special interest. He sees 10 years of instability possible over tax simplification.

DQ says what will happen is that first step will be an individual¹ tax~~#~~ with deductions. Business later.

DQ "Guy in street thinks tax code is an absolute disgrace."

Idea of offering business tax trade offs - simplify tax rates for nontaxing of dividends, cut tax credits.

Idea that people take risks when taxes are high and maybe taxes should be higher. We've got to take risks, and that's what happens when taxes are high - what do we want in Indiana - action or no action. Flat tax will make everyone conservative and unwilling to take risk and we may stagnate. People who make money ought to be taxed heavily and given deductions to keep them off the sidelines.

Dan sums up. "I'll be rewriting the tax bill and before we do we want your comments and again, specific suggestions," *2dr in 1 specific*

We leave and go to Procurement Conference.

"Avionics is a fine operation. I think Sec'y Lehman will adhere (sic) to its viability." DQ schmoozes with press, but he doesn't ever mention his membership on Armed Services. Finally Lehman mentions it.

Watching him on TV in a press conference makes you very conscious of how incredibly photogenic he is. Mike and Tim say he "hates" to have picture taken.

Lehman comes in and calls him and Lugar "dynamos" - Indiana up 1B in two years. 19th to 15th. Benefits of bigger defense budget!

Dan introduced Mayor Hudnut and Lehman. He does it with arms flailing and with hyperbole and good humor. He mocks Hudnut a little, saying that he will give a "brief, brief, brief welcome" and then, afterward, saying "Thank you Mayor, for the keynote address. We will take questions now."

While we sit for lunch, Tim and Larry and Mike talk about Dan, who is out shaking hands in the lunch line. Says Tim "He's out there campaigning for reelection when he should be up on the podium with all the others. He'll forget that he's supposed to introduce Secretary Lehman, he won't eat any lunch and then he'll be upset. And he's a three meals a day man. He won't let us build in any time for shaking hands. So we can't put that in the schedule. If we build in gaps without labelling them, he'll find them and insist we fill them up. Still, when he gets to the situation he will want to shake hands. He loves it."

I said 'He fights against the schedule.' and they all agreed. So he's not easy to schedule and they have to change continually. Larry worries all the time. Mike calls him "very temperamental" and we talked about his one cranky outburst yesterday. "Just get me there." Tim and Mike talk about how they are "at him all the time" with a certain amount of irreverence. Mike says he used to know Dan before he was in Congress and that it's a little hard when Dan takes the "I'm the Senator" posture.

Sitting here listening to the speech of Lehman on "Defense Recovery Program" I'm reminded of framing the question. Also I'm reminded of what a temptation there is to overheat rhetoric. That's one reason why campaigns *(are like they are)*

"Happy have we met.

Happy have we been.

Happy shall we be.

Till we meet again."

What his grandfather used to say at newspaper family picnics and events. He used it at Orchard Ridge Country Club and I think it expresses his happy sentiment.

His face brightens up almost in wonderment when he talks to you about

some new subject. Whenever he turns around in the car, or at a meal and says something to me, his face brightens with a big smile.

At dinner in Columbus, Joe confirmed the "extremely important" function of the jobs bill in the meeting with the blacks." "The purpose was to open up a dialogue. And it was extremely important to the black leaders that here was a man who had really done something. It gave him credibility with them. They knew he didn't have to do what he did on job training. They were aware that he was opposed by the administration. So they knew he was not just a guy saying what he would do. They knew about his support of the voting rights bill. But the jobs bill was extremely important, almost essential to the success of the meeting. And it was a big success. That last sentence was the evidence--the suggestion of a minority advisory committee. Two years ago there was no way those men would ever have thought of such a thing. They didn't think Dan Quayle could be of any help to them and listen to them or relate to them. Now they know he will listen. They know he won't do a lot of things they want. But they know he has worked hard to do something that helps them." No illusions on either side. They've been through it before. Dan making Joe Ass't State Director and not just minority affairs person was a key signal to blacks that he was important. All were for Bayh in 1980. They may see growth - potential in Dan, too. Joe has a piece of campaign literature very anti Quayle.

Dan's comments, in North Vernon, Chick _____ porch re. W.SJ article.

note
"It was just a gossip article. It left me alone, but it took a couple of past incidents involving the others. Of course, they can write any way they want. It was very unfair. It was the crummiest article I've seen. It was nothing--just gossip."

Anderson Ch. of Commerce (I have tape) Introduction. "He has recently authored a Jobs Training Bill and introduced a flat tax bill."

"Let me give a different picture...I'm not as much of a doomsayer, that we are going over the cliff. As a matter of fact, I'm a lot more optimistic. Sees "ec. upturn."

As he talks he moves from side to side, looks first one way with back to one side, then to the other. Keeps his hands moving to punctuate ideas, pumps, points, puts hand to head, index finger to mouth, makes shapes with his arms and hands as he talks.

"Two positive trend lines" infl and int.

