

legislative bill left

DAN QUAYLE

October 12-13, 1985

Ron Braymier, Greg Zoeller, Andy Buroker, Mark Ciezlak, Teresa Beigh, Mary Moses.

Mary Moses is his campaign manager. We talked briefly at a reception for people planning a November 4th event. "Now you'll be able to see the change in Dan back in the state. I left the state for a couple of years; and when I came back I said "Senator you have no idea what you've done. I could hardly believe it." He had become a real "Senator".

JTPA

I mentioned the Jobs Bill, and how he took off after that. "Yes he did and it's the job of the campaign to get that message across to people in the state. It's funny. People don't know about the jobs bill. They connect him with jobs, but not with JTPA--it seems too technical. Maybe it takes time. You have to wait till the grants actually get made. I don't think there was anything else in the world we could have done with it up to now. But now, with the anniversary and all, it's proven to be a bona fide bill and we can do something with it. I just finished talking to the county leaders meeting. I told them 'We have a real legislator here and we have to tell everybody about him. And I used the jobs bill as the example. I talk about the jobs bill all the time--even though I can't say I understand it myself." (Latter was said in a whisper as she slid away.

Dan said that they used Bill Brock to have a reception with union people. "a good event".

Greg talks about scheduling job and how hard it is with Dan. Obviously Dan and Larry Smith came to a parting of the ways. Greg says that Dan didn't want press secretary with him. "You set it up, I'll do the talking. That's Dan's attitude." And Larry travelled with him and told him what to say.

Point is that Greg immediately zeroed in on scheduling as a very sensitive matter with Dan. He started as legislative assistant (Judiciary) and gradually took on scheduling. Press Secretary stays in Washington. Next day Greg told me he calls Dan "the big bird" (re Muppetts). The old problem of whether to give Dan rest time or keep his gaps filled is still there.

Alice Davidson (Assistant Treasurer) told me they set up campaign in January 1985 with 3 people - Mary, Andy Buroker, Mark Cieszlak and, later, her, as the paid staff. They are working out of State Committee headquarters and will move to own headquarters in January. But they still have only 4 paid staff.

Ron says that he hopes Lugar staff will get more cooperative as times goes on. "I bent over backwards in 1982 to give them all the announcements. I'm looking for the same kind of attitude from them this year. So far, it's coming very slowly. I think it will be all right. But Lugar has a very aggressive staff. They look out for him, which is as it should be."

When I met Dan, first thing he says is "The president will be flying high for a while with the hostage thing. With this and the balanced budget, he's back from the doldrums, isn't he." He had scheduled a quickie press conference to take advantage of the upbeat mood. And he probably thinks of himself as being influenced by that mood some.

A guy named Murphy from the Republican Sen. Committee talked to me. "This state is safe. But I tell people, for God's sake, keep it safe." He sees Senate control up in the air. He has 8 states - thinks Ohio (one of his states) may be doable. "We may have a sleeper race in Ohio. Kindness is in and he has a straight shot. Glenn is still hero and astronaut. If we can ever get Glenn up to the point where we talk issues with him, we could win--I don't think his presidential campaign hurt him at all."

The press conference turned out to be several one on one sessions. They

started this morning when Greg called from DC. And by 11:00 they got 2 TV stations, one newspaper and 2 radio stations. The Senator--plus a slow day!

Bob Holt - Muncie - We talked at the reception before the lunch at which Dan spoke. "We had a meeting of all state a couple of years after Dan had been elected. People who went said it was one of the best political events they had ever attended. Dan came in at the back of the hall and worked the crowd all the way to the front. Mind you, this was in the days when the lightweight charge was being heard about Dan. The people had voted for him, but they didn't know what they had got for themselves. Coming out of that meeting people began to say 'He's all right.'" It was just about the time that JTPA had come out. "He was making a name for himself." Holt's wife is vice chair of Indiana Republican Party. He said that JTPA was working well in Indiana - compared it to CETA, which was "welfare for college students" and "job training." He said business leaders in Muncie were behind JTPA.

