PART 2

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VISITS OF VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH TO THE UK.

VISITS OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Series Used. Future papers on USA: Meetings with U.S. Government

USA

PART 1: JUNE 1981

PART 2: AUG 1987

PREM 19/3982

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PART 2 ends:-

Quayle to PM
14.2.1992

Series closed.
Future papers on USA:
meetings with US Government

PART ..... begins:-

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

February 14, 1992

The Right Honorable
John Major, M.P.
Prime Minister
London

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I want to thank you and Norma for the warm welcome you extended to Marilyn and me on our trip to London. It was, as always, a great pleasure to see you.

In my opinion, the special relationship between our two countries has never been stronger. I am confident it will remain so, as we work together on the challenges, and opportunities we face.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dan Quayle

Good luck with your election - I'm sure you'll do great - Do Rodshens!

TALKS WITH VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE: PRESS LINE

Useful discussion of recent events in the Soviet Union (Yeltsin here and in Washington ten days ago). Vice-President Quayle just back from the Baltic States.

- Reaffirmed our commitment to help the Soviet Union. US is involved in emergency airlift. We already provide emergency aid. More is on its way from Britain. Nearly 50 tonnes of emergency aid (medicines and baby food) financed by British aid programme is due to fly out to Russia (Ekaterinburg) later tonight.

- Agreed on need for early Russian membership of the IMF. Vice-President confirmed that US shares our view that international action is likely to be needed to stabilise the ruble. First step is for Russia and IMF to work out an emergency programme.

- Useful discussion about GATT. Both reaffirmed our commitment to early conclusion of the talks. Gap beween EC on the one hand and US on the other can be bridged. We want to open up world trade. Failure to reach agreement will lead to protectionism. Bad for the economies of all.

11 February 1992

tmw a:\foreign\quayle

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

11 February 1992

c. Stephen Wall

The Veep

In conversation last night at the American Ambassador's, Dan Quayle was careful to stress that he did not make any linkage between GATT and NATO - that had been done by his senatorial candidates, but not by him. (Conrad Black unhelpfully urged him to say there was linkage, but he was sensible enough to resist this invitation!) However, the failure to achieve a GATT deal would have dire implications for US-European relations, etc, etc. He had discussed GATT with Chancellor Kohl, who had left him with the clear impression that the Germans could not force the French into a deal; they did not want to be seen as "heavy-handed". Quayle seemed unfortunately to have accepted that the Germans could do no more.

I reiterated the point that the Germans were the key, and that rebalancing (in some extra-GATT form) was important. Europe was moving, we were constantly engaged in stiffening the backbone of the Portuguese, negotiations were going on in Geneva; but at the same time, it was important for the US to keep up the pressure on the Germans. Douglas (Hogg) made the point that France's historic connections with certain parts of the third world made the leaders of these countries an important source of pressure on President Mitterrand, and we were doing what we could to bring that to bear. Quayle seemed encouraged by that point, but otherwise to be fairly unfocussed on the detail of GATT - while continuing to warn of Congressional/farming problems.

With Conrad Black in full and somewhat erratic flood, the round-table conversation lurched a bit all over the shop. Inter alia,

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Quayle spoke pretty gloomily about the US economy, but - as one would expect - confidently about New Hampshire. In particular, he argued it would dent Clinton's campaign, and pave the way for a post-super Tuesday entry by Cuomo (who was Quayle's ideal opponent for Bush).

Bush would fight, he said, on his record of achievement (whatever the state of the economy right now) and the weakness of the opposition. James Hanson opined that this sounded like your campaign. Quayle made very respectful/enthusiastic noises about you and your close personal relationship with Bush.

He faced some hard pounding from David Owen, Douglas and David Mellor on US attitudes to defence policy in Europe. They all argued that the US could not remain indifferent to the question of whether the EC acquired competence in defence policy or remained a separate "pillar" with a co-operative framework - and that the US had to go on making its views about NATO clear, to the Germans in particular. I am not sure he was totally seized of the issues here, in particular the role of the WEU. His aides argued that we were seeking to get the US to defend our sovereignty in Europe, which was not America's job. But Ray Seitz diplomatically backed up the point, while saying that (of course) the President had made his view absolutely clear.

In general, Quayle was articulate, sensible and - if not particularly profound on any issue - well-versed. He seemed to me markedly more confident than when I met him a year ago, and no less pleasant. His wife likewise. Poor woman, the system has arranged for her to spend time today being briefed on the British legal system by the man from Tennessee, aka my father-in-law....

Sarah

SARAH HOGG

(098)

RESTRICTED

From: David Crystal
News Department
Date: 11 February 1992
cc: PS
PS/Lord Caithness
Sir J Coles
Mr Burns
Mr Ricketts, HKD
Mr Cornish
Mr Marshall

Mr Hewitt,
SEAD

VIETNAMESE MIGRANTS: VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

... 1. I attach a copy of an extract of a transcript of the press conference given by Vice President Quayle following his address to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva yesterday. The critical, sidelined quote is, "Those that are leaving Vietnam - everyone knows that they do that for political reasons."

... 2. I also attach a copy of an article appearing on the front page of today's South China Morning Post. I understand it is based on a UPI report out of Geneva. The critical words in this case are, "Every Vietnamese refugee fleeing to other places such as Hong Kong is a political refugee." Mr Quayle also says he will be raising the question of repatriation during his visit to London.

3. We are not, at present, receiving enquiries. If we do we will, as discussed earlier, take the following line if asked:

- No comment on Mr Quayle's remarks.
- Not seeking clarification.

Is US backing away from CPA?
- No reason to believe there is any change in the US position or its commitment to the CPA.

David Crystal

David Crystal
News Department

RESTRICTED

SIA

SECSTATE FOR FOR WHITE HOUSE, EUR/CE

E.O. 12356:N/A

ASYLUM-SEEKERS TO THEIR HOMES ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY AR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS. HOW THEN CAN THE U.S. CONTINUE TO PROTEST THE REPATRIATION OF VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN SCREENED OUT AS ECONOMIC MIGRANTS THEMSELVES? DO YOU THINK THE U.S. WILL BE CHANGING ITS POLICY IN THEI REGARD?

A: IN REGARD TO THE VIETNAM -- ?

Q: -- TO THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE.

A: I AM GOING TO GREAT BRITAIN RIGHT AFTER THIS, AND I AM SURE THAT THAT WILL BE AN ISSUE OF INTEREST AND A TOPIC O

DISCUSSION. BUT LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT EACH ONE OF THE HAITIAN REFUGEES IS INTERVIEWED TO DETERMINE WHETHER THEY ARE ECONOMIC REFUGEES OR POLITICAL REFUGEES. SOME HAVE BEEN DETERMINED AS POLITICAL REFUGEES AND THEREFORE WILL RECEIVE ASYLUM. THOSE THAT ARE ECONOMIC REFUGEES ARE BEING RETURNED TO HAITI. THERE IS NO COMPARISON WITH HAITI AND VIETNAM. THOSE THAT ARE LEAVING VIETNAM -- EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THEY DO THAT FOR POLITICAL REASONS. SO I DON'T SEE THE COMPARISON.

Q: MAY I JUST FOLLOW-UP ON THAT PLEASE? ON THAT POINT, MANY OF THE VIETNAMESE REFUGEES HAVE GONE THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER REFUGEE SCREENING PROCESS, AND HAVE BEEN DETERMINED AS ECONOMIC MIGRANTS.

A: WELL, I WOULD LEAVE THAT TO OTHERS. OUR POSITION IS WELL KNOWN AND WELL STATED.

: I AM THE CORRESPONDENT FROM THE IRAQI NEWS AGENCY. MR. ICE PRESIDENT, YOU DID NOT MENTION EVEN A SINGLE WORD BOUT ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY ISRAEL IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB ERRITORIES. WHAT KIND OF EXPLANATION CAN YOU PROVIDE, LEASE?

: I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT OUR STATE DEPARTMENT ISSUES A EPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS FOR EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. WE AVE HUNDREDS AND HUNDREDS OF PAGES -- WE TELL THE TRUTH D WE PUT THE FACTS OUT. AND I WOULD BE MORE THAN HAPPY GIVE YOU A COPY OF THAT, AND YOU CAN SEE PRECISELY WHAT SAY ABOUT ISRAEL.

ANK YOU VERY MUCH. (END OF TRANSCRIPT)

E VICE PRESIDENT LEFT GENEVA BEFORE HE COULD CLEAR THIS ANSCRIPT. GARNER

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From: Hong Kong Government Office (Randall)

To: FCO News Department (David Crystal)

11 February 1992

Vietnamese all political refugees: Quayle

UNITED States Vice-President Mr Dan Quayle said the US considered the situation of Haitian refugees and Vietnamese boat people to be completely different and insisted that the Haitians being repatriated from the American naval base in Guantanamo, Cuba, were not political refugees.

"Every Vietnamese refugee fleeing to other places, such as Hongkong, is a political refugee," Mr Quayle said in Geneva after addressing a United Nations Human Rights Committee meeting.

"Everyone knows this."

Asked why the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has said that Vietnamese arriving in Hongkong were a mixture of economic and political refugees, Mr Quayle said: "I'll leave that to others."

He said he would be discussing the question of the repatriation of Vietnamese from Hongkong in London later today.

The US has consistently said that sending Vietnamese refugees back to their country from Hongkong was wrong because they were political rather than economic refugees.

He claimed the situation with the repatriation of Haitians from Guantanamo was different because the US was screening each refugee individually to ascertain whether he was an economic or political refugee.

"Those who are clearly identified as political refugees are allowed to remain, but those who are economic refugees are sent back," he said.

"There's a clear difference between the two situations."

Mr Quayle said the US "supports Haiti's elected government [of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide] and continues to seek a political solution of the crisis in that country".

The US has been one of the principal obstacles to achieving a successful mandatory repatriation programme for Hongkong in recent years.

Congressmen late last year warned that Hongkong's deal on mandatory repatriation would continue to attract "vehement controversy" until the territory showed conclusively that its refugee screening process was adequate.

With the help of Britain, Hongkong tried to persuade Washington to drop its objections to sending back against their will those Vietnamese screened out as economic migrants.

Last year sufficient progress was made to enable Hongkong to resume mandatory repatriation for the first time since December 1989, when the return of 51 caused international uproar.

The next batch of 36 to be sent back to Vietnam against their will be flown out tomorrow.

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cc PS/ Sup.

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
071-270 3000

11 February 1992

Stephen Wall Esq LVO
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1A 2AA

Arrived too late

Dear Stephen,

THE IMF AND THE CIS: PRIME MINISTER'S DINNER WITH VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

The new states and the IMF

In advance of the Prime Minister's dinner with Vice President Quayle, you may find it helpful to have an update on negotiations in G7 about the size of IMF quotas for members of the CIS, and their representation on the IMF Board.

After discussions among G7 Finance Ministries, a compromise seems to be evolving. The Managing Director of the IMF will be asked, probably by Secretary Brady, to propose quotas totalling 4.2 per cent of total IMF quotas for the new states, with Russia given a quota equal to China's. If these quotas can be agreed in the IMF Board, the US has indicated that they will agree to the provision of an extra seat on the Board, to allow the new states to be represented, but they would have difficulty in agreeing to an extra seat if the Board refused to agree quotas at or below these levels.

It is possible that the IMF Board will not agree these quotas. They are towards the lower end of our own preferred range. In view of the urgent need to provide help to the new states, particularly Russia, we need to leave ourselves the flexibility in IMF Board discussions to support higher quotas if the G7 compromise will not run.

The Chancellor has therefore instructed officials to take the following line with G7 Finance Ministries:

(i) in order to convey quickly to Camdessus a coherent G7 view, we are prepared to support Secretary Brady's proposal to communicate the US compromise to the Managing Director;

(ii) we will then have to see how the IMF Board reacts to a proposal from IMF staff based on this compromise. In order to achieve rapid progress, the IMF Board will need to be told of the US readiness to agree to an extra seat if there is a satisfactory outcome on quotas;

(iii) the UK notes the US difficulty on Board representation, if their proposal on quotas is not agreed.

The Chancellor thinks that it would be helpful to reinforce this message with Vice President Quayle.

Rouble stabilisation fund

On a rouble stabilisation fund the Chancellor has noted some signs of a shift in the position of the US Administration. Secretary of State Baker has indicated willingness to consider macroeconomic support once a credible reform programme is in place. The Chancellor remains firmly of the view that it is essential for the G7 - and the US in particular - to make clear to President Yeltsin and his economic team the rewards of comprehensive economic adjustment. He hopes that it will be possible to impress on Vice-President Quayle that Western support for successful economic adjustment is as vital for Russia as the assistance for humanitarian and military conversion that the US Administration is currently offering.

EC and UK bilateral assistance

The Chancellor also thinks it would be worth reminding Vice-President Quayle of the humanitarian assistance being provided by the Community, through which most of our effort is being channelled. The Prime Minister may wish to draw on the following:

- bulk of UK assistance channelled through EC. Grants of £315 million, and two credits of £350 million and £875 million committed. Over half of grant aid already disbursed; disbursement of rest now under way.

The Chancellor has also noted that the points to make on bilateral assistance in the FCO brief do not refer to his financial training initiative, for which he has made £8 million available. The Prime

Minister may also wish to mention this when he sees Vice-President Quayle.

I am copying this letter to Richard Gozney (FCO).

Yours,

Sheila

S M A JAMES
Private Secretary

Dan Quayle: The Premeditated Surprise

How Young Senator Executed Game Plan to Become Bush's Running Mate in 1988

By Bob Woodward and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

On the day after the February 1988 New Hampshire presidential primary, Dan Quayle, then the 41-year-old junior senator from Indiana, called two top aides into his office. "You know," he said, raising his hand and placing his thumb and forefinger about an eighth of an inch apart, so just a sliver of sunlight could be seen in the gap, "Bob Dole was this close."

Quayle saw an opportunity. Vice President George Bush's 9 percentage point victory over the Republican senator from Kansas meant Bush was unstoppable in the race for the Republican presidential nomination. And while Dole, as a fellow midwesterner, never would have chosen Quayle as his running mate, Quayle figured that Bush just might.

At that meeting, Quayle said he wanted to launch an unofficial, sub rosa campaign to become Bush's choice for vice president. The effort is one he acknowledges only reluctantly today, and only after he is presented with information provided by others.

"You don't run for vice president," he said in one of 20 interviews conducted over the last six months for these articles. "But let me say that there're ways you can be put on the available chart. And without a lot of fanfare, because . . . when you let people know you're going to do something and you don't achieve it, it's a failure. So you keep expectations down and do things as quietly and subtly as possible."

Quayle knew that even if he were not to emerge as Bush's final choice, a place on the vice presidential short list would mark him as a comer in national politics. "We basically figured it was win-win," recalled Marilyn Quayle, his wife of 19 years and a central player in his political life.

Six months after New Hampshire, when Bush announced at the Republican National Convention in New Orleans that he had picked Quayle as his running mate, it seemed a fluke, a rare moment of political caprice on Bush's part. To much of America, Quayle appeared to have come out of nowhere—an anonymous, boyish baby boomer plucked inexplicably from the rear ranks of forty-something conservative politicians.

But for J. Danforth Quayle, his selection was the happy result of months of subtle, even stealthy planning—a quality not commonly associated with his name.

"People have a misconception of him that he just kind of sits back and lets things happen," said Marilyn Quayle. "He likes to appear that way. But he makes things happen. He nudges it along, so that it'll come out his way. He's always thinking, always figuring. He has a very good understanding of human nature. He knows what buttons to push with most people, what'll work and what won't work."

What the Quayles did not foresee was that sharply negative media and public reaction to his selection for the No. 2 spot, along with his repeated stumbles during the campaign, would create a seemingly indelible image of Quayle as an incompetent, dazed youth thrown in among the grown-ups. During the three years of his vice presidency, his lightweight image has been a staple in the repertoire of comedians and comic-strip satirists. Half the Americans questioned in a series of recent polls said they would like Quayle replaced on the 1992 Republican ticket, although Bush has declared publicly that Quayle will stay on the ticket.

As vice president, Quayle is a better bet than any other American, at least historically, to be the next occupant of the Oval Office. Since 1952, every elected vice president, except the disgraced Spiro T. Agnew, has gone on to claim his party's nomination for president. Five of the last nine presidents served as vice president—two became president after their predecessors died in office, two were elected on their own, and one followed a presidential resignation—and Quayle scarcely bothers to conceal his own electoral ambitions for the presidency in 1996.

In reporting for these articles, The Washington Post studied this man who could be president, exploring his past, intensively covering his activities as vice president and examining his political future. The project examined his missions for the administration on Capitol Hill and on the Republican banquet circuit, his quasi-executive work as head of the National Space Council and the increasingly controversial White House Council on Competitiveness, and his travels from Bulgaria to Brazil and to more than 20 U.S. cities. In addition to the sessions with Quayle, the reporting included four interviews with his wife and more than 200 with current and former colleagues, government officials, opponents, friends and critics.

The portrait that emerges may cause some people to feel more comfortable about the prospect of Quayle's becoming president, while leading others to dread it even more. But it is clear that—all jokes aside—Dan Quayle has proved himself to be a skillful player of the political game, with a competitive drive that has been underestimated repeatedly by his rivals.

Exposed almost daily to Oval Office discussions and decisions on vital national and international issues, Quayle's input appears to be valued by Bush, especially on political and congressional strategy, although he is overshadowed as a force in the administration by Bush's first-tier advisers, particularly Secretary of State James A. Baker III, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, Budget Director Richard G. Darman and the White House chief of staff.

But to the distress of some close associates, Quayle too often skates on the surface of issues, seeming almost to revel in the traditional busy-work of the No. 2 job as he flits among Republican banquets, photo opportunities and countless ceremonial appearances. "The vice president," said one who works with him closely, "walks by things instead of stopping to savor or understand them."

Quayle conceded that "when the circuits are overloaded, it takes away from the opportunity to have a serious understanding of the situation at hand." Marilyn Quayle maintained it is "frustrating for Dan" when he has as many as 12 scheduled events a day.

Quayle's close associates often question his depth and power of concentration. They also note that he is remarkably stubborn or indolent about his seeming inability to read a speech with proper inflection and self-assurance, which he acknowledges limits his effectiveness in communicating to large audiences.

But they also know that what has sustained his political rise is his outgoing, gregarious personality—most apparent in small groups, where he most often shines.

Certain strains of conservatism, including an intense distrust of bureaucracy, are clear in his thinking. But his victories as a politician reflect his adaptability and tactical acumen rather than a consistent ideological vision. He is intensely partisan, although old political rivals attest to his personal decency, and he shows little instinct for the jugular. "He's not a natural nut-cutter," according to one ally.

He enjoys sports and locker-room camaraderie as much as any man in public life and is quick, when the sun shines and a friend calls, to chuck his job for a round of golf. Yet he goes out of his way to acknowledge that his wife is a central and essential part of everything he does in government and politics. Politicians in the past, Marilyn Quayle said, never acknowledged that "your little wifey . . . helps you." But her husband does, she said, and "he's not embarrassed."

Aspiring to National Notice

So many questions have been asked about why Bush picked Dan Quayle as his running mate, that little attention has been focused on how Quayle put himself in the right spot to be picked.

In interviews, Quayle explained the thinking he said led him to reach for the vice presidency. "Politics is so uncertain and unpredictable that after you have two elections behind you and you've got six to 10 years in Congress . . . unless you want to stay there 40 years, you've got to figure out what you're going to do," he said. In February 1988, he decided it was "time to . . . roll the dice. . . . And if the vice presidency happens to come along, so be it."

There were earlier twinges of aspiration to national recognition. As a 37-year-old senator, he attended the 1984

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Cont

Republican National Convention in Dallas and watched the floor demonstrations for Jack Kemp. On the final day, he read a Dallas newspaper story about up-and-coming young Republicans. "My name wasn't mentioned, and I was mad," Quayle recalled.

After 1986—when he was reelected to his Senate seat by what at that time was the widest margin in Indiana, even as his party was suffering serious national reverses and losing its Senate majority—Quayle explored the possibility of becoming chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, a campaign post from which Barry Goldwater, among others, had moved to the presidential nomination. He backed off when his friend, Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.), staked a claim to the job. But he kept looking for ways to gain political altitude.

So in February 1988, after Bush won in New Hampshire, Quayle said he saw it was "time to begin to develop some wings and see if you can fly."

Over the next few months, he made more Senate floor speeches, wrote more op-ed pieces and issued more press releases than ever before, especially on high-profile issues such as defense that would become the themes of the 1988 presidential race. He spoke up in the weekly closed-door lunches of Senate Republicans, which Bush attended as vice president when he was in town, and Dole remembers seeing Quayle drop in often at Bush's office, just off the Senate floor. He spoke frequently with senior Bush campaign aides Roger Ailes and Robert M. Teeter, who had worked on Quayle Senate campaigns. Quayle recalled even asking Ailes directly one day, "How am I doing?"

Dole, himself a vice presidential contender at that point, was not the only colleague who noticed what was going on. Sen. William S. Cohen (R-Maine) said, "It looked like there was a game plan to get Bush's attention because Quayle thought he had a shot" at the vice presidency.

Quayle also launched a low-key effort to be chosen to deliver the keynote address at the upcoming Republican convention—prime time before a national television audience. "I lobbied a little bit, very discreetly. . . . I thought I'd be . . . good," he said. But he avoided direct contact on this front with the Bush aides making the decision. Instead, he said, "I did it one step removed. I didn't want to be that direct. If I didn't get it, I didn't want to seem too pushy."

In March, even though only one news story speculating about Quayle's vice presidential chances had appeared, he had his Senate press secretary, Jeffrey A. Nesbit, say publicly that rumors that he was under consideration were "pretty substantial."

In April, Quayle proposed an alternative to a Democratic bill requiring employers to notify workers on impending plant closings, making the notification "voluntary." Bush endorsed Quayle's plan—in May the New York Times called it the "Quayle-Bush compromise"—and although it failed, it helped the vice president defuse what Baker, then Treasury secretary and soon to become Bush's campaign chairman, felt was a "very hot, very hot issue" for Bush to handle.

That spring, in speeches on and off the Senate floor, Quayle also raised serious warnings on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty the Reagan administration had negotiated with the Soviet Union, eventually persuading the administration to go back to the Soviets and draw up a codicil to clarify ambiguities in the treaty language on limitations on high-tech, futuristic weapons. "I watched him," said Senate Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.). "He did it all by himself."

In 1983, Quayle had formed a regular private luncheon-study group with three other Republican senators—Pete Wilson of California, Warren B. Rudman of New Hampshire and Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming—designed to provide a Republican counterweight to Sen. Sam Nunn's (D-Ga.) increasing domination of the defense debate. They met for two-hour sessions with a range of experts, from Carter administration national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski to Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger and Admiral William J. Crowe Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Many policy recommendations had been generated at those luncheon sessions. When the INF treaty came before the Senate, Quayle took the lead. Simpson, acting as floor leader while Dole, the minority leader, pursued what had become a futile quest for the presidential nomination, cornered Quayle in the back of the Senate chamber and told him, "You're driving me crazy. You're really putting the blocks to me. What is it you want?

"And boy, he just stood right there, and his blue eyes were flashing, and he said, 'I'll tell you what I want. This, this, this and this. And till that gets in there, this son of a bitch isn't going anywhere,' " Simpson recalled.

Quayle's public efforts did not endear him to Ronald Reagan. But he solidified his relationships with the conservative network that Bush and his campaign manager, Lee Atwater, constantly were monitoring as they canvassed for vice presidential suggestions.

Even more important, in the early summer of 1988, Quayle met with Bush and urged him to press Reagan to veto the entire $300 billion defense budget bill on grounds that congressional Democrats had taken too much out of strategic weapons systems. He also argued that Congress had inserted too many policy directives on arms control and related matters that Quayle, like Bush, believed should be left to the discretion of a president.

Working behind the scenes in a way that went unreported at the time, Quayle challenged the heavyweights in the Reagan administration. National security adviser Colin L. Powell, Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci and Joint Chiefs Chairman Crowe all were recommending that Reagan sign the bill as the best he could get. Quayle argued that if Reagan caved in and signed the bill, it would be telling the voters in 1988 that there was no difference between Republicans and Democrats on defense. "The politics were on our side on this," Quayle recalled.

He made the case directly to Bush, once with several other senators, then with former senator John G. Tower (R-Tex.) at his side. "Even more so than Tower, I was adamant" that the bill should be vetoed, Quayle said. Bush took that message to the president, and Reagan vetoed the bill in early August, just 13 days before Bush picked Quayle for vice president. As Quayle had predicted, the veto underscored the differences between the parties and highlighted the Republicans' pro-defense position at a critical time in the presidential campaign.

Quayle said he believes "that was the turning, that was the major point" in his relationship with Bush. "I was with him [Bush] actively urging him to urge Reagan to veto the defense bill.

"I talked to him on the phone periodically but I had the kind of relationship where I could, I felt very comfortable calling, saying, 'George, I need to talk to you about this.' Or, 'Here's what I think you ought to do.' "

Quayle's position on the defense veto, a close aide at the time recalled recently, "had an intended audience of one: Bush."

Although Quayle was not chosen to give the convention keynote speech, he said Bush was aware of the six-month attention-getting effort. Quayle was invited to at least two briefing sessions with Bush at the vice president's residence. Bush "certainly noticed what we were doing and paid attention . . . all along," Quayle recalled.

President Bush declined to be interviewed for these articles about Quayle. But in the spring of 1988, said then-Indiana Gov. Robert D. Orr and state Republican Chairman Gordon Durnil, Bush visited Indiana on a campaign swing and—to their surprise—seemed very interested in learning more about Quayle.

"We had this long discussion about how Quayle was perceived," Durnil said in a recent interview. He said Bush asked, "Why does he do well with female voters? Is it just because he's cute?" Durnil said he told Bush that, no, it had more to do with Quayle's ability to make eye contact with all voters and not to pass by women voters to get to their check-writing husbands.

(Cont.

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Orr said he told Bush that Quayle was particularly popular with young voters and that he had an approval rating higher than [redacted] Richard G. Lugar, the state's senior Republican senator.

Meanwhile, Dan and Marilyn Quayle kept their own scorecard. They reviewed the names of possible Bush running mates, adding and subtracting people over the months, identifying the criteria they thought Bush was using. They liked the odds. Quayle sensed that the selection would turn as much on the disqualifiers for other contenders as the qualifiers.

"I knew what the competition was," he said, "and I always thought I was pretty good."

Quayle acknowledged that others might have thought he should stay put, gain some seasoning in the Senate, show some patience, become wiser. But Quayle knew that Richard M. Nixon and both Roosevelts had been nominated or elected vice president at roughly his age—Nixon at 39, Theodore Roosevelt at 42 and Franklin D. Roosevelt, an unsuccessful candidate at 38.

"Well, it wasn't too soon for" them, Quayle said. "A lot of politics is timing. Timing and opportunity. And the two are critical to success but you can't necessarily determine either one of them."

There was another factor—ambition. Quayle doesn't use the word, but he calls the vice presidency a "career advancement."

The Call Comes From Bush

At 8 a.m. on July 25, 1988, the Monday after the windup of the Democratic National Convention, when polls showed Bush trailing Michael S. Dukakis by 17 points, came the first clear proof that Quayle had not misjudged the situation. George Bush picked up the phone and called Quayle's office. Quayle had not yet arrived from his home in McLean, but he returned the call within a half-hour.

"I remember exactly what he said," Quayle recalled. "He asked if he could consider me [among others] to be his vice presidential nominee. Monday morning. Called my office."

Quayle played it cool, telling Bush, "I'm flattered, but I wanted to think about it for 24 hours." What he really wanted to do was talk it over with his wife.

"The one person I talked to was Marilyn . . . I didn't talk to any others for advice."

Family comes first for the Quayles, not just rhetorically in the speeches they both give, but in the ordering of their daily lives. During dinner that evening, they told their children, Tucker, Benjamin and Corinne, of the call. "They're tight-lipped," said the ever-practical Marilyn Quayle, "so that was no problem."

"We discussed what it would mean to the family if he were chosen and whether we were willing to do that," she said. "The kids were still young enough that I don't think, other than Tucker [then 14], they really comprehended one way or the other."

Quayle's first goal had been reached—he was on the list. When the children left the table, Dan and Marilyn Quayle sat down to assess his chances of becoming Bush's final choice, and the nation's 44th vice president.

"He wouldn't have called Dan if he wasn't really considering him," Marilyn Quayle said. "This wasn't just a fly-by-night call, a stroke call, one of the ones you have to do." If Bush had simply wanted another midwesterner on the list besides Dole, then Lugar, as former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was the plausible choice.

Marilyn Quayle—as analytical as her husband is intuitive in political judgments—laid out the reasons Bush might pick him. As she recalled recently, they were: "The generational thing. The Midwest. The fact that Dan had such a strong defense background. What he'd done with JTPA [the Job Training Partnership Act, which Quayle sponsored and got passed as a freshman senator] which helped on the social front a great deal."

Add in the fact "that they wouldn't have some of the personality conflicts that some of the other people brought into it," like Dole and Kemp, both of whom had opposed Bush for the presidential nomination. And "that all the people [Bush] had advising him professionally—Teeter, Ailes—had worked with Dan and knew what he was able to do.

"Compared to everyone else," Marilyn Quayle said they concluded that night, "it just made sense." As a "choice people wouldn't expect," it would also help Bush fight his reputation of "always doing the status quo, [being] the wimp," and the perception "that he will never get out on a limb on anything."

"We did all the pros and cons . . . and pretty much decided then . . . that Dan was probably the one he should pick. People think that's just absolutely insane, but we really did," she said. Her husband would "give the most punch to the ticket."

The next morning Quayle called the vice president to say he would be "flattered, flattered" to be considered.

Getting the Word Out

Quayle knew Bush wanted to keep his short list secret. "There was an understanding that he did not want this out," he recalled. "I wasn't going to let it leak out."

But within a few days, other names on the list were appearing in the news media, and Nesbit remembered "Dan was sort of angry that there were all these names out there and not his."

Quayle contacted Bush, and said, "Everyone else has said that they've been contacted. Is it all right for me?" With Bush's agreement, Nesbit released the information to the Indiana news media for publication on Friday, July 29.

The next day, Quayle was sitting beside the pool in McLean with his friend Kenneth L. Adelman, Reagan's arms control director. Quayle told Adelman the news.

"We should have a little boomlet over this," Adelman said. "You know, get your name around, talk to editorial boards, get a list of 15 important people to see and talk to."

"Adelman thought I ought to have some notoriety," Quayle recalled. "And I said, 'We don't want too much notoriety. This is not going to be a selection where George Bush is going to read the press reports and decide on that [basis] who is going to be his vice presidential nominee.' "

Still, Adelman talked up Quayle, and with Nesbit's help, drafted a column for the Wednesday, Aug. 10 Washington Times, headlined "Why not Sen. Dan Quayle?"

Calling Quayle a "dark horse," Adelman wrote that the senator could help Bush with "Reagan Democrats, women, and young voters and in the Midwest." He noted that Quayle "is a true conservative on abortion, school busing, prayer in the schools." The published column was read and portions were underlined by Bush.

As the GOP convention neared, Quayle sent six close aides and friends to New Orleans. According to one, William R. Neale, they printed up about 200 placards and another 200 buttons saying "Bush-Quayle," just in case.

ABC asked him to appear on "This Week with David Brinkley" the Sunday before the convention. "Everyone kept saying, 'No, don't do it. You don't campaign for it,' " Quayle recalled. Marilyn Quayle and all of his staff were opposed to the appearance. Baker, about to take over as head of Bush's campaign, also told Quayle to say no.

But columnist George Will, a regular on the show, called Quayle in Indiana to urge him to appear, informing him that Dole and Kemp would be on the program. Quayle said he "made a snap decision . . . that I was going to do it. . . . I had been so scrupulous in . . . abiding by this low-key thing that I felt one good shot at an opportune time would be appropriate."

Quayle told the national television audience that included Bush that he understood the rules for No. 2 on the ticket. Whomever Bush picked for his running mate, Quayle said, would realize that "the themes, the issues, the articulation on the campaign will be George Bush's."

Forty-eight hours later, Bush announced Quayle's selection, and America was introduced to the stranger who had positioned himself to become the president's understudy.

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

NEXT: Political roots

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The Roots of a Route to Washington

Quayle's Sudden Ascent Reflects His Family's Obsession With Politics and His Wife's Vital Role

By David S. Broder and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

The story of Dan Quayle's entry into politics in 1976 at the age of 29 has been told dozens of times. In it, Orvas Beers, the Republican county chairman in Fort Wayne, Ind., and Ernie Williams, editor of the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, meet an unsuspecting Quayle—then associate publisher of the 8,300-circulation Herald-Press in Huntington—at a Friday luncheon and out of the blue invite him to run for Congress.

Quayle, the story goes, is thunderstruck. He has never considered political office before. "You mean *now*?" he asks. He demurs; he must get his father's permission. The tale invariably ends with Quayle, nine months later, being handed the House seat, like so much else in his life, on a silver platter.

In the popular version of Quayle's ascent, someone—an Orvas Beers or an Ernie Williams, his well-connected father, James C. Quayle, or his powerful grandfather, newspaper baron Eugene C. Pulliam—provides the impetus and the means for the unambitious lad to do it all. According to this view, George Bush is Quayle's ultimate political godfather, anointing the previously obscure senator as his 1988 running mate.

It is a nice, simple version of events. But it is largely fable. Among other things, it ignores his calculations, and the vital role of his wife, Marilyn Quayle, in his ascent.

True, Quayle did not know when he walked into the Fort Wayne Press Club for lunch that day that he would be offered the nomination. But he has always operated on the principle, as he put it in a recent interview, that you try to "put yourself in a position to make decisions and keep doors open."

After graduating from Indiana University Law School-Indianapolis in 1974, he turned down job offers from law firms and government offices in the state capital, choosing instead to help run the small newspaper owned by his father in the town where he had spent part of his childhood.

The selection of Huntington, Quayle said, "wasn't an accident," it was a political calculation. Anti-Indianapolis sentiment abounded in the state at that time, and Indiana, he knew, had not elected a statewide candidate from the capital for a long time. Huntington, he felt, "would be my best political opportunity."

Even within Huntington, he chose his spot with care. When Dan and Marilyn Quayle picked out a home, he said, he intentionally chose one in a district whose state representative was a Democrat. "I actually had my eye on that [seat] more than I did the Congress."

For the first two decades of his life, Dan Quayle did not impress anyone as a good bet to win much of anything but a golf game. His performance as a student was weak, his grades at best mediocre. The competitiveness and calculation that later marked his political rise were camouflaged by the comfort provided by his family.

Quayle was born in Indianapolis in 1947 to James and Corinne Quayle. Jim Quayle was a middle manager with the newspaper chain owned by his father-in-law, Eugene Pulliam, first in Huntington (pop. 16,000), the classic midwestern small town that Dan Quayle calls his home, and then in Arizona, where the Quayles moved when Dan was 8. In 1963, when Dan was 16, Jim Quayle, a far-right conservative and member of the John Birch Society, bought the Huntington Herald-Press from his father-in-law, and the family moved back there for Dan's last two years of high school.

Though Gene Pulliam had made a fortune, he did not believe in inherited wealth. Dan Quayle grew up as a child of middle-class privilege, very protected but not pampered. Country clubs, but public schools. His family's homes were modest. During their first stay in Huntington, the Quayles lived in a small, white, one-story house; after returning in 1963, they moved into a standard two-story brick suburban-style house with a two-car garage.

"The most expensive vacation I took with my mother and father was a two-week trip from Phoenix, Arizona, up to Idaho," Quayle said. "We camped out. It was a 1960 white [Nash] Rambler station wagon. We pulled a tent trailer with a fold-out tent that we flipped up. We cooked every meal except two." One restaurant outing came about only because "gasoline spilled on the compartment where my mother fixed sandwiches."

Nonetheless, someone as close to Quayle as his former aide and Senate successor, Dan Coats, observed that "standing back and looking at the surface of his life, almost everyone would say it was fairly sheltered, some would say privileged. Plenty of opportunities to play golf; enough money in the family to live a comfortable lifestyle. . . . Nothing really on the surface that would have seemed to develop that drive and spirit in him."

Beneath the surface, however, there were forces that made it harder for Dan Quayle just to coast. His father, a warm-hearted, convivial man whose personality is reflected in his son, was viewed by many intimates as living in a kind of probationary status among his wife's success-oriented relatives, who placed him in what one calls "the outer orbits of the Pulliam empire."

Quayle recalled that when he was 10, his father had a serious variety of the disease lupus, which can affect the vital organs. "He was in the hospital and I remember I overheard my mother talking to someone on the phone, saying, 'Well, they can pack Jim's stuff at the office and put it in the closet.' Which meant that he was never going back to work."

His mother turned to him, the oldest of four children, for assistance. The Quayles had just adopted twins, a boy and a girl, who were a year old. Quayle said he changed their diapers and helped cook for the family during the two years his father was in and out of the hospital. "It was a real struggle. Very difficult time. For her, for all of us."

Marilyn Quayle said, "He really is the one that held the family together."

An Early Interest in Politics

More than power or money, what Quayle inherited from his family was an obsession with politics. Quayle recalled that at age 12 or 13 he trailed his grandfather and President Dwight D. Eisenhower as they played nine holes of golf. His mother served as a precinct committeewoman in Arizona, and his father's newspaper work was intertwined with politics.

The landmark Republican events of Quayle's youth are etched in his mind: Sen. Barry Goldwater's 1958 reelection campaign; the shock when Democrat Birch Bayh won a Senate seat from Indiana in 1962; the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami that Quayle, then age 21, attended as a driver for Richard M. Nixon's minions. Although Nixon won the nomination in Miami, Quayle said, "[Ronald] Reagan was the one that captured the heart of that convention."

In high school, Quayle paid more attention to politics—and to golf, his number one interest—than to classes. According to his high school guidance counselor, his grades were not good enough to assure him a place in the class of 1969 at DePauw University, which his grandfather and both his parents had attended. But he was admitted as a "legacy" with direct Pulliam family connections. Though Jim Quayle paid the bills, he wouldn't provide what Dan considered sufficient spending money, so Dan ran the laundry account at his Deke fraternity house.

Every Sunday night he would make the rounds of his brothers to collect "everybody's fluff"—underwear and T-shirts, Quayle said. He would ask about their dress shirts: "Would you like these ironed? You want these in boxes or do you want them on hangers? You want starch, light starch?"

He said, "I just wanted some extra spending money. . . . I wasn't going to not eat or anything like that. But I did it on my own. It was a good job. . . . I've never had to be a beggar, that's for sure."

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Quayle graduated from DePauw in 1969, with a C average. It was the height of the Vietnam War, and Quayle joined the Indiana National Guard rather than risk being drafted because, he said, he wanted to go to law school. According to Marilyn Quayle, he had been unfocused in his life plans before then. "If I'd met him in college, I never ever would have even gone out with him." But, she said, six months of basic training awakened him, and made him say, " 'Okay, now it is time for me to be an adult. I've got to decide what I'm going to do with myself, and I've got to make a difference.' "

"That was that six-month basic training, crawling on his belly, learning to weld," she said. "That was really his transition point."

Quayle agreed. "You go, 'Oh, hello world.' Hey, it's an eye-opener."

Admitted to the IU-Indianapolis law school in 1970 despite his mediocre undergraduate record, he began to buckle down somewhat, combining classes with political jobs in the state attorney general's and governor's offices. For the first time, although his grades remained less than impressive, teachers and mentors such as then-state Sen. Robert D. Orr began describing Quayle as "quick and willing to work."

In 1972 he met Marilyn Tucker, the enormously disciplined daughter of two physicians, a Purdue University graduate who also was studying law at IU-Indianapolis.

They were introduced by William R. Neale, a fellow student who had known Marilyn Tucker since grade school. Ten weeks after they started dating, they were married.

Fearing His Wife's Reaction

It was in part his wife's reaction that Quayle had in mind when he told Beers and Williams, at lunch that day in Fort Wayne, "I'm really not sure that I am ready to run for Congress. . . . If I was going to run for anything this year, I might be running for that state representative seat down there."

But he also did a quick political calculation. Before he would risk the tougher race against Democratic incumbent J. Edward Roush, who had served 16 years in Congress, certain conditions would have to be met.

First, Quayle asked Beers to keep all competition out of the primary. Quayle said recently that he knew Beers couldn't guarantee him a clear shot at the nomination, "but I wanted to test him." In fact, Beers did discourage all but what he calls "the fruitcakes" and "fringe candidates" from challenging Quayle. On May 4, Quayle trounced his lone primary opponent 63 to 37 percent.

Second, Quayle said, he asked Beers "to look me in the eye and guarantee me the money" for such a challenge. And that Beers was able to do.

Press accounts at the time described Quayle's run as a "dress rehearsal" for 1978. "Not true," Quayle said. "When you run, you run hard, and you expect to win." No one argued, however, with Quayle's recollection that "except for me and Marilyn and maybe one or two other people . . . [no one] thought we could win."

After talking to Beers and Williams that Friday, Quayle drove with his wife to a weekend newspaper conference in Williamsburg, Va. Quayle said he waited until they were in Ohio to tell her that he might run.

He clearly had reason to fear her reaction. When the law school classmates met and married in 1972, Marilyn Quayle said in a recent interview, she believed he was "adamant" that he was "definitely not a politician" but a "lawyer-businessman" who hoped to acquire a chain of newspapers and "hit politics from that side, rather than as an elected official."

Told in a subsequent interview that his wife said "politics was the furthest thing from his mind" when she married him, Quayle laughed and said, "Well, maybe it was further from hers than from mine."

Last fall, as Quayle was telling the story of that 1976 auto trip, mimicking Marilyn Quayle's voice saying, " 'You told me you were never going to get into politics,' " the door to his formal office in the Old Executive Office Building opened and his wife walked in.

"We were debating on whether I really ever told you that I'd never go into politics," he said to her.

"Yep. You did," she said.

Dan Quayle laughed. "Not, I mean, not never."

"You said you'd never—and I have witnesses. You said you'd never run for Congress."