"There is hope that indications instead of having trend lines going up they will go down toward what we all want to get to--a balanced budget."

"If nothing had been done" he paints picture of much worse conditions.

"Clear signal sent to Congress" by Pres. via veto.

Lowering deficit - "most important signal we can give."

I am far more optimistic than the average person. I think that the future will be far more brighter than the past, that next year will be better than last year."

On to reciprocity and free trade. "absolute worst thing to do is to have ec. isolation...because then you lose communication and ^{ITW} our own exports." ^{you also lose the quality of life} Wants to give Pres. flexibility to deal with other nations.

"Big business is what little business will become if the gov't will ^{just let them do it.} only let it."

Last sentence - if we nourish traditional values...we will be better off. Thank you."

Ques. - Compare Afghanistan^Y and Israel. Very strong supp. for Israel.

Ques. - Taiwan - "Hey if we are going to abandon Taiwan, how must Israel feel."

at about 1:50 on tape, his best statement re our special rel. with Is. etc. biblical connection

Dan focuses on all these questions on how a thing is portrayed or projected or interpreted.

Quality of life i.e. older citizens 202 projects to stabilize neighborhood - do you support them? Helps us in Anderson.

(Comment after Indiana Procurement Conference." There were 1100 people there. When Bob Orr finds that out, he'll be very upset. He'll ream out someone on his staff. He's just sitting over there in his office.")

Social Security - special session.

"I've always had a great deal of optimism and confidence in the people" (people are ahead of Congress on tax simplification).

Question on "productivity" - how produces it - incentives - sound dollar that produces purchasing power, savings, investment, less regulation, labor management relations.

Pipeline - technology leaks.

Reflection - At any point in time, you really do have a particular set of questions. And if questions are different, the answers tend to move around to way he's prepared. He controls answers to most questions--unless they come out of the blue totally.

Tool and die and machinists shortage - "that's part of jobs training bill I have moving through the Congress and will hopefully be signed by Pres. in Sept."

Radio interview after Ch. of C. Speech - ques. about job training bill -

"can see light at the end of the tunnel" in conf. will be signed by Pres. as idea of getting Washington out of it. "That's an idea I have nourished from Day One." "Calls it "Quayle job training bill."

On way to Muncie. Talked about relations between county chairman and Quayle's county coordinator. e.g. "it varies."

company Will you go with your present county coordinator? "That's what we'll be talking about this afternoon--how to sanitize our organization. The goal is to be able to have a meeting with all our coordinators in December of 1984 right after the Presidential election. We want to have our people picked by them and ready to go for the next two years."

There is a deadline aspect to campaign planning, too. So, they work by deadline in both contexts.

Larry: "After every trip he says I should build 45 minutes into the schedule every afternoon so that he can rest. But every time I do it, he insists that we fill it up.

Steve: "He's so used to the campaign pace that if we don't still keep it up he thinks we're not being productive."

Larry: "When I first went to work for him, he said that every time we rented a plane we had to hit five cities to make it worthwhile."

Steve: "That's ridiculous It's OK for the last week of the campaign. But not for a regular day in the state."

Ralph Van Natta talks about Dan taking on tasks thought to be impossible. "all you had to do was turn him loose in an alien environment and collect him at the other end and he will have converted everyone in the process."

*Big diff. between AS & DQ. DQ has had unreserved successes. Makes him optimistic and AS more fatalistic and aggressive at the same time. All the talk at the country club was in terms of how they were both impossible races--1976 & 1980. I went around table and 3 out of 4 thought he could not beat Bayh.

Ralph says "Dan Quayle and I go back a long way--to the time he was in law school two years ago." (laughter)

Larry says Dan tends to exaggerate when he gets going. I think his 400B in savings routine is one example here. He just neglects to say "Over three years."

"The balanced budget amendment just restores some of the bias that exists in our government" (sic). "restore, some bias to the irresponsible gov't."

He answers economic questions pretty well now - not knowledgeably but authoritatively in an overall sense.

*Highly
w/ MC for*

After Borg Warner tour - Steve and Larry tell him they are 45 minutes behind. "I thought we had a gap in the schedule. Don't show me a gap in the schedule or I'll fill it. When you guys get me out here on the campaign trail, I'm like a thoroughbred ready to run." Larry complained to me at length after the Executive Committee meeting about getting him out of the campaign mode. "In May the staff and the executive committee had a meeting and the one recommendation which came out of that meeting was that Dan get out of his campaigning style on his home visits and that he go in early for quality events that promised a big payoff. There was a consensus among everybody that this was his number one problem. I worked out two schedules that followed that pattern. But then he began changing them and filling in all these little things that crowd up the schedule and don't do us any good. It's gone down hill ever since."

*all this talk
of scheduling
with the work
behind I think
hard to
manage hi.*

He hates to sit and do nothing. He works standing up says Larry. He just doesn't like slack time or thinking time.