I don't know who will give us an "objective" report on JTPA's success.

At the Republican kickoff luncheon for County Chairmen and Vice Chairmen (that's what they call 'em) plus Quayle's coordinators, Dan was introduced by Lieutenant Governor (and probably the next governor) John Mutz. And I would say at least 1/2 of the introduction was devoted to JTPA.

Because Mutz has special responsibility for economic development, he emphasized that in his own short talk "The number one issue in our state is still jobs." "We have had unusual success three times in the last five years... we are among the top five states in the United States in the ability to create new jobs."

In introducing Dan he said A political ^{miracle}~~mistake~~ took place in 1980 when we

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brought our junior senator into the U.S. Senate. There were those who said it couldn't be done... But here was a man who understands what risk-taking means... He's a risk taker. And he has a record in the Senate. The trouble is that people still know him as the man who beat an unbeatable three term incumbent Senator. They don't know what an astoundingly successful Senator he is. One of the best legislative success stories in America is the Joint Training Partnership Act crafted by our junior senator... It was a new concept...but now it has achieved universal acceptance. I know how successful it has been because I was with the Department of Commerce when it became law and I have worked on economic development as Lieutenant Governor. He brought together the most liberal and the most conservative people--a great legislative achievement and a sign of the great ability he brings to public life."

Also noted that "he chairs a committee to change the way the Senate operates...he knows we must grow with the times."

9-10
to
the
media
6-10
"We have a man with an astoundingly good record. The national media said he was a superior member of the Senate who had not yet received credit."

"You may never know his opponent. I know him. He's clever and smart and if he gets dollars it will be a formidable effort."

"These are things the public should know about him... He has a record acclaimed by the national media who watch day to day in that body."

"He will lead us back to victory."

Dan's talk was partly a discussion of the capture of the hijackers in Italy and, playing off that, as paen and an exhortation to Republicans.

He got one applause line in the speech. After talking about the hijacking. "Talking to people and listening to what they have to say, I think

we should all say "hip hip hooray for Ronald Reagan and the U.S. military".
(ringing applause)

He said we are "an island nation" and he "marvels at the ability to project military force as far away as the Mediterranean." He asks people to think back at the frustration of Iran, Beirut, TWA hostage situations and said that the events of the week "are like lancing a boil...you can feel the pressure being relieved."

People have "a sense of confidence, a sense of leadership."

"Leadership is what he has given us for 4 1/2 years of his administration."
And "leadership is the reason why we are the majority party in Indiana."

He praises the Indiana congressional delegation for "working hand in glove with the administration." (That includes him, I assume.)

"Republican leadership has passed a budget deficit reduction package that is going to reduce the budget deficit 36 billion each year... The Republicans have taken that lead.. He goes on to say that it will bring interest rates down and that will help the farmer, the businessman, etc.

"challenge" is to "project what we are going to do in the future."

Says every one of 22 seats will be "a battleground". Esp. the 16 freshmen.

"If the Republicans lose control of the Senate, RR will be the lamest of lame ducks in his last two years... There will be an absolute standoff; he won't get anything."

Colleagues say "You are so lucky to have that Republican organization out there." I told them "I am lucky."

"We work well together and that's why we are successful." Calls them "political family" at beginning and at the end.

"Leadership, jobs, opportunity, hope for the future--that sums it up. We have ideas."

"It really is going to be fun to be back working on a day to day basis with

the great people of this state." After lunch he said "That was a very positive mood in there. I guess "we have a lot to be positive about this week."

(Mr. Upbeat.)

At lunch I told Orvas Beers that he had said 2 smartest men in public life were Lugar and Ruckelshaus. And I asked re Dan. "That's right, but Dan is catching up. He's catching up fast. He won't go around them but he'll catch up to them. You understand?" I said yes--and he went on to talk about a recent talk of Ruckelshaus. "He is brilliant, just brilliant, and he has a great sense of humor."