"See, I said that. I told them that. It was the Congress thing that I . . . "

"You'd never run for Congress," Marilyn Quayle repeated, as her husband vainly tried to complete the thought. "You said you might run for the state Senate, but it would be a long way off . . . after we'd established [our] business and [had] kids and things, but never run for Congress."

Dan Quayle leaned forward, waving his hands, as if asking for time out. But his wife pressed on. "You said you'd prefer to be influential like your grandfather—behind the scenes."

In a later solo interview, Quayle said, "She knew I was interested in politics. She was interested in politics! . . . Bottom line, she supported it. . . . She was my best campaign adviser, and very involved."

Campaigning Their Own Way

The race was tough. It was two years after Watergate and President Gerald R. Ford was on his way to defeat, though he carried Indiana and Quayle's Fourth District. The once-powerful Fort Wayne GOP organization had splintered into factions, and Quayle's first task was to assemble a "Quayle Quartet" of senior advisers, representing all the warring groups.

He and Marilyn decided to open a Quayle-for-Congress office separate from the Republican headquarters. The party veterans bristled. "We did not think it was wise," Beers recalled. Worse, the Quayles decided not to mention the word "Republican" anywhere in his campaign literature. "He ought to let them know he's a Republican," said Beers. Quayle said he shot back, "Do you want to win this election or not?"

Jimmy Carter's success in the spring and summer of 1976 had caught Quayle's eye and he decided to appropriate elements of the Democratic nominee's "outsider" message. He even printed his posters, signs and literature in Carter green.

"I ran a somewhat populist campaign," Quayle said. "Washington's wrong. Anti-busing, anti-welfare, anti-big government. I was saying a lot of the things Carter was saying, but I was saying it as a Republican."

The National Republican Congressional Committee took a look at Quayle's race and was not impressed enough to send any early money. But the nominee spent a weekend in Milwaukee, where Paul Weyrich, head of the New Right's Free Congress Foundation, was conducting a campaign school with Bob Kasten, now senator from Wisconsin.

They preached the "Kasten Plan" of intensive precinct organization, derived from AFL-CIO campaign manuals, and emphasized the political value of tapping new constituencies opposed to abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment and gun control.

Marilyn Quayle took control of organizing the race, though she was well along in her second pregnancy. "I liked it," she recalled. "It's like preparing for a trial. . . . It's that kind of strategic planning I like."

She appointed herself the liaison to the Republican organization leaders, and they met Friday afternoons in the back room of Mother's Restaurant in Fort Wayne. "I was always there," she said. "Dan was out campaigning. I was the one that met with the county chairmen and stroked everybody and made everybody fall into place . . . and did all of the organizational things."

Her role—and the assertiveness with which she played it—did not sit well with the Old Guard Republicans. Many of them felt she complained too much.

Paul Helmke, a GOP campaign worker and now the mayor of Fort Wayne, recalled: "She had lots of comments. There was a nervousness about her; she was concerned about money. She was concerned about the crazy schedule. . . . She would say things like, 'I'm not hearing the advertising enough. I'm not hearing the jingle.' "

Alan McMahan, the city GOP chairman in Fort Wayne for the past 25 years, said, "The idea that a wife could have this influence and intelligence, have ideas of her own, was foreign to the power establishment here." Marilyn Quayle agreed. "They were astonished from the beginning that Dan . . . felt very comfortable that I could represent him completely. That was shocking to them," she said.

With some, it still rankles. If Marilyn Quayle said she used those Fridays at Mother's for "stroking" sessions, said Richard Fishering, Beers's deputy in the county organization, "I think she is full of shit, as usual."

The disrespect is mutual. In an interview, Marilyn Quayle dismissed the Old Guard as "a bunch of little boys who were used to doing things their own way," and blamed them for "the real erosion of the Republican Party in the Fourth District," which is now represented in the House by Democrat Jill Long.

McMahan called Marilyn Quayle "the driving force" in the campaign and said, "She brought a consistency to what he [Dan] was going to say. She had a firm hand, and it was necessary" to keep the campaign on track.

Walter Helmke, an Indiana state senator who had run unsuccessfully for the congressional seat in 1974, also emphasized her role in choosing the issues. He said that early in the year, "Quayle had no formulated opinion" on social issues.

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On May 8, 1979, Bowen announced that he would not be running, and, as Quayle recalled, "Doc mentioned my name first out of about 30 others that were potential Senate candidates." Only six days later, with dozens of pledges of support and with money in the bank left over from his House campaigns, Quayle declared his candidacy.

The 1980 contest turned out to be a repeat of 1976, with Quayle charging that Bayh was out of step with Indiana after 18 years in Washington. "They were very similar themes that I used in 1980 and that I used in 1976," Quayle said.

The result, too, was the same: a shocking upset by the little-known Quayle of an entrenched incumbent. With Ronald Reagan atop the national ticket, Quayle defeated Bayh 54 to 46 percent.

"Life has been very good to me," Quayle told a Washington Post reporter who profiled him just after his arrival in the Senate in early 1981. "I never had to worry about where I was going to go. But I do say, 'Dan, you know, sometime in life there's going to be a tragedy.' " It would be seven more years before George Bush gave Quayle a chance to taste adversity.

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

NEXT: The 1988 campaign

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In 1988, 'Control Freak Loses Control'

By David S. Broder and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

For 12 years in politics before 1988, Dan Quayle had set his own timetables, run his own campaigns and picked his own issues. Having prospered politically by calling his own plays, with guidance only from his wife Marilyn Quayle, he says without embarrassment, "I am a total control person."

But on Tuesday, Aug. 16, 1988, when presidential candidate George Bush announced at the Republican National Convention in New Orleans that the 41-year-old Indiana senator was his surprise choice for running mate, Quayle lost control of his fate. Catapulted onto a careening political toboggan ride, he was unable to break his plunge, and was left at election time less than three months later a shaken man with a tattered reputation.

"He really didn't understand what he was getting into," said Stuart Spencer, the veteran California campaign consultant who managed the vice presidential effort. "He didn't understand the enormity of it."

Quayle does not quarrel with that judgment. In an interview, he agreed that the headline for the story of his 1988 campaign could be "Control Freak Loses Control."

"I just miscalculated," Quayle said. "And perhaps overestimated my skills, underestimated some of their [Spencer's and the other assigned handlers'] tendencies. And did not have a good understanding of what the national political scene was going to demand of me. I didn't handle things as well as I should have."

Quayle had worked for six months to be picked by Bush. He knew he was on the short list and was convinced he was the logical choice. Yet at the critical moment, he was not ready. After Bush called his hotel room at the convention to tell him he had been chosen, Quayle said, he jumped in the shower, put on fresh clothes, and thought, "Well, now, what am I going to say?" Quayle said he "had no notes. Because I just never really spoke from a lot of notes."

Bush's campaign, left in the dark until the last minute and surprised by his choice, was equally unprepared. The next call to Quayle that Tuesday afternoon came from campaign chairman James A. Baker III, who told the Quayles to make their way from their hotel to the Spanish Plaza, the riverside dock where Bush planned to present his running mate. Marilyn Quayle recalled her husband telling Baker: " 'I'm looking at the Spanish Plaza on TV and there are thousands of people there. There's no way you can get us there.' " But "You know how Jimmy [Baker] is," she continued. " 'Trust me. Trust me. . . . We'll find you in the crowd. We'll get you in there.'

"They didn't send a soul," she said. "Nothing." It was the first of many complaints the Quayles would have about Baker during the campaign.

Baker's recollection is that outriders were dispatched, but couldn't locate the Quayles. After fighting their way through the mob, the Quayles finally reached the stage for Bush's introduction.

"You can see that I was quite excited. And probably a bit hot," recalled Dan Quayle, who has watched taped replays of that moment. "I can't remember with any degree of recollection what I said. I'm sure it was brilliant and to the point," he joked.

In fact, what he did in his first moment in the national political sun was to tell the story of a man in the crowd who said to tell Bush to "Go get 'em!" Quayle grasped Bush by the arm and shoulders again and again, and cried out to the crowd: "Let's go get 'em. All right? You got it?" Calming down a little, he said he was "honored" and "humbled," and pledged to fight for what he called "George Bush's America."

News media coverage of the event compared Quayle to a cheerleader or a game show contestant who had just won the Oldsmobile.

Quayle did not need a terribly weighty message for the nation, but he had practically no message at all. There had been no private moments to talk with Bush before the announcement. In fact, he had never had a substantive conversation with Bush about serving as his running mate, or about Quayle's role in a future administration. "We walked right up on stage," Quayle said. "Boom, that's it. And the private moment was in the car on the way back to the hotel."

Was that the chance to discuss campaign themes or strategy? "Basically, it was a welcome aboard," Quayle said. "Big welcome to part of the family. It was much more social talk rather than a 'Gee, what do we do next?' " Back in their hotel room for several hours, Quayle called his parents, and Marilyn Quayle arranged to have their three children flown to New Orleans. "We watched a little bit of [the announcement replay] on television, chit-chatted," he recalled. He assumed that somebody else was explaining him and his background to reporters.

"Every once in a while, I still flash back to that moment," Quayle said. "I know what the tie was. And the suit. The suit never fit in the first place. Didn't fit then, doesn't fit—history, as they say." But the totality of the 1988 campaign is something he prefers not to recall. He said he was "shaken" by what happened, but, with characteristic rosiness, preferred to see it as "a great learning experience." Yet he said he does not like to discuss or read about that difficult time, because it resurrects unhappy memories.

Even during the campaign, Quayle tried to shut out the unpleasantness. When the nightly television news programs aired their Quayle gaffe reports, he recalled, "I just turned the television off. I said, 'Hell, I'm not going to watch them do a job [on me],' so I'd just flick that thing off and try to ignore it."

Yet Quayle's performance in the 72 hours after his introduction as Bush's running mate etched indelibly into the minds of millions of Americans a picture of a stumbling, inarticulate young politician, struggling with questions about his military service, family background, personal wealth and academic record.

After those first three days, American voters did not get another long, serious look at Quayle until the evening of Oct. 5, when, according to virtually all pundits and polls, he was bested by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, in a 90-minute televised debate from Omaha. And after that—by deliberate design of the Bush campaign—Quayle rarely was seen again. At a meeting between campaign chairman Baker and Spencer, a senior

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ıpaign official recalled, the decision was made "go out and bury him," by scheduling Quayle .ly for events likely to generate minimal nation-.l news coverage.

Th[illegible]apshots that remain from the campaign—Quayle's dockside overexuberance, Quayle staring into the camera like a trapped fawn as he was bombarded with news conference and anchor-booth questions the day after his introduction, Quayle enduring the "You're no Jack Kennedy" rebuke from Bentsen—explain much of the continuing perception of him as a lightweight and, for many, a joke.

Bush's Shroud of Secrecy

At the root of many of the problems of the 1988 campaign, insiders say, was George Bush's obsessional secrecy about his choice for a vice president. Bush declined to be interviewed for these articles.

Early that year, shortly after he had routed his rivals for the presidential nomination, Bush sent a trusted aide to check in microfilm newspaper files at Washington's main public library how previous nominees, beginning with Harry S. Truman, had announced their vice presidential selections.

Most of the names, the aide reported, had leaked to the news media before official announcements were made. Rapping the desk for emphasis, Bush declared, "I am not going to let mine leak."

He let none of his top political aides read the background checks he ordered on Quayle and the other finalists. He shielded his final choice of Quayle from everyone until he flew into New Orleans on the second day of the convention. And he decided that afternoon to announce his decision on the dock, rather than to wait 24 hours as he had originally planned.

Bush had publicly promised "suspense," and that is what he delivered. Said one of his advisers: "Bush treated it like a CIA covert mission. He would not disclose who the vice presidential selectee would be until [they] were airborne, like the case officer in the movie will not disclose the destination or mission until the plane is airborne. . . . Excessive compartmentalization yields the Bay of Pigs."

Quayle said he had known in advance there would be shock and consternation if he were chosen. On the final weekend before the convention, while visiting at his brother-in-law's home in Paoli, Ind., he decided to share his worries with Baker in a telephone call.

"Jim," he remembered saying, "you know if it's me, there's a lot of education that needs to be done. There's who I am, and all that." Sen. Robert J. Dole (Kan.) and then-Rep. Jack Kemp (N.Y.)—also on Bush's short list—had just come off campaigns for the presidential nomination and were well-known national figures. "I'm not."

According to Quayle, Baker replied, "Don't worry about it; we have that all taken care of."

Baker has recalled that Quayle phoned and asked advice on whether he should accept an invitation to appear that Sunday on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley." Baker said no; Quayle did it anyway. Quayle mentioned that the family wealth might be a public relations problem if he were chosen, and Baker recalled saying he thought that could be handled without difficulty. But he did not remember any discussion about briefing the press on Quayle's qualifications.

Whatever the case, the campaign team had no game plan for Quayle's unveiling.

Quayle's own staff was in no position to help. When the call from Bush came, according to Mary Moses Cochran, the manager of Quayle's 1986 Senate campaign, a "frazzled" Marilyn Quayle pulled Tom Duesterberg, Quayle's administrative assistant, out of the staff room at the hotel. Duesterberg returned, Cochran said, just long enough to tell her, Quayle's press secretary Jeff Nesbit, and Greg Zoeller, the director of Quayle's Indiana offices. "to lock the door, tie up the phones, and watch TV." "So here we are," Zoeller recalled, "his campaign manager, his state director and his press secretary, locked in this room in the hotel watching it on TV."

Surprise and Confusion

James Cicconi, a Baker aide who had been designated to help the vice presidential nominee, recalled that he and Spencer were "astonished" by the choice of Quayle, and had to get someone to look up the Congressional Quarterly profile of the senator to find out more about him.

Many of Quayle's Senate colleagues, too, were surprised and nonplussed. A month before the convention, Bush had Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) canvass Senate Republicans for vice presidential recommendations. Only one senator listed Quayle among his top choices, McConnell recalled.

Pete Wilson of California, probably Quayle's closest ally on the Armed Services Committee, said he ranked Quayle no higher than fourth on his list. Sen. Steve Symms of Idaho, a fellow conservative and friend, recalled telling Quayle shortly before the convention, "They aren't going to pick you, so just relax. . . . Enjoy all the good press you're getting."

Delegates and reporters at the convention were as surprised as Symms to find that Bush had picked a senator few of them even knew. They could not guess why Bush had selected Quayle—and neither Quayle's aides nor Bush staff members were prepared to tell them. The first round of news stories on the announcement conveyed the shock and confusion many delegates were expressing, rather than the things about Quayle that might have led Bush to choose him.

For most of his 12 years in Congress, Quayle's press operation had been aimed at his Indiana constituents. With young children, the Quayles had shunned the Washington social scene, and he had cultivated few pals in the press corps.

Before heading to New Orleans, Nesbit had stuffed one bulging file folder of Quayle's Senate accomplishments into his suitcase. But he was being held incommunicado in the Quayle staff room. Others in the group of Indiana friends and aides who came to the convention to help Quayle had prepared a few hundred copies of an updated version of his 1986 campaign brochure to hand out at the state delegations he planned to visit. "It was not much," Zoeller recalled. "We were woefully unprepared."

But Marilyn Quayle lays the blame entirely on the Bush operatives. "They should have been ready to go with papers on exactly who Dan was," she said recently. "All of his accomplishments in the Senate . . . what he was going to bring to the ticket. . . . They should have lined up his colleagues in the Senate, and members of the House, the various governors who knew Dan. . . . Nobody was lined up. There was nothing tangible to hand to a member of the press. So people were scrounging when they shouldn't have been."

At dinner the night of Aug. 16, Quayle discovered that he would not be in control of any aspect of his own campaign. He was introduced to Spencer and Joe Canzeri, a veteran Washington public relations man, both already picked by Baker for the vice presidential team. The conversation, Quayle recalled, was "basically Spencer and Canzeri explaining a national campaign as they saw it."

Yet Quayle did not complain about being placed with handlers he did not know, and who did not know him, because, he said, "Why rock the boat?" when he had just been asked aboard.

"I never directly raised the subject with the president [Bush] on [not having] my people. . . . I wasn't going to bother him with problems that I was going to have. That would be the last thing I wanted to do. And I made the judgment early on that I would be able to control these people. . . .

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lost nearly 14 pounds in a week and "was thin my skirt would move around and my ..k pleat would end up in the front, because ...ere ... nothing to hold it. . . . It was just awful."

Canzeri recently denied this. "This is the first time I've ever been accused of cutting a budget," he added. "I wish I'd lost 14 pounds on the campaign. I didn't because I was eating hot dogs and pizza at 1 a.m., trying to straighten things out."

After Debate, Growing Resentment

The conflict came to a head with the televised October vice presidential debate, when Quayle's youth was a stark contrast to Bentsen's gray-haired maturity. And, although Quayle made no significant misstatements during the 90-minute broadcast, he walked straight into Bentsen's haymaker by comparing his own tenure in Congress with John F. Kennedy's—something he had been coached to avoid, Quayle acknowledged in a recent interview. "Once that happened," Roger Ailes said, "I said good night."

The Quayles' resentment grew after the debate, when Baker and other campaign officials were interviewed by reporters about his performance. "Baker . . . wasn't out there calling it a victory," one of the aides who was with them that night recalled. "There are hard feelings that grew out of it, because they'd thought there were too many comments from the Washington headquarters that Quayle was a drag on the ticket."

Quayle remembered feeling that "some of our people were very, shall we say, lukewarm toward my performance" in their post-debate comments. Khachigian said that Quayle, hearing the post-debate spin, "felt that he was being let down by the whole Bush operation."

"Because the handlers all came in," Quayle recalled, and they said, " 'Oh, good, good, good! Really good! You got your points across.' And then what they said behind my back was something that obviously I found out about."

Marilyn Quayle said, "People in our party—Jim Baker, who's a very good friend—they're not good spin doctors. . . . It was really handled poorly. . . . And I told them that, as I'm sure you've been told."

But she blamed the news media as much as the handlers for their problems throughout the campaign. They "were truly animals," she said of reporters. "It was shocking. I had not seen human beings behave that way around others. . . . Nobody could stand back and bring reality to the situation because it just went too fast, too far. Kind of like germs rolling [out from] under a lid."

Others have agreed that the media dwelled unfairly on Quayle's missteps. Larry Sabato, a University of Virginia political scientist, found that in the first 10 days after Quayle was named, the three major television networks devoted from two-thirds to more than four-fifths of their political coverage to him. "Balance in coverage," Sabato wrote in "Feeding Frenzy," his book on the excesses of political journalism, "was almost absent."

Richard F. Fenno Jr., a University of Rochester political scientist and author who has written extensively about Quayle's Senate career, observed that "if one wanted to prescribe a sitting-duck target for the community of political reporters who were rushing to judgment, one could hardly have improved upon J. Danforth Quayle. I believe there was a cultural—almost a tribal—element in their early reception and treatment of him."

More than anyone or anything else, however, the Quayles time and again identified Jim Baker with the incidents that caused them trouble.

It was Baker, Quayle recalled, who promised that the inevitable press inquiries about his selection would be handled.

It was Baker, Marilyn Quayle remembered, who said "Trust me" about the logistics of the waterside announcement.

It was Baker, Quayle said, who told him he would have handlers assigned to him. "He said 'Don't worry. Whoever [Bush's choice] is, we have the best team in place already.' "

At the rehearsal session for the fateful Wednesday morning news conference in New Orleans with Bush, "Baker sort of went through all the questions; it was sort of like a checklist," Quayle said. But the matter of how Quayle arranged to join the National Guard, which was soon to dominate coverage, never came up. "Nobody asked him the obvious question," Mitch Daniels also recalled. "I mean the air was pregnant with the question 'Well, did anybody pull a string?' There were 20 big shots [from the campaign] who had a chance to ask that. And not one did. And then they all jumped on him later."

Who told him to tour the anchor booths that night? "I don't know," Quayle said, "Baker, I presume. I mean, he signed off on everything." After that disaster, it was Baker who awakened Quayle in the early morning hours Thursday with instructions to dress and start answering questions from the campaign team.

Asked who told him to answer reporters' questions in Huntington that first Friday of the campaign, Quayle said, "I think it was Baker. I think it was Baker. I presume it was Baker. . . . Baker was with us, so I presume it was Baker."

Baker has said that he was involved in all these decisions, but cannot recall whether he gave specific instructions.

When he saw Baker's commentary after the October debate, Quayle said he decided he had had enough, and was going to be "my own handler." He said he spoke to Bush within the next few days, saying, "Look, you know, I just want you to know, I'll never do anything that I think will hurt you, but I really am going to do things a little bit differently, and I'm going to be speaking out."

"And I told him, 'I'm sick of it,' " Quayle recalled. "And he says, 'Fine, I know what you're feeling.' He says, 'You know what's best.' "

After the news media reported that Quayle was going to take charge, he got a call from Baker. The message, as Quayle remembers it, was blunt: " 'Well, we just read . . . how you're really going to be on your own. Well, now, just, just be careful. You want to listen, you want to listen to us.' "

"And I said, 'Look! Forget it! I'm talking to whoever I want to talk to. And I'm basically going to say whatever comes to mind.' "

After Quayle's declaration of independence, Spencer left the plane and was replaced by Mitch Daniels, Quayle's friend from Indiana. Senate pals and Hoosier cronies took turns traveling with Quayle, giving him companionship and moral support. With their encouragement, he dropped the barriers to the traveling press and began frequent news conferences.

But Khachigian, Cicconi and others picked by Baker remained in their jobs. And in the end, it really didn't matter much. The gaffes stopped, but from the Omaha debate until Election Day, the spotlight of media attention never again fell on Quayle.

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Quayle said he took some comfort in the cynical interpretation of Bush's campaign manager. "As Lee Atwater said, 'You were the best rabbit we had. . . . Let [the press] chase you, and [they'll] stay off the important things.' "

After the election, Quayle said, he expected the news media to let up—for there to be "light at the end of the tunnel," that "I was home free."

"I was shaken a little bit during and probably right after the campaign, as anybody would be. . . . I really just felt it was going to be over. And it was my wishful thinking.

"I never anticipated that the sort of cynicism and doubt and questioning of me would continue."

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

NEXT: Quayle as vice president

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Ahner told The Post, "I received a number of phone calls over the years from Phillippi. . . . We always asked our commanders and former commanders" to refer potential recruits. Ahner said he checked to make sure there were vacancies in the Guard. He distinctly remembers that there were openings.

Although in 1988 Ahner was reported as saying that he "held" open a spot for Quayle, a few days later he elaborated upon his remarks—and today stands by the fuller story—insisting that no one else was denied entry because of Quayle. He said he wanted to be sure the recommended 22-year-old had a chance to interview. "I wanted to make sure they [the vacancies] didn't all go in one big blast."

In a recent interview, Quayle said he accepted partial responsibility for the way the Guard issue snowballed. His answers at the Aug. 17, 1988, news conference, he said, did imply "that I regretted what I did. Yeah, I think that is a fair reading of the literal interpretation of it. It was not what was in my mind. What was basically in my mind was that I didn't really like the question."

Today, he is more prepared to respond to the charge of favoritism. "There just weren't any strings pulled," he said. "There were openings. . . . I don't know of anybody that applied, at least from DePauw, the group that I hung around with down there, that didn't get in."

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The Family Financial Picture

Dan Quayle is remarkably nonchalant and uninformed about his own finances. Asked about his net worth, Quayle said recently, "I don't know," and declined to provide even the roughest estimate. "I got a house, I got a mortgage on it," he said, adding that he has some stock in Central Newspapers Inc. He is a man very uninterested in a subject that most Americans find it necessary to monitor all the time. "I suppose a critic could say that that is a habit of people who have a lot of money," he said.

Marilyn Quayle knows much more about the family wealth. "Probably around $800,000," she said, adding, "the stock has gone down" and "our house in McLean isn't worth as much as it was."

A Price Waterhouse appraisal of the Quayles' net worth in September 1988 placed it at $859,700. The number was released publicly early in the campaign, but only after news stories had labeled Quayle the $600 million man or the $100 million man or the $50 million man. The last is the figure Newsweek magazine used in a story proclaiming Quayle "the wealthiest" of the four nominees on the Republican and Democratic tickets. He was probably third wealthiest of the four.

An independent examination of the Quayles' finances from public and other records indicates their principal asset is the $500,000 house they own and currently rent out, which carries a mortgage of slightly less than $150,000. They also have stock in Central Newspapers, publishers of papers in Indianapolis, Phoenix and other cities, valued at about $400,000, and several small bank accounts, investments and a retirement plan valued at more than $50,000. The newspaper stock was acquired as gifts from Quayle's family over the years.

Contrary to published assertions and speculation, Quayle does not stand to inherit part of the estate of his grandfather, newspaper magnate Eugene C. Pulliam, who died in 1975. His grandfather did not believe in inherited wealth. Pulliam Family Trust documents show that, at most, Quayle could receive the income from one-twelfth of the trust, but only after the death of both his step-grandmother and his mother.

At current dividend rates, Quayle would be in line to receive $76,358 a year, according to Frank E. Russell, president of Central Newspapers. That figure is confirmed by other documents.

The trust, which has nearly two-thirds of the Central Newspapers voting stock as its only asset, is irrevocable until 21 years after the death of Quayle's oldest son Tucker, now 17, when its assets would be distributed to various heirs. Actuarial tables indicate that distribution is unlikely to take place before the year 2075.

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

Quayle's Reputation vs. the Record

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Damaging Campaign Coverage Was Sometimes Inaccurate

By Bob Woodward and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

Dan Quayle says that one lesson he learned from watching the unraveling of the Watergate coverup in the Nixon White House is that "when a crisis comes up, instead of covering up, get it all out. Don't go having to change your damn story, and don't let it dribble out. I mean, that's the way I operate."

That is not, however, how Quayle operated during the biggest crisis in his political life—during the firestorm of press criticism immediately after his selection as George Bush's running mate in August 1988.

Partly because of his failure to be forthright, partly because of the sloppiness of some of the early reporting, and partly because of attempts by political opponents to discredit him, Quayle's reputation suffered lasting damage.

Quayle was accurately portrayed as a member of a well-to-do, prominent family, who coasted through college with mediocre grades, and used family connections to make contact with Indiana National Guard officials so he could go on to law school and avoid the draft, which was sending other young men to Vietnam.

But some serious charges made against Quayle—including allegations of academic failure or dishonesty and manipulation of National Guard rules—as well as descriptions of vast wealth, appear to be false, according to scores of interviews and documents examined during the last six months.

"The thing that really makes me mad about this is because it's me," Quayle said recently, explaining his refusal to release his DePauw University and Indiana University-Indianapolis Law School transcripts. "I mean, you're not going to ask anybody else to do this. . . . This is one of the things that just makes me mad. And every once in a while when you get mad, you get stubborn."

Questions about his academic record have dogged Quayle since he entered the national political arena. When he was chosen to be Bush's running mate, professors were quoted as calling him "as vapid a student as I can recall" or "crashingly mediocre." In the sympathetic view of Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), Quayle's friend and former colleague, the opening days of the 1988 campaign left the public "not sure how intelligent he really is."

Last month, after The Washington Post made a renewed request for his grades, and Quayle discussed the matter with his senior staff, he telephoned to say he had reviewed his academic transcripts and would summarize them, but would not release them or allow a reporter to view them.

He said that at DePauw his "cumulative grade average was 2.16, a C. At law school, it was 2.74, a B minus." There were no failing grades, Quayle said, but he received two D's at DePauw and one D in law school. He declined to specify the courses in which he had received the low grades, and turned down an opportunity to say how many A's he had received.

"I had one course that I dropped at DePauw," he said. "My recollection isn't exact. I presume that I dropped it because I wasn't keeping up. Just a regular withdrawal, no notation of any problem. I think I was a sophomore."

"I should have done better, wish I'd done better," Quayle said after summarizing his record. Asked why he had decided not to release the transcripts, Quayle said: "I just don't want to go any further. It's irrelevant and rather demeaning."

Yesterday, at Quayle's request, the president of DePauw and the dean of the IU-Indianapolis law school confirmed the accuracy of Quayle's recollections of his academic record.

More damaging than reports of a poor academic record, however, were published allegations of plagiarism. Extensive reporting uncovered no evidence that this charge or any allegations of academic dishonesty were true.

The trail of the allegations was circular, beginning with Democratic Party operatives and staff members of former Democratic senator Birch Bayh, whom Quayle had defeated in 1980. They acknowledged they told inquiring journalists in 1988 of "rumors" about Quayle and directed reporters toward certain professors for more information.

Two former DePauw professors, William L. Morrow and Michael Lawrence, were cited in particular as holding the keys to Quayle's academic past.

Contacted recently at the College of William and Mary, where he teaches, Morrow said, "I wish I had something on Quayle, but I don't." There were several incidents of plagiarism at DePauw during Quayle's time there, he said, and "it seemed to me one was Quayle, but I have to say, I don't know it was Quayle. . . . In 1980, the Bayh people wanted me to say he committed plagiarism and of course I couldn't."

Lawrence was reached in Santa Fe, N.M., where he runs an art gallery. "Every time Dan Quayle runs for public office, I get called," he said. "I know of no such incident in my class or any other. To my knowledge, Dan Quayle never committed plagiarism. . . . I saw no records showing plagiarism, grade changes or undue influence in any way, shape or form."

"The amount of misinformation on this subject is so overwhelming," Lawrence added. "There is a small group of people who are hoping that wishing will make it true . . . who have made these rumors a minor career. Everyone is willing to think the worst of people on the other side of the political equation."

Calling Home and Enlisting

Stories that Quayle had used family influence and connections to enlist in the Indiana National Guard in 1969 to avoid being drafted for Vietnam thrived during the 1988 campaign in part because Quayle mishandled the issue and his answers to reporters' questions suggested he was uncomfortable with his own service.

Asked about his National Guard enlistment at a news conference the day after he was named as Bush's running mate, Quayle said: "I did not know in 1969 that I would be in this room today, I'll confess"—suggesting he was embarrassed or did something wrong. When NBC's Tom Brokaw asked that evening how he got into the Guard, Quayle said vaguely, "Phone calls were made." When CBS's Dan Rather asked whether someone in Quayle's family had called to get Quayle a spot, he replied, "I'm almost certain the governor or lieutenant governor were not involved in that"—leaving open the possibility that other high officials might have been.

Two days later, Quayle made the situation worse when he said, "Like any 22-year-old college senior, when you are thinking about making a major decision in your life . . . and whether you are going to join the National Guard . . . you call home"—suggesting at least an insensitivity to the issue of his family's prominence and influence.

Though Quayle said he favored the Vietnam War effort, he said that by 1969 he had grown disillusioned with U.S. strategy. That year, 9,272 Americans were killed or died from injuries and 32,940 were seriously wounded in the war, and 8,553 Hoosiers were drafted. In order to go to law school, Quayle chose to enter the National Guard, which required only six months' active duty and made remote the possibility of going to Vietnam.

The circumstances of his enlistment in the Indiana National Guard were somewhat out of the ordinary. Rather than simply walking in the door and asking to sign up, he and his family arranged for introductory telephone calls to senior Guard officials. But there is no indication the influence went beyond that, that he obtained admission to a unit that did not have vacancies, or was placed ahead of anyone on a waiting list.

The unit he joined, the Headquarters and Headquarters Detachment (HHD) in Indianapolis, had an authorized strength of 63, according to Indiana Guard Form TDA NGW8AVAAOO dated April 1, 1969. The DA Form 1, the so-called morning report, for the unit's training assembly on Saturday and Sunday, May 17-18, 1969, shows that 52 men were serving at the time, or 11 short of authorized strength.

Quayle enlisted in the unit the next day, May 19, 1969, as an E-1 private, the lowest pay grade in the military. The morning report for the next monthly training session in June shows assigned enlisted strength at 55, or still eight short of capacity.

"There was no waiting list for HHD [Quayle's unit] before, at the time, or following his enlistment," said Robert T. Fischer, a retired colonel and the Indiana Guard's military history project director, in a signed statement to The Washington Post.

As best can be pieced together now, this sequence of events led to Quayle's enlistment in the unit: As he neared graduation from DePauw, Quayle, who already had taken a pre-induction physical exam, talked to his parents about enlisting in the National Guard, so he could go on to law school. They passed word of his interest in joining the Guard to his maternal uncle, Eugene S. Pulliam, then assistant publisher of the Indianapolis News. Pulliam in turn visited the newspaper's managing editor, Wendell C. Phillippi, a former commanding general of the Guard, on Quayle's behalf.

Phillippi told Pulliam to send Quayle in, and after their conversation, Phillippi called then-Col. Alfred F. Ahner to tell him a good recruit would be coming over. "I did this routinely for anyone who came to see me," Phillippi said recently.

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THE PRESIDENT'S UNDERSTUDY

Fourth of Seven Articles

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Facing Limitations in an 'Awkward Job'

By David S. Broder and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

Last year Vice President Dan Quayle's staff, eager for a display of heavyweight diplomacy by their boss, tried to arrange for Quayle to visit the Soviet Union. But the plans were derailed when they ran into Secretary of State James A. Baker III, President Bush's senior Cabinet offical and close friend of 35 years.

Baker did not think the trip would be helpful, according to an authoritative source, and recommended to the White House against it. Baker also had recommended that Quayle not make a proposed trip to Germany during that country's unification negotiations, arguing that the vice president did not belong in the middle of the sensitive talks.

Neither trip was made. Quayle acknowledged in interviews that his staff ran into problems with the State Department over the Soviet trip, but, choosing his words with care, he insisted that there was no showdown between him and Baker. "I never suggested to the president or to the secretary of state *directly* that I go to the Soviet Union," he emphasized in a November interview. "I never *personally* brought that up."

But it was made clear by a number of sources that the secretary of state does not want Quayle to be a major player in the formulation or implementation of foreign policy, and that he intends to keep it that way.

When he travels abroad, Quayle is received as a virtual head of state. But although he has visited 42 countries as vice president, his diplomatic efforts have been restricted mainly to areas of the world on which Baker rarely focuses, such as Latin America. Quayle did visit Eastern Europe last June, but as vice president he has barely set foot in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf region or Western Europe and has never been to China.

Quayle's uneasy relationship with Baker illustrates the paradoxical nature of the vice president's job. He has a privileged seat—as close as anyone to the center of power. Yet because he has no territory that is strictly his own, can operate only in the margins of most important policy matters.

"The job is just awkward, an awkward job," Quayle said in one of the more reflective moments in the interviews for these articles. He said he was "much more free and independent" during his eight years as senator than he is now. The vice presidency, he said, is a "much more confining job. You don't have your own agenda. Your agenda is the president's agenda."

"It's an uncomfortable position to be in," agreed Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney. "The vice president is there sort of as an overall generalist. . . . He's here as the president's understudy, in a sense."

Operating in the president's shadow, Quayle also must tiptoe around Baker and other Cabinet members. "Wherever I might go, somebody has primary jurisdiction, and that's one of the problems with being vice president," he said. "Anything you do, you're going to be getting into somebody else's domain."

Yet while Quayle bemoans the limitations of his office, he sometimes seems unwilling or unable to follow through on those initiatives he calls his own. Last August, for example, he sharply criticized the legal profession and called for civil justice reform, saying there were too many lawyers making too much money from too much unnecessary litigation. But he has not taken all the steps that he acknowledged are crucial to implement the reforms.

And, although he works hard, his schedule often is dominated by photo opportunities and ceremonial appearances, leading some associates to worry that he enjoys busywork at the expense of substance.

Quayle said that he and Bush have agreed on six "constituencies" that he should serve as vice president:

- The president. Quayle is both policy adviser and public spokesman, as well as an emissary representing Bush when necessary.
- Congress. As a former senator and representative, Quayle is a natural liaison for the administration.
- The Republican Party. Quayle has traveled to more than 200 cities, raising $22 million for the GOP and its candidates.
- Foreign countries. Quayle at times has played a significant if subordinate role in those accounts allowed him by the State Department—particularly in Latin America and Japan.
- The White House Council on Competitiveness. Newly active under Quayle, it oversees the writing of rules and regulations to implement legislation.
- The National Space Council. Quayle chairs this Cabinet-level group, which coordinates policy for civilian and NASA space programs.

But one item on the list clearly takes precedence over the others. "The constituency of the president is the one area you're most interested in," Quayle told The Washington Post last June, "and that's an area I have to protect."

A Prescription for the Job

Six years into his own vice presidency, George Bush in 1987 laid out a prescription for the job he called "the most misunderstood elective office in our political system. People either make too little or too much of it," Bush wrote in his autobiography, "Looking Forward." Those who thought the vice president was a "useless appendage" were as mistaken as those who thought he could be a "surrogate president."

The essential attributes, Bush wrote, were subordination, loyalty and total confidentiality. "On the day a disgruntled, self-serving vice president declares civil war on the White House by publicly challenging a president, our system of government will be in serious trouble."

By this standard, Quayle gets high marks, for he has fomented no mutiny.

Only once, a senior Quayle aide said, has the vice president been cautioned about public dissent. In 1989, as Bush was flying home from his Malta summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Quayle told a Washington Post reporter that he doubted whether the Soviet Union had really given up its expansionary aims. Bush passed word that Quayle ought to let the president be the first to interpret Soviet policy. There apparently have been no repeat episodes of Quayle getting out of line.

Administration officials suggested that Quayle would have pressed Congress harder at the end of 1991 for legislation to spur the economy, and during the last year would have shifted support sooner than Bush and Baker did from Gorbachev to Boris Yeltsin and the republics of the then-Soviet Union. But none of these disagreements was made public.

Quayle's secrecy about his advice to Bush makes it hard for outsiders to gauge his effectiveness in that role. "I like to give him my ideas in privacy," Quayle said. "When we're in a large group where it's probably going to get out, I try to be somewhat circumspect. . . . I try not to take time at large Cabinet meetings. I try to be somewhat judicious so people can't read it that the vice president feels this way, but the president feels that way."

Former vice president Walter F. Mondale agreed in a recent interview that for a vice president, "the dumbest thing to do is to go around and brag" about his influence on the president.

According to senior administration officials, Quayle influences Bush most effectively when he can take soundings within the circle of presidential advisers, find common ground with some of them, and then use that alliance to advance a position. Originally an outsider in an administration dominated by people such as Baker, who had long-standing relationships with Bush, Quayle now is seen as someone who gives useful advice, as long as it is generally in line with the direction in which Bush already is headed.

"Quayle can have an impact on the tac-

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a picture, on the domestic political d congressional maneuvering, but not the overall strategic goals," one White House official said.

Late November, for example, as the congressional session drew to a close, the White House appeared to walk away from an anti-recession tax package proposed by House Republicans. But the next day, after Quayle urged the president to close ranks with them in a show of party unity, Bush told reporters he "enthusiastically" agreed with the proposals.

In the end, however, Bush's comments turned out to be only a gesture, because he did not press Congress to remain in session to act on the package.

One of the president's closest advisers pointed out that "Bush is not easily persuaded by anyone. He will defer on details to others. . . . People, including Quayle, do move into a category where he defers to their judgment, but again only on details."

Although Quayle said, "I try not just to hang around the Oval Office, because I don't think that serves him," the most important part of Quayle's day is the time he spends with the president. Each morning at 8:15 when he and Bush are in town, Quayle joins Bush, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and CIA briefers for about a half-hour for the presidential national security briefing. After that, Quayle remains for Bush's meeting with the chief of staff for another 30 minutes. "It sets the agenda for the rest of the day," Quayle said, adding that if there is a domestic issues update, the time with Bush may extend to 10 a.m.

His proximity to the president, on a daily basis and in crisis meetings, has had a cumulative effect on their relationship, administration officials said. "You can't underestimate the slow, water-faucet-dripping impact of the [private] Thursday lunches" Bush and Quayle have each week, said the close Bush adviser. "Quayle's influence cannot be measured by a single event, but in my judgment [during the three years] . . . there has been a very definite favorable accumulation" of influence with Bush.

National Security 'Odd Man Out'

Despite this accumulation of influence, on national security matters Quayle remains a second-team player in Washington. "I can bring certain facts and things to the table that are important to [Bush], but he has so many resources on foreign policy and he is so steeped in foreign policy himself" that the contribution is often marginal, Quayle acknowledged. One former aide called Quayle the "odd man out" among the "big eight" national security advisers because he alone has no clearly defined foreign policy role.

During the Persian Gulf crisis, Quayle became a public spokesman for the administration. On Nov. 29, 1990, Quayle gave a speech at Seton Hall University that meticulously explained why U.S. interests in the Middle East—from the moral to the practical—warranted the risk of war. The speech, which was crafted by Quayle and his staff, but cleared by national security adviser Scowcroft's office, is cited by Quayle aides as an instance when he helped shape policy, and in fact its themes became the basis of some of Bush's own later statements on the crisis.

But some of Quayle's much-publicized participation in the top echelon of decision-making during the crisis was more show than substance. Much fanfare and picture-taking attended a visit by Quayle and several of his top aides to the Pentagon for a military briefing on the situation in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait on Dec. 17, 1990. But participants in the meeting said there was no real reason for the special briefing, which basically was arranged as a public relations display to show that the vice president was involved in the crisis deliberations.

Quayle also has received credit in the news media for urging Bush to seek congressional authorization for the use of force to drive Saddam Hussein's troops from Kuwait. But in the internal administration debates, Quayle had urged that Bush seek the resolution before Christmas of 1990—and lost. Bush finally made the request of Congress several weeks later, early last January, and it passed just days before the war began.

Last June, Quayle spent five days in Eastern Europe, preaching the administration line of "trade, not aid" to the heads of state of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Upon returning to Washington, he urged Bush, in a two-page memo on June 11, to relax trade barriers on the importation of Eastern European cheese, steel and textiles.

Though the administration did relax the quotas, the move was largely symbolic and had little economic impact. "I should have expanded a little bit beyond trade," Quayle said, acknowledging in retrospect that the results were "mushy."

Quayle aides said he is determined that his trips have concrete results, even if they are only announcements of routine grants. But they complained he often becomes captive of what one called State Department "ceremonialists" who tie up the vice president—sometimes with his approval—with a mind-numbing schedule of wreath-layings and routine appointments.

Last June 6, for example, after a long morning tour of Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps in Poland, Quayle flew to Prague, where he held a 20-minute private meeting with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. Several aides complained that by acceding to the State Department schedule, Quayle missed an opportunity to have a serious discussion with one of the more important intellectual figures of recent political history. "He does not pay enough attention to his own education," said one aide.