"We have discussion all the time in the office whether Dan would be better off concentrating on one thing or trying to do a lot of different things. He vacillates from one view to the other. In those periods when he tries to do everything at once he usually does everything badly."

I chimed in and said his temperament pulled him to jump around, and Larry agreed. Then I said I thought it was part of his youthfulness, his ebullience. I said he's a young man. And Larry said "He's a lot younger than 35." But we agreed he's got a lot of potential for growth and is growing.

*I think with Specter it's a matter of learning. With Quayle it's a matter of growing. There's a difference. Arlen has done his growing.

Steve said that when you cut out flying days that Dan was in the state 35 days in 1981. This year, by the end of October, Larry says, he will have been in state 45 days and visited 35 countries. Exec. comm. recommends every other week plus recesses. But says Larry, "Marilyn won't let him." When they screened Larry for job, they told him that --and gave him 20 page plan.

Executive Committee
After meeting Dan said "The one message I got was come home more. That's all they ever tell me every time we meet." And Lester said "More visibility."

*Think ahead
no res
on la under
Carbonyl*
Dan turned to me and said "I'm convinced that reciprocity in trade will be the big issue of the 1980's. I got it yesterday; I got another dose of it tonight. (at dinner with exec. committee). You noticed that when I covered that in my speech in Anderson, I didn't get a single question on it. That's unusual for Anderson. But I think I talked about it enough to satisfy them." An instance where his European trip helped him--as Barbara McClennan said.

He also talked in the car about his advisory group - None from Ft. Wayne. Hard to get them together, he said and "The state is run from Indianapolis. Politically, the people in Ft. Wayne aren't as well connected."

He discussed how he got them together - ex-Bowen friends, law school, couple of additions. "It's strictly through friendship that the group was formed. I had an advising group when I ran for the House. But it was completely different. Ernie Williams the editor of the paper suggested I have one. Once we decided to do it we had to have someone from each of the party factions. Each member represented a distinct group and would report back to that group. You had to do that because you were so close to the community. Everybody knew everybody. You couldn't keep any one group out.

I didn't know anyone of them when we began. It was smaller than the Senate

H-S
dM

group--4 people. They kept me in touch with the party factions. But they were not my friends. In a Senate campaign, nobody knows ^{or} ~~we~~ cares who is on the advising committee. You can do it strictly by friendship."

Dan was only one who wanted to debate Bayh in campaign and he made decision to do it even though his advisors had said no. Miles: "To a man we were against it. We thought you would lose". Evans: We thought Bayh would Lugarize you, dance you around and make you look silly." Dan "I didn't know you were saying I wouldn't debate, so I went ahead and agreed. It was one time we didn't coordinate and discuss something I felt should have been discussed. But I didn't feel there was any problem debating Birch Bayh. It's an advantage to my challenger and I was all for it anyway." A sign of his confidence, optimism.

The other decision he didn't have sufficient input on was when to run negative ads. "Marilyn and I were sitting in the motel telling ourselves that we were pure and high minded and we weren't ever going to run negative ads and we turned on the TV and there were the negative ads already running."

Evans said they tracked BB and after his oil ads he went up, so they headed him off.

me m
career

Dan posed the what do I do in 1983 as the key question of the day. Said he devoted 2 years to getting Washington reputation respect of peers, concentrating on legis. job, learning the business but he wondered what to do in 1983--what he called in his memo to the group "the last uncluttered year" before I have to start to run for reelection. They said he should get more visible at home but also agreed that as Evans said "1983 should be another year in which you concentrate on your reputation in Washington." "A Washington reputation year."

They said he had proved he could be a senator, had a foundation, they had worried a lot. But that's all behind us now.

Job training as basis for that Washington reputation. Also on entree into minority groups and places that aren't his natural support. Moses strong on this. How to market it was major topic - to "milk it". "I never dreamed you could get this kind of mileage out of the CETA program-- or the Son of CETA."

Agreed to raise money in 1983 and that 1983 should be year of enhancing Washington reputation. Evans wants 100,000. Moses wants 250,000.

Talk of committees and possible changes. He wants Finance. They discuss benefits of that committee. Would drop A.S. might ~~drop~~ ^{with} Budget for Envir., Energy, as 3rd com.

Talk of his perception. "We've talked about the pipe line from Washington to Indiana but we haven't talked about what we are going to send through that pipeline. Who is Dan Quayle? What are we going to market? Bowen is the county doctor. Lugar is the intellectual. What is Dan Quayle? What is the theme that we will use to package the candidate. We ought to think about that so all of us can start pushing that theme, in legislation, in press releases, in warding off opposition." "A go around ~~they had more experience than I had before they got into this~~ ^{Let's call you 'Dan'} to no good conclusion. Reed poll results re characteristics - "activist," ^{Quayle's} "populist," "fighter."