Tom Moses told me the next day that Birch Bayh had no sense of humor. He also said the other flaw in ~~BB~~ was that "he didn't have enough upstairs to go with the job he had. He didn't understand the capitalist system." Said Bayh was great candidate--but said "He never imagined he could be defeated. Maybe in the last two weeks he did, when he realized how badly Reagan would clobber Carter. But he never thought that could happen to him."

At dinner

Like the noon event, he starts talking about his daughter Corinne, how she gave him a "thumbs down" after his lunch speech and how "we are going home to play fish" after the dinner.

Goes through his "great day"--Washington, lunch, Parke County Covered Bridge festival, Plainfield reception (which netted 3000).

Starts with hijacking success and said, again, "Hooray for Pres. R. and U.S. military", but he didn't package it right, it got no applause. (Maybe that's because one of prior speakers said something like it, re. our pride and he got applause.

He went through, as he had at the little talk at the fund raiser, how he had been asked this morning "What is the difference between what the US did and what the terrorists did?" And he said how outrageous that question is and how it doesn't deserve an answer, but--that he would answer it. (At fund raiser, he went after Arafat as "a liar who has never told anything but lies all his life.")

Here he talks about how he wants them tried for murder and says "capital punishment is the appropriate response"--the appropriate response of a civilized nation.

"Think of Iran, think of the Marine barracks, think of the TWA hijacking, think of the incident with the ship--terrorism. If it isn't stamped out, it will come to the United States."

"The perception that the military cannot function or is a paper tiger is not accurate."

"The US is an island nation. To be able to project our force and protect freedom and this world--to be able to stand tall in the world as we have the last few days, we have to be able to project force as we did this week... The mission was a difficult one and it was successful... The US military is not a paper tiger, not inefficient. It performed in a very efficient way." Then, he got his one applause line of this speech when he said "We, as Americans and as Republicans have to be darn darn proud of Pres. RR and the way he handled that situation." (applause)

He speaks of the party as hope for the future - talks about last week's budget balancing amendment. Interest on the debt = 150B He says they did a big thing on the budgetary situation "You will have a balanced budget in 6 years." (I note that no one claps at this, either at lunch or at dinner. I think no one believes it!)

"Who's doing this, taking charge, taking a hold of this. We are successful because we have principles that unite us"...freedom, fiscal responsibility "Our special interest group is the people."

"Believe me, I know the farm problem is there." He says he can tell when he shakes hand of a farmer "it's tough than mine." (Says, "the family farm is the heartbeat of Hendacks County and the heartbeat of our state". He ticks off how farm problem hurts everyone--farmers, far, implement dealers, etc. etc. to "coffe shops."

"I'm of the Earl Butz school of agricultural economics: the farmer wants to produce."

Talks about farm credit problem and need for changes in loan system. He gest very wound up talking about system that encourages people to "borrow, borrow, borrow" till prices collapsed. Talked about "set asides" and said how awful prices of soy beans and corn were. Wants incentives to help young people get into family farming.

The emphasis on farm problems is noteworthy--and it turns out it is one campaign worry of his.

He calls his situation as Senator "a proud opportunity and a proud responsibility". "We aren't afraid of the future."

The speech is filled with cliches, but it is delivered with emotion almost preacher-like. It used to be more sing song. Now, it has cadence and rhythm and it rises and falls. He ends the speech in a hushed, low voice. "We are great because we are free." Andy Buroker says "That last line is great. It always gets me." The crowd is very quiet and then applauds. It seems to ring the bell. And it is upbeat.

On the way home, I got my first question in. (Up to this point, Corinne occupies all his attention; but now, at 9:00, she is running down!)