Quayle's eight trips to Latin America have received the most notice, although there too he operates under State Department and White House National Security Council staff policy guidance. To the surprise of many, when he traveled to El Salvador two weeks after he was sworn in, he delivered a harsh warning on human rights abuses to the military high command and officer corps.

He called for "respect for human rights and social justice," according to a classified cable summarizing his remarks, and described himself as a "hard-liner" on human rights. "Violence must be condemned whether it comes from the left or right," he said.

Quayle recalled recently that the military did not expect such a message from someone with his right-wing reputation. "I said if I'm going to go there, let's not have it as a hand-holding session. . . . I was trying to figure out the biggest impact we could make."

Probably his most concrete achievements have come during three visits to Japan. According to White House and State Department specialists, Quayle helped persuade the Japanese to direct hundreds of millions of dollars of their foreign aid budget to countries that are U.S. policy priorities, such as Poland and Colombia. He also is credited with playing a significant role in persuading Japanese auto makers to buy billions of dollars more of American automobile parts each year.

A 'Legislative Counselor'

While Quayle's preferred area of operation is the world, his more natural home is Congress, where, as a former member of both the House and Senate, he keeps in close contact with a wide range of Republicans and Democrats. White House aides described him as a kind of "legislative counselor" to Bush. By most accounts, he is more active in this field, and more influential, than Bush was as vice president.

Congressional relations often have to do with maintaining friendships and creating an atmosphere, and both are Quayle specialties. According to three dozen legislators interviewed from both parties, Quayle leaves them with the impression that they have a direct channel to the White House through him.

When his travel schedule does not take him out of town, Quayle goes up to Capitol Hill at midday on Tuesday and Wednesday and spends the rest of the afternoon working his old turf.

On Tuesdays at noon, he usually attends the weekly luncheon of Republican senators. Often, Quayle leads off the session with comments on his recent travels or a plug for an administration program or nominee. After lunch, Quayle frequently crosses the Capitol to attend the weekly House Republican strategy session in the office of Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (Ill.). And on Wednesdays, he often goes to the informal lunches of one of the other major groups of Senate Republicans—the conservative Steering Committee or the moderate Wednesday Group. Quayle belonged to both as a senator and works

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hard at maintaining his ties across the GOP spectrum.

Sen. Richard G. Lugar, his former colleague from Indiana and a leader of the Wednesday Group, said that "when Dan comes in here, he just takes whatever seat is open; if it's in the back row, he'll slide in with a plate of food. It's just as if he were a member of the club, getting his three minutes to talk about whatever subject he wants to talk about."

Quayle clearly enjoys the informal chats with old friends, and he brings back a personal assessment of the legislative climate that is valued in the White House. According to former White House chief of staff John H. Sununu, Quayle's "social contacts" on the Hill have been "invaluable." He said Quayle's vote-count estimates "turned out to be very right" in the unsuccessful fight to confirm John G. Tower as defense secretary at the outset of the administration, and have carried weight ever since. "When we lay out a legislative strategy, almost automatically, he's a key part of the discussions," Sununu said before his resignation.

Defense Secretary Cheney said that Quayle "probably has better ties at any given moment, or a better read on . . . the mood of the Senate Republicans—and the Senate generally—than just about anybody else."

These judgments come from friends, of course, but Quayle clearly is useful on Capitol Hill. Knowing the importance of having respected senators undertake a personal cause, he was the first White House official to call Sens. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) and Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) about supporting Judge Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court, and he has lobbied on both sides of the aisle on almost every major issue.

Sen. Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.), chairman of the Steering Committee, a caucus of about 20 conservative Republicans, said the vice president served as the broker between that group and the administration on a 1989 minimum wage bill and succeeded in heading off the threat of a conservative filibuster. He enlisted conservative support for the president's veto of technology restrictions relating to the FSX, a fighter plane that was to be developed in conjunction with Japan. "Quayle was the one who persuaded a very reluctant Steering Committee to go along," Wallop said.

But during the 1990 budget battle, when conservatives revolted against the agreement between Bush and congressional Democrats, Quayle was hard-pressed. Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said, "Dan made calls, particularly to the Steering Committee group and the more conservative members, trying to help the president. He's been good at that." But even his own successor from Indiana in the Senate, Dan Coats, would not be swayed. "I told him early on I was going to vote exactly the way he would have voted if he were still the senator from Indiana," Coats said. "He didn't put a lot of pressure on me."

In that same fight, after Bush reneged on his "no-new-taxes" campaign pledge, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) recalled recently, "there was a period where we were not talking with [budget director Richard G.] Darman and Sununu. For three or four days, Quayle was the primary source of information between the most active wing of the House Republican Party and the White House. . . . And he did so without breaking his ties in either direction."

"He didn't come to us and say, 'You guys are really right,' " Gingrich added, even though it was well-known to the conservatives that Quayle had opposed the budget deal in private White House discussions. But at a time when Sununu was threatening political retaliation against Republicans who broke with the president, Quayle played the peacemaker, Gingrich said. "He came to us and said, 'Look, I'm with the president. You guys are being jerks. But you are *our* jerks.' He kept a lot of additional brawls from going on."

Quayle also keeps private channels of communication open with some liberal Democrats. Early in 1991, one Democratic senator said, Quayle told him that a compromise was possible on a family-leave bill that had been vetoed by Bush the previous year. The senator said he was advised by Quayle, "Don't let that bill come up [early] this year," when Bush would feel politically obligated to threaten another veto. Later in 1991, he quoted Quayle as saying, Bush might be more receptive to "a substantive discussion" of the issue.

The advice to delay action on family-leave legislation until late last year was taken, and friends of Quayle, both Republicans and Democrats, later put together a compromise proposal. But contrary to what Quayle had hinted, Bush remained adamantly opposed to it.

When asked about the matter recently, Quayle reacted as if he had been caught with his hand in the cookie jar. "Golly, don't get me involved in this thing publicly," he pleaded. "The president's position right now is not to support that legislation."

Frequent Political Excursions

On the Republican political circuit, Quayle is almost constantly in demand. He makes a political trip somewhere around the country at least once or twice a week, usually returning the same night.

Quayle's job is to touch the dozens of reelection bases that Bush does not have time to visit. "Although Bush probably does more [political speeches] than any other president," Quayle said, "he can't be consumed by it. We can. We can do an awful lot."

These daylong excursions, for which local party organizations contribute from $8,000 to $15,000 in partial reimbursement of the travel costs, are jampacked. Quayle may leave early enough to give both a breakfast and lunch speech, and usually one at dinner as well. Crammed in between are pep talks to state party organizations, meetings with local newspaper editorial boards, brief news conferences, closed-door sessions with local business leaders or other interest groups and a sprinkling of photo opportunities.

The party faithful show up with checkbooks: Generally it's $50 for a lunch ticket, $150 to $200 for a reception and $1,000 to participate in a round-table discussion with Quayle and several dozen other big donors. Often, too, Quayle will squeeze in a round of hand-shaking at a supermarket, a fast-food restaurant or a bowling alley, a nostalgic return to the press-the-flesh campaigning at which he excelled in Indiana.

Typical of many such excursions on which The Post accompanied Quayle in 1991 was an 11-hour day trip to Chicago last summer to address the American Medical Association and meet with a group of 35 Polish-American leaders, followed by a stop in Philadelphia to meet with Cardinal John Krol and speak at two GOP fund-raisers. At the AMA speech he praised doctors, criticized lawyers and was generally well-received.

Veterans Affairs Secretary Edward J. Derwinski, who earlier in his career had advised Vice President Bush on dealings with ethnic organizations, came along at Quayle's request to critique his performance before the Polish group.

At that midday session, Quayle talked nonstop for 10 minutes, reviewing his recent trip to Eastern Europe, noting that he had met with Polish President Lech Walesa, and praising the Polish leader for his courage, his sense of humor and his "wonderful wife." He fielded two questions.

The reception was less enthusiastic than at other stops during the day, and Derwinski was critical, privately telling Quayle afterward that he seemed to be overcompensating for his perceived faults and trying to prove, among other things, that he knew how to pronounce the names of the Polish prime minister and economic minister. Quayle had not played enough to the politics of the situation, Derwinski said, comparing him to President Bush, who, in a similar meeting with a group of ethnic leaders, talked for just a few minutes and then went around the table, looking each leader in the eye and asking open-ended questions that gave them a chance to speak their minds.

Edward Moskal, president of the Polish group in Chicago, said later that Quayle did not seem to have an in-depth grasp of the situation in Poland and had talked down to them. "Frankly, we weren't impressed," Moskal said.

During his performance in Philadel-

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phia later that evening, Quayle seemed more comfortable, offering the partisan crowd a stock speech bashing the Democrats with bumper-sticker slogans. With a bright, confident smile, Quayle proclaimed the Republicans the party of "strong defense, lower taxes, a strong economy and no quotas" and called the Democrats "empty on new ideas."

"We've been thrilled by him," Chris Bravacos, political director of the Pennsylvania Republican Committee, said afterward. "Our chairman [Anne B. Anstine] has a whole wall filled with pictures of the vice president. He's been very good to us."

Even in Washington, Quayle's days often end with fund-raising receptions for Republican officeholders. He displays remarkable patience with picture-taking, frequently standing for an hour as one donor after another is hustled by for a handshake, smile and photo.

Quayle's staff calls it "flash for cash."

Lacking the Follow-Up

Quayle's preoccupation with the ritual and protocol of his office often sidetracks his big projects.

Before launching his civil justice reform initiative in a speech last August to the American Bar Association, Quayle said in an interview that it would be a "shot across the bow" of the legal system.

More than 50 detailed proposals—limiting punitive damage awards, the use of expert testimony and the cost and duration of the pretrial "discovery" process; experimenting with a "loser-pays" rule; and offering alternatives to litigation—were developed by Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr, then cleared and approved by Quayle's Council on Competitiveness. When Quayle unveiled them to the ABA, he salted the specifics with rhetorical passages questioning whether "America really needs 70 percent of the world's lawyers . . . and 18 million new lawsuits a year."

But since then, Quayle has found only a handful of occasions for follow-up speeches. While Bush has issued an executive order carrying out some of the proposals, the promised recommendations for action by Congress and model legislation for the states have not yet been forthcoming.

In the interview, just before the initiative was made public, Quayle volunteered that "I've got to sit down with Joe Biden [the Democratic chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee] sometime just to see how interested he is" in cooperating.

Yet nearly four months later, as Congress was preparing to adjourn for the year, Quayle said he had not gotten around to seeing Biden. "I do need to do that. . . . I should have sat down with him and talked about it. . . ."

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

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The Vice President's Driving Passion

Quayle Unleashes Competitive Energy on the Golf Course

By Bob Woodward and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

At 5:50 a.m. on Friday, July 12, Vice President Dan Quayle, four aides and seven Secret Service agents departed the vice president's residence by helicopter for the 10-minute ride to Andrews Air Force Base.

It was the beginning of an 18-hour day that would take Quayle on Air Force Two to New York for a speech at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, an editorial board meeting at the New York Post and the opening ceremonies for a disabled athletes organization on Long Island.

He finished all this by lunch time. Page 12 of Quayle's detailed schedule that day then listed "Washington Work/Private Time: 6 hours." What it really meant was golf.

From time to time, aides and political advisers have urged Quayle to cut back on his golf, telling him that it reinforces an image of the elite, carefree child of privilege. But Quayle has refused, so his staff has learned to build his passion into their planning. They schedule important meetings, interviews and events several hours before he is to leave for the course. "He goes on a high," one aide says. But the event cannot be too close to the game, because then Quayle will be distracted by his desire to get to the course to practice before teeing off.

Golf has been a major part of Dan Quayle's life since his youth in Arizona, where the family lived next to the Paradise Valley golf club. His grandfather, newspaper publisher Eugene C. Pulliam, once told him that the golf course was a good place to make "contacts and business acquaintances."

But golf serves a special function for Quayle now that he is in the vice presidency, an office where he can never forget that he is, as Nelson A. Rockefeller put it, "standby equipment," and where he can never fully unleash his competitive energies.

David Griffiths, a golf buddy from law school days, said: "One of the things people don't understand about him is how fierce a competitor he is. Even when we were playing head-to-head, just the two of us, it was still very competitive." When Quayle fell behind, "invariably, he'd come roaring back."

Quayle's onetime aide and his successor in the Senate, Dan Coats, has a reputation as one of the toughest competitors on Capitol Hill, but he said he was no match for Quayle. "He hates to lose. All politicians are competitive, but most do not have the intensity that Dan does. . . . The key to understanding Dan, competing against him and working with him—the tougher it gets, the more determined he is."

An Eight-Hour Marathon

The intensity of his urge to excel was demonstrated July 12 during what turned into an eight-hour golf marathon at Deepdale Golf Club in Manhasset, Long Island.

By 1:15 p.m. Quayle, in blue trousers and a pink shirt, was on the veranda of Deepdale—one of the most exclusive and expensive private clubs in the country. He and four others—Rep. Raymond J. McGrath (R-N.Y.), real estate developer Lewis Rudin, club professional Darrell Kestner and George Zahringer, a stockbroker and one of the best amateur golfers in the nation—had the lush, beautifully manicured course virtually to themselves.

Quayle began the outing with 30 minutes on the driving range, trying new clubs while Kestner diagnosed his swing. His drives are the best part of his game, carrying 250 to 275 yards—but Quayle was far from satisfied.

As he headed out to the 6,623-yard course, teams of Secret Service agents, and the military aide carrying the "football" with the nuclear war codes, fanned out in separate golf carts, communicating with hand-held radios. "SCORECARD is 150 yards from the green," said one agent, using Quayle's code name. Caddies drove the golf carts with the clubs; Quayle walked. One caddie acted as a ball spotter, while another taped Quayle's shots on a portable Sony video camera.

Quayle told pro Kestner and amateur Zahringer to advise him freely but not to overload the circuits with too many tips and criticisms. During the first nine holes, reviewing his performance on the video, they focused on three areas: keeping the shoulders down, proper location of the knees on the backswing, and keeping the shaft of the club vertical on the top portion of the backswing.

On the 397-yard, par 4 14th hole, Quayle hit what looked like a perfect drive, only to see it take a radical departure to the left, hooking deep into the woods. The spotter located it in a thicket of tall, thin trees.

Quayle spent a full minute, utterly calm, trying to develop a strategy for recovery. He saw the only way out was back toward the tee, against all golfing instinct to advance toward the hole. A lofted shot into the middle of the fairway provided a nice shot to the green. But the recovery was incomplete, because he sliced the next shot to the right. He ended up with a double bogey 6 on the hole.

On the 431-yard, par 4 15th, Quayle sliced his drive to the right into an adjacent fairway, and had to shoot over a line of trees to get to the green. On the 18th, he putted out for a final score of 81, 11 over par. It was not what he had hoped for, and his face showed it. Club pro Kestner shot a 72, amateur Zahringer a 67.

Golf is key to understanding the vice president, said one of his closest aides. "It's the personality that goes with being a world-class golfer. You know, they're not the people who wrap their clubs around the trees. They are not the people who shout at the galleries. They are not the people who let their bad performance on the first hole affect their performance on the sixth hole. And while they're playing the sixth hole, they are not thinking about the 18th hole. . . . It helps me understand why he doesn't go through each day thinking about how this is going to affect the California primary in 1996."

A group of Quayle's aides waited at the edge of the green, including Dan Murphy, who carried an official-looking suitcase and a canvas bag, both filled with what Quayle's staff called "chum"—meaning bait—an assortment of Dan Quayle memorabilia including tie bars, T-shirts, golf balls and visors. As Lewis Rudin distributed crisp $100 bills to the caddies and ball spotter, the other golfers went into a mild "chum" feeding frenzy, nearly emptying Murphy's bags.

Murphy, who has since left Quayle's staff for law school, said there are two things about his job he would not miss: carrying the "chum" all over the country and the world, and picking up Quayle's clothing in various hotel rooms and residences.

Driving Into the Night

Though he was scheduled to depart the club in about 15 minutes, Quayle headed to the driving range. For the next hour and 50 minutes, he hit balls as Kestner and Zahringer analyzed problems with his swing. As the sun set, Quayle continued to pound ball after ball down the range, achieving a nice zing with most shots, finding his groove, sending the balls regularly 250 yards or more.

"Mr. Vice President," one of his coaches finally said, "the sun is down. No one has been able to even remotely see where the last half-dozen shots landed."

Quayle seemed to come out of a trance. "We'll take a shower, then get something to eat," he said. Afterward, his skin was pink and his blue eyes stood out even more than usual; he looked younger; he seemed totally relaxed.

Over thick steaks and baked potatoes, accompanied by a 1982 Chateau Margaux wine, the talk was all of golf. Quayle launched a round of nostalgia, recalling with exactitude incidents from

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a 1966 tournament in San Francisco where he helped set the pins, and a 1975 tournament at Medinah Country Club in Illinois, where he and his wife, Marilyn, saw pro Ben Crenshaw hit his shot in the water on the 17th hole.

About 9:30, Quayle was ready to leave. With cleared freeways, Air Force Two and a waiting Marine Two helicopter, he was home by 11:30.

People who know Quayle emphasize his eagerness for the game and its importance to his psychic balance. During his round at Deepdale, he had exclaimed, "I can't get enough of it!"

He likes to play at Burning Tree in Bethesda, where normally he can finish in two-thirds the time it would take at other local courses, and where his "Honorary Resident" membership exempts him from joining or paying the initiation fee. One Secret Service agent said that there are summer weeks when Quayle plays as many as three or four times.

He had a putting green built at the vice presidential residence. "After an evening appearance that did not go as well as he wanted, and he was clearly not happy with his performance," one aide said, "I have seen him, in the dark of night, jump out of his car and walk right to the putting green and start putting. The imposition of discipline. Or absolute order. What matters. And that's not just relaxation. That's his version of Oriental shadow-boxing."

Marilyn Quayle said of her husband's love of golf: "If you're going to play a good game of golf, everything else has to leave. . . . It requires such a level of concentration that everything that's closing in on you and pounding you, it's total relief."

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

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Quayles and Bushes, Almost Like Family

Riding through the streets of West Carrollton, Ohio, at the end of the first difficult week of the 1988 campaign, Dan Quayle recalled in a recent interview, he and his wife, Marilyn, shared a lighthearted mood with George and Barbara Bush.

The couples were playing what they called "the limousine game," competing to see who could make eye contact with the most roadside spectators. If one of them succeeded in making direct contact with a voter, even for just a fleeting second, even at a hundred feet, they assumed, that voter would be a supporter for life.

The four cheered and jeered each other, laughter cascading all around. "He [Bush] is very good at it, much better than I," Quayle said. "Eye contact. You have to have eye contact."

The Bushes and the Quayles had known each other for 10 years before they became political partners, but it was the 1988 campaign that sealed their friendship.

Bush had campaigned for Quayle in both 1978 and 1980. In 1985, Quayle brought the then-vice president to Fort Wayne, Ind., for a fund-raiser to help intimidate the city's Democratic mayor, a potential challenger to Quayle's 1986 Senate reelection who ultimately did not run. Two insiders who observed the Bushes and Quayles together at an event for Quayle's 1986 race said the couples got along extremely well, as if they were family.

Both Bush and Quayle possess "a good, perverse sense of humor . . . an almost irreverent humor," said John H. Sununu, Bush's first presidential chief of staff.

Marilyn Quayle said that the informal tone Bush sets in the White House fits perfectly with her husband's nature.

People casually "pop in and out of each other's offices," she said, "because the president does. He comes down, even checks on the furniture in Dan's office to see what's been changed. It's really funny, he's so cute."

Despite the 23-year difference in their ages, friends say, the two men are remarkably alike, down to their love of sports and their limitations on the dance floor. White House Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner said he thinks Bush picked Quayle as his running mate because he "likes the way he deals with people. George Bush does not like to have people on his team who are petty, who are cheap-shot artists. He wants . . . people who think of others. And Dan Quayle fits that category."

"Both of them are very decent human beings," Marilyn Quayle said. "Neither of them is ugly to others."

Bush's grandchildren play with, and sometimes stay over at the home of, the Quayle children, and Quayle's son Benjamin, 15, has become a regular guest at Camp David with Bush's grandson, George P. Bush, also 15.

Bush and Quayle also share an appetite for political trivia. Quayle vacuums his staff for items of political interest before each weekly lunch with the president. "As a former national chairman, he [Bush] enjoys the tidbits [about] what the state chairmen are doing and what they're not doing," Quayle said recently, adding that he is often "amazed [that] he will already know it. . . . I tell him, 'You don't need me. You already know all this.' "

Beyond that, Bush has thrown a protective blanket around Quayle. Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), a close friend of both men, recalled that during the early months of the administration, when Quayle was the butt of widespread humor, "The greatest thing George told him—I don't know when it was—but he said, 'What do you think of all those cartoons and editorials and attacks?' And Dan said, 'Wow!' and just shook his head.

"And George said, 'Well, why don't you take [out] the word "Quayle" and insert the word "Bush" wherever it appears, and that's the crap I took for eight years. Wimp. Sycophant. Lap dog. Poop. Lightweight. Boob. Squirrel. Asshole. George Bush.'

"That meant more to Dan, I think, than anything," Simpson said.

When Simpson's comments were repeated to Quayle recently, he placed the conversation in the first half of 1989. He laughingly suggested that the language sounded more like Simpson than Bush, but confirmed that he was touched by the president's solicitude.

—David S. Broder, Bob Woodward and David Greenberg

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Quayle's Quest: Curb Rules, Leave 'No Fingerprints'

By Bob Woodward and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

Vice President Dan Quayle, a self-proclaimed "zealot when it comes to deregulation," has made his chairmanship of the President's Council on Competitiveness a command post for a war against government regulation of American business.

Democratic members of Congress, public interest groups, environmentalists and others have attacked the council for intervening in behalf of business to scuttle regulations that are the direct responsibility of other federal agencies. Seven congressional committees are investigating the council's activities. But the council's real role is much larger than even its critics imagine.

A six-month examination of the council's work by The Washington Post shows that Quayle and his small council staff of free-market activists have intervened in dozens of unpublicized controversies over important federal regulations, leaving what vice presidential aides call "no fingerprints" on the results of its interventions.

They have changed or tried to change regulations on federal rules relating to commercial aircraft noise, bank liability on property loans, housing accessibility for the disabled, clothing makers' right to work at home, disclosure requirements on pensions, protection of underground water from landfill runoff, reporting requirements for child-care facilities located in religious institutions, and fees for real estate settlements.

"The future of the country is at stake," Quayle said in an interview, "because if you can't figure out a way to basically tame that bureaucracy, and if we can't do it on our watch . . . then who's going to do it? . . . The bureaucrats are smart, they've been here, they've got more ways to skin a cat than you can think of, [and] they've got the press primarily on their side."

Quayle said he has broad authority from President Bush to step into the process of writing federal regulations—the thousands of rules published each year to implement laws passed by Congress—wherever he deems necessary. "I am doing what the president wants me to do," he said of what has become his most substantive vice presidential role. "That is to make sure that 'regulatory creep'—to use his words—does not get back into his administration."

The council's power is enhanced by what several officials described as an unwritten administration rule that no Cabinet official will appeal its actions to Bush. "I'm the last stop before the president," Quayle said. "I have not had a decision appealed from the Competitiveness Council to the president."

The new White House chief of staff, Samuel K. Skinner, described a "gentlemen's agreement" among administration officials to avoid asking Bush to resolve any disputes except those of utmost importance.

"Why bother the president if you don't have to?" Skinner said in an interview last summer, while he was still serving as transportation secretary. "Number one, you might lose. . . . Number two, you're burdening him with something that he does not like to be burdened with. He wants people to work it out. The gentlemen's agreement is, try to work it out before it gets to him." Bush, according to Skinner, says, " 'I don't want to have to decide between Cabinet members.' Everybody understands that's what the president wants. . . . Anybody that's loyal to the president is going to do it that way."

Together, the "no fingerprints" and "no appeal" rules make Dan Quayle the man to see in the Bush administration for business people across the country and their Washington lobbyists.

Richard Rahn, until recently chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said: "Quayle has gotten into the deregulation battle more substantively than anyone else. He has done his homework. He's forceful. And he's made a difference in the eyes of American business."

In the process, Quayle has infuriated critics such as Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health and the environment, who has accused Quayle of setting up "an illegal shadow government." In an interview, Waxman compared what he called Quayle's "rogue operation" on the domestic front to the Reagan administration's secret maneuvers uncovered in the Iran-contra investigations. "The Council on Competitiveness has usurped power, holds secret meetings with industry groups, and violates administrative procedures on public hearings and public access to information on decision-making," Waxman said.

Waxman said he has long suspected that Quayle and the council staff are involved in many more behind-the-scenes activities, but congressional investigations have been able to bring only a few of the actions to light.

By attempting to "rewrite the laws through regulations" that are so technical "that the public cannot understand," Waxman said, "Quayle has set out to make himself the hero of the conservative forces in this country." Unless there is a public outcry, he said, "it's going to be difficult to stop him," because the issues of the council's authority and its interpretations of the law will take years to resolve in federal courts.

Quayle defended all of the council's actions as proper and legal. He called the criticism "good, old-fashioned politics," and a testament to the council's effectiveness in reducing regulations favored by Democrats.

Altering an Established Process

Generally considered a flexible and adaptable politician, Quayle reserves his most passionate political denunciations for "regulatory creep."

As a senator, he kept on his office wall a framed copy of an editorial that his grandfather, newspaper publisher Eugene C. Pulliam, wrote in 1971. The title, "Will the Federal Bureaucracy Destroy Individual Freedom in America?," is one that Quayle quotes often.

In his work with the council, as in other aspects of the vice presidency, Quayle has built on the model George Bush established during his eight years in the job. Bush chaired a similiar group, called the Task Force on Regulatory Relief, and its annual reports bragged of reducing regulations, liberating free-market forces and getting the bureaucracy off the backs of Americans.

C. Boyden Gray, now Bush's White House counsel, managed the project for non-lawyer Bush and opened the regulatory process to business voices.

A Reagan administration executive order authorized the Office of Management and Budget to review regulations for cost effectiveness before agencies make them final. Frequently, there are bitter disputes between the departments and OMB, or between two agencies, over the strictness with which new laws should be applied. In addition, the members of the Democratic-controlled Congress who wrote the bills often want the most rigid interpretations applied, while a business-oriented, Republican administration wants to make the regulatory burden as light as possible.

By putting Quayle and the Competitiveness Council into the game as a kind of Supreme Court of regulations, Bush has altered a well-established federal regulatory process, sanctioned by law, that allows all interested parties the opportunity to comment publicly and argue their positions on the record before regulations are issued. The change has lessened the rule-making power of federal agencies and tipped the outcome of these battles against

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e in Congress who push for strict ulation.

The council consists of seven members: Quayle, the White House chief of staff, the attorney general, the director of OMB, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the secretaries of treasury and commerce. Meetings of the full council are rare, and most of the work is done informally by Quayle and his staff. Quayle said this is intentional.

"I'd much rather have the collision below, rather than . . . at the Competitiveness Council," where stories of bureaucratic battles are more likely to leak because more people are involved, Quayle said. "In this town, especially, you don't want that to come out, that you [did] not prevail. Everybody's a winner—as long as it doesn't get out."

The council was relatively inactive until mid-1990, when Bush and the business community perceived backsliding from the Reagan administration's deregulatory victories. Directly charged by the president to address the issue more actively, Quayle hired Allan B. Hubbard as the council's executive director. A graduate of both Harvard law and business schools, and the multimillionaire part owner of an Indiana chemical company, Hubbard had managed former Delaware governor Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont IV's bid for the 1988 presidential nomination. Hubbard's wife, Kathy, had been Quayle's chief fund-raiser in his 1980 Senate campaign.

Like others in the libertarian wing of the Republican Party, Hubbard is a strong believer in the efficiency of the free market. "We want to make sure the regulations are consistent with the statutes," he said in an interview. "But we also want to be sure they are the least burdensome to the economy, to protect American competitiveness and preserve American jobs."

As his deputy, Hubbard selected another ardent advocate of free-market economics, David M. McIntosh, a 1983 graduate of the University of Chicago law school and alumnus of the Justice Department.

"Hubbard and McIntosh are the driving force" at the council, said one White House official. Quayle said he encourages and fully supports their conservative activism.

One of Hubbard's first moves as executive director was to ask OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs for a list of issues on which the agencies had been dragging their feet.

Hubbard and McIntosh began applying the heat to agency lawyers in phone calls or meetings to resolve these issues. Hubbard met personally with the number two officials in many agencies and departments, calling on Quayle to talk to the appropriate Cabinet secretaries when Hubbard was not satisfied.

Word quickly spread through the business community that the Competitiveness Council was ready and able to help on regulatory matters, and its agenda filled up.

In almost every city he visits as a campaigner, Quayle holds closed-door round tables with business people who have made sizable contributions to the local or national GOP. Hubbard, who also has the title of deputy vice presidential chief of staff, often travels with Quayle and sits in on these sessions.

Break for Airlines, Not for Ears

Last July 8, Sen. Wendell H. Ford (D-Ky.), chairman of the Commerce, Science and Transportation subcommittee on aviation, and an author of the 1990 Airport Noise and Capacity Act, wrote to Quayle asking for help. United Parcel Service, which has a major facility in Kentucky, and several commercial airlines had complained to Ford that a proposed Federal Aviation Administration rule implementing part of the legislation would unnecessarily hurt them financially and put them at a competitive disadvantage with foreign carriers.

The act requires U.S. airlines to replace noisy aircraft with new, quieter jets by the year 2000. The proposed FAA regulation spread the timetable for getting rid of the noisy planes at a steady pace over the next 10 years, with 25 percent of them to be phased out by 1994, 50 percent by 1996, and 75 percent by 1998.

The airlines had argued to the FAA and OMB, without success, that the rules should emphasize "phasing in," not "phasing out," thereby giving them credit for the quieter planes they had already purchased and allowing them to retain noisy jets in the fleet for years longer.

Ford insisted that the FAA's proposal was far more stringent than Congress had intended. And, while the solution proposed by the airlines would mean prolonged noise for millions who live near airports, it also would provide a tremendous economic break at a time of airline bankruptcies and mergers. According to one analysis used by the council, the airlines' proposal would save the industry $1.2 billion.

Quayle took up the matter directly with Skinner, then the secretary of transportation, the post that oversees the FAA. The two midwesterners are golfing buddies, having played together several dozen times in the last three years.

"I talked with Sam periodically" about the aircraft issue, Quayle said, asking, " 'How's it going?' "

Meanwhile, Hubbard convened a dozen meetings with officials of the FAA, Transportation Department and OMB, seeking an agreement. Hubbard's threat of direct intervention by Quayle and the council ultimately convinced the FAA that a relaxation of the timetable would still comply with the law, and the industry proposal was accepted in its entirety.

"We do not have a monopoly on good ideas," said Kenneth P. Quinn, the FAA's chief counsel. "We welcomed the input of the Competitiveness Council. We learned something . . . and the final rule was a reasonable balancing of environmental benefits versus the economic costs."

Quinn said he had close to 100 conversations or meetings with Skinner over the year they were considering the issue, and although the Competitiveness Council, OMB and the Council of Economic Advisers were heavily involved, "the secretary's prerogative to decide the issue was legitimately preserved" and Skinner "himself made the decision."

It was Skinner who announced the decision, on Sept. 24. It attracted heavy news coverage, for it involved the economic plans of 30 airlines with 2,000 planes and a delay in relieving the eardrums of 3 million people who live near noisy airport flight paths.

Patrick J. Russell, an attorney for the National Airport Watch Group, which represents 300 local anti-noise groups in 75 cities, complained that citizens had little input in a ruling that directly affected them. A USA Today editorial said Skinner's message to those who live near airports was: "Things will be better in 10 years. Meanwhile stuff it. Uncle Sam knows what's best."

News stories barely mentioned the role played by the Competitiveness Council—and that was just as Quayle wanted it. His staff had discussed the possibility of publicizing his part in the decision and decided not to, because they recognized it was a "political loser," as one of Quayle's aides said. "Millions of people hate airplane noise, and there was no benefit to be derived from being associated with the decision that would mean more noise longer," the aide said.

Dispute on Defining Wetlands

"We've had sometimes more visibility than I really want," Quayle said of the publicity surrounding the council. He said he would prefer that most of their interventions, like that on aircraft noise, leave no fingerprints.

But at the same time, Quayle and the president derive immense political benefit from business and big-donor Republican circles because of the council's deregulatory activities.

How many issues has the council been involved in? "Whew, quite a few," Quayle said. "I don't have a number, but this is a big government and people know our mandate is to hold down regulations and try to follow the deregulatory effort that the president established when he was vice president."

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Other officials said that Quayle and the council staff limit the interventions to about 50 cases a year, tending to choose those with major economic impact. While Hubbard and McIntosh handle the detailed negotiations with the agencies, Quayle's chief of staff, William Kristol, keeps OMB Director Richard G. Darman, presidential domestic policy adviser Roger Porter and the White House chief of staff advised of council activities.

It is the use of informal, back channels outside public or congressional purview—designed partly to thwart publicity and partly to hold down the temperature of disputes within the government—that critics say denies the protections of open government. The approach is illustrated in the case of regulations governing development of the nation's wetlands.

During the 1988 presidential campaign, Bush focused the spotlight on wetlands, pledging "no net loss" of these ecologically fragile areas that foster wildlife and birds, help control floods and filter out contaminants before they enter streams.

Immediately after the election, but before Bush took office, technical specialists at the Environmental Protection Agency and three other agencies issued a manual more strictly defining wetlands in a way that expanded development restrictions on tens of millions of acres.

On his political swings around the country, Quayle said, he heard frequent complaints that the federal government was unnecessarily restricting the use of wetlands for real estate development and other business ventures. Ohio Gov. George Voinovich (R), for whom Quayle had campaigned extensively, "jumped all over me," Quayle recalled, "about one airport expansion project in northwest Ohio" that was being delayed by the wetlands restrictions.

Last May, an official said, Quayle told the council's executive director: "Hubbard, we need to do something about wetlands." EPA Administrator William K. Reilly protested against the intervention. Some White House officials argued that the hot-potato issue should be left to EPA and the other agencies, but Quayle received Bush's approval to become involved.

During the summer, negotiations hit innumerable snags. On the night before Reilly was to testify to the Senate, he, Quayle and Hubbard engaged in a round-robin series of telephone conversations trying to broker a deal. Each time Reilly thought he had Quayle's agreement, Hubbard called Reilly to say he had misunderstood. When their final agreement was presented at a White House senior staff meeting the next morning, Darman and Chief of Staff John H. Sununu erupted, and a last-minute call was made to Reilly—in his car on the way to the hearing—to tell him the deal was off.

After that near fiasco, Quayle convened the full Competitiveness Council on July 29. He began the session by expressing astonishment that vast areas of his home state of Indiana could have been classified as wetlands under the original definition in the manual, when he knew those areas were farmland.

According to those present, it quickly became clear that most of the agencies wanted to open more wetlands to development than Reilly did. But Quayle did not let the matter come to a vote, nor did he announce his own decision. "Didn't want to do it," he said in a recent interview. "Too many people spoke up and I felt that we needed a little cooling-off period to see if we could work this out."

Quayle aides suggested that the vice president was being protective of Reilly, knowing that a formal vote overruling the EPA chief's position would leak to the press and damage Reilly with environmental organizations and EPA professionals.

The opportunity for further negotiation came the next day, when Reilly came to Quayle's office to discuss matters related to the vice president's upcoming trip to Latin America. At the end of the visit, Quayle and Hubbard broached a compromise that had surfaced the previous day. The meeting ended without conclusion, but Quayle sent Hubbard after Reilly to press for an answer. Standing near his car in the driveway between the White House and the Old Executive Office Building, Reilly said he'd think about it overnight. The next day he phoned Hubbard to say yes.

The eventual announcement of the deal, which significantly narrowed the definition of wetlands in a way experts have said would halve the amount of protected acreage, served only to stoke the controversy. Final rules remain under review. Environmental groups have assailed the decision, but Quayle said Republican leaders in states such as Georgia and Louisiana have told him that "the best thing you've done is to stop EPA taking away people's property rights." Rep. Waxman has vowed that "at some point, Reilly is going to be called to face how far he is letting this go."

Quayle insisted that he and Reilly are not antagonists. "We have a very good understanding," Quayle said. "He comes at these issues from a very strong environmental point of view, [and] I argue there's some other things that need to be considered." Reilly, who reportedly blames Sununu for many of his problems, apparently harbors no grudge against Quayle. He has told associates that he does not think the council "compromised the integrity of the regulatory process. We are in a process of give and take."

But the critics are likely to press a procedural issue that troubles even some senior administration officials—the question whether such informal sessions as the Reilly-Hubbard-Quayle meeting violate the rules of open advocacy that govern the regulatory process.

One senior regulatory official, who asked not to be named, said, "I believe in public notice and public comment, and it is not a good idea to have Vice President Quayle and his staff skewing that process."

This official and two senior officials in other agencies said that it was embarrassing that Quayle and his staff could have conversations with business people and others on regulatory matters and not have to report them on the public docket. Said one official of what is standard agency practice, "My people are under strict instructions not to talk to regulated parties, and if they meet someone at a cocktail party and have a discussion inadvertently they must write a memo and file it" with the public record.

Last month, Waxman and others raised conflict-of-interest allegations against Hubbard, who responded by pledging to put his substantial wealth in a blind trust. Waxman, however, is not satisified and says that Quayle himself should have a blind trust. Quayle has nearly $400,000 of stock in Central Newspapers Inc., which is affected by trash recycling regulations the council has handled.

"I don't think they [Quayle and Hubbard] are motivated by traditional greed," Waxman said. "But the attitude is inconsistent with the standards set by Bush for his administration, which is supposed to be there will be no appearance of a conflict."

Quayle rejected that view. "We are trying to hash out differences within the administration," he said, "and this is a rather normal White House function. . . . Congress doesn't like the White House meddling, period. They feel that EPA, for example, should be more beholden to the Congress than to the executive branch. Well, that's just the normal tension that you have between the legislative and the executive branch. We're just diametrically opposed. The White House should be concerned and involved on a rather detailed basis on what kind of regulations are out there. We get blamed for them."

Quayle promised that the deregulation crusade would go forward, and held two long meetings with his staff before Christmas to draw up a list of regulations and issues the council plans to target in 1992.

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

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When the Vice President Is Chairman

By David S. Broder and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

In the summer of 1990, after the failure of the Hubble orbiting telescope and repeated delays in space shuttle launches had seriously embarrassed the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Vice President Quayle had a rare chance to demonstrate his abilities as an executive. Space was Quayle's bailiwick. Soon after their inauguration in 1989, President Bush had named him chairman of the National Space Council, with responsibility for coordinating the government's space-related activities.

Quayle asked for recommendations on what to do about NASA's problems. Mark J. Albrecht, whom he had appointed executive secretary of the Space Council, handed him a blunt memo on July 10, 1990. In it Albrecht offered two options.

The first, he wrote, was to "BLAME THE CONGRESS" for squeezing NASA's budget. The second was to "BLAME THE BUREAUCRACY: A large and hide-bound bureaucracy at NASA has consistently put self-preservation above program excellence. . . ." At NASA, Albrecht wrote, " 'Cover Your Ass' substitutes for 'Get it Right.' "

Quayle chose option two, and convened a 12-member panel of former politicians and space experts to review NASA's future. It was chaired by Norman R. Augustine, chief executive of Martin Marietta Corp. The principal subject before the Augustine commission, as the panel became known, was whether to give priority to space exploration or science projects.

Exploration—particularly the celebrated manned missions to the moon—has brought the space program popular support and inspired national pride. It is also something Bush has enthusiastically supported. In a speech the previous summer, the president pledged a "long-range, continuing commitment" to space exploration, and asked his Space Council to draw up a plan for orbiting a space station, establishing a base on the moon and sending astronauts around Mars.

But many space scientists have argued that robotic science missions, which involve complicated research but lack appeal to the layman, have given humankind its greatest wealth of useful knowledge. The Augustine panel had to weigh these conflicting positions.

By Tuesday, Dec. 4, 1990, the Augustine commission had largely finished its work and gathered at the vice president's residence for what was supposed to have been a celebratory dinner but became a working session that hammered out the report's conclusions. Also present were Albrecht, NASA Administrator Richard H. Truly and Richard G. Darman, head of the Office of Management and Budget and a space enthusiast.

A Delicate Situation

Accounts of that evening, taken from the notes of several participants and interviews with 14 of the 16 who attended, provide a revealing glimpse of Quayle's mode of operation in a delicate situation.

Over soup, Quayle thanked the group and cautioned against leaks to the news media. Augustine then explained that, while the report was not to be released until the following Monday, he had arranged through NASA for it to be distributed on Capitol Hill on Friday—in just three days—because several key legislators were going home for the weekend.

A hush fell over the table.

According to one commission member's notes of the dinner, Quayle had been "counting on releasing [the report himself] to upgrade his public image. Should we give out copies to notoriously leaky legislative staffers three days before the executive branch sees it? Had we forgotten our responsibility to make the boss look good?"

This note-taker's account continued: "The worried Vice President kicked this one around with Norm [Augustine] for about 15 minutes. . . . We decided to confine the Friday meeting to members only (no staffers), warn attendees to maintain secrecy, give out as little paper as possible, state that attendance was being taken, and hope for the best over the weekend. The soup course was delicious, but our working session was off to a lousy start."

Quayle then asked what exciting projects the commission was going to propose that he could enthusiastically support, reminding his guests that he would be helping to sell it to the administration, Congress and the public.

Augustine said they had ranked five space endeavors in order of priority. Number one, he said, was science.

Science? Quayle asked, looking puzzled. Could they be specific?

Louis J. Lanzerotti, an AT&T scientist and NASA investigator, launched into an impassioned discourse on how science was the fundamental building block for comprehension of the environment, education of future scientists, improvement of the quality of life and the survival of the human race.

Quayle leaned over to commission vice chairman and planetary scientist Laurel L. Wilkening, she recalled in an interview, and said, "Here we go again. This is kind of fun."

Quayle listened intently. According to Lanzerotti, Quayle "kept probing and questioning . . . trying to understand. . . . I thought the vice president was businesslike and thoughtful in getting to the bottom of our thinking."