Job approval 60%: ID 29% - why drop - need for more newsletters - more mailings to faithful - "Don't hide your light under a bushel." Dan says made mistake in not playing up each stage of jobs bill to take credit. He admits he's not good at that. And he isn't. Lester says there isn't much news in 7-0, 9-0, 95-0. Dan says "We had a hell of a fight to get that passed. But we didn't do as good a job as we could in publicizing it. We just said ^{Bill} 'Budget passed the committee.' His committee wants more publicity.

*he is splurging
means a lot
money - not a lot
of it*

Separation of legis. and campaign staffs. Talk re issues vs. perception, possible opponents, joint staff arrangement.

Dan ticks off accomplishments, budget, taxes, voting rights and jobs bill "that's about all there is." ~~(sic)~~

"I'm nonplussed about it. I don't care. It's not an issue with me." re joint staff.

Strong defense of Israel in face of strong condemnation of bombing. "I have not changed my position of absolute support for Israel one iota. My support is ironclad."

They beat on him about tax bill vote--re withholding. They mildly demur on sugar. "We've gone too far now to think of turning back. If I'm the only one standing on the floor, I'll be there by myself for two days fighting for the amendment."

He's the man on the issues--almost headstrong. They are the nurturers and marketers. A real division between "issues" created in Washington and campaign which is back home enterprise. Yet the jobs bill accomplishment was clearly the basis for thinking his Washington career was going well. Had he not had a jobs bill they would have been thrashing around looking for issues. As it was they joked over *Jim's* issue paper. "Can I put it in my car and read it later?" "That's your business. If we can help you let us know."

As for career in Washington and career in the constituency, the Senator has to nurture his career in Washington first.

Campaign manager chosen by Jan. 1985 - have to wait to see who surfs.

Comments on labor "aim of Democratic party--we'll never get them. It's a total waste of time." farmers - "they are a tiny minority." "Yes but a lot of people are sensitive to agriculture." DQ a broader view than advisors.

*Home
advisors
talk down
issues &
don't tell him
what to do
on issues.
At least they are
satisfied
of it.*

SLA

In the morning Friday, Dan has breakfast with Governor Orr (he gets no breakfast and we have to stop at McDonald's so he can eat!) While he's there Steve Risley lays out the office plan for me. The two top joint people are former Lugar employees. "There's a favoritism toward Lugar. I suppose it's natural. But we have to fight to pull even." "It's a great idea if people would only get over the petty competition and do the job." Quayle people get paid more than Lugar counterparts. Quayle people try to influence new appointments. If you ask staffers how it's going (Patty Cook) there are no problems. But as you get to know them, the Quayle people see a rivalry. In the advisory meeting, Ron said he met with a couple hundred people in Southern Indiana and the papers reported him as an aide of Senator Lugar. At the procurement conference, the joint staff people went around with badges saying "Lugar-Quayle staff." The advisory group attributed this to Lugar's aggressiveness and to the campaign year. "We agreed this was to be Lugar's year, that he should be out front and we would defer to him. After the election, we will sit down and talk with them and remind them of our agreement." Otherwise the group assumed that the Quayle people would solve their own problem by being more aggressive. They agreed that it was an internal problem but not a publicity perceived problem. They agreed emphatically that the costs of a "divorce" far outweighed the benefits, that the press would never let up in probing for conflict, that they would interpret it on Quayle riding Lugar's coattails and then being ditched. Lugar is seen as strong and they want to make certain that Dan does nothing to seem weak or the junior partner.

sub
sheet

Dan and Larry talk re tax simplification. Larry sees it as the next issue for Dan after jobs bill. "I'm not getting a lot of support from

okay

Republicans. The problem is the nature of our constituency. They all have so many tax deductions or tax breaks. But if we don't pick it up as a party issue we'll be missing the boat. It's a people's issue." That's the sense in which Jim sees Dan as a populist.

Larry told him that he and I thought Anderson speech was the best. "It takes me four days to get warmed up."

method

Method: Pfizer skeptical of me because they didn't think I'd understand the honorarium they are paying Dan! Silly sensitivity. Anyway, they have been assured that I won't mention names.

At the break during the advisory committee meeting, Ron Evans took Larry aside and asked if I was OK. None of them came over to talk to me during the affair. Miles did ask me a couple of questions.

consult

One of the committee referred to this period of campaigning for others as "the hand holding period." Dan sees it as the time of seeing "party faithful" - called it a "beneficial time."

by hand

Pfizer - new facility - starts by contrasting it with places where jobs are declining - lucky to be in magnetics industry that will expand and provide more jobs. One of pieces of legs. I have been assoc. with is training for jobs *society* in transition - people are losing jobs they aren't going to be able to go back to. Real challenge and something I've worked very hard on--reorienting and redirecting labor resources. Jobs are what we are all trying to develop--esp. in private sector--(on to int. rates).

He mentions spirit of camaraderie here at Pfizer. 2 ways to succeed - competitive and working together to be productive.

"I cannot believe, I will not accept the fact that we cannot be competitive with any nation in the world if we play by the same rules and regulations. If we have to work harder we will work harder. Free trade means fairness and equity."