I asked him "how are things going." "Things are going very well. There is not a lot of interest in my race or in my opponent's. One thing that could be a problem is the arrogance of the party. The Republicans have had things so good for so long in Indiana that they may not think they have to work for it. That is not a problem now, but I think it is creeping up on us. The biggest problem, potentially, is the farm situation. It is a difficult issue. You don't know how it will go, but you know it's the one issue that can come up and bite you. It affects everybody. I've learned a lot about agriculture, and I mention it wherever I go just as I did this evening. I talk a lot about it to show I'm sympathetic. But I'm afraid the solution will not be easy to take in the short run. Fewer people will be farming. Still, we can't let them be without help. Most of the experts think the general economy will not change much. If we do have a recession, it will be a mild one. So I don't think that will be a problem--except for the farm situation. Another problem is that people are more interested in 1988 than they are in 1986. We may have a primary in the Governor's race in 1988, and people are raising money and taking sides on that already. And this year, people are more interested in the Secretary of State's race than mine. Birch Bayh's son is running and the Democrats are putting all their eggs in that basket. It will affect the interest in my race."

So, after ticking off the negatives, I asked him what his poll showed. "my favorability rating is the highest ever achieved in the state--68%. And my negatives are 12%. When you get to 20% negatives, you should begin to worry. Mine are very low. On the question 'Do you think Dan Quayle deserves another term or do you think it is time for someone new,' 55% said I should be reelected. That is very high for that question. So that looks very good. It's a funny ^{situation} ~~question~~ for me. I'm used to being 20 points behind. I've always been behind--against Roush and against Bayh. So I know how my opponents feel.

But I know that I caught up. That could happen to me too."

To round out the info. on the poll that I got--Mary says his name recognition is 94%. And that in trial heats against all possible Democratic opponents, the closest one to him was 20 points behind.

Mary told me that the campaign has its own staff and does not use the party. "We have Quayle coordinators in every county. Only two of them are also Party Chairman of the county."

I asked her how many county coordinators were new to the 1986 campaign--from the 1980 campaign--and she said one-half new and one-half from 1980 campaign.

While we were off at the covered bridge festival, they showed 1980 campaign ads and had a school for the Quayle coordinators.

They have put out one letter to the campaign staff and it stresses fund raising quota. They have raised 800,000 to date and plan to raise 3 million.

When we had a beer in Dan's suite and watched the end of the Royals-Blue Jays game, Dan gossiped mostly about other races, D'Amato, Andrews, Specter.

He said "We didn't get very far in our reforms. We got rid of 17 subcommittees and we forced some people to give up committee assignments. Some people got so mad at me. They said you are trying to take my committee away from me. I always set it up so they would have a choice. So I would say, I'm not taking you off that committee. You have your choice. We accomplished something, but even that little bit was hard."

"I've been active in defense procurement issues since I last saw you. I'm frustrated about that issue. I have been too much on the defensive; and I don't like that. I'd rather be out in front. So I'm trying to devise a comprehensive plan so that other people will have to treat my plan. As it

is I have some little things and other people have some little things. So I trade "my little things for your little things." I don't like that. But so far I can't put anything together to take the lead... And I know I'll be attacked in the campaign. People will say 'You've spent all this money and what have you got--\$600 toilet seats and \$400 hammers. I have a defense. I'm Chairman of the Procurement Subcommittee. And I'm trying to do something about it. But I still can't get hold of it. It's frustrating." This "defensive" position and fear that he'll be attacked explains why in both his speeches he extolled military performance in hijacking case.

He said he thought the President's tax plan is "dead". I asked him whether he saw anyone in Indiana who was for it or whether he got any pressure. "No one has ever come up and asked me to support it. All I ever heard was opposition."

In the morning, when he and Corinne came down to breakfast, I asked him how JTPA was doing and how it was going to affect the campaign.