But Darman, according to Lanzerotti and others at the dinner, was growing uncomfortable, and was furiously taking notes.

"A pained vice president asked what was our second priority," according to the written account of a participant.

Technology, said Augustine, noting the importance of the electronics and engines that made all space missions possible. There was silence. The study of Earth's climate and environment, Augustine said, came third.

"Darman groaned," recalled Wilkening and others.

Augustine then hurried to priority four: a new launch vehicle to replace the $5 billion-a-year space shuttle. Fifth and last was the manned mission to Mars and the space station—top priorities in Bush's speech the previous year.

Darman lectured the group on how budget priorities worked. Listing something last, he said, was an invitation to kill it. Did the commission on the future of the U.S. space program really want to proclaim to Congress, the American public and the world that space exploration was so unimportant that it could be scrapped?

Darman said later in an interview that while it would have been improper for him or Quayle to impose his opinions on the commission, he did feel a need to note how its priorities were "inconsistent" with stated administration policy.

"I remember we had to rework it," Quayle recalled, "and Darman was very pivotal in this."

"Darman raised the issue of prioritization," remembered Augustine. "Nobody was giving us instructions . . . but [he said] to be very aware of the hazards of preparing the whole space program in priority order."

As Darman continued to hammer hard on the priority listing over dessert and coffee, the commission members agreed to recast their report. Science would still be priority one, but the report would speak of a balanced program and all the other subjects would be lumped together, abandoning any priority listing.

According to the notes of one participant and to three others, Darman's farewell to Quayle was, "Thank you for a fine dinner, Dan. Good thing I came. I saved your damn report."

Asked about this recently, Quayle recalled, laughing, "I vaguely remember that."

Abandon the Station?

The final Augustine report read like a compromise document. Despite the report's attempt to play down the top pri-

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ority assigned to science, news accounts reported it as the commission's central conclusion. For the administration, the toughest question in implementing the report was the future of the space station, which Bush had so warmly endorsed in 1989. Quayle made it clear to his aides that he wanted to assert leadership and make a bold proposal in response to the Augustine recommendations.

Some of Quayle's aides—notably his chief of staff, William Kristol, and his national security adviser, Carnes Lord—recommended killing the space station, a position widely endorsed in the scientific community. Killing the station would be a dramatic move, his aides said, not only on its merits but as a way to show that Quayle, and not Darman or Truly, was in charge.

Albrecht prepared a memo for Quayle outlining the arguments against the space station: It cost too much, and its estimated 1997 launch date would yield no "concrete accomplishments in space" during Bush's tenure as president.

But Darman, a strong backer of the station, argued that abandoning it would set back space exploration for years. He told Quayle that if it were not funded, the money would wind up going to domestic social programs, not to space. And cancellation would be an enormous public relations setback.

Last March 14, Quayle and Darman met for a half-hour. Quayle emerged a supporter of the station—and last summer successfully fought to restore its funding after a House committee moved to scrap it. Darman gave Quayle credit for "an important decision. . . . [The] station would not be here if he had decided otherwise."

In a recent interview, Quayle denied suggestions by some administration officials that he "got rolled" by Darman. "He didn't roll me because I knew what the arguments were," he said. "I'm not rolled. People present me the facts and I make up my mind." He said he agreed that cancellation would be a public relations disaster.

Summing up the episode, Quayle said, "We've tried to be rather bold, rather aggressive. And when you do that, you're bound to break some furniture." But on reflection, he added, "Maybe I'll even say that we haven't broken enough."

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

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THE PRESIDENT'S UNDERSTUDY

Sixth of Seven Articles

Guardian of the Quayle Image

By Bob Woodward
and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

By the spring of 1989, about four months after Dan Quayle took office as vice president, reports were so widespread that his wife, Marilyn, was the dominant, smarter partner in the Quayle twosome that she banished herself from her husband's new offices in both the White House West Wing and the Old Executive Office Building next door.

"I can't help him now," she told a longtime friend over lunch. Marilyn Quayle, the friend said, "was at her wits' end" as news accounts continued to portray Quayle as not up to the job. "Her husband was being pounded into the ground and she knew she had to back away. . . . The more she helped, the worse it got."

Marilyn Quayle recalled, "It became apparent that enough of a myth had been drawn up that it was detrimental." The myth, she said, was that she "ran the campaign because Dan was too weak" or that she was some sort of "magic manipulator" of her husband. All untrue, "unfair and ridiculous," she said. "It was frustrating, very frustrating because . . . Dan and I were used to operating in a certain way."

Since their marriage in 1972, through his campaigns and terms in the House and Senate, and during the 1988 vice presidential race, they always had operated as a team. Immersed in his career, she approved all campaign brochures, pictures, newsletters and commercials. She received daily packets containing his schedule, legislative calendars, drafts of proposed legislation and staff memos.

Her exile from his offices lasted only until attention shifted away. By early last year, she had moved into a six-office suite in the Old Executive Office Building—twice the size of the one occupied by Barbara Bush when she was Second Lady—just across the hall from the vice presidential office. The proximity makes for more involvement, she said. The Quayles talk "three or four times a day," and always have. "Our relationship is such that if I want to get ahold of him for anything, I'll call him and right then. . . . He had them put in a drop line so that he can just push a button and he's got me if I'm in my office . . . as I will do with him."

BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

Marilyn Quayle phones her husband. If he should become president, many observers say, she could be the most influential First Lady in U.S. history.

Once again, she said, she is her husband's "eyes and ears" with his staff and his chief political adviser.

Marilyn Tucker Quayle, 42, described herself as part of a new generation of political spouses who have "a professional role as opposed to kind of backdoor."

It is not necessarily the profession she would have

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chosen, and part of her story is of the frustrations of an intelligent woman who has abandoned the legal career for which she trained, and which she deeply wanted, and taken a back seat to the ambitions of the man she married.

But it is a role she has thrown herself into wholeheartedly—at times in a way that has infuriated those she has encountered along the way. One of Dan Quayle's close associates calls her the "hard half" of the Quayle partnership. Political colleagues of her husband's described their surprise, and sometimes pained amusement, at her level of involvement as his more disciplined, professional alter ego. Stories of her angry outbursts and intimidation of others are sufficiently widespread that she has divided his staff over whether she is an asset or a liability to him.

From interviews with Marilyn Quayle and a number of her closest friends, as well as with Dan Quayle and associates of one or both of them, a portrait emerges of a complicated, bright, strong-willed woman who demands perfection of herself and others. Many agree that if he ever became president, she could be the most influential First Lady in American history.

While Dan Quayle's style is marked by informality—"radiant nice-guyism," in the words of one of his associates—Marilyn Quayle has a definite imperious side. Those who are in her favor praise her generosity and warmth. But many who have come into contact with her say they have found it a chilling experience. There have been a number of incidents, verified for this report, in which Dan Quayle associates or staff members—senior and junior—felt snubbed or belittled by Marilyn Quayle.

One Navy steward assigned to the vice presidential residence was sufficiently concerned about his future after he refused to iron the family's clothing—a task that Barbara Bush paid extra to have done when she was Second Lady—that he wrote to President Bush to make sure his career was not damaged. Bush wrote back and reassured him.

A number of Dan Quayle's aides said they felt unwelcome and uncomfortable in Marilyn Quayle's presence or office. There is a palpable lightening of mood during trips on Air Force Two when she is not along.

All this has little apparent affect on Dan Quayle, according to even Marilyn Quayle's severest critics. When they fly together on Air Force Two, the Quayles spend hours talking alone to each other; in Washington, he instantly takes every telephone call from her during the day; he expresses approval and glee when some of her mischievous statements—such as her critical comments for these articles about Secretary of State James A. Baker III, Bush's 1988 campaign manager whom she blames for some of the miscues that caused Quayle problems during the race—are reported to him.

During seven hours of interviews for these articles, Marilyn Quayle frequently ascribed to herself the very characteristics and work habits that others often find lacking in Dan Quayle—doing her homework, mastering subjects, rarely making a public mistake.

Despite the criticism and frustration, retreat is not her style. Her approach to her favorite recreation—horseback riding—provides an apt metaphor. "I ride hard, I ride fast," she said. "There is no room for error. And if there is error, you hurt yourself very bad."

'Always a Serious Person'

Marilyn and Dan Quayle married after they had dated for 10 weeks, while students at Indiana University Law School in 1972. The daughter of two southern Indiana physicians, she described herself as "always a serious person," who was given music, dancing and horseback riding lessons, and was expected to do well in school. "I was rather rebellious and decided early on that I would be a lawyer instead of a doctor, but there was no question that I would . . . be something professional."

For two years they shared offices in Huntington, Ind., while he worked at his father's newspaper and she practiced law. Over the next 12 years, she played major roles in his political campaigns and the offices he held—representative (1977-81) and senator (1981-89)—and raised their three children.

She was determined that her position and influence continue after his election as vice president.

Two days after the inauguration in 1989, she tackled head-on what she felt was one of the most important tasks her husband faced in taking over from George Bush. For the eight years Quayle had been senator from Indiana and Bush had been vice president, Bush's Capitol office had been run by his longtime personal aide, Jennifer Fitzgerald, who had a reputation for guarding the premises—and access to Bush—with fierce protectiveness.

Marilyn Quayle knew that her gregarious husband—eager to be Bush's representative on the Hill and the administration's top lobbyist—wanted and needed to see many more people in his congressional office. "She said she very much wanted it to be a . . . working office, accessible, open, serviceable," said William J. Gribbin, Vice President Quayle's congressional liaison chief.

Furniture was rearranged, new desks and extra phones were installed, and staff members were instructed to make it comfortable and easy for White House and departmental lobbyists, senators and their aides to feel they could hold informal meetings there, get their work done and nurture their links to the vice president.

"It was obvious this was not a congressional spouse off on her own," Gribbin recalled. "I realized after that first meeting that what I had on my hands was a tremendous asset—somebody who knew this business as well as I did, or better, and came in here knowing exactly what kind of adjustments had to be made."

The signs of her influence show up in large and small ways. Because of her interest in cancer detection and treatment—one of the causes she has championed as Second Lady—the President's Council on Competitiveness, which Dan Quayle chairs, sent out a letter over his signature requesting a study of cancer's economic costs. Quayle's staff said she made suggestions about the civil justice reform effort and attack on the legal establishment that he launched last summer, and she comments frequently on his political agenda.

She said she believes his staff finds "an ease of coming in and discussing concerns with me, whether it's the direction things are going or whatever they don't want to bother Dan with." Staff members also check "if I think it's important enough to bring it up to Dan," she said. If it's not, "they let me make that decision instead." People in Indiana or out on the campaign trail, she says, have a "feeling of being closer if it goes through me, things they don't want to discuss with staff."

She declined to elaborate further on her role, but it is obvious that she has Dan Quayle's total confidence. "Marilyn, she knows what's going on and she has a very definite opinion about the way things should or should not happen," he said. "She has a sense of what I'm doing, and if she thinks that we ought to be doing something else, she tells me."

She said, "I still get a packet every night" of information about his schedule and substantive decisions being considered.

Maintaining Appearances

In no role is Marilyn Quayle more dedicated than as the keeper of Dan Quayle's image. His former congressional staff members tell of trying to get a formal photograph of him back in 1977 when he was first in Congress. They kept sending proofs to her and she kept rejecting them. "She was very attuned to pictures of him and his image, and retained approval right," said one former staff member who dealt directly with her.

By 1986, when Quayle was reelected to the Senate, Roger Ailes, the Bush media consultant, was his official image-maker.

Ailes wanted a freeze-frame of Quayle to end the commercials he was making. "Dan had absolutely no concern" about which picture was used, recalled Ailes. "But Marilyn did." After she rejected at least 15 possibilities he had sent her, an exasperated Ailes allowed her to come to his editing studio in New York, something he said he never has permitted another noncandidate to do. Finally, they agreed on one of Quayle in an open shirt standing informally in front of some trees. But that was not the end of it.

"She thought [a] branch was coming out of his head," Ailes said, and she said it looked like antlers. "Why . . . I still don't know. . . . I never quite understood that, but she was very interested in it." Finally, Ailes's staff air-brushed out the branch.

The final product, Marilyn Quayle recalled, was "great. . . . I'm a perfectionist and [Ailes] was putting out a product and I expected it to be perfect. I was there to make sure it was done perfectly."

"I swear to God, my whole staff and I still joke about it," said Ailes. "When I see Marilyn I say, 'I saw a shot of Dan, he really looked ugly. You'd better get to work.' I still don't know what the hell she's talking about."

Her concern about her husband's image was more dramatically displayed one morning last year, when she visited the small suite of offices her husband maintains in the Dirksen Senate Office Building. On the wall was a large photograph of him finishing a golf swing. His shirt had gathered and filled at his stomach, suggesting a paunch.

"You can't have that up there," Marilyn Quayle said she remembers saying. "It's terrible. . . . Take it down. . . . Look at that stomach!"

Loretta Coupland, a five-year veteran of Quayle's staff, removed the 18-by-24-inch photo, pasted on thick cardboard in a wooden frame without glass, from the wall.

"That's just awful," Marilyn Quayle told Coupland and two other staff members in the office that day. She picked up a pen and began scribbling out her husband's image with deep, heavy strokes, first the midsection and then the rest of him. "I made it so you couldn't see who it was," she recalled.

At first, said one of the women who witnessed the incident, "We took it pretty much as a joke . . . but it got very intense. . . . It did flash through my mind: She's taking a lot out on that picture."

Once she had finished the scribbling, Marilyn Quayle said, it crossed her mind that she had compounded the problem. "I realized somebody could take that and . . . say, 'Oh . . . what's *she* been doing?'. . . . And I realized that would be bad, you know: 'The vice president's wife did that.' "

"Loretta," she said she told Coupland, "you still will hang it back up and you'll say: 'Look at what Mrs. Quayle did to that.' "

An eyewitness said that Marilyn Quayle then placed the picture on the floor and, "She kicked it."

"I do not recall kicking it," said Marilyn Quayle, "but if I did, it was to get it out of the frame, no other reason." Once the picture was dislodged from its frame, "I just peeled it off the cardboard and told Loretta to send the frame and the cardboard back here . . . so they could use it again," she said. "And I just tore it up into pieces and threw it in the wastebasket."

Her final words, all agreed, were, "I don't want to ever see this again."

In contemporaneous accounts of the incident, the three women described it to others as bizarre and troubling. In an interview, one of the eyewitnesses said, "To do it in front of all of us. I've seen some pretty goofy things, but nothing like this. . . . Human behavior is a strange thing."

Coupland said, "I don't feel at liberty to talk about that."

At least one account reached the vice president, himself. Quayle said he asked his wife if she had kicked the picture. "I forget exactly what her response was," he said, "and she sort of laughed."

But the symbolic import of her actions, and the reactions of others, apparently weigh on Marilyn Quayle. In a final half-hour interview for these articles in which she spoke about the picture incident and other matters, she described it as a "lark," and a joke that had been misinterpreted.

But during the interview, she became alternately distraught and indignant over the prospect of the incident be-

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d most married couples, Dan Quayle id, is not that his wife is deeply in-)lved in his career, but that they are illing "to acknowledge [it] up front." sked if Bess Truman, for example, as as involved when her husband was ce president in the 1940s, Quayle id, "I imagine she had a lot to say out it. Oh I bet, you'd better bet ur bottom dollar she did."

Marilyn Quayle says she agrees the fference is her husband's willingness speak publicly about her substantive le. "He's not embarrassed to say—efore, you know, your little wifey, you ever admit your wife helps you. Even arbara Bush has been in on just about verything her husband's done. Oh, es, you're dreaming if you think she asn't."

"I'm not going to comment on that," an Quayle said.

omework and High Praise

"She's not a scientist, but she is a rilliant woman," Sam Broder, director f the National Cancer Institute, said f Marilyn Quayle. " I very rarely use ie word 'brilliant,' but she learns, she etains, she grasps in the way a few, ery brilliant people can, even in a field iat is not theirs."

After the 1988 election, when she ontemplated life as the nation's Second Lady, "I thought, man, it's going to e tea and crumpets and I would just o nuts," Marilyn Quayle said. She decided to apply herself to cancer detection and disaster relief, and she has ecome a public advocate for both. She ins exceptionally high praise from overnment professionals, who marvel t her seriousness and technical comrehension of the subjects.

As a promoter of early detection and rompt treatment of breast cancer—vhich claimed her mother's life in 975—Marilyn Quayle "brings a great ir of moral authority, credibility and larity," Broder said. He said he has ever encountered an official in Washngton with a greater appetite for riefing materials, or greater skill in sking probing questions.

When Broder's comments were reayed to her, Marilyn Quayle responded with pride and relief. Her ear, she said, was that she would be egarded by such professionals as "just vindow dressing. . . . [I thought that] f I knew as much as I could possibly now, then I would be accepted and I ould actually make a difference. And f you don't do your homework, you an't."

Similar praise came from Andrew S. Natsios, the U.S. Agency for International Development's director of for-ign disaster assistance who traveled vith her to Mexico and to Bangladesh. 'She has *never* made a mistake," Natsios said. "She always says the right hing. . . . She could do my job."

Not only does she have a technician's understanding of the legal and logistical aspects of disaster preparedness, said Wallace E. Stickney, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency that handles domestic disasters, "I've never seen anyone who relates better to those people" who have suffered losses.

Marilyn Quayle keeps an active daily schedule but said she agrees to speak in public only at political events, or about cancer prevention and disaster relief. "I usually speak without any notes," she said, adding that "I pretty well speak my mind." When she reads a speech, she said, "I can pick up any text you give me and can pretty well get it right the first time with the right inflection."

The same thoroughness and energy are devoted to home and family. She invested countless hours in the restoration of the vice presidential residence on Massachusetts Avenue NW, lobbying successfully with the House and Senate Appropriations subcommittees for funds to supplement private donations to pay for the renovation, and inviting some of the members to tour the home with her.

"Took them top to bottom around the house," she recalled during an interview, "and I said, 'Guys, this is wrong. You got to help me on this.' . . . We don't have handicapped bathrooms, we don't have a ramp, we don't have a lift to get them up, because the house is all stairs. . . . It's a disgrace to the country."

Today, in addition to full accessibility for the disabled, the house has new wiring, a new pool house, flagstone decking and landscaping. "It's a charming, charming home," Marilyn Quayle said. "It's really an oasis. . . . It's one of the best-kept secrets in Washington. The grounds are fabulous. You really are private here. . . . We spend most of our time out on the veranda or out by the pool."

Marilyn Quayle also has spent the last 2½ years writing a political thriller, centered on Cuba after the death of Fidel Castro, with her sister Nancy T. Northcott. Scheduled for publication this spring, the 320-page book is entitled "Embrace the Serpent."

By numerous accounts, Marilyn Quayle is a loving and attentive mother, taking time to coach a school soccer team and involving herself in the details of the lives of her three children—Tucker, 17, Benjamin, 15, and Corinne, 12. The two boys attend Gonzaga College High School; Corinne is a student at the National Cathedral School for Girls.

Friends recall images of her, during Quayle's House and Senate years, in her van on the Beltway with kids packed in the back, heading to a soccer game. She made a point of being there for every school open house and play. When her children balked at eating vegetables, she got them interested by helping them start a garden in the back yard.

To the extent possible, the Quayles have tried to maintain a normal home atmosphere. William R. Neale, an old friend from Indianapolis, said that the Quayles "make a real effort to be sure that one of them, whenever possible, is there for breakfast with the kids—and hopefully both of them. They will travel late at night to get home to be there, so they can talk about what's going to go on that day, what they're doing in school, in athletics, whatever it may be. . . . They strive hard to have a typical family life. It's hard . . . but they do a pretty darn good job of it."

Marilyn Quayle has a close group of professional women friends who share her interest in sports and provide a safe haven. Once a year, they escape to what they call "camp" at a remote location for several days without their husbands. "Marilyn's core group," as one called it, includes Rae Evans, a vice president of Hallmark Cards Inc.; Eva Kasten, a senior vice president and director of the Washington office of the Advertising Council and wife of Sen. Robert W. Kasten Jr. (R-Wis.); Mary Howell, a vice president of Textron Inc.; Carol Adelman, a senior official at the Agency for International Development; Deborah Dingell, a senior official at General Motors Inc. and wife of Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.); and Sheila Tate, president of Powell Tate, a Washington-based public relations firm and press secretary to Nancy Reagan when she was First Lady.

The friendships transcend party affiliation, Marilyn Quayle said. "Among political wives there is a basic understanding . . . that we're all going through the same thing."

Adjusting After 1988 Election

Nineteen eighty-eight, when Dan Quayle was in the second year of his second Senate term, was supposed to be Marilyn Quayle's opportunity finally to commence her long-postponed legal career. Instead, she spent the year helping her husband catch George Bush's eye for the vice presidential nomination, then watching him be trashed on the campaign trail.

When the campaign was over, and Dan Quayle was elected vice president, she wanted to join a law firm or find a professional position for herself. Several firms were interested, she said, but financial disclosure rules requiring her to list law clients, and other political, legal and practical considerations—including a round-the-clock Secret Service presence—conspired to make it virtually impossible for her to take an outside job as Second Lady. Job offers from within federal departments and agencies also had to be declined.

Robert D. Orr, then governor of Indiana, confirmed that the Senate seat her husband vacated was hers for the asking. "It was mine if I wanted it," she said. "It was mine." But, she said, she could see that if she ever voted against the administration, she would create a "big story" that would be "hard on the president." So she said no.

She was inhibited, she recalled, not only by fear of political and legal conflicts, but by uncertainty about the time demands of being Second Lady. "The one thing I was afraid of is I would get in a position and . . . and then realize I really didn't have the time to do it. And I didn't want to be a failure. . . . That would be a bad precedent to set for anyone coming after me."

There were other adjustments as well, most notably the transformation in Dan Quayle's status. "The children and I had come to this [realization]," Marilyn Quayle said. "The vice president never can be just Dan Quayle, Dad." At sports events or traveling, "the family does have to, in public, pull aside."

The harshness of the 1988 campaign and the barriers to her own career she encountered as Second Lady came as a surprise, close friends said. "It was a roadblock that was not anticipated," said Eva Kasten. "It was not a little roadblock. It was cement."

Marilyn Quayle said she preferred to call them "yield signs here and there . . . you do keep hitting those yield signs, hitting the bends in the road." She repeatedly plays down the emotions.

Another friend said, "After the 1988 campaign, she kept it all in. I worried a little that an igloo was being erected around her and the last piece of ice would go in and she would freeze over permanently." Still another longtime friend said, "It has been a long dark journey, very, very painful."

Asked directly about these characterizations, Marilyn Quayle said, "They're not very close friends. *That* is definitely not my personality. I don't ever brood about anything." But the friends who are quoted were exclusively from a list provided by Marilyn Quayle herself. Pressed on the question, she said that she was "probably angry, pain not so much."

"I don't know how you resolve all these conflicts 100 percent," said Eva Kasten. "It's always there. One-hundred percent is not achievable. I would put her in the 90 percent category in terms of satisfaction and self-esteem. She's not bitter. . . . Bitterness is too strong a word. It implies a hardened woman with an emotional scar. She has strength. She can get through anything that life dishes out.

"She is very black and white. She makes judgments clearly, quickly and firmly and very vocally. She is very opinionated. She has a clear vision of what she wants," Kasten said. "I wish I had more of her qualities . . . directness, commitment and passion. I've never known Dan without Marilyn because Marilyn has been so participating. It has been a political career for the family as opposed to one just for Dan Quayle."

Added Rae Evans, "Truly the worst is over. The passage out of the worst in fact has been made. I don't think there is an incident that they would find impossible to manage."

"I look at the bright side of everything," Marilyn Quayle said, "I try to find the silver lining in everything." Political wives "do have to look over [their] shoulder at everything. . . . You really do have to make opportunities for yourself and you have to go the extra mile always. Or you sit back and you're not a part of your husband's life. You have a separate life."

She added, "What has ended up is I have the best of all worlds."

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

NEXT, in Sunday's editions:
The man who could be president

What if Dan Quayle Were to Become President?

By David S. Broder and Bob Woodward
Washington Post Staff Writers

Last Wednesday, for the second time in the last eight months, President Bush's sudden illness thrust this question on the nation and the world: What if Dan Quayle became president?

The 200-plus people interviewed for these articles—people who grew up with Quayle, who served with him in Congress, who ran campaigns for and against him, and who work with him in the Bush administration—agreed on several parts of the answer.

Quayle, they said, would bring to the White House a basic decency and an even-tempered disposition. As former vice president Walter F. Mondale put it, he is "Midwest nice." He also would bring an able staff, and Ronald Reagan-like conservative convictions about the evils of bureaucratic regulation and high taxes. Yet his record indicates he would be as ready to negotiate as to fight.

But even many of his friends and close associates expressed doubts about Quayle's intellectual depth, his knowledge and understanding of history and his appreciation of the social forces that have shaped his own generation. Colleagues questioned whether he has the stature to lead the nation. His ingratiating personality has won him more affection than respect. Many Americans, according to the polls, are uncomfortable even having him as vice president.

Six months of reporting on Quayle revealed a more complex and resourceful politician than the comic-strip caricature that emerged during the 1988 campaign. But it did not dispel the impression that this former C-student is a man of average gifts and modest vision.

Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.), a close friend, praised Quayle's personal qualities and said he was "vastly underestimated." But Rudman also said he does not think Quayle has the "moral authority . . . the American people are really thinking [about] when they want a president."

"Dan Quayle has a long way to go to be really qualified to be president in terms of leadership qualities," Rudman said, "for a very unfortunate reason not of his doing—and that is the perception with which he is held by the American people."

To many who know him, Quayle seems almost an innocent—and not just because of his youthful good looks and his uncertain speaking style. Unlike many other politicians of his age who have been tested by adversity and tempered by struggles for causes larger than their own careers, Quayle has stayed on the sidelines of the major battles of his generation, and he has never tasted defeat in an important personal endeavor.

Asked why Quayle gives many the impression he has merely "skated on the surface of life," his friend, former aide and Senate successor, Dan Coats (R-Ind.), pondered for a moment, and then said: "It's possible to grow up and even be a United States senator or vice president, and not really be exposed to, or plunged into, some of the tougher questions of life . . . or brought to the point where you have to make very fundamental decisions about who you are and where you're going."

One thing about Quayle that seems certain, however, is his ambition to be elected president. As one of his closest associates put it, there is "zero doubt" that a 1996 White House campaign is in his plans. There is an aura of political preparation about much of what he does in his vice presidency.

Quayle barely bothers to conceal his goal. Asked directly about his presidential aspirations, he said, "Well, you know what my response is going to be. . . . It's way too early to start talking about 1996. We do early planning to keep options open, and that's certainly an option. Whether we choose to seek that . . . is really down the road."

History is on Quayle's side. Although Bush was the first sitting vice president in 152 years to be elected president, five of the last nine presidents emerged from the No. 2 job through succession or election.

Two sharply contrasting views about Quayle can be heard from people who work daily with the vice president at the heart of the Bush administration.

The case for Quayle is made by Samuel K. Skinner, who, in his new post as White House chief of staff, is in a strategic position to help Quayle achieve his ambition. In an interview last fall, when he was still transportation secretary, Skinner explained why he would be comfortable seeing his golfing buddy succeed Bush.

"Number one," Skinner said, "his basic values are right. Number two, his political judgment is solid. Number three, he is not wrapped up in the trappings of office or those things that would cloud his judgment. And number four, while young. . . . he has had an experience that is very significant.

"I have seen no flaws in his judgment process that would lead me to believe that he is not ready to make those [presidential] kinds of decisions," Skinner said. "I also believe he would surround himself with good people, as he has done on his staff."

Even Skinner, however, conceded that Quayle would have to work "to gain the confidence of the American people . . . because of the perception problem" following the 1988 campaign that his three years as vice president have done little to dispel.

Others in the inner councils of the Bush White House are far more skeptical about Quayle's readiness. They said that, although his staffs have been studded with exceptionally bright aides, Quayle's mind is anything but rigorous. They described him as someone who relies on oral briefings, seems to retain little from what he reads and often gives the impression that he is satisfied with a surface brush-by that barely reaches beyond the bumper-sticker level of sophistication.

While his efforts during eight years in the Senate included some examples of concentrated, effective work on job training and defense issues, these Bush administration colleagues noted he has no track record as an executive in developing, launching, sustaining and carrying through to success a complex policy initiative.

In 1988, when Bush surveyed Republican senators, not one of Quayle's colleagues listed him among the top three choices for the vice presidency. Recently, one insider summarized his feelings about Quayle this way: "I think he's smarter and probably more qualified than some people who have been president of the United States in our 200 years. But I think also that if you and I sat down and said, 'Let's each rate the five guys in the Republican Party who are the most qualified to be president of the United States,' I'm not sure Quayle would end up on the list.

"It's tough to make the argument that he is absolutely the smartest and most qualified guy, but at the same time, this airhead stuff is really unfair. He's somewhere in between . . . and he's a hell of a lot closer to the top than he is to the bottom."

Presidential Standards

When Mondale was asked recently how to judge a sitting vice president, he replied that he "has to be measured against the presidency. . . . This is a high standard, admittedly a vague standard, but yet it's the essential standard: Does this person show the depth, breadth, strength, integrity, vision, spirit, the essence of what we would want were he president?"

Like President Bush and most other successful politicians, Quayle is less a man of ideas than he is a tactician who relies on his "people smarts" to gain a competitive edge and achieve his goals. "You do the policy, I'll do the politics," he told Robert M. Guttman, when he hired the Library of Congress professional as his top domestic assistant in the Senate.

The Quayle-Guttman partnership produced the piece of legislation that stands as Quayle's most significant achievement as a senator: the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) of 1982.

That bill took a largely discredited relic of the Great Society—the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)—and replaced it with a private-public partnership that remains, a decade later, the basic program in its field. Although JTPA is criticized for "skimming" the easiest cases, no one has come up with a better idea to replace Quayle's handiwork.

Quayle wrote the JTPA proposal and steered it to passage in his first 20 months as a senator, forging an unusual bipartisan alliance and negotiating or bluffing his way past major roadblocks put up by the White House, the Labor Department and his own committee elders.

"He knew what was a senator's job and what was the staff's job," said Guttman, now a Labor Department official. "He had a feel for the politics and enough understanding of the substance to know whether it was possible. It was an amazing performance for a freshman senator."

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That conclusion is endorsed and documented by University of Rochester political scientist Richard F. Fenno in a case study he published on Quayle's Senate work.

"The alliance had survived," Fenno wrote, "because of the mutual trust established between Quayle and [Sen. Edward M.] Kennedy. . . . Quayle's interpersonal skills in carrying out his strategy obviously counted. . . . While he behaved often like an overexuberant kid, he also seemed very much at ease in dealing with fellow senators."

The quality of Quayle's political judgment also wins him respect inside the administration. Former White House chief of staff John H. Sununu and his successor, Skinner, both said they have relied on Quayle's assessments of the congressional and national scene. Sununu described Quayle as "somebody that we go to for a reality check . . . for a political check, for a substance and policy check." Skinner added, "He can do it in a clinical way, not an emotional way."

By his own testimony and that of staff aides, Quayle absorbs more substantive information through his ears than through his eyes. He attributes that to his 12 years in Congress, "where you probably get more . . . orally, through hearings and briefings," than by reading. He and his aides said he can readily recall what he has heard.

It is not clear, however, how much Quayle extracts from his reading. Several times in the course of interviews for these articles, he mentioned how important conservative British journalist Paul Johnson's book, "Modern Times," a sharp critique of collectivism and the welfare state, had been to him; he said he had reread the first half of it during his August vacation. In a final interview with The Washington Post, Quayle was asked what he took away from the book that is "important in the way you look at the world?"

"Well," he said, "I just think that from my strictly historical view of the 20th century, that is probably, that is, you know, the best book I've certainly read. And he goes through it; he starts around the turn of the century up through Vietnam. And it is a very good historical book about history."

Asked what overall concept he had extracted from it, Quayle replied, "Well, I think that the concept, you know—you go through how Hitler, you know, grows to power—sees these types of people that are able to feed on the moment—how he has a huge popular support in Germany at the time. It got into the whole, the arms control aspect, and the decline of the defense posture before World War II.

"He has a very good—and it was something I hadn't thought of, and it's not my area of expertise—and that's how the economic, the international economics, played in all these problems that we had in the 20th century. But there is a rise of these totalitarian leaders. Lenin—a lot of good stuff on Lenin and Stalin."

Aides to whom this is a familiar type of incident suggested that Quayle may have a reading impediment, which could also account for his struggles in delivering speeches from prepared texts. Quayle denied it. "I'm not a speed reader, but I wouldn't say I'm a slow reader. I get through . . . news summaries and things that I've got to get through about as quick as anybody, really," he said.

When told that even close associates suggested that he has a short attention span, Quayle acknowledged that "I've heard people say that. I don't feel that I do, because when I'm interested in something, I'll stay in focus on it as long as is necessary. . . . If you get off on something I'm not very interested in, it's very easy for me to block it out. It's easy for me to block things out."

When Mondale offered Quayle some suggestions on the vice presidency after the 1988 election, he said he stressed one point: "Don't trivialize yourself. . . . You are the heir apparent to the presidency. . . . Stay on the big issues."

Quayle has done that—up to a point. He meets daily with the president when they are both in Washington and is part of virtually all the decision-making meetings. But he does not appear to carry great weight in these discussions.

In what may have been the most crucial domestic policy decision of the past three years, Quayle and his Cabinet allies were unable to persuade Bush to renounce the 1990 budget negotiations led by then-Chief of Staff Sununu and Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman.

Quayle has let some of his own major initiatives languish while he has tended to the ceremonial busywork of the vice presidency.

The proposals for civil justice reform he launched with great publicity last summer have yet to be translated into concrete legislation. And despite his notable Senate achievement on the issue of job training—and the widely recognized need for coordination of the government's multibillion-dollar training efforts—Quayle acknowledged in a November interview that "I haven't spent a lot of time on it."

Family, Religious Values

Many who have watched Quayle said that his principal strengths are the "integrity" and "spirit" that Mondale listed as qualities on which a vice president should be judged. Quayle's values are strongly rooted in his family and his religious faith, and the equanimity of his temperament is mentioned by nearly everyone who knows him.

Dan and Marilyn Quayle are remembered by a former teacher of their children in McLean as "the kind of parents you wish every child had—conscientious and continuously involved in every phase of their life." He coached his two sons' athletic teams, shaping his campaign and Senate schedules around their practice and game times. Even with the hectic schedule of his current job, both parents work hard at maintaining something close to a normal family environment at the vice president's mansion on Massachusetts Avenue NW.

Quayle said he was "raised in a Christian home, by a Christian family." At 17, he said, he and friends in a Methodist youth group decided to make "a public testament" to each other of their "personal and emotional attachment to Christ as savior." Quayle described it as less a "born-again" experience than a "maturing and intensification . . . [of] my Christian faith."

Like many others in public life, Quayle argues that there can be no absolute barrier between church and state. "You can't separate ethics from public policy. You can't separate morality and good government," he told a Methodist group last summer. "I have to wonder how much better life would be today for millions of Americans, especially women and children left behind in poverty, if our churches had concentrated on personal morality instead of public policy."

The Quayles attend the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Bethesda, which left the mainline Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in 1986. Its pastor, the Rev. Robert Norris, said in an interview that he preaches that "a committed Christian has an obligation to be evangelical and outspoken."

"On the positive side," Norris said, "he [Quayle] has produced a good family. His negative is his Christianity is not high-profile. He could encourage Christian work. At that level he is a failure. In some way we are all failures at that."

"I certainly can understand his perspective," Quayle said in response, "and respect it."

Although he has chosen a church with a proselytizing ministry, Quayle emphatically rejects that role for himself. He said he regards his faith as a "very private" matter and is sensitive about "crossing a fine line where you will be criticized . . . for trying to impose your religious values on others. As long as I'm in public life, I'll never do that." Yet religion, he said, is "an important part of [my] everyday life. . . . I don't think there's any time that I have had a challenge that it hasn't helped."

Marilyn Quayle and many of the Quayles' friends suggested that religious faith and a naturally upbeat disposition enabled Quayle to get through the 1988 campaign and the ridicule he has encountered as vice president without any apparent resentment.

The 1988 campaign included "a lot of pain" and "some very dark moments," Quayle said in an interview. But, he added, "I think what I sort of recoil against is [the idea] that the whole vice presidency has been a long, dark journey. That is not a fair description. It's been a wonderful opportunity and a wonderful job and I thoroughly enjoy it."

The face Quayle shows the world is optimistic, friendly and tolerant. Ken Khachigian, the former aide to Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Ronald Reagan who was assigned to Quayle as a speechwriter in the 1988 campaign and remains a friend, remarked, "He's not a natural nut-cutter, as Dick Nixon might say. . . . He's like a young Reagan. He doesn't have that dark, moody side Nixon has. Never once in the entire time I traveled with him did I see him explode . . . in anger or berate a staff member. Not once."

At times during the difficult early

Cont

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days of the 1988 campaign, Quayle appeared to be rattled. But Khachigian s[illegible] "If you're looking for somebody who is steady under intense and extraordinary pressure, you've got a man who handles it very, very well. He has a sense of equanimity about him that I find remarkable."

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, a Quayle rival for the 1988 vice presidential nomination and a potential challenger for the presidential nomination in 1996, agreed. "Quayle is very unassuming, very ego-free for a political leader," he said. "He's not mean-spirited. He doesn't go around dropping poison on people. . . . He doesn't have a mean bone in his body."

Indeed, many remarked, he seems to go out of his way to avoid personal conflicts. Soon after the 1988 election, conservative activist Paul M. Weyrich urged Quayle to emulate Spiro Agnew and pick some fights that would antagonize the liberals and make conservatives say, "This is my guy."

"I must say that I have never been less well-received in anything I have ever said to a friend," recalled Weyrich. "He just said, 'Well, I thank you for the advice, but that's not appropriate.' "

"Everyone gets mad and gets frustrated," Quayle said, "[but] there's no reason to really get angry and hateful. I wasn't brought up that way. . . . Angry and vindictive people . . . normally don't get ahead."

Pressed further, he said, "I can get mad but I don't brood about it. I'll tell you what you do is you change the subject," he said, changing the subject.

Conservative Credentials

Quayle is generally perceived as a committed conservative. John Walda, his 1978 opponent for the House, called him a typical "anti-establishment, anti-government, trash-the-bureaucracy type. . . . I really think he was deeply committed to the New Right standards."

But Quayle's conservatism almost always appears tinged with political calculus. Within the family, friends said, he is subjected to semi-serious rebukes for "liberal tendencies" from his father, James Quayle, a former member of the far-right John Birch Society.

Asked what political operator he most respects in the Republican Party, Quayle named former senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee. Baker, who led Senate Republicans during Quayle's first four years there, left a reputation as an effective shepherd of a diverse GOP flock. But to many on the right, Baker is a symbol of unforgivable ideological flexibility.

Political scientist Fenno called Quayle an "operational conservative," one whose approach was shaped less by ideology than by his appraisal of the political situation. He worked with Kennedy on JTPA and with Sen. Carl Levin of Michigan, another liberal Democrat, on military procurement reform. Yet Quayle is regarded by leading conservatives as firmly in their camp. He received significant help from New Right organizers such as Weyrich in his first campaign for the House in 1976 and remains close to most leaders of the conservative movement today.

A vital link with the right is his chief of staff, 36-year-old William Kristol, the son of neoconservative authors Irving Kristol and Gertrude Himmelfarb. As well-connected to Washington's conservative think tank-political-journalistic network as anyone Quayle could have found, "Kristol brought [Quayle] instant credibility when he badly needed it," according to one right-wing operative outside Quayle's circle.

Throughout his career, Quayle has surrounded himself with aides with exceptional academic credentials. In addition to Kristol, three other PhDs occupy top jobs with the vice president. William J. Gribbin, a history major from Catholic University, a former college teacher, Senate staff member and editor of the last two Republican Party platforms, runs his Capitol office; Karl D. Jackson, an Asia expert with degrees from Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School and Massachusetts Institute of Technology and experience at the Pentagon, is on leave from the University of California-Berkeley faculty to serve as Quayle's national security adviser; and Mark J. Albrecht, a veteran of the CIA and the Rand Corporation and former Senate staff member, is executive secretary of the National Space Council.

Fellow lawyers occupy two other key staff jobs: Allan B. Hubbard, a graduate of Vanderbilt and Harvard's law and business schools, is deputy chief of staff and executive director of the Council on Competitiveness. His press secretary, former Time magazine correspondent David Beckwith, is a graduate of Carleton College, Columbia University and the University of Texas law school.

Like many of the neoconservatives on his staff and among his outside advisers, Quayle is an ardent defender of Israel. Although he says "the Jewish community in Indiana opposed me very vigorously in 1980," when he challenged incumbent Democrat Birch Bayh, he was a reliable vote for Israel in the Senate and is a favorite among American Jewish organizations—and a target of criticism from State Department Middle East hands.

On cultural issues, foreign policy and defense, Quayle "fits anybody's definition of a classic Republican conservative," as Khachigian said. Kemp described Quayle as an early ally in the fight for tax-cutting, market-oriented economic policies. "Quayle . . . never let orthodoxy stop him from thinking about and exploring new ideas," he said.

Quayle has been counted as an ally by antiabortion forces from the beginning of his career, but has never made the controversy a centerpiece of his own politics. When Senate Republican leaders urged him to join the Judiciary Committee, Quayle told them he did not want to spend his time wrestling with the social-issue agenda.

Asked about the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision, which established a constitutional right to abortion, he said recently, "I was never supportive of that decision myself because I think it went a bit far. . . . I would welcome it being overturned . . . but I'm not a judge. My answer is political, not judicial."

He has spoken to antiabortion rallies in the capital, but in the interview he said, "I think people make a mistake trying to exploit it in the political realm."

Asked how he thought the issue would be resolved, Quayle said he looks forward to the time when "*Roe v. Wade* is overturned and it goes back to the states. The states will basically have different laws on when abortion will or will not be allowed."

Asked whether he would be happy with permissive laws in one place and restrictions in another, Quayle said, "I think that's clearly where we're going."