"Instead of winding up for 45 minutes as we do on the floor of the Senate, I will cease (sic) the opportunity and yield the floor for more questions."

Pfizer - 2 questions on abortion - pro Hatch amend. - if Indiana passed anti abortion law "I wouldn't second judge it." Later "Those were the only questions on abortion the whole trip. I talked to them afterward to find out where they were coming from. They were both pro-choice. When I asked them whether they didn't think Indiana should decide that question, they agreed."

*Dem
Cough*

"I guess you saw how out of tune I am with my constituency on Israel." I asked him where that strong defense of Israel came from. "I've always admired Israel. There's even a biblical basis for my feeling. And second, I think they did us a great favor by showing that they would use force to fight for their survival." Says that approval of military force distinguishes him from Paul Tsongas.

(go to book #2)

Steve: "He's a good man to work for even if he is temperamental. He's on the move all the time when he's here--we spend 24 hours a day babysitting him. He wants to go 100% all the time, and if he isn't he thinks he's not being productive. Then, when we do go 100% he says stop and give me a break. I'm resigned to the fact that he's a habitual complainer. The difference between him and Lugar as I see it is that Lugar does whatever his staff tells him. With Quayle, he's the chairman of the board. He has at least 51% of the control. He's got a lot of potential."

This picture of Quayle being confident at home,--more so than Lugar--may contrast with Lugar being more confident in Washington. Though I must say, confidence is one of Quayle's middle names.

As we neared Washington in Pfizer's private plane he talked of the conference. "We worked it around to where there was agreement that Hawkins and I would sit down and see what we could agree to and then bring it back to the group. That means Bob Guttman and Susan Grayson will see what they can work out. It took us three hours to agree to that much. Privately, Jim Jeffords objected to that. He wanted to be in on it. But I said nothing doing, if he came in, I'd have to take Hatch, if Hatch was in on it, I'd have to include Kennedy. We'll work things around on a few issues and then I'll have to stop and see what the administration wants. It may take me some time to get to Jim Baker, so I don't know how soon it we can finish. We'll have to take the tough issues first, I think because those decisions will affect all the others."

When we first met, he told me much the same thing, but had also said "We had to get all the interest groups out of there."

When I got off the plane the first day, I asked if Dan was out playing golf. "He's out there but he's complaining. He has to stay on the same hole and then tees off with each group as they go through. He doesn't even get to putt much. He says I'm not playing golf. I'm just shaking hands. He's not happy. He's so competitive." But these are his strongest supporters.

It's interesting that young as he is, two of the people who worked for him are running for Congress. Coats and Van Natta. He's not effusive in his praise for them as people or human beings. His pitch, for all House candidates was that we need a vote for the Republican candidate for speaker. He dramatized the key fact about their victory by saying that they will not vote for Tip O'Neill. This wasn't true of Dan Coats, but it was of Carroll, Van Natta and Floyd Coates. Carroll netted 3000 from the Quayle breakfast and Van Natta netted 5000. Whether this lack of personal warmth or personal testimony on behalf of these people is anything of interest, I don't know. But for a guy who drove Dan around as much as Ralph did, you would think there would ^{be} jokes and affection when Dan talked about him. There wasn't. He displays a lot of superficial warmth; but not deep warmth toward others. Maybe I'm just seeing ~~him~~ things.

At County Club he recounted that when Howard Baker introduces him to an audience he says "Dan I was young once and I got over it." (laughter) Nickles is more like a little old man, all buttoned up. Dan is unbuttoned, always takes coat off, is informal in approach.

When we got in the car to go to Lincoln life, he asked me how far back you would have to go to find a divided gov't. It was the first question he asked me when I had gone to Washington after the election. I told him

1931-1932. He is intrigued by this, but apparently doesn't remember it. He said 1934 a couple of times during his speeches and I had to remind him it was Hoover's second two years. He didn't know that 1934 was precisely the opposite from the kind of year he said it was. He's not an historian!

method
method
At some point early on in the visit he told me he'd just come back from Vermont and had been reading "A Man Called Intrepid." I told him I'd been reading it too and made a couple of comments. But he didn't respond. I think he thinks he should talk books and history to me. Cohen thinks he should, too, but he really reads them and is a literary person. Quayle is not an intellectual; but he sees me as the professor, so he wants to reach to me that way. It's nice, but he doesn't do it very well. I don't think he's comfortable around intellectuals. He thinks Sharp and Fithian are "just a couple of political scientists who should be sent back where they belong."

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I asked him if the vote on the tax bill was hard for him. "No it was not a big problem for me. It was the right thing to do. As a member of the budget committee who voted for the budget, I was committed to it. The mail was heavily against it. If I had wanted to please my constituency, I would have voted against it. Only one part of it was hard to take--the withholding of interest and dividends. I don't like that. During the Carter administration, I came out strongly against it. That was hard for me to swallow. But everybody had some part of it he didn't like. You had to vote for the package. It was a good bill."