"It's working very well. People come up and talk to me about it. They compare it to CETA. It's doing especially well in Indiana. We found out the other day that 73,000 trainees have gotten jobs. The key is the domination of the PIC councils by business. That was the key provision in the bill. We got that from Hawkins and it has worked the way we thought it would. We had a little trouble in Indiana when the state tried to come in and put a heavy hand on it; but we took care of that. Of course it has worked better in some states than in others. One way we know it has worked well is that the main criticism has been that there isn't enough money. The program is *criticized* for what is called "creaming", that we are

training the unemployed, but the easiest of the unemployed--that we don't reach down to help the hard core unemployed. I'm not sure whether that is the case or not. I think the gutting of the Civil Rights Division of the Labor Department under Donovan has more to do with it. But I see where Brock lost his battle with Meese over affirmative."

On the matter of JTPA's importance to him: "It's very important to me. And it will be important in the campaign. It's especially important in a state like Indiana. Jobs is still a big issue--even though unemployment is down, from a high of 14%, to 8%. For a Republican, it's a good issue. It deals with a big problem and it shows how we can handle it better. The business people are more strongly behind it. And we are doing it at 1/3 the cost, so we can demonstrate fiscal responsibility, too. When I formally announce my reelection campaign, I'll go around to some job training centers and use them as a backdrop. That will remind people of what I did. It was the only major piece of domestic legislation passed by this administration. It is a building block that allows you to talk about lots of other things--jobs, education, economic development. You can take it almost anywhere you want to. The people who followed it know about it--the media, business leaders. They are what I call the echo chamber, the knowledgeable people. They know what I did. And of course there are the constituents of the program--the trainees, the members of the PIC councils--they know about it. But people in general do not know about it. We will talk about it in the campaign every chance we get. There will be lots of chances because it is such a broad subject. And we will have campaign advertising. We have already held hearings on it around the state this year. It gives people a chance to come in and praise the program. Most of them have--especially the business community. They are strongly behind it."

At breakfast, he ticked off, again, some of the things that bother him:

defense, farm, and then said "Trade could be a problem. Even in a state like Indiana, you can go too far in favor of protectionism. I think protectionism is dead--with the votes in the House and the Senate."

Later he talked about JTPA, asking me what notes I had etc. "The real battle was in the conference--dealing with Perkins and Hawkins. Hawkins and I came at it from completely opposite poles. I used to go over to his office whenever we had a problem. He would sit behind his desk and I would sit in the chair in front of him. He appreciated that. He would say how nice it was to deal with me. But we were asking him to change something they had been doing for 40 years. Kennedy was a big help to us here. He gave Hawkins some insulation. I was always glad he was aboard. Whenever he disagreed, he just wouldn't show up. He never came to meetings to fight against it."

Re Hatch "That staff of his is so screwed up." Then got gossiping about Hatch wanting Judiciary, Thurmond having to decide AS vs. Judiciary. Possibly a very moot discussion! Several times he used his line about RR being "the lamest of lame ducks" if the Dems take the Senate. "Tip O'Neill and his crowd will run Congress and nothing will get done." Of course, Tip will be gone! But he's the target anyway.

When I said that diff. ^{being in the} between ^{being in the} majority ^{in the Senate} and minority is day and night, Dan said "Only someone close the situation can understand how important that is."

"The diff. between Dole and Baker is like night and day. Dole steps right in and makes things into a political issue. Baker would wait and put things off as long as he could." Tells how Dole made budget amendment a political issue. Republicans have got to get credit. Said Dole has more difficult time because "The admin. has no agenda."

The Schedule was:

Saturday - October 12

- 1) Informal get together with workers on Nov. 4 event.
- 2) Press and TV interviews
- 3) Luncheon - Kickoff for State Republicans
- 4) Rockville - Covered Bridge Festival
- 5) Fund Raiser - Plainfield House
- 6) Avon Dinner for Republicans of Hendricks County

Sunday - October 13

- 1) Muppet Exhibit at Children's Museum
- 2) Colts - Broncos Football Game