Drawing Tactical Lessons

Quayle's comment on abortion is indicative of his oddly distant relationship with the great controversies and experiences of his generation. Whether it is abortion, Vietnam, the civil rights movement, or Watergate, he has consistently avoided placing himself at the center of the struggle. Sen. Coats said, "I see Dan as someone that really wasn't significantly influenced by those times." If Bush was "selecting somebody to represent that generation, I don't think Dan is representational."

The lessons Quayle draws from the great events of the last two decades are always tactical—never moral. Asked what he learned from the Watergate scandal that led to Nixon's resignation, for example, Quayle said he found it "amazing" that when the coverup began to fail, Nixon "wouldn't call people in. He didn't know what to do . . . except get mad."

Quayle cited public relations tips rather than warnings about the Constitution and presidential power as the lessons of Watergate. "If there's something you absolutely can't put out, don't put it out. But don't put out something that is factually or materially incorrect. And don't let it dribble out. . . . And once you put the stuff out, don't go having to change your damn story."

On Vietnam, Quayle was a "hawk." He probably has been questioned more often about his decision in 1969 to join the Indiana National Guard rather than risk being drafted than about any other topic. But neither then nor now does he seem to have reflected seriously about the dilemma that Vietnam posed for the nation and for millions of individual citizens—or the way it shattered the previous generation's foreign policy consensus.

Asked what he thought Vietnam did to the country, Quayle said, "It certainly did weaken us [because] around the world we became perceived as impotent." The lesson he drew from the period, he said, was: "State your missions clearly. State your objectives clearly. Make sure you can achieve them, and then achieve them. I mean, it is not much more difficult than that."

Asked about his personal decision,

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Quayle said: "Look . . . I've got the greatest respect for those who served in Vietnam in combat, but we all make our choices in life, and I chose to serve in the National Guard and didn't go to Vietnam. . . . There's no use in going back and saying 'What if,' or 'I'd rather do it differently.' I have no regrets about what I did. Given the same circumstances, I'm sure I'd do the same thing all over again."

The civil rights movement and its repercussions on American life seemed to have touched Quayle even less than these other struggles.

His home town of Huntington, Ind., had no black families. As vice president, Quayle operates in an almost totally white environment. Asked if he had black friends or black staff members "you regularly consult with," Quayle said, "Well, Carolyn Washington runs the house, and we see her every day." Washington is an administrative aide who manages the stewards at the vice presidential residence and organizes social events held there. She has no policy responsibilities.

Yet Quayle said, "I am convinced that I can bring people together," across racial barriers "because I'm committed to equality and they would know that, and I think they would see a genuine openness about concerns of others."

Could a President Quayle "bring people together?" Could he unite and lead Americans from the White House? Could he even satisfy his own contemporaries that in him, they would have a suitable spokesman and leader?

Mondale said he has a certain sympathy for Quayle, "because the office is handmade for ridicule and for dismissal. In the nature of it, you always look like a supplicant, a beggar, a person on a string."

But in the corporate world where Mondale now operates, he said, "I don't think they see him [Quayle] as a president. I think they think he's light. And most of them I'm talking about are Republicans. I don't think they see strength. I don't think they see power. I don't think they see a person who's moving and shaping his times."

In the final interview for these articles, Quayle seemed to accept Sen. Rudman's judgment that he still lacks the moral authority to be president. "There were probably very few presidents in our history that had the moral authority before they became president," he said, citing three victorious generals—George Washington, Ulysses S. Grant and Dwight D. Eisenhower—as those who did. "Very few others," he said, "had moral authority before they came in.

"You never know until you come to that what kind of a president you can be," Quayle said. "The individual doesn't even know."

So you don't know? he was asked.

"I think, because of my own inner confidence, I think I'd be good at anything I set out to do."

Researcher David Greenberg contributed to this report.

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

11 February 1992

bc: PC

TALKS BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 11 FEBRUARY

Thank you for the briefing you provided for the visit of Vice President Quayle. He had talks this evening with the Prime Minister followed by supper attended by Mrs Major, Mrs Quayle and the Foreign Secretary. Much of the discussion over dinner was about US politics and, in particular, how the Vice President had been chosen in 1988 and the difficulties subsequently caused for him by the media. Nothing was revealed that had not been in the recent Washington Post profiles. On substance, the following were the main issues discussed in the Prime Minister's talks and over dinner.

GATT

The Vice President said that he had told Chancellor Kohl that, in the absence of a GATT agreement, the Democrats would try and make political capital out of the issue claiming that Bush was a President of the Cold War but could not deliver an international agreement to help the US economy. Chancellor Kohl had made clear that he did not want to push President Mitterrand around. Germany had been out in front on Croatia and Kohl had showed himself very sensitive to the charge of reassertiveness. He was particularly sensitive about a piece in the New York Times in which a US official (allegedly Eagleburger, though Eagleburger had denied it) had spoken of Germany's reassertiveness and had claimed that EC recognition of Croatia and Slovenia was a victory for Germany. Kohl had been very upset about this.

The Prime Minister agreed with this assessment. But it was essential that Chancellor Kohl should use his influence. For our part, we could live with the Dunkel text. The Germans wanted an agreement but were very nervous about the French position. The French did have a very genuine political problem in agreeing to the Dunkel text. Majority voting applied in the Council of Ministers on this issue. We believed that the Commission did now have the necessary flexibility to negotiate and it was possible that they could bring back an agreement on which the French would be outvoted. There were two flies in the ointment, however. One was the possibility that the French would declare the issue a vital national interest and would not then be voted down. The second was the very real French concern over cereal substitutes

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and the issue of rebalancing. The French would find allies on this such as the Dutch and the Germans. It was important not to allow the French to build up support for their position by virtue of having a justifiable grievance. If the US could move on rebalancing it would be more difficult for the French to convince their partners that they had just cause in trying to block a deal. President Delors' position would be pivotal. The Prime Minister believed that Delors realised there had to be a deal. The Vice President said that Kohl had told him that he wanted Mitterrand to be the one to realise that a deal had to be made and to make the announcement of a shift in the French position. The Prime Minister thought, and Mr Quayle agreed, that it would be easier politically for President Mitterrand to be outvoted in the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister thought that both Kohl and Delors would be crucial to persuading President Mitterrand that the time had come to make an agreement.

European Defence

The Prime Minister said that France wanted a European defence structure based on the Franco-German brigade. Mitterrand did not care about the risks of US isolationism. Chancellor Kohl did care but went along with the French. We, the British, had won the argument at Maastricht but if we now did nothing the French and Germans would start to build up the European brigade as a separate structure. We wanted to build up the European defence identity in a way that was compatible with NATO. We would need to talk to the Americans privately about it. The kind of things we had in mind were designating for possible use by the WEU, European elements of the Rapid Reaction Corps and European units in the NATO Air and Sea Reaction Forces, as well as the UK/Netherlands Amphibious Force. We should be aiming for a model under which NATO would be responsible for deciding how to respond to threats to Alliance territory, while the WEU would be the framework for European national forces.

The Prime Minister said that the Americans might wonder how long this argument would continue. It was impossible to answer precisely but he thought the problem was particularly acute under Kohl and Mitterrand for historical and personal reasons. Post-Mitterrand, the Franco-German axis would be difficult to replace in its existing form.

Vice President Quayle said that fears of American isolationism were exaggerated in Europe. When the issues were put to the American people, they understood that it was in their interests to be here. Past experience showed that isolationist Presidential candidates did not do well. We should not get too hung up on figures. If the Congress cut the budget, that would have consequences for troop numbers. That was a matter of computation. The important point was the commitment and the presence.

Russia

The Vice President said that the US agreed that we should build up to the creation of a Stabilisation Fund on the Polish

model. The aim should be to have a fund that did not have to be drawn on. That was why certain conditions had to be attached, such as an IMF programme and certain elements of privatisation. The Prime Minister said that it was right for the Americans not to lose their leverage with Russia by simply agreeing to a Stabilisation Fund without conditions. But equally, we had had to push the idea of such a fund so as not to leave Yeltsin with the impression that he was having to struggle on his own.

In discussion of President Yeltsin's visit to the United States, the Vice President said that it had been striking how much importance Yeltsin had attached to getting US agreement to the fact that Russia and the United States were now friends. This had been done in part to show the change from the Gorbachev era. Chancellor Kohl had told Vice President Quayle that he was often in touch with ex-President Gorbachev and had the impression that Gorbachev was waiting in the wings hoping that things would collapse and that he would be called back. This was quite unrealistic.

The Vice President talked about his recent visit to the Baltic States. Estonia had sought US money for the rehousing of Soviet troops. The Lithuanians had been given a March date for the completion of withdrawal. The Latvians and Estonians had no date. The Lithuanians were very worried about the nuclear power plant which was controlled by Russia and which the Russians were refusing to open up for international inspection. It was apparently in a dangerous state and it was important to get inspectors into it.

The Vice President described President Landsbergis as popular in his own country. He was very much a nationalist. Landsbergis had not forgiven President Bush for what he regarded as tardiness in recognition. At his press conference with the Vice President, Landsbergis had tartly remarked that on his own visit to Washington he had spent more time with the Vice President than with the President. This showed that Landsbergis was not all that smart. His aim should be to mend fences.

The Vice President said that he had been surprised to find how much suspicion of Finland there was in Latvia and Lithuania dating from the Communist era and of Finland's close relationship with Moscow. The Finns were much more accepted and active in Estonia. He had been worried about the position of minorities in Lithuania. Obviously there had to be common standards of human rights behaviour but it was hard not to have some sympathy with the Lithuanians in the light of their experiences at Russian hands. Whole families had been carted off to Russian concentration camps.

In Tallinen, the Vice President said that he had met a wealthy American businessman of Estonian origin who was there to reclaim his family property and was going to use it and other property to set up a factory. He thought there was a lot of scope for involving Baltic Americans in the reconstruction of their countries of origin.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence), Martin Stanley (Department of Trade and Industry), Jeremy Heywood (HM Treasury), David Rossington (Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

J. S. WALL

Richard Gozney, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 February 1992

Dear Stephen,

Visit of Vice President Quayle: 11 February

The Prime Minister will give a small working dinner for Vice President and Mrs Quayle at 1900 on Tuesday 11 February. The Quayles will be accompanied by Ambassador Seitz, William Kristol (the Vice President's Chief of Staff) and Karl Jackson (Foreign Policy Adviser). The Prime Minister and Mrs Major will be accompanied by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Percy Cradock and yourself. The Prime Minister and Vice President will start with a half-hour tête-à-tête session, with yourself and Ambassador Seitz as notetakers.

Vice President Quayle was last here in January 1991. On this occasion, he will have visited Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, France (for the opening of the 1992 Winter Olympics), Germany (for the Wehrkunde Conference and a meeting with Chancellor Kohl) and Switzerland (to address the United Nations Human Rights Conference). Before seeing the Prime Minister, Mr Quayle will have called on the Foreign Secretary, Mrs Thatcher, the Leader of the Opposition and the editorial board of The Economist.

Our main objective will be to obtain from Mr Quayle an indication of US thinking on developments in the former Soviet Union, including related security matters. Mr Quayle will wish to brief the Prime Minister on his meeting with Chancellor Kohl (which might be covered during the tête-à-tête session). The Vice President will also wish to give the Prime Minister an insider's view of US election prospects and to discuss British domestic politics. A telegram reporting on the Wehrkunde Conference will follow.

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THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

President Bush's approval rating has fallen from a post-Gulf War peak of over 80% to around 45%, reflecting dissatisfaction with his handling of the economy. His State of the Union Address on 28 January has rallied the Republican Party but the President's proposals may be blocked by the Democrats in Congress. President Bush still remains the favourite to be re-elected in November; but he could face a tough race if the economy fails to revive. Mr Quayle is likely to be kept as President Bush's Vice Presidential running mate.

In the New Hampshire primary on 18 February, the President faces a right-wing challenge from Mr Pat Buchanan, a former member of the Reagan White House, who accuses Bush of betraying the Conservative cause, particularly over taxation. Polls show Buchanan likely to win 30-40% in what is a conservative state - enough to embarrass the President, though probably no more.

The Democrats have won only one presidential race since 1964 (Carter in 1976). This time, the heavyweight contenders (Gore, Cuomo, Gephardt) have so far chosen not to run. Among the five candidates for the party nomination the politically moderate Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas has been running an anti-Washington campaign; his appeal in the south - normally a stronghold for the Republicans in the presidential race - could yet pose a serious threat. But Clinton's prospects now look uncertain in the face of allegations about his personal life. Other contenders are Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa and former Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts. There is some chance that the Democratic campaign will collapse in the early stages of the Primaries, requiring the drafting of an alternative candidate.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE BALTIC STATES

In giving his personal impressions of Yeltsin's visit and standing at home, the Prime Minister might touch on the Russo/Ukrainian dispute over the Black Sea Fleet and Crimea. The latest developments are the Russian Parliament's 27 January adoption of a resolution questioning the validity of the transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine in 1954. Ukraine, while rejecting any territorial claims, has so far reacted in a low-key way. Russo/Ukrainian relations may deteriorate further, with serious consequences. The Prime Minister might say:

- Yeltsin gave impression of strength and determination here. Your impressions of his visit to Washington?

- Yeltsin facing extraordinarily difficult domestic year ahead. Cannot be sure he will survive opposition pressures.

- Danger that as domestic situation gets harder, Yeltsin may be tempted to manipulate Russo/Ukrainian tension to placate nationalists/reactionaries.

- Still potential for serious conflict over Black Sea Fleet and Crimea. Must take opportunities to press on both parties need for negotiated solution. EC also monitoring the situation with view to possible demarche if it deteriorates.

The Treasury are considering whether to suggest raising with Vice President Quayle Russian membership of the IMF and a stabilisation fund. If necessary, they will write direct to you with a line which the Prime Minister might take. On our bilateral aid effort the Prime Minister might say:

- Our bilateral aid effort intensifying: £20m feed grain; £50m Know How Fund; £2m medical aid; £280m export credit cover in

context of IMF programme. Now added plane-load of humanitarian supplies (especially medical) to Ekaterinburg (Yeltin's home region).

- But this is short term aid. Need also to focus international community on macro-economic assistance.

On arms control, Presidents Bush and Yeltsin discussed only briefly at Camp David their initiatives for making substantial reductions in nuclear arsenals. On help with Soviet nuclear weapons, Secretary Baker will be in Moscow probably on 17 February. We understand that the US favour setting up an international institute in Russia to act as a clearing house for research projects which would employ Russian nuclear CW or BW scientists. A British technical team is in Moscow this week to discuss progress in weapons elimination. The Prime Minister might say:

- Bush arms initiative a great success. Clearly there are differences between US and Russian approach, mainly on handling submarine based weapons (the Russians say only 1 warhead per missile on submarine). How do you see this being resolved?

- Good progress in CIS in withdrawing short-range systems to Russia. Process should be complete by July. We will continue to work closely with the Americans. Need to keep other allies on board: NATO working group should ensure this.

- Brain drain of scientists a real concern. Need to co-ordinate Western efforts. Believe redeploying scientists in CIS is best way: we have put to Yeltsin the idea of a Russian-sponsored conference in Moscow of all interested parties. US views?

The Vice President is a strong advocate of strategic missile defences which would involve deployment of a version of SDI

(strategic defence initiative) known as GPALS (global protection against limited strikes). It would reduce the threat to the US and its allies from a small-scale attack but would not be able to defeat a large scale offensive.

Hitherto, Moscow has opposed any change in the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty which limits strategic defences to 100 ground based interceptors on each side. However, President Yeltsin has now said he is ready to co-operate with the US on GPALS, including its space-based elements. Although this suggests the Russians are prepared to consider amending the ABM Treaty, their proposal will pose problems for the US. For instance, the Administration is opposed to the transfer to Russia of any space-based defence technology.

GPALS itself remains in some doubt, particularly Congressional funding of the space-based elements. Nonetheless, Yeltsin's proposal might affect the British (and French) strategic deterrents if the Russians strengthen significantly their defences. We are discussing these issues with the Americans. The Prime Minister may want to say:

- Russian readiness to become involved in strategic defences a significant departure. Clear that Yeltsin is now contemplating a renegotiation of the ABM Treaty in order to secure access to American technology and to defend Russia from third world threats. What do you see as next steps?

- Recognise that GPALS is not intended to compromise the credibility of French and British minimum deterrents. But any improvement in Russian defences, and particularly their access to technology which can defeat UK deterrent needs careful consideration. Must stay closely in touch.

BALTIC STATES

As Vice-President Quayle will have just visited the Baltics, the Prime Minister could ask him for an assessment of the political and economic situation there. The Prime Minister might say:

- Agree with Baltics on need for early withdrawal of former Soviet troops. Have raised concerns with former Soviet/Russian authorities and urged establishment soon of timetable for early withdrawal of troops. Glad to see Baltic/Russian talks started amicably.

- Keen to see good, stable relations in region. Have stressed importance of rights of minorities in Baltic States. Balts have international commitments on human rights, eg CSCE.

- Pressing in EC for early Trade and Cooperation Agreement with Baltic States (one with Lithuania now signed) and in IMF for early Baltic membership.

- Bulk of our assistance directed through EC Technical and Emergency Assistance programmes. Total UK assistance in 1991-92 over £8.5 million.

- Resolving Baltic gold question. Propose to transfer to each Baltic States gold equal in quantity to gold deposited with Bank of England before 1940 by their central banks, or gold's monetary equivalent. Part of settlement includes dropping of claims. Balts happy with proposals. Total value of gold around £90 million.

EUROPEAN DEFENCE

The Prime Minister might draw the Vice President's attention to the continuing pressure, particularly from France and Germany, for European forces separate from NATO, and the importance of not adding to those pressures by continual cuts in US forces in Europe. He might say:

- Presence of US forces vital symbol of America's political, security and economic engagement with Europe. Glad that you and the President are determined to stick to 150,000 figure.

- Key seems to be to settle on a politically sustainable level: Dick Cheney's concept of a corps, plus air and sea support, may be better than a precise figure.

- Repeated salami slicing in US forces only feeds pressure, particularly from France and Germany, for separate European defence. French in particular pick up on neo-isolationist trends in America.

- Trick will be to accommodate pressures for separate European defence in ways compatible with NATO. Answer may well be in double-hatting European elements of NATO, thus ensuring that the Franco- German 'corps' is not the only 'European' force in the field.

- US and UK officials in touch on all this: we need together to devise flexible arrangements which will take account of changing political realities in Europe, while maintaining NATO's central role in European defence.

LOCKERBIE

The Security Council adopted SCR 731 unanimously on 21 January (copy enclosed). The Secretary-General's imminent formal report is expected to show Libyan non-compliance. If the three decide to try for a second Security Council Resolution, involving mandatory sanctions, President Bush will need to involve himself personally.

The Prime Minister might say:

- Security Council Resolution 731 showed the effectiveness of tripartite co-ordination and intensive lobbying.

- We expect Qadhafi to continue his evasions and not comply with SCR 731.

- We should maintain our deliberate and incremental approach. A sanctions resolution will need intensive and tightly co-ordinated lobbying with personal involvement by the three heads of government.

GATT

The Department of Trade and Industry are sending separate briefing on GATT.

I am copying this to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office), Simon Webb (MOD), Martin Stanley (DTI), David Rossington (MAFF) and Jeremy Heywood (Treasury).

Yours ever,

Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Stephen Wall Esq CMG LVO
10 Downing Street

Visit of Vice President Quayle: 11 February

Points to Make

Developments in the Soviet Union

- Yeltsin gave impression of strength and determination here. Your impressions of his visit to Washington?

- Yeltsin facing extraordinarily difficult domestic year ahead. Cannot be sure he will survive opposition pressures.

- Danger that as domestic situation gets harder, Yeltsin may be tempted to manipulate Russo/Ukrainian tension to placate nationalists/reactionaries.

- Still potential for serious conflict over Black Sea Fleet and Crimea. Must take opportunities to press on both parties need for negotiated solution. EC also monitoring the situation with view to possible demarche if it deteriorates.

Bilateral Aid

- Our bilateral aid effort intensifying: £20m feed grain; £50m Know How Fund; £2m medical aid; £280m export credit cover in context of IMF programme. Now added plane-load of humanitarian supplies (especially medical) to Ekaterinburg (Yeltin's home region).

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Arms Control

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GPALS

- Russian readiness to become involved in strategic defences a significant departure. Clear that Yeltsin is now contemplating a renegotiation of the ABM Treaty in order to secure access to American technology and to defend Russia from third world threats. What do you see as next steps?

- Recognise that GPALS is not intended to compromise the credibility of French and British minimum deterrents. But any improvement in Russian defences, and particularly their access to technology which can defeat UK deterrent needs careful consideration. Must stay closely in touch.

Baltic States

- Agree with Baltics on need for early withdrawal of former Soviet troops. Have raised concerns with former Soviet/Russian authorities and urged establishment soon of timetable for early withdrawal of troops. Glad to see Baltic/Russian talks started amicably.

- Keen to see good, stable relations in region. Have stressed importance of rights of minorities in Baltic States. Balts have international commitments on human rights, eg CSCE.

- Pressing in EC for early Trade and Cooperation Agreement with Baltic States (one with Lithuania now signed) and in IMF for early Baltic membership.

- Bulk of our assistance directed through EC Technical and Emergency Assistance programmes. Total UK assistance in 1991-92 over £8.5 million.

- Resolving Baltic gold question. Propose to transfer to each Baltic States gold equal in quantity to gold deposited with Bank of England before 1940 by their central banks, or gold's monetary equivalent. Part of settlement includes dropping of claims. Balts happy with proposals. Total value of gold around £90 million.

European Defence

- Presence of US forces vital symbol of America's political, security and economic engagement with Europe. Glad that you and the President are determined to stick to 150,000 figure.

- Key seems to be to settle on a politically sustainable level: Dick Cheney's concept of a corps, plus air and sea support, may be better than a precise figure.

- Repeated salami slicing in US forces only feeds pressure, particularly from France and Germany, for separate European defence. French in particular pick up on neo-isolationist trends in America.

- Trick will be to accommodate pressures for separate European defence in ways compatible with NATO. Answer may well be in double-hatting European elements of NATO, thus ensuring that the Franco- German 'corps' is not the only 'European' force in the field.

- US and UK officials in touch on all this: we need together to devise flexible arrangements which will take account of changing political realities in Europe, while maintaining NATO's central role in European defence.

Lockerbie

- Security Council Resolution 731 showed the effectiveness of tripartite co-ordination and intensive lobbying.

- We expect Qadhafi to continue his evasions and not comply with SCR 731.

- We should maintain our deliberate and incremental approach. A sanctions resolution will need intensive and tightly co-ordinated lobbying with personal involvement by the three heads of government.

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FM UKMIS NEW YORK
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TELNO 234
OF 220410Z JANUARY 92
INFO DESKBY 221400Z WASHINGTON
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WASHINGTONG FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY

MY 3 IPTS : LOCKERBIE/UTA

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 731 (1992), ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY ON 21 JANUARY 1992:

BEGINS

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE WORLD-WIDE PERSISTENCE OF ACTS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IN ALL ITS FORMS, INCLUDING THOSE IN WHICH STATES ARE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INVOLVED, WHICH ENDANGER OR TAKE INNOCENT LIVES, HAVE A DELETERIOUS EFFECT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF STATES,

DEEPLY CONCERNED BY ALL ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION AND AFFIRMING THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND RELEVANT PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, TO PROTECT THEIR NATIONALS FROM ACTS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM THAT CONSTITUTE THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

REAFFIRMING ITS RESOLUTION 286 (1970) IN WHICH IT CALLED ON STATES TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE LEGAL STEPS TO PREVENT ANY INTERFERENCE WITH INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AIR TRAVEL,

REAFFIRMING ALSO ITS RESOLUTION 635 (1989) IN WHICH IT CONDEMNED ALL ACTS OF UNLAWFUL INTERFERENCE AGAINST THE SECURITY OF CIVIL AVIATION AND CALLED UPON ALL STATES TO COOPERATE IN DEVISING AND IMPLEMENTING MEASURES TO PREVENT ALL ACTS OF TERRORISM, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING EXPLOSIVES,

RECALLING THE STATEMENT MADE ON 30 DECEMBER 1988 BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE DESTRUCTION OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103 AND CALLING ON ALL STATES TO ASSIST IN THE APPREHENSION AND PROSECUTION OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS CRIMINAL ACT,

DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER RESULTS OF INVESTIGATIONS WHICH IMPLICATE OFFICIALS OF THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT AND WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENTS THAT INCLUDE THE REQUESTS ADDRESSED TO THE LIBYAN AUTHORITIES BY FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONNECTION WITH THE LEGAL PROCEDURES RELATED TO THE ATTACKS CARRIED OUT AGAINST PAN AM FLIGHT 103 AND UTA FLIGHT 772 (S/23306: S/23307: S/23308: S/23309: S/23317),

DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM,

1. CONDEMNS THE DESTRUCTION OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103 AND UTA FLIGHT 772 AND THE RESULTANT LOSS OF HUNDREDS OF LIVES:

2. STRONGLY DEPLORES THE FACT THAT THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET RESPONDED EFFECTIVELY TO THE ABOVE REQUESTS TO COOPERATE FULLY IN ESTABLISHING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TERRORIST ACTS REFERRED TO ABOVE AGAINST PAN AM FLIGHT 103 AND UTA FLIGHT 772:

3. URGES THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY TO PROVIDE A FULL AND EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THOSE REQUESTS SO AS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ELIMINATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM:

4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SEEK THE COOPERATION OF THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE A FULL AND EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THOSE REQUESTS:

5. URGES ALL STATES INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY TO ENCOURAGE THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND FULLY AND EFFECTIVELY TO THOSE REQUESTS:

6. DECIDES TO REMAIN SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

ENDS

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PANAM AIR DISASTER	UND
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ADDITIONAL 15

PANAM AIR DISASTER	PS/NO.10

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PRIME MINISTER

YOUR MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

You are having talks and dinner with Vice President Quayle tomorrow, Tuesday 11 February. The programme will be as follows:

1900	Vice President and Mrs Quayle arrive. You and Mrs Major should be at the front doorstep and there will be a photocall in the front hall.
1900-1930	You and the Vice President plus one notetaker a side meet for talks in the Study. The Foreign Secretary and Mrs Major will give drinks to Mrs Quayle and the other guests in the White Room.
1940	You and Vice President Quayle make a short doorstep appearance for the press.
1945-2100	Dinner (guest list attached).
2100	Vice President and Mrs Quayle depart.

The Vice President will give you a Washington Redskins football and tee-shirt. You are giving him a print of the Thames and a book about the House of Commons. We have suggested to the Americans that we envisage the gifts being handed over in private, not in front of the cameras. You and Mrs Major are sending a photograph to the Quayles but after the visit is over.

Substance

In your thirty-five minutes or so of talks with Vice President Quayle, I suggest you focus on:

(i) European defence;

(ii) GATT;

(iii) relations with the former Soviet Union.

European Defence

You may want to tell him that the Germans are torn between their commitment to a US-led NATO and their bilateral relationship with France. The French are frightened of German power and keen to embed the Germans in a European defence structure. They cannot resist trying to build a structure which would be French/German dominated and would build up structures separating the WEU and NATO. The Germans were upset when President Bush brought their pre-Maastricht plans up short at the NATO Summit but the lesson was salutary. The Americans should remain engaged.

We must now follow up the NATO Summit and Maastricht to build up the European defence identity in a way that is compatible with NATO. If we do nothing we shall find the field has been taken over by the French and Germans in a way which will increase pressures on the US to withdraw more troops. In particular, we will need to consider:

- designating for possible use by WEU European elements of the Rapid Reaction Corps and European units in the NATO Air and Sea Reaction Forces, as well as the UK/Netherlands Amphibious Force;

- designating a number of possible WEU operational headquarters with which a WEU planning cell could establish links in order to avoid an exclusive, dependent, relationship developing between the WEU planning cell and a Franco-German Corps at Strasbourg;

- we should be aiming for a model under which NATO would be responsible for deciding how to respond to threats to Alliance territory;

- the WEU would be the sole non-NATO framework for European military national forces.

GATT

Ray Seitz tells me that Vice President Quayle will want to talk to you about the tactics of the GATT round. You may want to tell the Vice President that we could live with the Dunkel text provided changes are made to narrow the difference between the cuts in internal support (20 per cent) and in border protection (36 per cent) and export subsidies which could put unsustainable pressure on the price support system, with surpluses built up which could not be disposed of through exports, and imports undercutting support prices. The obvious solution would be to cut domestic price support by more than 20 per cent but other EC member states might not accept that.

You may want to tell Quayle that the Commission do now seem to have authority to negotiate but that is not a guarantee that France will agree. Although majority voting applies in the Council of Ministers, if Mitterrand said that a vital national interest was at stake, the chances are that he would not be voted down. The politics of the situation are very difficult for Mitterrand and there will need to be some element in the negotiation which enables him to accept the outcome. The French concern is over cereal substitutes. Their concern is that imports from the US will compete with EC-produced grains for animal foods, exports of which will already be cut under the Dunkel paper. This is not a uniquely French view. It is shared by Kohl and the Dutch. So you may want to say to Quayle that unless the Americans make some move on cereal substitutes as part of a package deal, it will be very difficult for us and the Germans and the Dutch to bring pressure to bear on Mitterrand to accept the outcome. The perception in the EC will be that Mitterrand has just cause.

There have been suggestions in today's press that at the Wehrkunde Conference over the weekend Quayle implied that, in the absence of a GATT deal, America's security commitment to Europe would be called into question. Quayle has apparently given a press conference today to deny it, though robust remarks were made by US senators (see telegram in folder). The reality is, of course, that in a trade war, it would be impossible to ringfence the US security commitment from attack so there is a link. It is not, of course, a threat that has any adverse impact on the French: the Brer Rabbit syndrome applies.

Relations with the Former Soviet Union

You may want to ask the Vice President about his visit to the Baltic States (he has just been to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). Particular subjects for discussion are:

- withdrawal of Soviet troops;

- EC Baltic relations;

- our action on Baltic gold.

On the former Soviet Union more generally, you will wish to discuss:

- Yeltsin's visit;

- the economic prospects;

- his talks in the United States;

- the implications for us of his defence proposals. You will wish to thank the Vice President for the US Government's concern not to damage Trident and to make sure he is aware of the political sensitivities.

- the FCO brief (in the folder) also suggests that you should

raise the sensitivities for us of a possible GPALS system. I would be inclined to stay off this unless Quayle raises it. It is more territory for you and Bush, given the sensitivity.

Lockerbie

I do not think you need raise Lockerbie. It if comes up you will want to repeat our commitment to incremental pressure on Quadhafi through the Security Council.

I attach the FCO brief, a detailed DTI brief on the GATT and the Washington Post articles about the Vice President, which you have already seen.

Stephen

J. S. WALL
10 February 1992

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NATO: PRESS REACTIONS TO WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE

1. TODAY'S DRAMATIC PRESS HEADLINES ON THE NATO/GATT DISCUSSION AT LAST WEEKEND'S WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE DESERVE A WORD FROM HERE (SIR CHRISTOPHER MALLABY AND I WERE BOTH AT WEHRKUNDE, AND I HAVE AGREED WITH HIM TO COMMENT QUICKLY ON THIS ANGLE).

2. WITH 7 OUT OF THE 11 US MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ATTENDING WEHRKUNDE UP FOR RE-ELECTION THIS YEAR, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THEY TOOK STEPS TO ENSURE THAT VOTERS AND TAX PAYERS BACK HOME SAW THEY HAD DONE THEIR STUFF OVER GATT AT THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE. BUT HEADLINES SUCH AS 'US THREATENS TO ABANDON NATO OVER TRADE TALKS' SIGNIFICANTLY EXAGGERATE THE BALANCE OF DISCUSSION AND THE LEVEL OF ACRIMONY AT WEHRKUNDE. I HAVE DISCUSSED TODAY'S HEADLINES WITH MY US COLLEAGUE HERE (WHO ALSO ATTENDED WEHRKUNDE AND BRIEFED THE US CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION BEFOREHAND) AS WELL AS WITH SIR C MALLABY AND THEY SHARE THIS VIEW.

3. VICE PRESIDENCE QUAYLE'S KEYNOTE SPEECH IN YESTERDAY'S SESSION, FOR EXAMPLE, CONTAINED NO REFERENCE IN ITS WRITTEN VERSION TO THE TRADE ISSUE. HIS MESSAGE WAS THAT 'MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE STILL NEED EACH OTHER' AND HIS ANSWER TO THOSE IN PRESIDENTIAL YEAR SAYING COME HOME AMERICA WAS 'EUROPE IS OUR HOME AND AS LONG AS WE ARE WELCOME WE WILL STAY'. AMERICA WOULD NOT REPEAT THE POST-WORLD WAR ONE MISTAKE OF WITHDRAWING FROM EUROPE, TO WHOSE SECURITY AND STABILITY SHE HAD MADE A LASTING COMMITMENT. THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE DEFENCE AND THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE WOULD NOT BE MADE SUPERFLUOUS BY THE EUROPEAN UNION. IT IS CERTAINLY TRUE THAT IN HIS SPOKEN PRESENTATION QUAYLE ADDRESSED THE TRADE ISSUE SQUARELY AND DESCRIBED SOLUTION OF GATT DIFFICULTIES AS 'ABSOLUTELY CRITICAL'. BUT MY IMPRESSION IS THAT THESE REMARKS, AT THE END OF HIS INTERVENTION, WERE PARTLY INTENDED TO AVOID BEING OUTFLANKED BY MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION WHO HAD SPOKEN EARLIER IN THE CONFERENCE.

4. IN SHORT ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT THE MAIN THEME OF THIS CONFERENCE

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A NUMBER OF US SENATORS (ESPECIALLY COHEN, LUGAR, PRESSLER) DID INDEED COMMENT GRAPHICALLY ON THE TRADE ISSUE, EMPHASISING HOW CENTRAL IT IS TO A BROAD CONCEPT OF EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY. BUT THIS WAS ONLY HALF THEIR MESSAGE, EVEN IF THEY TALKED IT UP WITH THE PRESS IN THE CORRIDORS. A MAJOR ASPECT OF THIS WEHRKUNDE WAS THE WELCOME CONVERGENCE FROM LEFT AND RIGHT AND FROM GERMANS AS WELL AS AMERICANS ABOUT THE STAYING POWER AND RELEVANCE OF THE ALLIANCE AND AMERICA'S ROLE AS A EUROPEAN POWER. THE SAME US CONGRESSMEN, HAVING DESCRIBED ADVERSE TRENDS AT WORK IN PARTS OF US DOMESTIC OPINION, WERE CLEARLY LOOKING FOR ARGUMENTS TO CARRY CONVICTION ON THE NEED FOR AN ENDURING EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. GENERAL GALVIN APPEALED TO EUROPEANS AT THE CONFERENCE TO SPEAK UP MORE BOLDLY ON THESE THEMES OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS THAN WE HAVE BEEN DOING, NO DOUBT WITH THE AIM OF COUNTERING HEIGHTENED ATMOSPHERICS IN THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF HERE ARE ALREADY GETTING ENQUIRIES ON THE ALLEGED GATT/NATO BLACKMAIL THEME AT WEHRKUNDE AND FOLLOWING MY INTERVENTION WITH WOERNER'S OFFICE WILL BE TAKING A CORRECTIVE PRESS LINE CONSISTENT WITH THE FOREGOING.

5. FCO PLEASE PASS COPY TO NUMBER 10.

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ADDITIONAL 19

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 January 1992

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 11 FEBRUARY

Thank you for your letter of 23 January. The Prime Minister is content with the programme outlined in your letter. He suggests that all the Vice President's party should arrive together at 1900. We will then have a photocall in the Front Hall with the Vice President and Mrs. Quayle, and the Prime Minister and Mrs. Major. The Prime Minister and the Vice President will then go to the study to talk. Mrs. Major, Mrs. Quayle and the other guests will have a drink while the Prime Minister and the Vice President are talking. If the Foreign Secretary were able to get here for drinks at 1900, the Prime Minister would welcome that.

I shall be with the Prime Minister for the meeting with Vice President Quayle. If the Americans want a notetaker on their side, they are welcome to have one.

J.S. WALL

Christopher Prentice, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 11 FEBRUARY

Vice President Quayle has asked for the following arrangements for his meeting/dinner with you on Tuesday, 11 February.

1900	Vice President and Mrs. Quayle arrive
1900-1930	Meeting between you and the Vice President
1940	Short doorstep statement
1945-2100	Dinner (guest list attached)
2100	Depart for airport

Are you content with this? It suits us because it means that your doorstep appearance with the Vice President will get on the BBC 9 o'clock news.

The Foreign Secretary is included in the dinner but would not be involved in the talks. I suggest nonetheless that, if convenient to him, he might arrive at 1900. Mrs. Major might want to give him and Mrs. Quayle a drink upstairs in the flat. Sir Percy Cradock could perhaps field the other members of the US team.

The alternative would be for Mrs. Major and Mrs. Quayle to have a drink with the other members of the US party in the White Room.

Gifts

Do you agree that we should not exchange gifts?

You have a signed photograph from Vice President Quayle and his family. He does not have one from you. Would you and Mrs. Major want to give him a photograph, for example, one of the Snowdon photographs, on this occasion?

J. S. WALL
24 JANUARY 1991

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

17 January 1992

Dear Christopher,

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 10-11 FEBRUARY

The Prime Minister has seen Washington telno 101 about the visit of Vice President Quayle.

The Prime Minister would like to offer Vice President and Mrs Quayle a working supper on 11 February. The Prime Minister would be able to receive the Vice President from 1900 onwards so the dinner could finish by 2100 if necessary.

The Prime Minister suggests that the participants would be:

Vice President Quayle	Prime Minister
Mrs Quayle	Mrs Major
Ambassador Seitz	Foreign Secretary
Bill Kristol, Chief of Staff	Sir Percy Cradock
Carl Jackson, Foreign Policy Adviser	Stephen Wall

I should be grateful for briefing for the meeting to reach me by Monday 10 February.

Yours,
Stephen

J. S. WALL

Christopher Prentice, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 January 1992

Dear Stephen,

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 10-11 FEBRUARY

Thank you for your letter of 17 January.

Following discussion of the outline programme for the Vice President's visit with the US pre-advance team on 17 January, there are one or two points on which we should be grateful for guidance.

Supper with the Prime Minister - 1900, 11 February

Vice President Quayle is most grateful for the Prime Minister's offer of a working supper on 11 February. The Americans have confirmed the US participants as in your letter of 17 January. There are several possibilities for how this might be arranged. The option which the Americans prefer, if the Prime Minister agrees, is for the Prime Minister and the Vice President to start with a half-hour tête-à-tête, followed at about 1940 by a short doorstep statement, in time to be broadcast on the 9.00pm news. Dinner and the rest of the discussion would then follow.

Other options would be for a press statement on arrival (which might be awkward before the talks have taken place) or on departure from No.10 at about 2100 (which would be too late for some news channels). Whichever option is chosen, the Vice President hopes that we can include a tête-à-téte session during which he would convey to the Prime Minister some personal impressions of his talks with Chancellor Kohl.

Departure from Downing Street is set at 2100 for ETD Heathrow at 2200. But we understand that there could be some flexibility, if the supper were to overrun.

Gifts

The Americans are not intending to propose an exchange of gifts, but would be grateful for your views on this.

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Briefing

We will send briefing to you on 10 February. As preliminary background, you may like to see the enclosed series of Washington Post articles on Vice President Quayle, together with a summary and letter of comment from the Embassy in Washington.

Yours ever,

Christopher Prentice

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq
10 Downing Street

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

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Ambassador Seitz	Foreign Secretary
Bill Kristol, Chief of Staff	Sir Percy Cradock
Carl Jackson, Foreign Policy Adviser	Stephen Wall

I should be grateful for briefing for the meeting to reach me by Monday 10 February.

Yours,
Stephen

J. S. WALL

Christopher Prentice, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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British Embassy
Washington

3100 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington D.C. 20008-3600

Telephone: (202)
Telex: RCA 211427 or 216760-WUI 64224
Facsimile: (202) 898-4255

15 January 1992

CC MRS MAJOR

M Pellew Esq
NAD
FCO

Prime Minister

Worth reading the summary of the Washington Post articles. I have highlighted bits of the articles themselves.

Dear Mark,

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

1. The Prime Minister will be seeing Dan Quayle on 10 or 11 February. We gave a thumb-nail sketch of the Vice President in our telno 34 and reported that the American press was rehabilitating him. The centre-piece of this reassessment was a series of seven articles by Bob Woodward and David Broder of the Washington Post. I attach a summary and copies of the articles themselves.

2. After six months of research the journalists have reached the not very surprising conclusion that Quayle is not the buffoon and political ingenue of the caricatures of the 1988 campaign. Woodward and Broder turn up no new scandals about Quayle and establish that some of the earlier allegations against him (cheating at University, using family influence to avoid service in Vietnam etc) are unfair. Although accused of sweetheart journalism the piece is not a hagiography. As one commentator put it, the study concludes that Quayle is smarter than people think - but not by much.

3. The article and other press comment will help balance the record on Quayle. The revisionist view will however take some time to seep down into the public consciousness. The majority of Americans still express concern about the idea that Quayle might take over if the President were incapacitated. The President's recent illness in Japan brought this concern to the fore again. But Quayle has had a good couple of weeks. As well as the articles on his record Quayle has received a good press on his campaigning in New Hampshire, where he is playing a key role as a bridge between the President and Conservatives who might otherwise be tempted to support the President's rival, Pat Buchanan.

4. It is well worth our while cultivating Quayle, as Mrs Thatcher's experience with Bush when he was Vice President illustrates. Quayle has a good stab at the Republican nomination in 1996: five of the last Presidents have served first as Vice

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President. But he will face tough challenges from a number of others including Senator Gramm of Texas, Governor Wilson of California, Housing Secretary Jack Kemp and probably Dick Cheney. It is still a mystery whether or not Jim Baker will run. He has never been elected to office before and lacks the common touch usually regarded as essential to achieving the Presidency, but is still rumoured to have ambitions.

Yours ever

J N POWELL

cc: Mr Holdich, RAD, FCO

SUMMARY OF WASHINGTON POST PROFILE OF DAN QUAYLE

1. The Washington Post ran a seven part profile of Dan Quayle in the second week of January, the result of six months of intensive research by Bob Woodward (of Watergate fame) and David Broder (leading political commentator). The profile will also be published as a book.