He said this on Monday. On Thursday evening, his executive committee gave him a hard time on the withholding matter--esp. by telling him there was no 4B revenue to be gotten. Dan said, again, that he had had a hard time with that and with the tax on tips. He said to them "I took the high road on the tax bill."

I asked him who his best friends in the House had been. He said Michel and Railsback. "That was entirely through golf." Then he said "And the gym group, Tom Downey, Toby Moffett, Marty Russo. We'd go up on the floor and knock each other's heads in and then go down to the gym and have a great time."

He noted that the class of 1976 was small and that the class of 1978 was big. "I didn't get to know the class of '78 because I was never there. I was always on the phone with the campaign or back home campaigning." I never asked him re friends in the Senate. But I don't think it's golf that binds. He complained about his golf game a few times and said he was going to take up tennis.

In Lafayette, Bob Mitchell, a banker, came up afterward and talked about Dan's Father Jim. "He was an arch conservative. You could not get more conservative than Jimmy Quayle. He was always on the go. He would come into the bank bubbling with enthusiasm to tell me about what he was going to do next. He was an activist." I asked Bob if he was an optimist. "He certainly was, because he believed the Republican way was the right way." (he chopped his hand into his palm.)

On the way to the talk show (which his advisors thought he should do more of) "The first question will probably be about the gym, then abortion, gun control, ~~or~~ social security. I added the page's scandal' and he said yes 'and the pages'." He laughed. Afterward he said to others, "Do you know what the first question was about? Railroad Retirement." At the break, during the program he came out of the studio and talked about how he wasn't sure what the problem was. He was worried about it. Then on the plane ride back from Pfizer, he showed me the letter on his social security answer signed by a bunch of soc. sec. employees. "Boy I sure walked right into that

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on the
tape

one. I suppose I should have known more about it than I did. But how could I know where she was coming from?" We laughed a lot about how he was sand-bagged. Soc. Sec. had demanded a refund because a guy died ²¹37 minutes before the end of the month. A Congressman had told the widow not to return the money and Dan was asked what he thought about it. (I have it on tape.) He agreed with the congressman and said "some bureaucrat" was following a "technicality." She was just such a bureaucrat and wrote an indignant letter asking him whether, as Senator, he advised people to obey the law or send money to dead people! We laughed hard about it and he told the story to Pfizer guys.

(30 M 483
in record)

He told Ralph Van Natta to stay away from social security issue entirely after their press conference in which Ralph criticized some aspects of it.

JTPH

Re Jobs Bill - "I didn't get one iota of support from the administration. The Labor Department is the worst department in the federal government... Shasteen drove Bob Guttman crazy. I told him that he was doing a disservice to the President. He was the hatchet man and he liked doing that. But he was not an important influence."

Jim Wolf says Dan has a good memory. "He doesn't have a photographic memory, but almost. You may have to jog him, but when you do, he remembers nearly everything."

Jim said he thought that you learn tricks of memory in the campaign where you have to remember people's names, and that this carries over into the Senate. An interesting connection between a skill needed to campaign which helps in governing. A transfer of learning. You do better on issues if you do well on names.

Which reminds me of the conversation I heard in the men's room after the

Anderson talk. "He's pretty sharp." "He sure is. It takes something to be an instant expert on all those different subjects."

The "schedule" theme began almost as soon as I met Larry, as he struggled to adjust. Jim said, on the second day, "This is a typical Dan Quayle schedule. It is packed; but he doesn't do enough that is substantial or constructive." It could be that his advisors underestimate the amount of time he is home because he doesn't do the kinds of things they notice. At the meeting, they were tickled with the procurement conference and the coverage. (one station played it up as a Quayle event and another as a Lugar event, they said but they were pleased "You can't do better than that." They said. Then later they kidded him when he said he was going to Posey County next week. "I'm home all the time. You guys just don't pay attention to the rest of the state."

Larry complained early and late about how he keeps adding to the schedule and changing it. Even last morning, he changed the schedule on who should do what while he ate breakfast with the governor.

Steve Risley, early on, talked about the problem of staff loyalty and time consuming squabbles. "It's a good idea. But little things take too much time and we don't accomplish as much as we should. We spend time over picayunish things like whether we should say Lugar-Quayle or Quayle-Lugar and how it should be on the press releases." Same theme echoed later.

They are conscious of Lugar's position on issues. When Larry handed him ^a Dear Colleague on saving the whales to see if he would co-sponsor, he said "Lugar has signed on." When they were briefing him on the meeting with the bankers they told him what Lugar's position was. In that meeting, the bankers were protesting tht an original Garn Bill to help banks got turned into an S & L bill via an amend. by Heinz. They were opposing the new bill. Dan told them to get some amendments to offer if the bill came

to the floor and not to be against the bill flat. He said he'd check with Garn and get back to them on the status of the bill, prospects, etc.