2. The profile looks at Quayle's origins in Indiana and corrects the myth that he is a multi-millionaire born into luxury. His grandfather did own a newspaper chain but he himself has seen little money from it. He grew up in average middle class surroundings. Quayle continues to refuse to release his detailed university records but his overall grades were less than brilliant.

3. The reporters look at Quayle's early political career. At the age of 29 he won a surprise victory against an incumbent Democratic Congressman in Indiana. The campaign was a hard grind and the report rejects previous received wisdom that his political career was handed to him on a plate by his influential family. After only two terms as a congressman he ran against the incumbent Democratic Senator, Birch Bayh, and won. He carved out a useful rather than brilliant role for himself in the Senate

4. The profile reveals Quayle as a skillful player of the political game. Far from waiting passively to be plucked from obscurity in 1988, he ran a sub rosa campaign to persuade Bush to choose him as his Vice Presidential running mate. The campaign itself was a black period for Quayle. He was completely unprepared for the media onslaught that followed his nomination. Part of the fault for this lies with Bush who kept his choice of running mate secret even from his staff. They therefore failed to prepare a profile of Quayle for the press or brief him on how to answer questions on his past. It is clear from the articles that Quayle and his wife blame Baker for many of their problems, and continue to resent the numerous humiliations heaped on them by the then campaign director, including the decision to impose a campaign manager on him and the attempt to bury him in obscurity. Quayle himself must however take the blame for the appalling gaffes he made during the campaign. At one stage he described the Nazi holocaust as "an obscene period in our nation's history", and when trying to explain what on earth he meant by this he made matters worse by saying "I didn't live in this century". The profile looks into the charges made during the campaign that he used family influence to avoid service in Vietnam and rumours that he cheated at University. It finds no evidence for either assertion.

5. The profile looks carefully at Quayle's record as Vice President. Quayle has been loyal to Bush and kept his advice to the President secret. The profile concludes that he has become less of an outsider in the Administration but that he still remains in the second rank of advisers. Baker has frustrated him in his travel abroad by not allowing him to go to crucial countries at crucial moments, and his visits have been largely ceremonial. He has served the President well as a Legislative Counsellor, acting as a conduit to the Republicans in the Senate and the House. Equally importantly he has served as the President's Ambassador to the Republican party in the country taking trips out of Washington once or twice a week to meet local party activists.

6. The profile focuses particularly closely on what Quayle has achieved through his leadership of the Council on Competitiveness. The Council's mission is to keep Reagan's dregulation campaign alive. It acts as a court of final appeal for Cabinet departments and none of its decisions have been taken on up to the President. Democrats in Congress accuse him of using the Council as an illegal shadow government to undermine the law. Quayle presents the Council as an effective way of preventing creeping over-regulation. It gives him real power both in the Administration's domestic policy and with Republican businessmen, who seek his support on regulatory issues. The profile gives Quayle due credit for his work in domestic policy, for example his proposals for reform of the American legal system (questioning whether America really needs 70% of the world's lawyers), but criticises him for his failure to follow up initiatives once launched.

7. The profile looks at the role of Marilyn Quayle. It disputes the myth that she ran his Vice Presidential campaign because Quayle himself was too weak, but confirms the impression that she plays an important part in his political decision making from her next door office in the Old Executive Office Building. She clearly suggests many of his ideas and sees herself as the guardian of his image.

8. The profile concludes by considering what kind of President Quayle would make. It notes his decency and even tempered disposition. He has a few simple Reagan-like conservative convictions and, like Reagan, he surrounds himself with an able staff. Quayle has demonstrated a steady demeanour under pressure and appears remarkably ego-free for a politician, but he is a tactician rather than a strategist. While enjoying the support of the conservative New Right he is a pragmatist. The profile casts doubt however on the Vice President's intellectual depth, his understanding of history and his appreciation of the social forces that have shaped the current generation of Americans. It concludes - not surprisingly - that Quayle is more complex than the comic strip view of him held by the media, but confirms the impression of Quayle as a man of average gifts and modest vision.

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MDADAN 4613

Copy PS/No10

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FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 101
OF 152350Z JANUARY 92
AND TO IMMEDIATE ACTOR

OUR TELNO 85: VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 10-11 FEBRUARY

1. THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S OFFICE HAVE CONFIRMED THAT HE IS VERY GLAD TO ACCEPT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFER OF A SMALL PRIVATE DINNER ON 11 FEBRUARY AND IS VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO THE MEETING. IN ADDITION TO HIMSELF AND MRS QUAYLE, HE SUGGESTS THAT DINNER INCLUDE THE U.S. AMBASSADOR, THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHIEF OF STAFF AND KEY ADVISER, BILL KRISTOL (SON OF THE WELL KNOWN CONSERVATIVE WRITER AND PUNDIT, IRVING KRISTOL) PLUS IF, AND ONLY IF, THERE IS ROOM, CARL JACKSON, FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER. THE VICE-PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE TO GIVE THE PRIME MINISTER AN INSIDER'S READOUT OF U.S. ELECTION PROSPECTS, TO SHARE THE RESULTS OF HIS EUROPEAN TRIP PARTICULARLY VIS-A-VIS THE BALTICS AND TO DISCUSS CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES IN EUROPEAN SECURITY (HIS WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE SPEECH).

2. THE U.S. EMBASSY AND THE ADVANCE VISIT TEAM WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH NAD SHORTLY ABOUT DETAILS. THEY SHOULD BE ABLE THEN TO SETTLE THE PROBLEM OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE TIME AFTER DINNER.

RENWICK

Press Availability

YYYY

Tête à tête — 30 minutes

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PS
PS/MR LENNOX-BOYD

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NNNN

Prime Minister
Mrs Major
FCS
Percy Cradock
JSW

VP
Mrs Quayle
Roy Seitz
Bill Kristol
Carl Jackson

1900 - 2115

000413
MDHIAN 9178

CDT. by tele. to PS/PM Philip in No. 10. and to Mr Ricketts. D 15/1

RESTRICTED
FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 85
OF 142335Z JANUARY 92

VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE'S VISIT TO UK, 10/11 FEBRUARY

1. PS/NO. 10 LETTER OF 10 JANUARY TO GASS REFERS.

2. WE UNDERSTAND YOU WOULD WELCOME AN UP-DATE ON WHERE WE STAND ON THIS VISIT. THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S OFFICE HAVE TOLD US THAT QUAYLE IS VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFER OF DINNER ON TUESDAY 11 FEBRUARY, WHICH HE HOPES HE WILL BE ABLE TO ACCEPT, AND VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S ORIGINAL PERSONAL MESSAGE TO HIM. BUT QUAYLE'S ABILITY TO ATTEND DINNER ON 11 FEBRUARY DEPENDS ON HIS COMMITMENTS IN RESPECT OF THE DECLARATION OF THE CANDIDACY WITH BUSH ON 12 FEBRUARY (THIS EVENT IS NOT YET PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE). QUAYLE IS TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER TONIGHT WITH THE PRESIDENT. HIS OFFICE THEREFORE HOPE TO LET US HAVE A REPLY TOMORROW. THEY APOLOGISE FOR ANY INCONVENIENCE TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

3. IF QUAYLE DOES ACCEPT THE DINNER, HIS OFFICE SAY HE IS LIKELY TO PREFER THE INTIMATE GATHERING SUGGESTED IN PS/NO. 10'S LETTER.

RENWICK

YYYY

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P.A. S17.

MAIN 38

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PS/MR LENNOX-BOYD
PS/PUS
SIR J COLES
MR BEAMISH

S 15/1
SNG(A) Thanks

If this happens on 11 Feb it will probably be more of a working dinner from 7.00 - 9.00 (tho' Mrs Q + Mrs M may attend) S 15/1

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

File
c/Foreign/Quayle
Mem

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

10 January 1992

Dear Simon,

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

In the light of Vice President Quayle's plans, the Prime Minister would be very happy to offer dinner to him and Mrs. Quayle on the evening of Tuesday, 11 February. The Prime Minister cannot manage any other time whilst the Vice President is here.

The Prime Minister would be happy to offer a social dinner for any number between 30-65 or, if Vice President Quayle would prefer to do business, a more intimate dinner which would be the Major's, the Quayle's and one or two advisers a piece. Even with a social dinner, the Prime Minister could have half an hour's chat with the Vice President in the Study immediately dinner is over and while other guests are having coffee. Perhaps our Embassy in Washington could sound out the Vice President and let us know what he would like.

Yours,
Stephen

J. S. WALL

Simon Gass, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Vice President Quayle has now taken on a speaking engagement in Geneva on Monday 10 February and will not arrive in London until that evening so he has had to decline your invitation to Chequers. He is, however, very keen to see you and to have a substantive talk with you. He would be available for dinner on Monday, lunch on Tuesday or dinner on Tuesday evening. You cannot manage dinner on the Monday (you are going to the Opera with The Queen). Tuesday is Questions Day so lunch is out of the question. Nor would it be a good idea to offer him breakfast on that day since, because of the Opera on Monday, you will probably not have had a chance to look at your Questions folder.

You could offer the Quayles dinner on the evening of Tuesday 11 February at 2000, ie after your Audience with The Queen. Mrs Quayle will be coming to London and Mrs Major is free on that evening. Are you content to give a dinner that evening?

Because Mrs Quayle is coming, the dinner will obviously be a social occasion. Do you want to go for a big dinner of sixty plus or dinner for thirty, seated at the long table in the large dining room.

You could, of course, combine a social dinner with much official business with the Vice President. I suspect that his keenness to have a substantive meeting is mainly because he needs to present himself as a serious figure. You could always take him off into the study for half an hour after dinner.

J. S. WALL
10 January 1992

C:\FOREIGN\QUAYLE2 (DAS)

Already received by fax I think
p. a.
S 16/1

Forwarded with the Compliments

of the Private Secretary, British Embassy,

Washington, D.C.

From the Private Secretary

British Embassy
Washington

9 January 1992

3100 Massachusetts Ave N.W.
Washington D.C. 20008-3600

Telephone: (202)
Telex: RCA 211427 or 216760-WUI 64224
Facsimile: (202) 898-4255

By Fax Desk by 10 0830Z

Ms Sandra Philips
Private Office
No 10 Downing Street
London

Dear Sandra,

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE TO UK: POSSIBLE MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER

1. We have now learned that the Vice President and Mrs Quayle will not be able to arrive in the UK until late afternoon on Monday 10 February. This is because a speech by Mr Quayle in Geneva has moved to Monday morning. They are therefore unable to take up the Prime Minister's offer of lunch or dinner at Chequers on Sunday 9 January, for which they were most grateful.

2. The Vice President's office have asked if it would be possible for him to see the Prime Minister on Monday evening or during the course of Tuesday 11 January. They have mentioned as possibilities, if the Prime minister were willing, dinner on Monday; lunch on Tuesday or an office meeting on Tuesday, perhaps preceded by breakfast (State Department have said that the Vice President is keen to be seen to have a substantive meeting with the Prime Minister, not just a hospitality function). Current plans are for the Quayles to leave the UK on Tuesday evening, but the Vice President would stay if that were the only time the Prime Minister could see him eg for dinner.

3. Could you kindly let me know if the Prime Minister would be able to see the Vice President at any of these times? Mrs Quayle should obviously be included in any hospitality that might be offered. (As I think you already know, the Quayles have no dietary restrictions.)

Nice to be in touch again,
Hope all is well with you.
Yours ever,
Karen

K E Pierce (Ms)

cc. Roger French NAD by fax
Desk by 10 0830Z

Minister
Hof C Gr

file DTS

(cc:\Foreign\Quayle)

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

9 January 1992

Dear Christopher,

VISIT TO LONDON OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

We discussed Vice President Quayle's visit on Sunday 9/ Monday 10 February.

I enclose a message from the Prime Minister to Vice President Quayle and would be grateful if you could arrange for it to be delivered as soon as possible.

It would be helpful if you could start to draw up a guest list for either a lunch or dinner at Chequers on 9 February. The dinner will be a buffet, including spouses. The aim will be to allow Vice President Quayle to meet some leading members of the Government, leading businessmen and industrialists, and other leading figures in British life. It would be helpful if the guest list could reach me by Thursday 16 January.

Yours,

J. S. WALL

P.S. I told Ray Seitz this evening what we had in mind.

Christopher Prentice, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

DTS

file DTS

(c:\foreign\Quayle2)
SHW

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

cc FCO
S.G.
J.R.

THE PRIME MINISTER

9 January 1992

Dear Dan,

I was delighted to hear that you and Marilyn will be in Britain on 9 and 10 February and wonder if we can tempt you to Chequers on Sunday 9 February.

What I have in mind, if you could get to us in time, would be to arrange a buffet lunch at Chequers on the Sunday which would be a chance for you to meet some of my colleagues and other leading figures in British life. We could then have a walk and a chat in the afternoon, and a family supper in the evening. We could spend the night at Chequers and helicopter back to London on Monday morning.

If you cannot make lunch, perhaps you could get to Chequers by mid-afternoon, we could then have a talk in the late afternoon and I would arrange a buffet dinner instead of the lunch.

Let me know what you would like. Norma and I much look forward to seeing you both.

Yours Ever, John

The Honorable J. Danforth Quayle

DTS.

RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Vice President Quayle will be visiting London on 9/10 February. He arrives early in the evening of Sunday 9 February and is due to leave on the afternoon of Monday 10 February. He is very keen to call on you and has said that he could, if necessary, stay over for the night of 10 February in order to see you in the afternoon or evening of that day.

After Vice President Quayle's last visit to Britain a year ago, you wrote to him (copy attached) saying that you hoped on his next visit that he would be able to stay at Chequers. You are due to address the Young Conservatives in Eastbourne on Saturday 8 February and would presumably go to Huntingdon that night and for Sunday. It would be technically possible to invite Vice President Quayle to spend the night at Chequers though obviously that would be fairly inconvenient for you. The options seems to me to be:

(i) to offer Vice President Quayle dinner at Chequers or at Number 10 on the evening of Sunday 9 February;

(ii) to offer him lunch at Number 10 on Monday 10 February (instead of the lunch for colleagues which is planned at present). This would also mean turning down a separate invitation from the CBI to attend (and speak) at the Toshiba Year of Invention award on that day. The papers are attached. It does not look to me like a very compelling occasion.

(iii) to offer him breakfast at Number 10 on Monday 10 February;

(iv) to offer him a meeting during the course of the day on Monday 10 February.

RESTRICTED

You cannot offer him dinner on the Monday (see programme attached).

In the light of your earlier letter to Vice President Quayle, I think it would be good if you could offer him some hospitality, ie either breakfast or lunch on Monday 10 February.

What would you like to do?

J. S. WALL
8 January 1992

a:\quayle.das (kk)

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

2nd February

Dear Ian,

It was lovely to see you on Thursday and I much enjoyed & valued our conversations. All the feed-back suggests your whole trip was a great success and a tremendous morale-booster.

Thank you for your note which is very helpful. I'm pleased we were able to talk about GATT — an agreement really is vital.

I hope when next you come — which I hope will not be long delayed — that you may be able to stay at Chequers.

You will be very welcome. Yours Ever, Joky M.

Winfield House
Regents Park
London N.W.1.

Prime Minister
CDO
1/2.

1/31/91

Prime Minister:

As a quick follow up from our meeting:

1- some relevant photos will be arriving. If it doesn't happen, please let me know.

2- message on GATT well received and well timed. Our emphasis may change a bit.

You're doing a great job. Keep the faith

Dan Quayle

Saturday 1 February

ENGLAND V IRELAND RUGBY MATCH WITH PRESIDENT DE KLERK +JSW, TWICKENHAM

Sunday 2 February

1930 for 2000 HRH The Prince of Wales to dinner at No.10 (lounge suit)

Monday 3 February

0915	Sir Robin Butler +AT
0945	Week Ahead Meeting
1030	Parliamentary Business Managers
1100	Prepare for:
?1115	?General John Galvin (US Supreme Commander Allied Powers Europe) +JSW
1500	Sir Christopher Prout & British members of EDG + JC
1600	Keep free for JC
	LOOK IN ON WINTER BALL + MRS MAJOR

Tuesday 4 February

0800	Breakfast Meeting + SH
0900	Questions briefing
1245	Lunch and Questions briefing
1515	QUESTIONS
1540	KEEP FREE FOR MPs
1715	Foreign Secretary + JSW
1830-1900	LOOK IN ON CRIME CONCERN RECEPTION +JC (MARKS & SPENCER HEAD OFFICE, BAKER STREET)

Wednesday 5 February

0900-1100	Bingham briefing meeting + AT
?1300	LUNCH WITH TREVOR GROVE (SUNDAY TELEGRAPH) + GO/SH
1500-1700	?Environment seminar
?1700	? Prepare for:
?1715	Peruvian President Fujimora + JSW
1800-2000	LOOK IN ON CCO RECEPTION FOR VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS +JC AND ?MRS MAJOR

Thursday 6 February

0900	Questions briefing
1030	Cabinet
1245	Lunch and Questions briefing
1515	QUESTIONS
1540	KEEP FREE FOR MPs
	RETURN TO NO.10
1715-1815	Chancellor of the Exchequer +BP

Friday 7 February

Keep free for YC speech

Saturday 8 February

YOUNG CONSERVATIVES CONFERENCE, EASTBOURNE

Sunday 9 February

Monday 10 February

0945	Week Ahead Meeting
1030-1100	Parliamentary Business Managers
1300	Lunch for colleagues +GB
1500-1600	Lord Justice Bingham + AT
1700	Amir of Qatar, Sheikh Khalifa +JSW
1900	ROYAL OPERA HOUSE PERFORMANCE OF DON GIOVANI TO CELEBRATE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF HM's ACCESSION +MRS. MAJOR

Tuesday 11 February

0800	Breakfast Meeting + SH
0900	Questions Briefing
0930	Sir Robin Butler +AT
1040	DEPART FOR
1100	ADDRESS NFU AGM
1130	DEPART FOR NO. 10
1245	Lunch and Questions Briefing
1515	QUESTIONS
1540	KEEP FREE FOR MPs
	RETURN TO NO.10
1715	Foreign Secretary + JSW
1830	AUDIENCE

Wednesday 12 February

REGIONAL TOUR (WEST MIDLANDS)

Thursday 13 February

0815	Ian Matthews
0900	Questions Briefing
1030	Cabinet
1245	Lunch and Questions Briefing
1515	QUESTIONS
1540	KEEP FREE FOR MPs
1715	CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER + BP
1900	ADDRESS NATIONAL UNION EXECUTIVE DINNER (BLACK TIE)

Saturday 15 February

?CHEQUERS

Sunday 16 February

	CHEQUERS
1230 for 1300	HOST LUNCH FOR MINISTERS OF STATE AND WIVES + MRS MAJOR

Monday 17 February

0915	Sir Robin Butler +AT
0945	Week Ahead Meeting
1030	Parliamentary Business Managers
1230-1315	Host reception for Inter-departmental Group on the Citizen's Charter + AT
1835	DEPART FOR
1845	OPEN TATE GALLERY NEW DISPLAYS 1992 + RC
1945	DEPART FOR NO 10

Tuesday 18 February

0800	Breakfast Meeting + SH
0900	Questions briefing

157153
MDADAN 3462

ADVANCE COPY

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
TO DESKBY 080900Z FCO
TELNO 021
OF 071845Z JANUARY 92

YOUR TELNO 10: PROPOSED VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE
9-10 FEBRUARY

1. VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE SPOKE TO ME ABOUT THIS. HE IS GOING TO THE BALTIC STATES (TO DEMONSTRATE U.S. SUPPORT) AND GERMANY (THE WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND MR KING WILL ALSO BE ATTENDING). HE MAY ALSO VISIT GENEVA AND FRANCE (BRIEFLY) FOR THE WINTER OLYMPICS.

2. QUAYLE SAID THAT HE WAS KEEN TO STOP OFF IN LONDON ON HIS WAY BACK TO WASHINGTON TO SEE YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER, MAINLY TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE AND DEFENCE AND SECURITY ISSUES.

3. THE PROPOSED DATES FOR QUAYLE'S VISIT (9-10 FEBRUARY) ARE STILL TENTATIVE AND CONTINGENT ON THE REST OF THE ITINERARY. HIS STAFF TELL US THAT, IF NECESSARY, HE COULD STAY OVER THE NIGHT OF 10 FEBRUARY, DEPARTING FOR THE UNITED STATES THE FOLLOWING MORNING, IF THE PRIME MINISTER WERE ABLE TO SEE HIM ON THAT AFTERNOON OR EVENING.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO NO. 10.

RENWICK

YYYY

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HD/NAD
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PS/NO 10.

NNNN

153343
MDHOAN 7312

RESTRICTED
FM FCO
TO DESKBY 061500Z WASHINGTON
TELNO 10
OF 061419Z JANUARY 92

FROM NAD

PROPOSED VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 9/10 FEBRUARY

1. THE US EMBASSY HAVE TOLD US THAT VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE IS PROPOSING TO VISIT LONDON ON 9/10 FEBRUARY AT THE END OF A TRIP WHICH WOULD ALSO INCLUDE THE BALTIC STATES, FRANCE AND GERMANY.

2. THE EMBASSY DID NOT KNOW WHETHER DIRECT SOUNDINGS HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE WITH ANY OF THOSE CONCERNED (WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THAT NO 10 WERE UNAWARE OF IT). BUT THE PROPOSED OUTLINE PROGRAMME, AS CONVEYED TO THE EMBASSY, IS AS FOLLOWS:

9 FEBRUARY		ARRIVE EARLY EVENING.
		? DINNER WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.
10 FEBRUARY	AM	FURTHER TALKS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.
		CALL ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE.
		LUNCH WITH EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE ECONOMIST.
	EARLY PM	DEPART.

3. GRATEFUL FOR ANY FURTHER BACKGROUND ON THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT AND PROPOSED SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION.

HURD

YYYY

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MAIN 45

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PROTOCOL D
PS
PS/MR LENNOX-BOYD
PS/PUS
SIR J COLES

153343
MDHOAN 312

SECPOL D

MR BEAMISH

ADDITIONAL 1

PS/NO 10.

NNNN

KW

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

3 February 1991

Dear Simon,

VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE

I enclose a letter from the Prime Minister to Vice-President Quayle, and would be grateful if the Embassy in Washington could deliver it as soon as possible. I also enclose copies of the Prime Minister's letter and the Vice-President's letter for your records.

Yours ever,

CHARLES POWELL

Simon Gass Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

2nd February

Dear Dan,

It was lovely to see you on Thursday and I much enjoyed & valued our conversations. All the feed-back suggests your whole trip was a great success and a tremendous morale-booster.

Thank you for your note which is very helpful. I'm pleased we were able to talk about GATT — an agreement really is vital.

I hope when next you come — which I hope will not be long delayed — that you may be able to stay at Chequers.

You will be very welcome. Yours Ever, John M.

(2)

CONFIDENTIAL

SIR CHARLES POWELL

1 February 1991

Good. Thanks! 4/1.2

US VICE-PRESIDENT

Vice-President Quayle raised GATT with me at dinner last night. He had been very impressed by the Prime Minister's warnings on the danger of weakening the threat of the "fast-track" deadline. He had just rung the President to ram the point home.

In general, he seemed to have found his talk with the PM very well worthwhile. He spoke of the PM in the warmest possible terms, with what certainly seemed to be genuine admiration and liking.

Mrs Quayle had had a nice day. No mention of any disappointment at having been unable to meet Mrs Major.

Sarah

SARAH HOGG

(063)

CONFIDENTIAL

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB
Telephone 071-21 82111/3

MO 14/2S

1 February 1991

Dear Richard,

BREAKFAST WITH VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE

The Defence Secretary and the Attorney General had breakfast this morning with Vice-President Quayle; the US Ambassador and the Chief of the Defence Staff were amongst those present. Discussion was mainly on the Gulf but also touched on European issues and SDI.

The Defence Secretary noted how close had been the understanding between the US and the UK about the handling and objectives of operations in the Gulf. We had been using similar lines and phrases in public from the beginning and the press had found no differences between us at all.

The Vice-President agreed adding that the evident support for a firm policy in Britain had a helpful effect on US domestic opinion though that was still solid too. It was difficult to work out what Saddam Hussein's strategy was and there were many different views about his reasons for probing forward into Khafji. Mr Quayle said privately that US casualties during the engagement might have been caused by Allied forces. The Vice-President thought we should be careful about sudden shifts in Arab opinion. For example, he had had reports only that morning that Yemen was dispersing its forces, perhaps in preparation for operations.

In discussion of war dead the Defence Secretary explained the UK's policies on repatriation. We had traditionally buried the fallen near the battle field but since the Falklands had offered a choice of repatriation of bodies after the conflict if the family wished. The Vice-President seemed surprised that one could have a policy of burial overseas but explained that the US had changed their practice of bringing back bodies in large groups (which gave a distressing TV image). The dead would be brought back individually to their home or unit area and would be greeted by an honour guard ceremony there.

Richard Gozney Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

The Vice-President welcomed the UK agreement to deploy B52s. The Defence Secretary mused that we had responded so rapidly that Washington had had to scurry to make a public presentation plan. So far public reaction had been even more muted than he had expected though the US should be sensitive to the possible reaction of large aircraft flying about rural England.

The Defence Secretary raised our interests in CFE. A particular worry was that quite sophisticated weapons would leak out of Soviet forces (perhaps in Germany) and into the hands of terrorists. The Vice-President said that after the Gulf we should all think more carefully about weapons proliferation particular missile technology. He was especially concerned by the Chinese readiness to sell missiles and by emerging developments in Brazil and Argentina. Continuing on missile threats, the Vice-President referred to the change of policy on the SDI programme towards dealing with limited or accidental missile attack. He had long been a supporter of SDI and thought the success of Patriot would transform the way that US Congress thought about it. Patriot was old technology giving a limited coverage, never intended to provide city defence. It had now shown that ballistic missile defence was feasible. Once people realised that such missiles could have chemical and nuclear warheads, they would want them intercepted earlier, preferably over territory of launch country. This is where GPALS, following Brilliant Pebbles, came in.

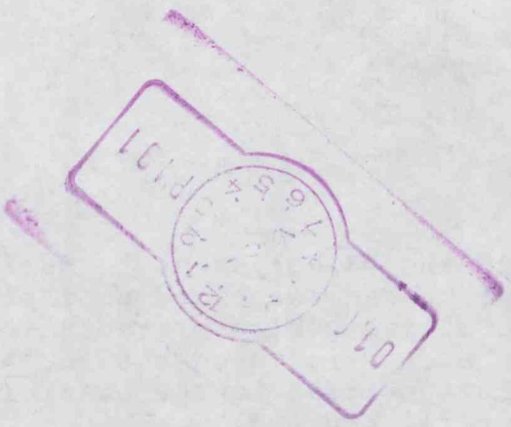
The Vice-President said he understood the UK interests in the sustaining our Trident system but the ABM Treaty was now really out of date and must lapse in the next 10-15 years he thought. The US Congress should be much more ready to fund R&D for the new kind of SDI approach in future.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Sir Charles Powell (No. 10), Juliet Wheldon (Law Officers), and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Simon Webb

(S WEBB)
Private Secretary



R1/2

Prime Minister

CDM

1/2.

Winfield House
Regent's Park
London N.W.1.

1/31/91

Prime Minister:

As a quick follow up from our meeting:

1 - some relevant photos will be arriving. If it doesn't happen, please let me know.

2 - message on GATT well received and well timed. Our emphasis may change a bit.

You're doing a great job. Keep the faith

Dan Quayle

CONFIDENTIAL

FILE:
A/FOREIGN/QUAYLE
LCC PC

SUBJECT CC MASTER

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

31 January 1991

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

The Prime Minister has a talk this afternoon with Vice President Quayle lasting a little over an hour. The American Ambassador and Mr. David Gompert of the National Security Council staff were also present. I am recording separately that part of the discussion which concerned the Gulf.

Soviet Union

The Prime Minister commented that it was difficult to be sure who was really in charge in the Soviet Union at present. The Vice President agreed: there were some suggestions that there was in effect power-sharing between Gorbachev and the military. Certainly there was a whole new group of people around Gorbachev. He had just met the new Soviet Vice-President in Oslo and had tackled him pretty crisply on the Soviet treatment of the Baltic Republics. But the view in Washington was that Gorbachev was still attached to reform, and was telling the truth about his role in the recent events in the Baltic Republics.

The Prime Minister asked what view the Americans took of the new Soviet Foreign Minister. The Vice-President said that the comment had been made during his recent visit to Washington that he was like Tariq Aziz: he did well with a poor brief. There had been a bit of a flap over the joint US/Soviet statement on the Gulf. But it had not represented any change of policy: its importance had been that it allowed Bessmertnykh to re-affirm publicly the position that Shevardnadze had taken on the Gulf.

GATT

The Prime Minister said we had been irritated to learn that Carla Hills had been giving the impression that the timetable for the fast-track was not immutable and could be delayed. This was very damaging to our efforts to convince the Europeans that they must make early progress in the GATT negotiations. We had been making some headway with this, with the exception of President Mitterrand, but now risked losing momentum.

The Vice-President said that it was possible for the Administration to ask Congress for a change in the deadline, but it would be a very difficult operation and success could not be guaranteed. It would only be worth attempting if an agreement was almost in the bag. Mr. Gompert added that Mrs. Hills had told Andrissen that if sufficient progress was made to establish credibly that a deal was in the making, it might be possible in order to convince Congress to extend the deadline. She had said this to counter fears that the deadline was now so close that there was no prospect of progress. The Prime Minister said it would be difficult now to claw this back. It risked making us look a bit ridiculous. It would have been much better to get the progress before offering an extension of the deadline. The Americans should continue to emphasise the importance of the deadline. He would also advise them not to put all the emphasis on reducing export subsidies. That would just maximise opposition in Europe. The Vice-President said that he would report back to the President on this. He understood the point that, if the United States gave the impression that the deadline was not serious, then negotiations would inevitably be strung out. He had met the French Prime Minister in Oslo and had detected some signs of interest in an agreement. But he appreciated the Prime Minister's concern.

I am copying this letter to John Gieve (HM Treasury), Martin Stanley (Department of Trade and Industry), Andy Lebrecht (MAFF) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

BRADY.
Hicks (can delay fast track? [illegible])

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Vice-President Quayle is coming in for a talk tomorrow afternoon. We have set aside an hour. He will be accompanied by Henry Catto and by his Chief of Staff (Bill Kristol). You might like to say a word about Henry Catto's imminent transfer and replacement by ~~Henry~~ Ray Sitz.

The Vice-President has been in Norway for King Olaf's funeral. He will have spent some time tomorrow morning at Lakenheath meeting USAF and RAF staff and families. He is seeing the Foreign Secretary tomorrow afternoon and the Defence Secretary for breakfast the following morning. You will want to say how sorry we are that Mrs. Major was not able to see Mrs. Quayle on this occasion.

There is copious briefing in the folder, more than you need, about the Gulf and the situation in the Soviet Union which are likely to be the two main topics. There are also notes on GATT and Access by US Airlines to Heathrow. There is a good telegram from Washington about the Vice-President's current political standing and a note of your last meeting with him.

On the Gulf, the points you will particularly want to cover are:

- burden-sharing, on which you are sending a message to the President

- reconstruction of Kuwait

- longer-term security arrangements in the area.

One point which I think you will particularly need to cover is your intention, at present to go ahead with your visit to the Soviet Union in early March. The Vice-President is something of a hard liner on Soviet issues and may be disposed to argue that this would not be appropriate in the light of what has happened in the Baltic Republics. You will want to take him through the

case for going ahead: the need not to write off Gorbachev prematurely, the importance of maintaining channels of communication, the opportunity which a visit will provide for some blunt talking on Baltic issues.

C.D.P

CHARLES POWELL
30 January 1991
c:\foreign\quayle (ecl)

[redacted]

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

CONFIDENTIAL

30 January 1991

Dear Charles,

Meeting with Vice President Quayle: 31 January

Thank you for your letter of 26 January. The arrangements for Vice President Quayle to call on the Prime Minister at 5.15 pm on 31 January are now firm. He will be accompanied by Ambassador Catto and William Kristol, the Vice President's Chief of Staff.

The Prime Minister last met Vice President Quayle in Washington on 21 December 1990 (discussion focussed on the Gulf and the Soviet Union) and the Vice President last visited the UK in May 1990 for the Eisenhower Centenary. He is returning from the funeral of King Olav V. He will have visited USAF and RAF staff and families at Lakenheath and had talks with the Foreign Secretary before his call on the Prime Minister; and he will breakfast with the Defence Secretary at Admiralty House before departure for Washington on 1 February.

Our main objective for the meeting will be to ensure that we are fully abreast of US thinking on the Gulf and Soviet Union. I am writing separately today with briefing on Gulf issues.

SOVIET UNION/BALTICS

In the Baltic States, tension remains high, although the situation in Latvia has improved following a meeting between Gorbachev and the Latvian President Gorbunovs. Soviet intentions remain unclear. Recent events (including the killings in Riga and Vilnius) may not have been stage-managed from Moscow. However, the Soviet leadership (including Gorbachev) appear to be concentrating on maintaining the integrity of the USSR and reasserting central control. Recent Soviet

/interlocutors

interlocutors (including the new Foreign Minister and Gorbachev's Foreign Policy Adviser) have argued that Gorbachev's reform policies have not changed, and that much of the responsibility for recent developments lies with the impatient approach of the Baltic leaderships. There is some truth in this: the Baltic leaderships, the Lithuanians in particular, have not always behaved sensibly.

The US analysis of the situation does not differ greatly from ours, although Gulf and arms control considerations have muted their initial response. The Bush/Gorbachev summit on 11 February has been postponed to mid-year.

The Prime Minister might draw on the following:

- Development in Baltic States deeply disturbing. Believe international response so far has struck right note:

  - strong and clear statements of our concern
  - raising issue in CSCE meetings
  - decision to use CDH mechanism (a US initiative)
  - suspension of large part of Rome European Council aid package
  - postponement of EC/USSR Joint Commission
  - high profile dialogue with Baltic leaders.

- Important to look at wider implications. Soviet leadership, including Gorbachev personally, now concentrating on maintaining integrity of USSR/re-asserting central control (e.g. appointment of hardliners, apparent departure of liberal advisers). Enhanced role of military may complicate process of troop withdrawal from Germany and Eastern Europe - already signs of anxiety, especially in Poland.

- Sustained repression would threaten important Western interests. West should do everything possible to prevent. Have few weapons at our disposal. But must try to convince Soviet leadership that political and economic liberalisation offer only real solution to their problems; and that delay can only make introduction of reform more difficult.

/- Should

- Should in parallel make clear that we genuinely support reform directed at making the Soviet Union work. Have made clear our willingness to offer concrete help. Not our intention to undermine or dismantle USSR.

- Believe we should use continuing high-level contacts with Soviet leadership to explain our approach. Understand reasons for postponement of Bush/Gorbachev Summit. No final decision on my March visit to Moscow.

- Must maintain pressure on Soviet Union to rectify deficiencies in CFE data. Your assessment of prospects for ratification? Your assessment of likelihood of START signature if CFE problems unresolved?

GATT

The GATT Round remains a major issue for EC/US relations. A key meeting between the US (Yeutter and Hills) and the EC (Andriessen) on 28 January may have produced enough common ground to allow negotiations to resume in Geneva. Further intensive EC/US contacts are in train. Sufficient progress by mid-February may persuade Mrs Hills to seek an extension of the fast track negotiating authority from Congress. Both sides now need to build on this good start. The Prime Minister might say:

- Agreement in GATT Uruguay Round remains vital for US and UK prosperity.

- Welcome progress made at Commission/Administration meeting in Washington on 28 January. But still a lot to do before your 1 March deadline.

- UK working with EC partners to ensure Community negotiates constructively on agriculture, building on progress made in December. US must not expect too much. But increasingly strong internal reasons for CAP reform, as well as external pressure.

- Hope Dunkel will now be able to resume negotiations in Geneva.

/US Airlines

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US AIRLINES ACCESS TO HEATHROW (IF RAISED)

United Airlines wants to buy some of Pan Am's routes to Heathrow; also American Airlines wants to buy TWA's London routes, thereby gaining access to Heathrow. Both will require amendment to the UK's Traffic Distribution Rules (TDRs) for Heathrow airport and to the UK/US bilateral air services agreement (Bermuda 2). In response to American pressure (because of Pan Am's severe financial problems) the DTp have speeded up a public consultation procedure on access rules to Heathrow and the CAA advised Mr Rifkind to abolish the TDRs. Mr Rifkind told the US Ambassador in mid-January that he would try to announce his decision around the end of the month.

The changes the Americans are seeking are substantial. If granted they would:

- alter an agreement for which we paid a price

- further tilt the competitive balance in favour of US carriers; and

- put BA up against much stronger competitors, who have the advantage (denied to the UK) of well-developed feeder networks in the US.

If we are to accommodate the Americans we must exact a quid pro quo. The Americans recognised this but show no signs at present of agreeing to an exchange of rights that we can regard as adequate. Mr Rifkind made the need for a balanced deal clear to his American opposite number, as did the Prime Minister when he saw Mr Baker on 13 January.

In the latest round of talks, 29/30 January, the US stalled and then, seemingly on instructions from Washington, cut the meeting short despite movement on some issues. Proposals for restrictions on capacity of US airlines at Heathrow and the question of seventh freedoms (which might allow BA to mount a service from Germany to the US) were the main stumbling blocks, though the UK side had shown flexibility on these, as on other issues. No date has been set for the next meeting. Timing will depend on when Mr Rifkind announces his decision on Traffic Distribution Rules. There was no sign of US urgency during this round.

/If

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If the issue is raised, the Prime Minister may wish to say:

- You are proposing a fundamental change in favour of the US to the competitive balance between UK/US airlines. We need rights to restore balance.

- Even so, have not asked for the changes potentially most valuable to us, inward investment and access to US market.

- Disappointed that in latest round US negotiatiors cut meeting short and refused to negotiate on parts of the UK proposals.

- Nonetheless, can reaffirm Mr Rifkind's commitment to act speedily in taking his decision on the general policy of access to Heathrow.

- Hope you will instruct your negotiators that if you want a deal there must be equally significant advantages for our side.

(If the Americans claim that in the past they have done favours for British Aviation):

- Each side has in the past done each other favours. What we need now is a balance of advantages for each side.

Yours ever,
Christopher Prentice.

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

Sir Charles Powell KCMG
10 Downing Street

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VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE TO BRITAIN: 31 JANUARY-1 FEBRUARY

1. A NOTE ABOUT THE VICE PRESIDENT'S CURRENT POLITICAL STANDING MAY BE HELPFUL.
2. AFTER A BAD START IN 1988/89, QUAYLE HAD NOWHERE TO GO BUT UP. LAST YEAR SAW SOME LIMITED IMPROVEMENT IN HIS POPULARITY RATINGS. BUT, ALTHOUGH A GROWING NUMBER OF AMERICANS NOW REGARD HIM AS DOING A REASONABLE JOB AS VICE PRESIDENT, THE VAST MAJORITY (INCLUDING OF REPUBLICANS) HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN HIM AS A POTENTIAL PRESIDENT. THERE HAVE BEEN NO RECENT SUGGESTIONS IN THE MEDIA THAT HE SHOULD BE DROPPED FROM THE TICKET IN 1992 AND THE PRESIDENT SAID PUBLICLY LAST YEAR THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF DOING SO. BUT, THAT NOTWITHSTANDING, A DEGREE OF UNCERTAINTY ABOUT QUAYLE'S POSITION ON THE TICKET WILL REMAIN.
3. NEVERTHELESS, QUAYLE HAS UNDOUBTEDLY IMPROVED HIS STANDING. HE HAS COMMITTED NO SERIOUS GAFFES FOR SOME TIME, AND HE HAS BEEN PERFORMING THE TRADITIONAL JOB OF A VICE PRESIDENT QUIETLY AND EFFECTIVELY. HE SPENT MUCH OF LAST YEAR CAMPAIGNING AND RAISING LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN THE MID TERM ELECTIONS. HE HAS A GOOD FEEL FOR GRASS ROOTS POLITICS. HE HAS ALSO CARVED OUT A USEFUL ROLE FOR HIMSELF AS AN INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE SENATE. AND HE REMAINS THE ADMINISTRATION'S BEST PLACED LINK TO THE RIGHT WING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE ACTS AS A CONSERVATIVE SOUNDING BOARD. THE WHITE HOUSE GIVE HIM CREDIT FOR HIS PRESCIENCE IN SOUNDING EARLY WARNINGS ABOUT PLACING TOO MUCH CONFIDENCE IN GORBACHEV, AND ABOUT THE DANGERS OF TRYING TO APPEASE SADDAM HUSSEIN. IN DOMESTIC POLICY, HE PLAYED WHAT WAS IN RETROSPECT A CANNY ROLE AS A COUNTER-WEIGHT TO SUNUNU AND DARMAN IN THE BUDGET DEFICIT NEGOTIATIONS AND HAS PUBLICLY EXPLOITED THE ISSUE OF TERM LIMITATIONS FOR CONGRESSMEN TO EMBARRASS THE DEMOCRATS.
4. ON THE GULF WAR, QUAYLE HAS NATURALLY HAD A LOWER PROFILE THAN THE PRESIDENT. BUT BUSH TAKES HIM WHOLLY INTO HIS CONFIDENCE, AND INCLUDES HIM FULLY IN THE PLANNING AND POLICY PROCESS. QUAYLE WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN DRUMMING UP SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE DEBATES ON GIVING THE PRESIDENT

AUTHORITY TO GO TO WAR, AND MORE RECENTLY QUAYLE HAS SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY AGAINST WHAT IS SEEN BY THE ADMINISTRATION AS UNBALANCED MEDIA CONCENTRATION ON THE ANTI-WAR PROTESTS IN THIS COUNTRY. HE VISITED US TROOPS IN SAUDI ARABIA EARLIER THIS MONTH, AND LAST WEEK PAID WELL-RECEIVED VISITS TO A NUMBER OF EAST COAST MILITARY BASES.

5. IN HIS TALKS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER YOU AND MR KING, QUAYLE MAY WITHOUT DIVERGING FROM THE PRESIDENT, BRING A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT PERSSPECTIVE TO BEAR, PARTICULARLY ON FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IF THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ANY SPECIAL MESSAGES WHICH HE WOULD LIKE TO PASS TO THE PRESIDENT, QUAYLE WOULD BE A VERY EFFECTIVE CHANNEL.

6. AS FOR SUBSTANCE, BOTH THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE AND STATE HAVE CONFIRMED THAT QUAYLE DOES NOT EXPECT TO GET BEYOND THE GULF AND RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BALTICS). WE ARE TOLD, HOWEVER, THAT HE WILL BE FULLY BRIEFED ON CFE, IN CASE MR KING SHOULD RAISE THIS. LANDING RIGHTS AT HEATHROW MAY ALSO BE ON HIS LIST.

7. IN ADDITION TO HIS CHIEF OF STAFF, KRISTOL, THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY GOMPERT (SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR EUROPEAN AND SOVIET AFAAIRS AT THE NSC), WHO HOPES TO HAVE TIME TO SEE APPLEYARD.

ACLAND

YYYY

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NNNN

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Faxed 26.1

PRIME MINISTER

VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Vice-President Quayle is visiting the UK on Thursday 31 January, on his way back from Oslo on 31 January. He is spending 2½ hours at Lakenheath on Thursday morning, and then coming on to London for meetings first with the Foreign and Defence Secretaries and then with you.

It has been suggested - its not clear by whom - that Mrs Quayle might call on Mrs Major at home in Great Stukeley on Thursday morning (or No.10 on Thursday afternoon). It is only a suggestion and entirely dependent on whether Norma would like it. I have to say it would probably be fairly intrusive: the Americans would want to send an 'advance' team to the house to 'walk the course' on Monday afternoon and would inevitably want press and TV cover.

I should be grateful if you could let me know what Norma feels about this.

C.D.P.

Charles Powell
26 January 1991

c: Quayle (MJ)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL London SW1A 2AH

25 January 1991

Dear Charles,

Vice-President Quayle's Visit to London on 31 January

Thank you for your letters of 23 and 24 January.

The Americans have now asked for our agreement to a programme on the following lines:

Thursday 31 January

1005	.....	Arrive Lakenheath. Meet USAF and RAF personnel and families.
	.....	Mrs Quayle available to call on Mrs Major before driving to London to rejoin the Vice-President's party
1235	.....	Depart Lakenheath
1335	.....	Airforce Two lands at Heathrow.
1415	.....	Vice-Presidential party arrive at Winfield House. Private Time.
1605	.....	Arrive FCO. Photocall
1615	.....	Vice-President Quayle meets Foreign Secretary and Defence Secretary in FCO.
1715	.....	Vice-President calls on the Prime Minister at No 10.
1820/1830	.....	Doorstep Interview

1930 approx ..... Dinner hosted by Ambassador Catto, bringing the Vice-President and his party together with Mr & Mrs Hogg, Mr & Mrs Kaufman and journalists. (This may not materialise and is one of several options being considered by Ambassador Catto.)

Friday 1 February

Party depart Winfield House for Heathrow.

0700 ..... Flight Two departs Heathrow for Washington.

/ I enclose a list of the main members of the Vice-President's party. You will see that this now includes David Gompert, Senior Director for Europe at the NSC, as well as the Vice-President's Chief-of-Staff, William Kristol. As a result, the Americans have asked if at the meeting at No 10 the Vice-President might be accompanied by three - Ambassador Catto, Mr Gompert and Mr Kristol. We are telling them that the Prime Minister is likely to want to keep numbers down, and that the Vice President should come with Ambassador Catto and just one other.

Mrs Quayle

Mrs Quayle would like to call on Mrs Major at her home in Great Stukeley if Mrs Major would welcome this. Pleaes let us know.

Reconnaisance Teams

The US "Advance" is already at Lakenheath. They have asked if they might walk the course at No 10 and in the FCO on Monday 28 January. If Mrs Major is going to see Mrs Quayle there, the Advance team would also like to pay a brief visit to Great Stukeley on Monday afternoon.

Press Arrangements

/You will

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You will have seen from Washington telno 238 the terms of the announcement of the visit (which the No 10 Press Office are confirming). The American side hope that it will be possible for the Vice-President to have a photo-call on arrival at No 10 and offer a doorstep interview at the end of the meeting with the Prime Minister.

Substance/Briefing

While discussion at the meetings at No 10 and the FCO will focus principally on the Gulf, the Vice-President has said he would also welcome the chance to discuss the Baltics and the Soviet Union. Subject to your views, we shall prepare briefing on this basis, including relevant arms control. We shall add minimal briefing on GATT and Access to Heathrow by US airlines. We aim to have this with you as early as possible on Wednesday 30 January.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

Sir Charles Powell KCMG
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE'S PARTY

Vice-President Dan Quayle

Mrs Marilyn Quayle

Ambassador Harry Catto

Mr David Gompert, Senior Director for Europe, NSC

Mr William Kristol, Chief-of-Staff for Vice-President Quayle

Mr Jon Glassman, Assistant to the Vice-President

Mr David Beckwith, Press Spokesman

Mr Carl Jackson, NSC Staff

USA: visits of Vice Pres Quale

pr 2

Of course - it'll be nice to see him. (1)

Content ✓.

PRIME MINISTER cc: Mr. O'Donnell

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

The American Ambassador has been in touch with me to say that Vice President Quayle would be passing through the United Kingdom on Thursday, 31 January, on his way back from King Olav's funeral in Oslo. He wondered whether you could spare him some time for a talk. I said that you would be able to see him at about 1715 that day for an hour, and I was sure you would be happy to have a talk following your meeting in Washington. The Ambassador said that Vice President Quayle would be pleased, and suggested the meeting might be announced at around 0900-1000 Washington time tomorrow.

I did not want to bother you while you were preparing for the 1922 Committee. Are you content with this?

CDP.

CHARLES POWELL
24 JANUARY 1991

c:\wpdocs\foreign\Quayle.MRM

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB
Telephone 071-21 82111/3

MO 6/17/15/1

14th January 1991

CDM
24/1

Dear Charles,

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

The Defence Secretary has seen your letter of earlier today about Vice-President Quayle's stop-over at Lakenheath on 31st January. It is difficult to commit him that far ahead but provisionally he would be happy to fly up and meet the Vice-President there.

Richard Gozney has very kindly offered us a fall-back from Foreign Office Ministers should that turn out to be difficult at the time, but perhaps you could warn the Americans so that no offence is taken if the Defence Secretary has to stay in London at short notice.

I am sending copies of this letter to Richard Gozney (FCO), and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Simon Webb.

(S WEBB)
Private Secretary

Sir Charles Powell KCMG
No 10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

File DCA
cc PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 January 1991

Dear Richard,

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

The American Ambassador telephoned this afternoon to say that there was a likelihood that Vice President Quayle would stop over at Lakenheath on his way back from King Olav's funeral on 31 January. He would meet US servicemen and their families while there. I said that it was most unlikely the Prime Minister would be able to get up to Lakenheath on a Thursday, when he had Cabinet and Questions. The Ambassador enquired whether any other senior Minister might be able to go, for instance the Defence Secretary. I said I could only make enquiries.

The Ambassador emphasised that no final decision had yet been taken to stop over at Lakenheath. It seems likely that, if it happens, it would be in the afternoon.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence).

Yours sincerely,

Charles Powell

CHARLES POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

File 215

10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

You promised to sign this for Mrs Eisenhower.

C. D. POWELL
8 May 1990

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S REMARKS

AT THE EISENHOWER CENTENARY CEREMONY

IN THE CABINET ROOM AT NO.10 DOWNING STREET

ON TUESDAY 8 MAY

Mrs. Eisenhower

With warm regards

Margaret Thatcher

LET ME FIRST WELCOME YOU, MR. VICE-PRESIDENT, MRS. QUAYLE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THIS EISENHOWER CENTENNIAL DELEGATION TO THIS FORMAL SESSION IN OUR CABINET ROOM, WHICH HAS SEEN SO MUCH HISTORY. IT IS OF COURSE A PARTICULAR PLEASURE TO HAVE PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S GRAND-DAUGHTER: AND ALSO JESSICA CATTO, WHOSE MOTHER WAS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SECRETARY FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE.

WE HONOUR TODAY A GREAT SOLDIER AND A DISTINGUISHED PRESIDENT, DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER. "IKE" AS WE ALL LEARNED TO CALL HIM.

YOU COULD NOT, MR. VICE-PRESIDENT, HAVE CHOSEN A MORE FITTING DAY TO MARK THE CENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH. IT WAS ON THIS DAY, THE EIGHTH OF MAY, FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO THAT THE WAR ENDED IN EUROPE. VE DAY. THE VICTORY AGAINST JAPAN WAS STILL TO COME. IT IS ALSO FITTING THAT <u>THREE</u> OF THE ALLIES ARE REPRESENTED HERE TODAY. AND THAT WE ARE

GATHERED IN THE CABINET ROOM OF NO. 10 DOWNING STREET, WHICH IKE HIMSELF WOULD HAVE KNOWN WELL.

MAY I ALSO NOTE THAT TOMORROW WE SHALL CELEBRATE THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S ARRIVAL IN NO.10 AS BRITAIN'S GREATEST PRIME MINISTER. SO THESE DAYS ARE FULL OF MEMORIES OF GREAT EVENTS AND GREAT LEADERS, MEMORIES WHICH SHOULD INSPIRE ALL OF US.

GENERAL EISENHOWER SHARED OUR DARK DAYS AND BECAME AN ARCHITECT OF OUR FREEDOM. AS SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER, HE CONTRIBUTED AS MUCH AS ANY MAN TO ALLIED VICTORY. HE LED THE ALLIED FORCES IN NORTH AFRICA, AND IN THE INVASION OF ITALY. HE ASSEMBLED IN THIS COUNTRY THE GREATEST INVASION FORCE THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN; LED IT TO A FOOTHOLD ON THE FRENCH COAST; THEN DIRECTED THE ALLIED TROOPS ACROSS THE CONTINENT TO VICTORY OVER HITLER'S FORCES.

WINSTON CHURCHILL CALLED HIM "A GREAT COMMANDER, WHO COULD NOT ONLY LEAD AN ARMY BUT STIR MENS' HEARTS". HE HOLDS A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE HEARTS OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE. HE COMMANDS A NOBLE PLACE IN OUR HISTORY. WE LIKED "IKE". WE COUNTED HIM AS ONE OF US.

LAST YEAR I WAS PROUD TO BE ASKED TO UNVEIL A STATUE OF HIM IN GROSVENOR SQUARE. I SPOKE THEN OF IKE THE SOLDIER, OF HIS MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS. TIME WILL NOT DIMINISH OUR MEMORY OF THESE - OR OUR GRATITUDE. TO US HE WAS A HERO.

LIKE YOU, MR. VICE-PRESIDENT, HE WAS A MID-WESTERNER. HE EMBODIED ALL THOSE QUALITIES OF RESOLUTENESS, FAITH AND FELLOWSHIP, WHICH EPITOMISE THE HEARTLAND OF AMERICA. THOSE SAME QUALITIES CARRIED HIM FROM HIS WAR-TIME ROLE TO BECOME CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE US ARMY AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE ALLIED FORCES IN EUROPE - WHERE HIS TASK WAS TO ORGANISE THE FORCES OF NATO TO FORESTALL THE POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET EXPANSION WESTWARD - AND EVENTUALLY,

IN 1952, TO BECOME THE 34TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A SOLDIER, A STATESMAN AND A POLITICIAN HOLDING YOUR COUNTRY'S HIGHEST OFFICE - YES, HE WAS ALL OF THOSE. BUT THIS YEAR, ABOVE ALL OTHERS, WE SHOULD PERHAPS REFLECT ON IKE THE STATESMAN.

THE MARCH OF EVENTS, IN EASTERN EUROPE NOW REVEALS THE FULL MEASURE OF THE MAN, AND OF HIS FORESIGHT. ON THIS DAY, FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, HE SPOKE IN HIS VICTORY ORDER TO THE ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE - A COPY OF WHICH I HAVE BESIDE ME - OF SOLVING THE MANY PROBLEMS THEN FACING EUROPE - AND TO COME - BY COOPERATION AND DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF HUMAN FREEDOM.

HE WAS TO WORK FOR WHAT HE CALLED "AN AGE OF JUST PEACE", ONE PURSUED BY A FREE WORLD AROUSED - AS RARELY IN HISTORY - BY THE WILL TO STAY FREE, AND DETERMINED TO STAY VIGILANT IN ITS DEFENCE. IN A SPEECH IN WASHINGTON IN THE SPRING OF

1953 THAT WAS TO BE PROPHETIC, HE SAW THE UNITED STATES STRIVING - FROM THE FIRM FOUNDATION OF NATO - "TO FOSTER A BROADER EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, CONDUCIVE TO THE FREE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS, OF TRADE AND OF IDEAS". "A EUROPE THAT INCLUDED A FREE AND UNITED GERMANY, WITH A GOVERNMENT BASED ON A FREE AND SECRET BALLOT".

HE FORESAW THIS "FREE COMMUNITY, AND THE FULL INDEPENDENCE OF THE EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS, SPELLING THE END OF THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE". HE WORKED FOR THE REDUCTION IN THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS THEN WEIGHING UPON THE WORLD. INDEED, ONE OF HIS PROPOSALS - FOR "OPEN SKIES" - IS NOW BEING REALISED. AND I AM SURE THAT HE WOULD HAVE BEEN PROUD THAT IT WAS TWO <u>REPUBLICAN</u> PRESIDENTS, PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRESIDENT BUSH, WHO BROUGHT HIS VISION TO FRUITION.

HE ONCE SAID THAT HE NO LONGER THOUGHT LIKE AN AMERICAN, BUT LIKE AN ALLY. WE IN BRITAIN OWE HIM AN IMMENSE DEBT.

FOR HIS WARTIME CONTRIBUTION; FOR THE FIRM FOUNDATION WHICH HE LAID FOR OUR DEFENCE THROUGH NATO - AND FOR HIS PART IN FORGING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE AS WE KNOW IT TODAY - BOTH AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS AND IN THE EVERYDAY COOPERATION, WHICH IS THE CLOSEST IN THE WORLD.

ABOVE ALL PRESIDENT EISENHOWER WAS A MAN OF DEEP SPIRITUAL CONVICTIONS. HE BELIEVED THAT THE FAITH WE HOLD BELONGS NOT TO US ALONE, BUT TO FREE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. HIS CONVICTION SHONE THROUGH IN THE PRAYER HE WROTE, IN WHICH HE SAID:

> "MAY THE LIGHT OF FREEDOM, COMING TO ALL DARKENED LANDS, FLAME BRIGHTLY - UNTIL AT LAST THE DARKNESS IS NO MORE;
>
> MAY THE TURBULENCE OF OUR AGE YIELD TO A TRUE TIME OF PEACE, WHEN MEN AND NATIONS SHALL SHARE A LIFE THAT HONOURS THE DIGNITY OF EARTH, THE BROTHERHOOD OF ALL".

SO TODAY, IN THIS CABINET ROOM WITH ITS MORE THAN 250 YEARS OF HISTORY, WE SAY THANK YOU FOR THE LIFE OF DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER. WE ARE PROUD THAT HE WALKED AMONG US.

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 May 1990

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Bush about the visit of Vice President Quayle.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence).

Charles Powell

Stephen Wall Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

May 22, 1990

CDJ 2315

Dear Prime Minister:

The President has asked that I pass to you the attached message concerning the visit of Vice President Quayle. The original letter will follow shortly.

Sincerely,

Henry E. Catto
Ambassador

Attachment

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London.

The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 3982 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: T 107/90 US President to PM dated 22 May 1990	X
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Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.
This should be an indication of what the extract is,
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.
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Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

file

DMS

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 May 1990

When you came to Number 10 Downing Street today for the ceremony marking the centenary of President Eisenhower's birth, the Prime Minister promised to let you have a copy of her remarks. I enclose it with this letter, with the Prime Minister's best wishes.

C. D. POWELL

Mrs. Susan Eisenhower

file

D15

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 May 1990

The Prime Minister promised Mrs Susan Eisenhower a copy of her remarks on the occasion of the Eisenhower Centenary Ceremony at Number 10. I enclose them with this letter and would be grateful if your office could arrange for their delivery.

C. D. POWELL

His Excellency Sir Antony Acland, GCMG, KCVO

(2)

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 30, 1990

The Right Honorable
Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister
London

Dear Madam Prime Minister:

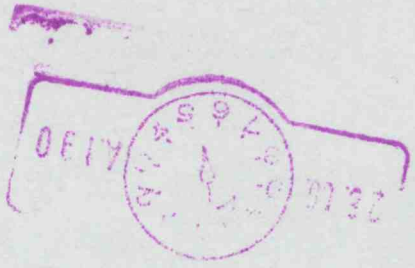
This is to follow up my note of May 15 to thank you for your many generosities to Marilyn and me. We are both enchanted with the priceless treasures, which we just received through the protocol channels of the Department of State.

The engraved crystal platter will be among my cherished memorabilia, as well as the precious miniature enamel box -- a true trademark of Great Britain, and best of all, your handsome portrait with your personal message is very much appreciated and will be kept always. We are indebted to your kindness, which will be long remembered.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dan Quayle



PM/VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE - SPEECHES - DOWNING ST - 8 MAY 90

FROM JAMES LEE FOR COI RADIO TECHNICAL SERVICES

TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECHES

BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MRS. THATCHER AND U.S. VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE

IN DOWNING STREET,

ON TUESDAY, 8 MAY 1990

==========

PRIME MINISTER:

We welcome Vice-President and Mrs. Quayle.

We have just had a ceremony to honour General Eisenhower on the centennial of his birth. This country owes so much to him, not only in his tremendous capacity as a brilliant general who guided us to victory, but also in the tremendous vision which he showed when he was President and we have just been remarking on some of his speeches even in those early days when he foresaw the unification of Germany and foresaw that we should come to a stage when a divided Europe would be a thing of the past. That is what we are working for now, but can I pass you over now to Vice-President Quayle whom we warmly welcome on this occasion.

VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE:

Thank you very much, Prime Minister Thatcher.

We are on a three-country swing to commemorate the centennial of the birth of Dwight David Eisenhower.

We reflected on the accomplishments and the goals of Dwight Eisenhower and had good discussions about the future and the future is going to be one that presents many challenges.

VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE (CONTD):

There is no substitute for NATO; there is no substitute for peace and freedom. Obviously, NATO will in fact accommodate itself to the changes that we find - NATO working with the CSCE, the EC, other institutions to provide for European security and also to look to trade opportunities and to global responsibilities.

It is always a pleasure to be with the Prime Minister. She continues to have a very important and special relationship with our President. Your country and our country continue to have that special relationship that has worked for peace and freedom for a number of years. We are always very respectful and solicit her ideas on where we should be going together in this world to make sure that we do have the peace and freedom that is so dear to us.

(END OF TRANSCRIPT) NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

File a:\foreign\quayle.mem

SUBJECT cc MASTER

bcc PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 May 1990

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE

The Prime Minister had a short talk with Vice-President Quayle at Chequers yesterday evening before giving dinner in his honour. The Vice-President once again showed himself well-informed on current arms control, defence and East/West issues, as well as the hostage situation: and dealt with these - and other issues over dinner - much more confidently than at his last meeting with the Prime Minister in Tokyo last September.

Arms Control: SNF

The Prime Minister said that her meeting with the President in Bermuda had been an excellent one. We were grateful to him for consulting widely before making his recent speech on NATO, and she was generally well content with the speech. Her main concern was the absence of a firm assurance from the Germans about the stationing of TASM. She acknowledged that it would be difficult to persuade Chancellor Kohl to give a public commitment on this before the German elections, but we should be seeking firm private assurance. She also remained dubious whether it was wise to bring forward the start of SNF negotiations to follow immediately on the signature of a CFE Agreement. Her preference would be to hold the position on preparations for negotiations, at least until we had an assurance from the Germans on TASM. She had just been talking to General Galvin, who supported this view. He hoped that the Nuclear Planning Group meeting would commission him to do a fresh study of NATO's requirements for short-range nuclear weapons before any decisions were taken.

Vice-President Quayle said that he shared some of the Prime Minister's misgivings. He thought that once SNF negotiations started, the only feasible outcome would be a further double zero. Genscher would go for that. At the same time Congress would make difficulties over the funding of TASM without a clear commitment from the Alliance to deploy it, and again Genscher would object to that. His own view was that there would need to be a tough discussion at the NATO Summit and, if possible, a clear understanding that TASM would be deployed. He noted the Prime Minister's views on the timing of SNF negotiations: but the

President had thought it better on tactical grounds to propose advancing them.

The Vice-President asked what the Prime Minister thought should come out of the NATO Summit. The Prime Minister said that the Summit should confirm the essence of the four points in the President's Oklahoma speech. The Vice-President said this would be very helpful with Congress, where views on the strength of US forces in Europe still had to reach bottom.

East/West

Vice President Quayle observed that the Russians were now using the argument in the Two plus Four talks that the West should not push them too hard on certain issues lest the position of Gorbachev and other reformers be put at risk. This was skillful: but at the end of the day, he was not sure how much leverage the Russians really had in the Two plus Four Group. The Prime Minister said that their leverage arose from the need for Quadripartite agreement on the issues concerning four power rights in Berlin and Germany as a whole. They now seemed to envisage trying to retain these rights throughout a transitional period, while delaying a decision on a united Germany's membership of NATO. She was not at all happy about this, indeed was alarmed by the turn which the Two plus Four discussions had taken.

The Vice-President asked how much trouble Gorbachev was really in. The Prime Minister said she thought Gorbachev could get through and had a reasonable chance of doing so, although he would need a bit of luck. That said, she thought Yeltsin could be a formidable opponent. (Mr. Sagdevev told me over dinner that he did not think Yeltsin had any chance of being elected as President of the RFSR). The Vice-President asked whether the Prime Minister believed the rumours of an attempted or future military coup in the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister said that she discounted them heavily. The Vice-President was inclined to agree: but the rumours were a useful alibi for Russian negotiators.

The Prime Minister said she was increasingly uncomfortable with our failure to be more robust about Soviet treatment of the Baltic Republics. The trouble was that both sides had made the unforgivable error in diplomacy of failing to leave themselves a way out. We had to find a way to get them to sit down and talk. She would be seeing Mrs. Prunskiene later in the week, and would urge this. The Vice-President said that President Bush had been rather impressed by her, and in particular by the manner in which she had handled the press.

Hostages

The Prime Minister said that Britain and the United States took the same line on not negotiating over hostages. As a result, both governments were getting pounded in the media. The

Vice-President confirmed that the United States was not negotiating, and would stick to this position despite pleas from some of the released hostages. Some people were claiming that the negotiations with Iran in the Hague on Iranian assets were also dealing with the hostages: but this was not so. The assets were an extremely separate legal matter. The US' public position was that goodwill would beget goodwill, but only after all the hostages had been released. We were a long way from that.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and to Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

J. S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH THE EISENHOWER CENTENARY DELEGATION

The Eisenhower Centenary Delegation, led by Vice-President Quayle will attend a formal meeting with you in the Cabinet Room on Tuesday morning. The members of the delegation are:

Vice-President and Mrs. Quayle
Ambassador and Mrs. Catto
General and Mrs. Galvin
The Hon. William P. Rogers (former Secretary of State)
The Hon. Max Rabb (former Ambassador to Rome)
The Hon. James D. Robinson III (Chairman of American Express)
Mrs. Susan Eisenhower and Mr. Roald Sagdeyev
Dr. Carnes Lord (National Security Adviser to the Vice President).

You will note that Mrs. Eisenhower's husband is Russian (a former head of their space research organisation and a member of the Central Committee, as well as a supporter of Dr. Sakharov). James Robinson, the Chairman of American Express, is there because American Express are sponsoring the whole affair. Winston Churchill will also be present, on your side of the table.

Television and press will be admitted to the Cabinet Room. When everyone has taken their seats, you may like the press to stay while you speak about General Eisenhower and Vice-President Quayle replies.

Given that it is a solemn occasion and there is considerable symbolism in the meeting in the Cabinet Room, you might like to make some prepared remarks about General Eisenhower. I attach a possible text, drawing in part on the speech which I did for you at the unveiling of the Eisenhower statue, but ranging rather more widely.

Once you have spoken for six or seven minutes, you might invite the Vice-President to reply. He is prepared for this. You might also invite him to let other members of the Eisenhower Centenary Committee report on how the Centenary is being celebrated in the United States. Winston Churchill may like to describe the events in the United Kingdom. If there is time, you might widen the discussion and invite General Galvin to comment on wider developments in Europe: and Mr. Sagdeyev to give an account of what is happening in the Soviet Union. Towards the end, you will be presented with the Eisenhower Centenary medal and possibly a book.

We envisage the whole affair lasting some 45 minutes. The full text of your speech could be released to the press afterwards.

I have also put in the folder the text of General Eisenhower's 1953 speech and his Victory Order to the American Expeditionary Forces in case you wish to glance at them.

C.D.P.

C. D. POWELL

5 May 1990

C:\wpdpocs\foreign\eisenhower (pmm)

Colin Powell

predicates 4

~~forces~~ separate groups:

① — Nuclear strike force

② — a 'heavy' force to fight a war in Europe.

③ — a lighter force for the Pacific.

④ — a Rapid Deployment Force.

"YOUR VICTORY"

PRIME MINISTER TO LONDON CROWD

A MOVING SCENE IN WHITEHALL

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

One of the most moving and remarkable scenes of all yesterday's national rejoicing was that which took place just before 6 o'clock in the evening when Mr. Churchill spoke from a balcony in Whitehall to a great crowd, whose self-disciplined orderliness and gaiety were so typical of the proud, unconquerable spirit of London through the dark and perilous days now left behind. This was London's own joyous meeting with the nation's war leader and with other Ministers who have worked at his side through five exacting years. Mr. Churchill spoke to this assembled multitude of citizens only a few sentences, but they were deeply expressive. "This," he said to them, "is your victory!"

THE CAR MOBBED

The Prime Minister made his historic broadcast from the Cabinet Room at 10, Downing Street, where he and his colleagues have grappled with so many grim problems during the years of war. When he had finished he left in an open car for the House of Commons, attended by Mr. Harvie Watt, M.P., his Parliamentary Private Secretary. The big crowd which had already gathered in Whitehall and Parliament Street surged past the police round the Prime Minister's car, and it was only with difficulty that an escort of mounted policemen made way for him through the enthusiastic throng into New Palace Yard. Mr. Churchill stood up in his car to acknowledge the greetings of the crowd, and he was heartily cheered.

After the proceedings in the House and the service at St. Margaret's Church the Prime Minister and the other members of the War Cabinet—from among whom Mr. Eden and Mr. Attlee were notable absentees—were received by the King at Buckingham Palace. Then they returned to Downing Street, and later went to the gaily beflagged Ministry of Health.

It was from the balcony of this building that Mr. Churchill addressed the vast crowd that filled the whole of the wide roadway and the pavements from the end of Downing Street to Parliament Square. Above the balcony hung prominently the flags of the allies. Mr. Churchill appeared on the central balcony accompanied by a group of Cabinet colleagues. On another balcony were Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, Field-Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, and Marshal of the R.A.F. Sir Charles Portal.

Mr. Churchill's appearance was greeted with a loud and sustained cheer, and this was renewed when the crowd heard his voice—carried resonantly by the loud-speakers, saying: "God bless you all." After further cheering, waving, and singing by the crowd, Mr. Churchill said:—"This is your victory! It is the victory of the cause of freedom in every land. In all our long history we have never seen a greater day than this. Everyone, man or woman, has done their best. Everyone has tried. Neither the long years, nor the dangers, nor the fierce attacks of the enemy, have in any way weakened the independent resolve of the British nation. God bless you all."

MR. TRUMAN TO AMERICA

WORK THE WATCHWORD

In his broadcast yesterday announcing the end of the war in Europe, President Truman said:—

This is a solemn but glorious hour. My only wish is that Franklin D. Roosevelt had lived to witness this day. General Eisenhower informs me that the forces of Germany have surrendered to the United Nations. The flags of freedom fly all over Europe.

In this victory we join in offering our thanks to the Providence which has guided and sustained us through the dark days of our adversity.

Our rejoicing is sober and subdued by the supreme consciousness of the terrible price we have paid to rid the world of Hitler and his evil band. Let us not forget, my fellow-Americans, the sorrow and heartbreak which to-day abide in the homes of so many of our neighbours—neighbours whose most priceless possession has been rendered as a sacrifice to redeem our liberty. We can repay the debt which we owe to our God, to our dead, and to our children only by work—by ceaseless devotion to the responsibilities which lie ahead of us.

If I could give you a single watchword for the coming months, that word is—work, work, work. We must work to finish the war. Our victory is but half won. The west is free, but the east is still in bondage to the treacherous tyranny of the Japanese. When the last Japanese division has surrendered unconditionally then only will our fighting job be done. We must work to bind up the wounds of the suffering world—to build an abiding peace, a peace rooted in justice and in law. We can build such a peace only by hard, toilsome, painstaking work—by understanding and working with our allies in peace as we have in war. The job ahead is no less important, no less urgent, no less difficult than the task which now is happily done.

I call upon every American to stick to his post until the last battle is won. Until that day let no man abandon his post or slacken his efforts.

THE PROCLAMATION

The President then read his formal proclamation, which was as follows:—

The allied armies through sacrifice and devotion and with God's help have won from Germany final and unconditional surrender.

The western world has been freed of evil forces which for five years and longer have imprisoned the bodies and broken the lives of millions upon millions of freeborn men. They have violated their churches, destroyed their homes, corrupted their children, and murdered their loved ones. Our armies of liberation have restored freedom to these suffering peoples, whose spirit and will the oppressor could never enslave.

Much remains to be done. The victory won in the west must now be won in the east. The whole world must be cleansed of the evil from which half the world has been freed. United, the peace-loving nations have demonstrated in the west that their arms are stronger by far than the might of dictators or the tyranny of military cliques that once called us soft and weak.

The power of our peoples to defend themselves against all enemies will be proved in the Pacific as it has been proved in Europe.

For the triumph of the spirit and of arms which we have won, and for its promise to the peoples everywhere who join us in our love of freedom, it is fitting that we as a nation should give thanks to Almighty God who has strengthened us and given us the victory.

Now therefore I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, do hereby appoint Sunday, May 14, 1945, to be a Day of Prayer. I call upon the people of the United States, whatever their faith, to unite in offering joyful thanks to God for the victory we have won and to pray that he will support

GLORIOUS END OF CRUSADE

PRAISE BY GENERAL EISENHOWER

VICTORY ORDER TO THE A.E.F.

General Eisenhower issued the following Victory order of the day yesterday:—

Men and women of the Allied Expeditionary Force:

The crusade on which we embarked in the early summer of 1944 has reached its glorious conclusion. It is my especial privilege, in the name of all nations represented in this theatre of war, to commend each of you for valiant performance of duty.

Though these words are feeble they come from the bottom of a heart overflowing with pride in your loyal service and admiration for you as warriors. Your accomplishments at sea, in the air, on the ground, and in the field of supply have astonished the world. Even before the final week of the conflict you had put 5,000,000 of the enemy permanently out of the war. You have taken in stride military tasks so difficult as to be classed by many doubters as impossible. You have confused, defeated, and destroyed your savagely fighting foe. On the road to victory you have endured every discomfort and privation and have surmounted every obstacle ingenuity and desperation could throw in your path. You did not pause until our front was finally joined up with the great Red Army coming from the east, and other allied forces coming from the south.

Full victory in Europe has been attained. Working and fighting together in a single indestructible partnership you have achieved a perfection in unification of air, ground, and naval power that will stand as a model in our time.

The route you have travelled through hundreds of miles is marked by the graves of former comrades. From them have been exacted the ultimate sacrifice. Blood of many nations—American, British, Canadian, French, Polish, and others—has helped to gain the victory. Each of the fallen died as a member of the team to which you belong, bound together by a common love of liberty and a refusal to submit to enslavement. No monument of stone, no memorial of whatever magnitude could so well express our respect and veneration for their sacrifice as would perpetuation of the spirit of comradeship in which they died.

As we celebrate victory in Europe let us not mind ourselves that our common problems of the immediate and distant future can be best solved in the same conceptions of cooperation and devotion to the cause of human freedom as have made this expeditionary force such a mighty engine of righteous destruction. Let us have no part in the profitless quarrels which other men will inevitably engage in as to what country, what service, won the European war.

Every man, every woman, of every nation here represented, has served according to his or her ability, and the efforts of each have contributed to the outcome. This we shall remember, and in doing so we shall be remembered each honoured grave, and be sending comfort to the loved ones of comrades who could not live to see this day.—DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

GERMANY "UTTERLY DEFEATED"

9 May 45
p 4 9

this subject, and at the time of writing it looks as if his proposal to convert the F.S.A. into a Department of Health, Education and Welfare, with Mrs. Hobby as Secretary, will meet with the approval of Congress. As it is, Mrs. Hobby is head of a large administrative empire, greater in extent than some branches of the Government which enjoy "departmental rank." For the Federal Security Agency embraces the Food and Drug Administration, the Office of Education, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, the Public Health Service (the Social Security Administration (including the Bureau of Public Assistance and the Children's Bureau) and the Federally-aided corporations.

Views on Domestic and Foreign Policy

Notwithstanding her local Democratic allegiances, Mrs. Hobby describes herself as a "liberal Republican": in other words "a middle-of-the-roader; a person who believes in free enterprise, but not in freedom to exploit; who sees government as the tool of the people, but not as its master." As a newspaper editor she has taken a position somewhat to the Right of Centre. In April 1950 she told the American Newspaper Publishers' Association:

> "It is our duty to see that the design of government is simple enough for us to understand and not too complicated for our public officials to administer. We must practice economy if venture capital is to be free to provide for an expanding economy."

As far as her present post is concerned she has the advantage (in Republican eyes at least) of having been active in the field of public welfare—*i.e.*, through the American Cancer Society, the American Red Cross (of which she is a Governor) and the Texas Medical Centre (one of her favourite local interests)—without sharing the enthusiasm for "socialised medicine" sometimes attributed to her predecessor, Mr. Oscar Ewing. On other issues she has kept unswervingly to the middle of the road. Her attitude towards the Taft–Hartley law—sometimes taken as a test in the domestic field—has been that this should be amended, rather than repealed. On the Communist question she has shown no enthusiasm for the activities of Senator McCarthy; on the contrary, in December 1950 she rallied, with General Eisenhower, Mr. James Byrnes and others, in support of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg, when the latter (just appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense) was falsely accused of having been connected with Communist-front organisations. In the field of foreign policy she has come out, in company with the late Robert P. Patterson and a number of other military leaders of the Second World War, in favour of a single, unified department of defence for all the North Atlantic Treaty Powers—"a real supra-national common political unit capable of bringing into being a common military unit."

Mrs. Hobby, who is described by *Time* magazine as "poised and handsome" with a "flair for wearing clothes and a brisk, aloof air of success," is popular with the press, which takes obvious pride in the appointment of one of its own representatives to a position in the new Administration. Unlike Mr. Ewing, she is also acceptable to the powerful American Medical Association, which, at a recent special conference, unanimously endorsed General Eisenhower's plan for a Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, with her as its head.

Mrs. Hobby has two children, William Pettus, Jr. (aged 20) and Jessica (aged 15). Her husband, who is twenty-seven years her senior, has never been active in national politics, and, since retiring from the Governorship of Texas in 1921, has devoted himself almost exclusively to his newspaper. He still lists himself officially as a Democrat.

Research Department,
Foreign Office,
25th March, 1953.

AV 1024/40

No. 16

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

Sir R. Makins to Sir W. Churchill. (*Received April 17*)

(No. 328. Saving) (Telegraphic)

Washington,
April 17, 1953.

Following is the text of a speech by President Eisenhower to a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors at Washington on 16th April.

"In this spring of 1953, the free world weighs one question above all others: the chances for a just peace for all peoples.

To weigh this chance is to summon instantly to mind another recent moment of great decision. It came with that yet more hopeful spring of 1945, bright with the promise of victory and of freedom. The hope of all just men in that moment, too, was a just and lasting peace.

The eight years that have passed have seen that hope waver, grow dim, and almost die. And the shadow of fear again has darkly lengthened across the world.

To-day the hope of free men remains stubborn and brave, but it is sternly disciplined by experience.

It shuns not only all crude counsel of despair, but also the self-deceit of easy illusion.

It weighs the chances of peace with sure, clear knowledge of what happened to the vain hopes of 1945.

In the spring of victory, the soldiers of the Western Allies met the soldiers of Russia in the centre of Europe. They were triumphant comrades in arms. Their peoples shared the joyous prospect of building, in honour of their dead, the only fitting monument—an age of just peace.

All these war-weary peoples shared, too, this concrete decent purpose: to guard vigilantly against the domination ever again

of any part of the world by a single, unbridled aggressive Power.

This common purpose lasted an instant —and perished. The nations of the world divided to follow two distinct roads.

The United States and our valued friends, the other free nations, chose one road.

The leaders of the Soviet Union chose another.

The way chosen by the United States was plainly marked by a few clear precepts which govern its conduct in world affairs.

First: No people on earth can be held—as a people—to be an enemy, for all humanity shares the common hunger for peace and fellowship and justice.

Second: No nation's security and well-being can be lastingly achieved in isolation, but only in effective co-operation with fellow-nations.

Third: Any nation's right to a form of government and an economic system of its own choosing is inalienable.

Fourth: Every nation's attempt to dictate to other nations their form of government is indefensible.

And Fifth: A nation's hope of lasting peace cannot be firmly based upon any race in armaments, but rather upon just relations and honest understanding with all other nations.

In the light of these principles, the citizens of the United States defined the way they proposed to follow, through the aftermath of war, toward true peace.

This way was faithful to the spirit that inspires the United Nations; to prohibit strife, to relieve tensions, to banish fears, This way was to control and to reduce armaments. This way was to allow all nations to devote their energies and resources to the great and good tasks of healing the war's wounds, of clothing and feeding and housing the needy, of perfecting a just political life, of enjoying the fruits of their own toil.

The Soviet Government held a vastly different vision of the future.

In the world of its design, security was to be found—not in mutual trust and mutual aid—but in force: huge armies, subversion, rule of neighbour nations. The goal was power superiority—at all cost. Security was to be sought by denying it to all others.

The result has been tragic for the world and, for the Soviet Union, it has also been ironic.

The amassing of Soviet power alerted free nations to a new danger of aggression. It compelled them in self-defence to spend unprecedented money and energy for armaments. It forced them to develop weapons of war now capable of inflicting instant and terrible punishment upon any aggressor.

It instilled in the free nations—and let none doubt this—the unshakeable conviction that, as long as there persists a threat to freedom, they must, at any cost, remain armed, strong and ready for the risk of war.

It inspired them—and let none doubt this—to attain a unity of purpose and will beyond the power of propaganda or pressure to break, now or ever.

There remained, however, one thing essentially unchanged and unaffected by Soviet conduct: this unchanged thing was the readiness of the free world to welcome sincerely any genuine evidence of peaceful purpose enabling all peoples again to resume their common quest of just peace. And the free world still holds to that purpose.

The free nations, most solemly and repeatedly, have assured the Soviet Union that their firm association has never had any aggressive purpose whatsoever.

Soviet leaders, however, have seemed to persuade themselves—or tried to persuade their people—otherwise.

And so it has come to pass that the Soviet Union itself has shared and suffered the very fears it has fostered in the rest of the world.

This has been the way of life forged by eight years of fear and force.

What can the world—or any nation in it —hope for if no turning is found on this dread road?

The worst to be feared and the best to be expected can be simply stated.

The worst is atomic war.

The best would be this: a life of perpetual fear and tension; a burden of arms draining the wealth and the labour of all peoples; a wasting of strength that defies the American system or the Soviet system or any system to achieve true abundance and happiness for the peoples of this earth.

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

This world in arms is not spending money alone.

It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than thirty cities.

It is: Two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

It is: Two fine, fully-equipped hospitals.

It is some 50 miles of concrete pavement.

We pay for a single fighter plane with a half million bushels of wheat.

We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people.

This—I repeat—is the best way of life to be found on the road the world has been taking.

This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

These plain and cruel truths define the peril and point the hope that come with this spring of 1953.

This is one of those times in the affairs of nations when the gravest choices must be made—if there is to be a turning toward a just and lasting peace.

It is a moment that calls upon the Governments of the world to speak their intentions with simplicity and with honesty.

It calls upon them to answer the questions that stirs the hearts of all sane men: Is there no other way the world may live?

The world knows that an era ended with the death of Josef Stalin. The extraordinary thirty-year span of his rule saw the Soviet empire expand to reach from the Baltic Sea to the Sea of Japan, finally to dominate 800 million souls.

The Soviet system shaped by Stalin and his predecessors was born of one world war. It survived with stubborn and often amazing courage a second world war. It has lived to threaten a third.

Now a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union. Its links to the past, however strong, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make.

This new leadership confronts a free world aroused, as rarely in its history, by the will to stay free.

The free world knows—out of the bitter wisdom of experience—that vigilance and sacrifice are the price of liberty.

It knows that the peace and defence of Western Europe imperatively demands the unity of purpose and action made possible by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, embracing a European Defence Community.

It knows that Western Germany deserves to be a free and equal partner in this community; and that this, for Germany, is the only safe way to full, final unity.

It knows that aggression in Korea and in South-East Asia are threats to the whole free community to be met only through united action.

This is the kind of free world which the new Soviet leadership confronts. It is a world that demands and expects the fullest respect of its rights and interests. It is a world that will always accord the same respect to all others.

So the new Soviet leadership now has a precious opportunity to awaken, with the rest of the world, to a point of peril reached, and to help turn the tide of history.

Will it do this?

We do not yet know. Recent statements and gestures of Soviet leaders give some evidence that they may recognise this critical moment.

We welcome every honest act of peace.

We care nothing for mere rhetoric.