At Chick's house, the Jennings County chmn., the newspaper editor said to him "You're the first Senator to visit this county in a year when he was not running since Vance Hartke." Dan slumps down and staggers and says "Oh, no!" He uses lots of body language - he bounces, flails, gropes, leans with one arm on the shoulder of person he's talking to or with both arms on shoulder of two people if he's talking to two.

I'd have to say that I ^{had} ~~saw~~ him meet with two pretty impressive groups-- his productivity advisory group and his exec. committee. I think he gets pretty good advisers. Senators can command that. Jim asked him how he thought the productivity meeting went. "Fine, but we've got to get them to be more specific." That was his plea throughout the meeting. But committees don't get specific unless they have a problem to get their teeth into or if they know the parameters of the problem and the content. The political advisers can say something specific: come home more. That's because they know the options that are available given the public they are addressing--support and reelection.

The meeting with the blacks was the most interesting by far. I took no notes. And I was so tired that day I nearly stopped anyway. But it is clear that they were as far from Dan as any group could be in cultural, political ecological terms. They were Bayh supporters; they had no hope of ever communicating with Dan. And they ended by asking for an advisory group. His voting rights support gave him limited legitimacy with them. The jobs bill also gave him legitimacy with them.

There were 13 Indianapolis leaders there plus Jim Wolff and Joe

Watkins. (Joe is an ordained minister and devout Christian.) Dan takes coat off, thanks 'em for coming and says they are here" to continue the dialogue we began with the voting rights bill." Twice, he said "There ain't going to be anyone who agrees with you more on civil rights than I do." His use of "ain't" was studied, strange and revealed a certain uncomfortableness. But he plunged ahead (he also talked about "the folk." He said he wanted to "put everything up front." "put more cards on the table, "to let you know my door is always open." And said "I have been disappointed and disallusioned by the lack of input from the black community." Said "Dan Quayle is accessible. My door is always open. I wanted to have this meeting so we could continue our dialogue." Apologized for two prior postponements. One was because of voting rights and they had talked over telephone at that time. "Whatever your views were before the election, I want you to know that I want to help. I wasn't in there before. I'm a new Senator; and I want you to know I believe in representative democracy."

These, not in order were his sentiments. And they began to talk.

First minister started right on job training. What would be role of community based organization now that business dominated PIC's. He explained that participation of community organizations was written into the law. Then the minister asked about supportive services and so sermonized a little on how kids thought to be bad just needed a break. Dan said they had battled over that and left some flexibility. "I'm telling you in private, but I won't say it publicly, that the Senate is going to give away a lot of the inflexibility over allowances we have in our bill when we get to conference." But he reiterates his basic objection to wages. Minister talks more and says "Understand, I'm not criticizing you for what

you did. I'm praising you for what you have done. I know you had trouble with the administration. I know you didn't have to do what you did. You're the only one we've got."

Urban League man (Sam ____) said at some point that he, too, praised Dan's work on jobs training but said he was worried that people would think that was the panacea for all our unemployment problems. He asked Dan if he thought the job training bill wasn't being oversold as the answer, when it was really a drop in the bucket. Dan spoke about unemployment as unacceptable. "I don't think this bill will solve all of our problems. I just say it will help. A lot of training is being done by private enterprise--2 billion a year. But there are some folk that private industry just will not touch, whose skills are not close enough so that industry feels it is worth their whole to train. Those are the folks we are aiming our bill at--people who need help but can't get it anywhere else. And the new category of dislocated worker." The Urban League man seems satisfied. He is the one who, at the end of the meeting, suggests an advisory committee.

They talked about minority businesses trying to get a share of gov't business. They talked about how minority business can't get a fair share, how even when they are guaranteed 10% they can't get it. Dan expressed surprise, said he was going to have breakfast with the Governor on Friday and would bring it up.

One man talked about appointments. "Yu said you were disallusioned with the lack of input. I understand what you are saying. But let's look at it both ways. We are on the outside; you are on the inside. You know what appointments there might be. You can tell us when things are coming up that we ought to be interested in." He kept saying that "you are on the inside."

The wealthy minister with the big congregation spoke and said "our problem is that there is nobody on our side. We need somebody who will try foul. You're all we've got. And as you grow in the job, you will learn other things. For you just to say out loud that you are surprised at what you have heard would be a great help to us. Of course that would put you right out on front street."

Afterward I overheard the minister say to Joe. "He may not do all the right things, but he'll listen."

Sam added some more "concerns," "court stripping," tax credits and asked for advising group and Dan readily agreed. He thanked them for coming and said "Let's go at it." He went around shaking hands. Afterwards as we walked to his car under the building, I said it was most interesting meeting because they were "groping" for a relationship. He said "The ironic thing is that on civil rights I'm as strong a supporter as anyone they will find."

I also sat in on a meeting with 3 planned parenthood people. When he first saw it on the schedule, he said "How did that get in the schedule?" On Wed. before the meeting "Why do I have to talk about abortion today?" "Dates to deal with it."

A sharp lawyer (who ran for Congress vs Jacobs once) tried to tell him that the bill was written badly--so badly that it was "garbage" and "that would be a reason enough to vote vs. the bill." Dan: "I hear you loud and clear, lawyer: You mean I'm not being subtle."

"I'm very uncomfortable with the whole issue. I don't feel strongly either way. People like me who are on the fence will have to vote if it comes up." Answering a question says he will vote for cloture on Helms bill. They say 'that will force it to a vote' and he acknowledges that but says that if he has to he has to. He tells them he doesn't think it will

come to a vote, but he doesn't say that he doesn't want it to come to a vote. He says that when the vote does come "the perception will be one of pro or anti abortion and that will have to be taken into account." And he speaks of "people like me who come at it from an anti abortion perspective." He paints a picture of Jesse Helms being "out / ^{there} by himself" so long as people like him don't get involved. "If people like me do get involved, it will lend credibility to the whole thing." So he tells them they will be better off if they don't publicize and escalate the issue. After they left in the office, he said "Whew I didn't come out in any worse shape than when I went in--about neutral." Then he repeated his idea that they would help their cause by ~~cooling~~ cooling it and letting the issue wither. But, of course, it may not wither. Dan dances around on this issue. He hates to deal with it; and he gives some encouragement to the pro choice people. Yet there is no way he can be pro choice in any final reckoning--as Jim Wolff apparently had to explain to Judy Buckalew. The pro choice people don't think of him as the enemy in any emotional sense, say his staff, and may even see him as sympathetic. But that's because they know he's not happy about the issue and takes no pleasure in his position. But he's stuck.

As added grist to idea that his career has been steady string of impossible victories--and the impact of that on his optimism--Dan Evans said "John Deardourff wouldn't even bid on our contract because he didn't think you could win."

JB at the exec meeting. "In the beginning, remember, we worried a lot about whether you had the qualifications to be a Senator. Were you too young to be a Senator? Would people take you seriously as a Senator? Could you gain the respect of your peers in Washington? Were you smart

enough to be a Senator? All that is behind us now. We know you have the qualities to be a good United States Senator. That's been proven. It's the foundation on which we will build for the next 4 years."

*must
in this?* In terms of what I went for--to see him talk about the job training bill--it is clear that the bill is all over the place. It is also clear that he doesn't exploit it as much as you might think a "media candidate" would do. His advisers clearly want him to make more out of it for as long as he can.

"When Mike Carroll stands up and says he can't remember when anyone got a bill like this through 95-0, that's the kind of publicity we want. I never thought you could do so much with son of CETA you have. We should milk it for as long as we can and in every way we can." That's when Dan said he hadn't done all he could." (deliver first check to Indiana Governor, visit training facilities, etc. I even got in the spirit and supported getting them called 'Quayle grants'). But the jobs bill has given his personal constituency confidence in him and assurance that he's a real Senator. It is one basis for his talks to service clubs. It makes other candidates (primary constituency) more eager to associate with him. They always mention it. It was an entre to black community and gave him credibility with them (Legitimacy came from voting rights bill) so it affects his personal constituency, his primary constituency, his reelection constituency and his potential constituency.

At one point in exec. meeting Dan said "We've passed the two budgets, the two tax bills, and the Voting rights Bill. Add the jobs training bill, and that's just about it for this Congress." Sees it as one of half dozen key accomplishments of Congress. (It's one inhibiting factor in crowing about it that if he gets into it, the fights with the admin. become clear, and he doesn't want that.)

Larry talked about newsletters and how long it takes the office to get them out. Dan rewrites, Lester rewrites all through the process.

In the exec. meeting when Watt asked What is Dan Quayle? Dan said "You have characterized the others by what they did before they got into politics. Bowen was a country doctor before he got into politics. Lugar was a Rhodes scholar before he got into politics. What are we going to say about me before I get into politics--that I was a newspaperman? Evans says No, we'll call you Dan Quayle student" (laughter) someone else said "After all, you're only 28 years old, how could you have done anything else"? (laughter)

The most laughter and the most intimate political discussion occurred when they asked him about his support for a limit on the number of terms.

*He is
troubled
with his
head in
the
mud or
on the
line*

"On January 1, 1985, that becomes an issue. You are going to have to face it one way or another." They go around on it in a very friendly, joking, sympathetic warm way. Dan is obviously very uncomfortable with it and he just grinned as they peppered him with possible answers. "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it" was his final answer, throwing his hands up in the air. But it was one potential stumbling block philosophically that was uncovered. He did say "I will continue to support the amendment" but what he'd ever do if the amendment passed was another matter.

They also discussed possible opponents. Hamilton is raising money statewide and they think he's going. Dan thinks Sharp is more likely than Hamilton. They talked about others. They'd like to use "war chest" to preempt tough opposition.

Dan at one point said, with reference to what I can't recall, "You know me, I just go plunging ahead." or something like that. Idea is that when he makes up mind he goes full steam and not always wary of all the pitfalls. He's a risk taker.