We care only for sincerity of peaceful purpose—attested by deeds. The opportunities for such deeds are many. The performance of a great number of them waits upon no complex protocol, but only upon the simple will to do them. Even a few such clear and specific acts—such as the Soviet Union's signature upon an Austrian treaty, or its release of thousands of prisoners still held from World War II —would be impressive signs of sincere intent. They would carry a power of persuasion not to be matched by any amount of oratory.

This we do know: a world that begins to witness the rebirth of trust among nations can find its way to a peace that is neither partial nor punitive.

With all who will work in good faith toward such a peace, we are ready—with renewed resolve—to strive to redeem the near-lost hopes of our day.

The first great step along this way must be the conclusion of an honourable armistice in Korea.

This means the immediate cessation of hostilities and the prompt initiation of political discussions leading to the holding of free elections in a united Korea.

It should mean—no less importantly—an end to the direct and indirect attacks upon the security of Indo-China and Malaya. For any armistice in Korea that merely released aggressive armies to attack elsewhere would be a fraud.

We seek, throughout Asia as throughout the world, a peace that is true and total.

Out of this can grow a still wider task--the achieving of just political settlements for the other serious and specific issues between the free world and the Soviet Union.

None of these issues, great or small, is insoluble—given only the will to respect the rights of all nations.

Again we say: The United States is ready to assume its just part.

We have already done all within our power to speed conclusion of a treaty with Austria which will free that country from economic exploitation and from occupation by foreign troops.

We are ready not only to press forward with the present plans for closer unity of the nations of Western Europe but also, upon that foundation, to strive to foster a broader European community, conducive to the free movement of persons, of trade, and of ideas.

This community would include a free and united Germany, with a Government based upon free and secret ballot.

This free community and the full independence of the East European nations could mean the end of the present unnatural division of Europe.

As progress in all these areas strengthens world trust, we could proceed concurrently with the next great work—the reduction of the burden of armaments now weighing upon the world. To this end, we would welcome and enter into the most solemn agreements. These could properly include:—

1. The limitation, by absolute numbers or by an agreed international ratio, of the sizes of the military and security forces of all nations;
2. A commitment by all nations to set an agreed limit upon that proportion of total production of certain strategic materials to be devoted to military purposes.
3. International control of atomic energy to promote its use for peaceful purposes only, and to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons;
4. A limitation or prohibition of other categories of weapons of great destructiveness.
5. The enforcement of all these agreed limitations and prohibitions by adequate safeguards, including a practical system of inspection under the United Nations.

The details of such disarmament programmes are manifestly critical and complex. Neither the United States nor any other nation can properly claim to possess a perfect, immutable formula. But the formula matters less than the faith—the good faith without which no formula can work justly and effectively.

The fruit of success in all these tasks would present the world with the greatest task—and the greatest opportunity—of all. It is this: The dedication of the energies, the resources, and the imaginations of all peaceful nations to a kind of war. This would be a declared, total war, not upon any human enemy, but upon the brute forces of poverty and need.

The peace we seek, founded upon a decent trust and co-operative effort among nations, can be fortified—not by weapons of war but by wheat and by cotton; by milk and by wool; by meat and timber and rice.

These are words that translate into every language on earth.

These are needs that challenge this world in arms.

This idea of a just and peaceful world is not new or strange to us. It inspired the people of the United States to initiate the European Recovery Programme in 1947. That programme was prepared to treat, with equal concern, the needs of eastern and western Europe.

We are prepared to reaffirm, with the most concrete evidence, our readiness to help build a world in which all peoples can be productive and prosperous.

This Government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of any savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction. The purposes of this great work would be to help other peoples to develop the undeveloped areas of the world, to stimulate profitable and fair world trade, to assist all peoples to know the blessings of productive freedom.

The monuments to this new war would be these: Roads and schools, hospitals and homes, food and health.

We are ready, in short, to dedicate our strength to serving the needs, rather than the fears, of the world.

I know of nothing I can add to make plainer the sincere purpose of the United States.

I know of no course, other than that marked by these and similar actions, that can be called a highway of peace.

I know of only one question upon which progress waits. It is this:—

What is the Soviet Union ready to do?

Whatever the answer is, let it be plainly spoken.

Again we say: The hunger for peace is too great, the hour in history too late, for any Government to mock men's hopes with mere words and promises and gestures.

Is the new leadership of the Soviet Union prepared to use its decisive influence in the Communist world—including control of the flow of arms—to bring not merely an expedient truce in Korea but genuine peace in Asia?

Is it prepared to allow other nations, including those in Eastern Europe, the free choice of their own form of government?

Is it prepared to act in concert with others upon serious disarmament proposals?

If not—where then is the concrete evidence of the Soviet Union's concern for peace?

There is, before all peoples, a precious chance to turn the black tide of events.

If we failed to strive to seize this chance, the judgment of future ages will be harsh and just.

If we strive, but fail, and the world remains armed against itself, it at least would need be divided no longer in its clear knowledge of who has condemned humankind to this fate.

The purpose of the United States, in stating these proposals is simple.

These proposals spring—without ulterior motive or political passion—from our calm conviction that the hunger for just peace is in the hearts of all peoples—those of Russia and of China no less than of our own country.

They conform to our firm faith that God created men to enjoy, not destroy, the fruits of the earth and of their own toil.

They aspire to this: The lifting, from the backs and from the hearts of men, of their burden of arms and of fears, so that they may find before them a golden age of freedom and of peace.

Thank you."

UP 134/4

No. 17

ASSESSMENT OF THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION TOWARDS THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Sir G. Jebb to Sir W. Churchill. (Received June 16)

United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations,
New York,
June 15, 1953.

(No. 14. Secret)

Sir,

In my despatch No. 4 of the 12th January I tried to determine the present value of the United Nations and to describe the differences in the way in which the Americans and ourselves tend to regard that Organisation. Now that the Republican Administration has been in office for about five months, and more especially now that its Head is about to confer with you, Sir, on matters touching the United Nations, it may be useful once again to try to assess the policy towards the United Nations of the Administration itself and of other groups in the United States, both within and outside Congress. In so far as I have set down what seem to me the main lines of American thinking, I am, of course, subject to correction by Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington.

2. As I see it, then, American thinking in regard to the United Nations has been in a formative stage for some little time. During the last year I have, with the Department's knowledge and approval, been doing my best to assist the process of formation. The general thesis, which I shall designate as A, and which, as you know, I have developed in a series of speeches and articles, is as follows:—

(*a*) For such time as the Cold War continues, we cannot rely on the United Nations for collective security in the conventional sense.

(*b*) Nevertheless, owing to the operation of the Resolution "Uniting for Peace," the United Nations would be of some limited use from the collective security point of view, even in the event of general hostilities.

(*c*) Quite apart from this, the United Nations is of great actual and potential use as regards conciliation, mediation and negotiation, in other words, as regards pacific settlement. To this should be added its usefulness in the economic and social

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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4 May 1990

Dear Charles,

Vice President Quayle's Visit and the Eisenhower Ceremony

I wrote to you earlier today about the Prime Minister's talks on 7 - 8 May with Vice President Quayle. This letter deals with other programme details and includes the final version of the programme.

Arrival Talks and Dinner at Chequers

Mr and Mrs Sainsbury will greet the Vice President and his party on arrival at Heathrow. Those invited for dinner at Chequers will be travelling on Air Force 2. They will be joined by Ambassador and Mrs Catto and come in one motorcade direct from the tarmac to Chequers, arriving about 19.00. (Mrs Goodchild has been given the list of the eight car numbers). Those involved are:

Vice President and Mrs Quayle
Ambassador and Mrs Catto
The Hon William P Rogers
(former Secretary of State)
The Hon Max Rabb (former Ambassador to Rome)
The Hon James D Robinson III
(Chairman of American Express)
Mrs Susan Eisenhower and
Mr Roald Sagdeyev (~~the US spelling~~)
Dr Carnes Lord
(National Security Adviser to the Vice President)

I understand that the Americans have discussed with your staff the plan that Dr Lord attend the talks (as notetaker). He will accordingly take the place of Mr William Kristol (Chief of Staff) at dinner. The latter will go direct to London from Heathrow.

/I attach

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I attach a note on Dr Lord and a copy of Washington telno 1025 with background on Sagdeyev. You may also like to be aware of a recent article on the Vice President from "Time" magazine.

The US side are most grateful for your agreement to an "out-mess" for those who are travelling with the Vice President to Chequers but not included in the Prime Minister's dinner. They are:

Commander Brad Goetsch, Military Aide
(carrying the Vice President's nuclear button)
Mr William Bass, in charge of the Advance Team
Dr Bacon, the Vice President's Physician
Mr Dallas Diederich, his medic
Mr Joseph Petro) Secret Service Agents
Mr Tom Wiley) " " "

The Vice President's personal photographer (Stephen Purcell) will form part of the US pool and will leave immediately after the photocall, so there will be no need for him to join the out-mess. Other Secret Service Agents will be taken to the local pub.

The Eisenhower Centenary meeting at No.10 at 10.00 on 8 May

I enclose a list given to us by the Americans of those who will be attending. You will see that General Galvin is joined by Mrs Galvin, bringing to fourteen the total to be seated at the Cabinet table. The Americans hope that Messrs Beckwith, Pernice and Bass will be able to enter the Cabinet Room and sit against the wall. The remaining six will wait in a nearby room.

The Vice President expects the Prime Minister to open the meeting (some suggested remarks were enclosed with my letter of 3 May). He is ready to respond and will probably invite members of the Eisenhower Centenary Committee to report on how the Centenary is being celebrated in the United States. If Mr Churchill is participating, the Prime Minister may wish to invite him to describe events in the United Kingdom. At some point in the meeting, the Prime Minister will be presented with the Eisenhower centenary medal or book.

/The

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The Vice President and his party have been briefed not to expect the Prime Minister to accompany them outside the door of No.10 at the conclusion of the meeting. At that point, it is the Vice President's intention to spend 5 - 10 minutes speaking to, and taking questions from, the press in Downing Street. Thereafter, Mr Sainsbury will escort the Vice President to the Foreign Secretary's Office.

Speaker's Eisenhower Centenary Reception on 8 May

It is not clear whether the Prime Minister plans to attend. In case she does, you should be aware that the Vice President plans to arrive at 18.15 and leave for the airport at 18.45. After welcoming the guests, the Speaker will invite the Vice President and Mr Churchill to say a few words. The Vice President has said that he is happy to do so.

Yours ever,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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FINAL VERSION OF PROGRAMME

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE'S VISIT TO LONDON : 7-8 MAY

Monday 7 May

18.15	Arrive by Air Force 2, Heathrow Airport Met by Ambassador and Mrs Catto. UK reception team to be decided (probably Mr and Mrs Timothy Sainsbury). Photo opportunity.
18.25	Depart (from tarmac) to Chequers by car.
19.00	Arrive Chequers.
19.10	Talks with the Prime Minister.
19.45	Informal dinner. No speeches/toasts
21.15 approx	Depart Chequers for Winfield House.
22.10	Arrive Winfield House. Overnight stay.

Tuesday 8 May

07.00	Meeting with General Galvin
08.00	Breakfast meeting with young British opinion formers at Winfield House
09.50	Depart Winfield House for Downing Street.
10.00	Meeting with Prime Minister in conjunction with Eisenhower Centenary. Photo call by fireplace and again in Cabinet Room before Centenary meeting begins.
10.50	Depart 10 Downing Street. Question and answer session outside No 10 with press (Vice President only, unless PM wishes to join him).
11.00	Call on the Secretary of State. Vice President accompanied by Ambassador Catto, Mr William Kristol, Dr Carnes Lord, Mr Glassman and note-taker. (Photocall at beginning or end of call)
12.00	Depart FCO courtyard.
13.00	Lunch at Winfield House hosted by US Ambassador for Eisenhower delegation. The Lord President, Mrs Chalker and Mr Trippier will attend.

14.30	Interview with BBC television.
15.00	Staff time.
17.00	Round-table discussion with written media (to be confirmed)
17.50	Depart Winfield House for Houses of Parliament.
18.15	Arrive at Reception hosted by the Speaker to mark the Eisenhower Centennial. Mr and Mrs Sainsbury to attend.
18.45	Depart Houses of Parliament for Heathrow Airport.
19.15	Sir Donald Logan bids farewell on behalf of HMG. Doors close. Depart for Paris.

CB2ACI

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE : 7-8 MAY

Draft programme for Mrs Quayle

7 May

As for the Vice President

8 May

10.00	Call on the Prime Minister
10.50	Discussion of cancer treatment at the Royal Marsden Hospital
13.00	Lunch at Winfield House
pm	Depart Winfield House to visit the London Fire Brigade
	Trip in a fire boat on the Thames
18.15	Attend Speakers' Reception.
18.45	Depart for Heathrow (and Paris).

cc PC
cc Badup

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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Prime Minister

This will be a meeting which will undoubtedly benefit Vice-President Quayle much more than you. He could use it interesting on SDI.

4 May 1990

Dear Charles,

The Prime Minister's Talks with Vice President Quayle 7 - 8 May 1990

Thank you for your letter of 1 May.

As the programme stands (latest version enclosed), the Vice President will have 30 minutes of private talks with the Prime Minister at Chequers before dinner. (Discussion at the dinner may be constrained by the presence of Mrs Eisenhower's husband, who is a member of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Foreign Affairs.) The Prime Minister will also see Vice President Quayle when he leads the delegation visiting Downing Street for the Eisenhower Centenary event at 1000 on Tuesday 8 May.

The Vice President's visit forms part of a European tour which includes Denmark (5 May), Italy (6 - 7 May) and France (8 - 9 May). It resurrects that planned for February, when the Vice President was to have had talks and dinner with the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister last met Mr Quayle in September 1989, in the margins of the IDU Conference in Tokyo. Sir Geoffrey Howe had bilateral talks with him in 1989 and again in Santiago earlier this year. Mr Major met Mr Quayle in Washington in September 1989, and the Foreign Secretary in January this year.

The Vice President and his Foreign Policy Preoccupations

The Vice President is recovering ground since his poor performance in the 1988 Presidential election. His approval ratings are gradually rising. He remains close to the President, in the "decision-making loop". The enclosed copy of Washington telno 1022 describes his present political standing and foreign policy preoccupations.

CDP 4/5

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I enclose notes on the Vice President and Mrs Quayle and a list of other members of the Eisenhower Centenary delegation. As requested, we have kept the briefing concise.

Objectives

Our objectives during this visit are to:

(a) ensure that the Vice President leaves Britain with a clear view of how we see the situation in the Soviet Union, the future shape of Europe, European security issues and US links with Europe;

(b) obtain as clear a read-out as possible on the background to the recent release of US hostages in the Lebanon:

(c) demonstrate the warmth of the bilateral relationship by giving the Vice President high-level treatment; and by suitably marking the Centenary of the birth of President Eisenhower, who made such a major contribution to the Atlantic Community.

The Prime Minister might draw on the following:

Hostages

Mr Quayle has said that he will be updating the Prime Minister on the release of the American hostages. But we have kept in close touch with the Americans on the releases (the Foreign Secretary spoke to Secretary Baker on 3 and 4 May). Mr Quayle is therefore unlikely to have anything new to say.

German Unification

The Prime Minister could brief the Vice President on the 28 April EC Informal Summit.

Alliance Issues

A decision to hold the next NATO Summit in London was taken in Brussels on 3 May. The Prime Minister could say:

- important that a clear message should issue both from NAC Foreign Ministers' meeting and Summit on NATO's continued importance, including transatlantic dimension, and its willingness to change.

SDI

We do not have any specific points to raise. But the Vice-President is a strong advocate of SDI and may raise it with the Prime Minister. If so, the Prime Minister could say:

- briefing by Lt. Gen. Monahan (Director of the SDI Organisation) in January useful; understand that Brilliant Pebbles has since been formally incorporated into proposed Phase I system;

- on course for a deployment decision in 1993, with actual deployment in 1996/7? What about implications for ABM Treaty?

- hope to visit National Test Bed during visit to Colorado in August and to meeting scientists and engineers working on the programme.

CSCE

Secretary Baker has indicated that the US is willing to begin preparatory work for the Summit in early July. The Prime Minister might welcome this and say:

- We understand US concerns on CFE: we too want Summit to be occasion for CFE signature.

- We want Summit to further principles of democracy and the rule of law throughout Europe, specifically enshrining the UK/US proposal on free elections.

- The Summit should give further impetus to progress in other areas, including the promotion of market-orientated economic principles, the development of conciliation machinery within CSCE and biannual meetings of Foreign Ministers.

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East-West/Soviet Union

Discussion of East-West issues will be coloured by developments in Lithuania. By the time of Mr Quayle's visit, the Lithuanian Prime Minister, Mrs Prunskiene, is likely to have confirmed a visit to London later in the week.

Eastern Europe

A general exchange of views would be useful.

EC/Eastern Europe

The Dublin Summit envisaged Association Agreements with East European countries undertaking economic and political reform, and agreed that G24 aid should be extended to the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania, as well as to Poland and Hungary as at present. Though the US suggested Prague as the EBRD site, President Bush implied in Bermuda that US support might well switch to London.

EC/US Relations

In December Secretary Baker called for strengthened EC/US "institutional and consultative links" in Treaty or other form. We discouraged the US from pursuing the idea of a EC/US Treaty (which would magnify the Commission's role) or a 13th seat at the EC table (which the Community would never concede). But we encouraged a constructive EC response and as a result there will in future be:-

a) annual spring meetings between Secretary Baker and the EC Foreign Ministers (the first was held on 3 May);

b) contacts between US officials and EPC Working Group experts (a first meeting on Africa has taken place);

c) increased US/Commission contacts (Delors and key Commissioners visited Washington on 23 April).

In addition, President Bush has agreed to meet the President of European Council every Presidency. When Genscher visited Washington on 4 April, he proposed on EC/US declaration to define the relationship: we support this.

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EC/US Trade (defensive)

Vice President Quayle may raise EC/US trade issues. In addition to the standard arguments, the Prime Minister might say that:

- Encouraged by non-confrontational US implementation of recent Trade Act deadlines. Protectionist pressures on the Hill for bilateral action will need careful handling as Uruguay Round enters final stages.

- (If raised) Given current rapid expansion of European broadcasting (125,000 programme hours in 1987, 300,000 expected by end 1990), EC Broadcasting Directive will not mean reduced US exports.

GATT

At Bermuda President Bush raised agriculture in the GATT Uruguay Round, hinting that the US might be ready to negotiate on the basis proposed by the EC (reduction to an aggregate measure) rather than holding out for total abolition of export subsidies. There have since been further constructive EC/US exchanges in Washington. The Prime Minister might refer briefly to the exchange with President Bush and welcome the intensification of EC/US contacts.

Prime Minister's future visits to the US/Houston Economic Summit

The Prime Minister might mention her plan to attend the Houston Economic summit (July) and the Aspen Institute's Fourtieth Anniversary Symposium (August).

The key themes for the Summit are already clear: Eastern Europe and the USSR; the world economy; trade; the environment; drugs; debt and terrorism. In particular, we want the Summit to:

- mark and reinforce moves towards democracy in Eastern Europe and elsewhere (we have suggested to Sherpas the text of a possible separate Declaration on Political and Economic Freedom);

- focus attention on the need to control inflation and for structural reform, particularly in Germany and Japan;

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- contribute to a successful outcome to the Uruguay Round, to move beyond rhetoric and refer to specific issues: agriculture, dispute settlement, developing country concerns (particularly textiles and tropical products), and the extension of GATT rules to new areas like intellectual property and services;

- maintain momentum of international meetings on climate change but avoid attempts to set greenhouse gas emission targets, timetables or policy instruments before the scientific realities are clear.

- consider follow-up to Financial Action Task Force on money laundering (set-up by Paris Summit) and further initiatives on drugs (key areas under consideration by Sherpas are the need to strengthen UN drug control structures, control of precursor chemicals, coordination of aid to producer countries and demand reduction).

Regional Issues

Vice President Quayle is developing considerable knowledge of Latin America. He attended the recent Brazilian and Nicaraguan inaugurations, and may have interesting insights into Panama.

However,

(S L Gass)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

(FOURTH DRAFT OF PROGRAMME AS AT 3.5.90)

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE'S VISIT TO LONDON : 7-8 MAY

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Tuesday 8 May

08.00	Breakfast meeting with young British opinion formers Photo opportunity at Eisenhower Statue in Grosvenor Square. Meeting with General Galvin at Navy Building, Grosvenor Square.
09.50	Depart Grosvenor Square for Downing Street.
10.00	Meeting with Prime Minister in conjunction with Eisenhower Centennial. Photo call in the Cabinet Room.
10.50	Depart 10 Downing Street. Possible question and answer session outside No 10 with press (Vice President only, unless PM wishes to join him).
11.00	Call on the Secretary of State. One or two Foreign Office Ministers plus notetaker to attend on UK side. Vice President accompanied by Ambassador Catto, senior staff aide and

notetaker. Photocall.

12.00 Depart for Winfield House from FCO courtyard.

13.00 Lunch at Winfield House hosted by US Ambassador for Eisenhower delegation. The Lord President, Mrs Chalker and Mr Trippier will attend.

14.30 Interview with BBC television.

15.00 Staff time.

17.00 Round-table discussion with written media.

17.50 Depart Winfield House for Houses of Parliament.

18.10 Arrive at Reception hosted by the Speaker to mark the Eisenhower Centennial. Mr and Mrs Sainsbury to attend.

18.40 Depart Houses of Parliament for Heathrow Airport.

19.15 Sir Denis Logan bids farewell on behalf of HMG. Doors close. Depart for Paris.

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MDHIAN 8981

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 1022
OF 022315Z MAY 90
INFO ROUTINE BONN, ROME, PARIS

YOUR TELNO 719: VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 7-8 MAY

1. YOU MAY LIKE A SNAPSHOT OF THE VICE PRESIDENT'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION AND LIKELY FOREIGN POLICY PREOCCUPATIONS BEFORE YOUR AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETINGS WITH HIM NEXT WEEK.

DOMESTIC STANDING

2. QUAYLE ARRIVES IN LONDON WITH HIS POLITICAL STOCK SLOWLY RECOVERING FROM THE CRASH OF 1988, BUT STILL WELL BELOW THAT OF THE PRESIDENT (MY TELNO 800). ALTHOUGH A NEW YORK TIMES/CBS POLL AT THE TURN OF THE YEAR GAVE QUAYLE AN APPROVAL RATING OF 16 PER CENT AND 54 PER CENT OF VOTERS TOLD GALLUP LAST MONTH THAT QUAYLE WAS NOT QUALIFIED TO BE PRESIDENT, OTHER POLLS CITED BY QUAYLE'S STAFF SHOW A SHARP INCREASE IN HIS APPROVAL RATING IN THE LAST QUARTER, AND LARGE PERCENTAGES OF VOTERS SWITCHING FROM DISAPPROVAL TO DON'T KNOW. WITHIN THE WASHINGTON POLITICAL COMMUNITY, QUAYLE IS GRADUALLY WINNING GRUDGING ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT HIS POLITICAL EFFECTIVENESS HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY UNDERESTIMATED (CF THE COVER STORY IN TIME MAGAZINE OF 23 APRIL, FAXED TO NAD), AND THAT HE IS MAKING A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORK OF THE ADMINISTRATION BY ACTING AS ITS POINTMAN ON THE HILL AND AS THE PRESIDENT'S BRIDGE TO OCCASIONALLY RESTIVE CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS. HE IS TAKEN INCREASINGLY SERIOUSLY, IF ONLY BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CHIEF OF STAFF CLEARLY TAKE HIM SERIOUSLY, AND HAVE ENSURED THAT QUAYLE IS IN THE DECISION MAKING LOOP. QUAYLE'S POLITICAL ROLE IS ILLUSTRATED BY THE KEY-NOTE SPEECH WHICH HE GAVE TO A MAJOR NATIONAL ANTI-ABORTION RALLY IN WASHINGTON ON 28 APRIL, TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT SPOKE BY TELEPHONE, AND BY THE FACT THAT HE WILL BE PLAYING A FAIRLY BIG SUPPORTING ROLE SUPPORTING REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES AROUND THE COUNTRY IN THE 1990 MID TERM ELECTIONS. THE NUMBER OF QUAYLE JOKES ON THE TALK SHOWS IS FALLING. EARLIER TALK OF QUAYLE BEING DROPPED FROM THE TICKET IN 1992 HAS BEEN LARGELY DISCOUNTED, AND MOST PUNDITS NOW ACCEPT THAT THE

COMBINATION OF LOYALTY AND QUAYLE'S GROWING POLITICAL WEIGHT SHOULD, BARRING ACCIDENTS, KEEP HIM ON THE TICKET IN 1992, AND MAY EVEN OVER TIME MAKE HIM A CREDIBLE CONTENDER FOR THE NOMINATION FOUR YEARS LATER.

FOREIGN POLICY PREOCCUPATIONS

DEFENCE

3. QUAYLE WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE BRITISH PERSPECTIVE ON THE 2 + 4 PROCESS (IN THE LIGHT OF THIS WEEK'S OFFICIAL AND MINISTERIAL MEETINGS), SNF (IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS) AND CFE, WHERE THE PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT THIS YEAR, GIVEN INCREASING SOVIET FOOT-DRAGGING, WILL BE A MAJOR US CONCERN. ANY VIEWS QUAYLE EXPRESSES ON THESE SUBJECTS ARE LIKELY TO BE ORTHODOX.

EUROPE

4. QUAYLE MAINTAINS HIS TRADITIONAL CLOSE INTEREST IN SECURITY ISSUES. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL SPACE COUNCIL, HE IS WELL PLACED TO FOLLOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SDI PROGRAMME (AS WELL AS PRESS THE CASE FOR INCREASED INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION ON THE CIVIL SIDE). IN PARTICULAR HE IS BECOMING A KEY PROPONENT OF A MISSILE DEFENCE STRATEGY THAT ENCOMPASSES THE THIRD WORLD AS WELL AS SOVIET THREAT (SEE HIS SPEECH ON 30 APRIL TO THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE FOR NEAR EAST POLICY (FAXED TO NAD). HE IS ALSO A FAIRLY SIGNIFICANT PLAYER ON NON-PROLIFERATION POLICIES (MORE A BY-PRODUCT OF NEGLECT BY BAKER, CHENEY AND SCOWCROFT THAN OF SPECIAL EXPERTISE OF HIS OWN) AND MAINTAINS A WATCHING BRIEF ON THE START NEGOTIATIONS, AS COULD BE EXPECTED OF A CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN.

CENTRAL AMERICA

5. QUAYLE PLAYS AN ACTIVE ROLE IN US DIPLOMACY VIS A VIS SOUTH AMERICA, AND WILL BE WELL BRIEFED ON ALL THE CURRENT PROBLEMS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE WILL BE MAKING A SPEECH IN DALLAS SHORTLY ON THE NEW GENERATION OF LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS. SINCE HE ATTENDED MRS CHAMORRO'S INAUGURATION, IT MIGHT BE WORTH ASKING HIM HOW HE SEES THE PROSPECTS FOR CONTRA DEMOBILISATION, PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING MRS CHAMORRO'S DECISION TO RETAIN HUMBERTO ORTEGA. THE CONGRESSIONAL LOGJAM OVER THE US AID

CONFIDENTIAL
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INFO ROUTINE BONN, ROME, PARIS

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PACKAGE FOR NICARAGUA (AND PANAMA) HAS NOW BROKEN, BUT IT MIGHT BE WORTH ASKING QUAYLE ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF WIDER INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO SECURE AID FOR NICARAGUA (CF UKREP BRUSSELS TELNO 1182).

CHINA MFN

6. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT YET ANNOUNCED ITS DECISION ON MFN, BUT IS WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES TO GET ACROSS THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF MAINTAINING MFN STATUS. THIS WOULD BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN THE IMPLICATIONS FOR HONG KONG.

HONG KONG IMMIGRATION

7. THIS IS NOT A SUBJECT WITH WHICH QUAYLE WILL NECESSARILY BE VERY FAMILIAR, BUT HE WILL HAVE BEEN BRIEFED. THERE IS CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN PROVIDING FOR AN IMMIGRATION SAFETY NET FOR RESIDENTS OF HONG KONG, AND SIGNS THAT THE SOLARZ BILL IS BEGINNING TO MOVE, BUT THIS HAS NOT SO FAR BEEN TAKEN UP BY THE ADMINISTRATION (ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN LOOKING AT WHAT MIGHT BE DONE FOR EMPLOYEES OF THE US CONSULATE IN HONG KONG). IT WOULD DO NO HARM TO GO OVER THE ARGUMENTS WITH QUAYLE.

LITHUANIA

8. THE PRESIDENT HAS WORKED HARD TO OBTAIN CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR HIS POLICY ON LITHUANIA, AND, ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SUGGESTIONS THAT THE US/SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENT WILL NOT GET THROUGH CONGRESS WHILE THE SITUATION IN LITHUANIA REMAINS UNCERTAIN, THERE IS STILL WIDESPREAD CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT (THOUGH SOME RUMBLINGS FROM THE REPUBLICAN RIGHT ABOUT QUOTE APPEASEMENT UNQUOTE). IT MIGHT BE WORTH ASKING QUAYLE HOW LONG HE THINKS THIS CONSENSUS WILL LAST, AND FOR HIS VIEWS ON WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO DO BUSINESS AS USUAL WITH GORBACHEV EG AT THE SUMMIT WITHOUT SOME PROGRESS ON LITHUANIA.

ACLAND

YYYY

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE : 7-8 MAY

Draft programme for Mrs Quayle

7 May

As for the Vice President

8 May

10.00	Call on the Prime Minister
10.50	Depart Downing Street to visit the London Fire Brigade.
	Trip in a fire boat on the Thames
13.00	Lunch at Winfield House
pm.	Discussion of cancer treatment at the Royal Marsden Hospital
18.10	Attend Speakers' Reception.
18.40	Depart for Heathrow (and Paris).

J DANFORTH QUAYLE: VICE-PRESIDENT

Aged 42. A conservative and a protestant, typically representative of the mid-west bible belt. Elected to the Senate in 1980 after two terms in the House of Representatives.

Quayle is slowly recovering from a poor electoral performance in 1988 and is still prone to the occasional gaffe. He is privy to the President's general thinking and in the decision-making loop. Bush respects his judgement on Congressional/Senate politics and has said that he will retain him as his Vice-Presidential partner for the 1992 election. Quayle has developed and retained a good staff and is proving "a quick study". His major interests are education, the disabled, SDI, space, "competitiveness" and Latin America. He is slowly coming to terms with the job and his continuing image problem but he finds it difficult ot hide his low level of general knowledge.

Married (to Marilyn) with three children.

CONFIDENTIAL

MARILYN TUCKER QUAYLE

Aged 39.

Model student, met Quayle at Indiana University Law School.

Both parents were doctors and she was the fourth of six children brought up in a strict Christian household in Indianapolis and remains overtly religious. Her interests include cancer research, horseback riding, natural disaster preparedness, religion and foreign affairs.

Married Vice-President Quayle in 1972. Three children.

US EISENHOWER CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE

The Vice-President and Mrs Quayle

The Hon. William F. Rogers, former US-Secretary of State 1969-73

Former Ambassador Maxwell Rabb, US Ambassador to Rome 1981-89

Mrs Susan Eisenhower and Mr Roland Sagdeev, former Head of the Soviet Space Programme, Soviet Peoples' Deputy and Member of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Foreign Affairs.

The Hon James Robinson III, Chairman of American Express

04.05
PM 9 0

FILE

VLG

bc CDP.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

3 May 1990

You raised two questions with me.

(i) The Prime Minister will not be attending the Speaker's reception for the Eisenhower delegation. There is not enough time between the Audience and her evening engagement. Given the hospitality which the Prime Minister is extending at Chequers and at No. 10 I do not think there can be any cause for complaint.

(ii) We are expecting you to be accompanying the delegation on Tuesday morning when it comes to No. 10.

You mentioned that General Galvin will be joining the delegation. Do you know when he is arriving and whether he would wish to be added to the guests for Chequers? Could you feed the answer on this back to Charles Powell?

(ANDREW TURNBULL)

Winston S. Churchill, Esq., M.P.

TRANSMISSION REPORT

(03 MAY '90 17:46)

DATE	START TIME	REMOTE TERMINAL IDENTIFICATION	MODE	TIME	RESULTS	TOTAL PAGES	DEPT. CODE
03 MAY	17:45	095962897	G3EST	01'03"	OK	02	

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 May 1990

Dear Charles,

Eisenhower Centenary

Thank you for your letter of 27 April asking for material for the Prime Minister's remarks in the Cabinet Room on 8 May.

The Prime Minister may like to draw on the following.

- We honour today a great soldier and a distinguished President, Dwight David Eisenhower. "Ike" as we all learned to call him.

- You could not, Mr Vice President, have chosen a more fitting day to mark the centenary of his birth. It was on this day, the eighth of May, forty-five years ago that the war ended in Europe. VE day. It is also fitting that three of the Allies are represented here today. [Dr Sagdeev representing the Soviet Union]. And that we are gathered in the Cabinet Room of No.10 Downing Street, which Ike himself would have known well.

- As General Eisenhower, he shared our dark days and he became an architect of our freedom. As Supreme Allied Commander, he contributed as much as any man to Allied victory. He led the Allied Forces in North Africa, and in the invasion of Italy. He assembled in this country the greatest invasion force the world has ever seen; led it to a foothold on the French coast; then directed the Allied troops across the continent to victory over Hitler's forces.

- Winston Churchill called him "A great Commander, who could not only lead an army but stir mens' hearts". He holds a special place in the hearts of the British people. He commands a noble place in our history. We liked "Ike". We counted him as one of us.

- Last year I was proud to be asked to unveil a statue of him in Grosvenor Square. I spoke then of Ike the soldier, of his military achievements. Time will not diminish our memory of these - or our gratitude. To us he was a hero.

/- Like

Like you, Mr Vice President, he was a mid-Westener. He embodied all those qualities of resoluteness, faith and fellowship, which epitomise the heartland of America. Those same qualities carried him from his war-time rôle to become Chief of Staff of the US Army, President of Colombia and University, Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe - where his task was to organise the forces of NATO to forestall the possibility of Soviet expansion westward - and eventually, in 1952, to become the 34th President of the United States.

A soldier, a statesman and a politician holding your country's highest office - and no mean golfer, I am told. Yes, he was all of those. But this year, above all others, we should perhaps reflect on Ike the statesman. The march of events in Eastern Europe now reveals the full measure of the man, and of his foresight. On this day, forty-five years ago, he spoke in his Victory Order to the Allied Expeditionary Force of solving the many problems then facing Europe - and to come - by cooperation and devotion to the cause of human freedom. He was to work for what he called "an age of just peace", one pursued by a free world aroused - as rarely in history - by the will to stay free, and determined to stay vigilant in its defence. In a speech in Washington in the Spring of 1953 that was to be prophetic, he saw the US striving - from the firm foundation of NATO - "to foster a broader European Community, conducive to the free movement of persons, of trade and of ideas". "A Europe that included a free and united Germany, with a government based on a free and secret ballot". He foresaw this "free Community, and the full independence of the East European nations, spelling the end of the unnatural division of Europe". He worked for the reduction in the burden of armaments then weighing upon the world. Indeed, one of his proposals - for "open skies" - is now being realised. - "Ike" did not live to see these events unfold. But I am sure that he would be heartened to know that the fruits of his labours were nurtured by his successors. And, if where he is allows partisan sentiments, that it was two Republican Presidents, President Reagan and President Bush, who brought his vision to fruition.

He once said that he no longer thought like an American, but like an ally. We in Britain owe him an immense debt. For his wartime contribution; for the firm foundation which he laid for our defence through NATO - and which has now brought such momentous rewards in Eastern Europe; and for his part in forging the Anglo-American Alliance as we know it today - both at the highest levels and in the everyday cooperation, which is the closest in the world and which often goes unsung.

- His life was marked by a deep spiritual conviction. He talked of kinship, saying that it depended on wider things - on the rights and values that free men pursue. He believed that the faith we hold belongs not to us alone, but to the free of all the world. His conviction shone through in the prayer which he wrote, in which he said:

"May the light of freedom, coming to all darkened lands, flame brightly - until at last the darkness is no more;

May the turbulence of our age yield to a true time of peace, when men and nations shall share a life that honours the dignity of earth, the brotherhood of all."

- We say thank you for the life of Dwight David Eisenhower. We are proud that he walked among us.

In welcoming the Vice President and Mrs Quayle Ambassador Catto and members of the Eisenhower Centenary delegation, the Prime Minister might wish to note in particular the presence of President Eisenhower's daughter, and that Mrs Catto's mother (Ovetta Culp Hobby) was Secretary for Health Education and Welfare (1953-55) in the first Eisenhower Cabinet.

We understand that the Vice President will seek an opportunity to invite members of the Eisenhower delegation to describe how the centenary has been marked in the United States (the central elements took place on 27 March with a tribute in Congress and a White House dinner). The Prime Minister may wish to invite Mr Churchill to report on the events in the United Kingdom (plans for some of which are described in the first set of enclosures) and to outline arrangements for the Speaker's reception on the evening of 8 May. The Vice President and Mrs Quayle will spend 30 minutes there before leaving for the airport. The Speaker proposes to welcome guests briefly and invite the Vice President and Mr Churchill to make equally brief statements - with all speeches taking no more than 10 minutes overall.

In case they may be useful, the second enclosure contains profiles of Eisenhower's life, his Victory Order of 8 May 1945, his speech of 16 April 1953, and the Prime Minister's speech at the unveiling of the Eisenhower Statue in Grosvenor Square on 23 January 1989.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence).

Yours ever,
Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

03.05.
PM 90

CONFIDENTIAL

FILE

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APC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 May 1990

Dear Richard,

VISIT OF VICE-PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Thank you for your letter of 1 May about the visit of Vice-President Quayle. The revised arrival times do not present any particular problems, although the invitation cards have already been printed. The addition of Susan Eisenhower's husband creates no difficulty. Mrs. Goodchild will need in due course details of car numbers for the various convoys.

As regards substance, I cannot imagine there will be any difficulty in finding things to talk about. There is no need for elaborate briefing.

The request for a further tete-a-tete on 8 May sounds to me a characteristic advance party ploy. The Prime Minister and the Vice-President will spend the better part of two hours talking to each other the preceding evening and I really cannot think ten minutes more will be either here or there. We intend to take the whole party into the Cabinet Room on arrival for the formal session to mark the Eisenhower Centenary.

Yours sincerely,

(C. D. POWELL)

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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KCPC.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

CONFIDENTIAL

1 May 1990

Dear Charles,

PCAP

Vice-President Quayle's Visit to London for the Eisenhower Centenary

Thank you for your letters of 23 and 27 April. Following our meeting with the second US Advance team on 30 April, the position is as follows:

Programme

An addition to his programme in Italy (a visit to the aircraft carrier "Eisenhower"), means that the Vice-President will not now reach Heathrow until 18.15 on 7 May. Even though it is Bank Holiday Monday, the Americans have decided that he should travel to Chequers by car rather than helicopter. This would have him arriving at about 19.00 for talks with the Prime Minister. Dinner would be delayed by 30 minutes to 19.45. Would this be acceptable? We suspect that the Vice-President and Mrs Quayle will not want to delay their departure from Chequers much beyond 21.30.

The US Advance Team have confirmed that the Vice President will be accompanied at Chequers by those in the last paragraph of your letter of 23 April. We understand that you have agreed to the addition of Susan Eisenhower's husband - Roald Sagdeev, Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and former Head of the Soviet Space Programme (we have alerted the US Embassy to the need to check his visa requirement). We are encouraging the Americans to bring any who are travelling with the Vice-President aboard Air Force 2, and who are going to dinner, in the convoy from Heathrow as you have suggested. Others will make their way to Chequers as an independent group, arriving during the Vice-President's talks with the Prime Minister.

The Parliamentary Under Secretary of State and Mrs Timothy Sainsbury will greet the Vice-President on arrival at South Side, along with Ambassador and Mrs Catto.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

I enclose programmes for the Vice-President and Mrs Quayle.

Substance of the Talks

We have had no steer yet from the Vice-President's office. The US Embassy in London and ours in Washington agree that it would be useful if the talks ensured that the Vice-President leaves the UK with a clear view of how we see the situation in the Soviet Union, the future shape of Europe, European Security/Defence Issues and US links to Europe. If there is time they might touch on the US/Japan relationship, GATT, the Middle East (particularly missile proliferation and hostages), Hong Kong Immigration and Nicaragua, which the Vice-President has recently visited. Otherwise, the Foreign Secretary will cover these with Mr Quayle on 8 May. The Prime Minister may also wish to mention her forthcoming visits to the Economic Summit at Houston and to Aspen. We shall send you briefing on 4 May.

The Eisenhower Centenary call on the Prime Minister on 8 May

By the same deadline, I shall let you have material for the Prime Minister's remarks (your letter of 27 April). The US Embassy may have mentioned to you the Vice-President's wish that he should have 10 minutes or so of private talks with the Prime Minister before the formal proceedings begin. The Vice-President's office have not been able to say what Mr Quayle wishes to raise. The Embassy have hinted that the Vice-President would like to be able to say, after leaving No.10, that he had continued his talks with the Prime Minister as well as officiated at the Eisenhower ceremony. The time allowed, (10.00 - 11.00), would probably permit a 10 - 15 minutes tête-à-tête.

Gifts

Both sides have agreed that there should be none.

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

THIRD DRAFT OF PROGRAMME

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE'S VISIT TO LONDON : 7-8 MAY

Monday 7 May

18.15	Arrive by Air Force 2, Heathrow Airport Met by Ambassador and Mrs Catto. UK reception team to be decided (probably Mr and Mrs Timothy Sainsbury). Photo opportunity.
18.25	Depart (from tarmac) to Chequers by car.
19.00	Arrive Chequers.
19.10	Talks with the Prime Minister.
19.40	Photo call with Eisenhower delegation (who will have assembled during the talks).
19.45	Informal dinner. No speeches/toasts.
21.15 approx	Depart Chequers for Winfield House.
22.10	Arrive Winfield House. Overnight stay.

Tuesday 8 May

08.00	Breakfast meeting with young British opinion makers. Photo opportunity at Eisenhower Statue in Grosvenor Square. Meeting with General Galvin at Navy Building, Grosvenor Square.
09.50	Depart Grosvenor Square for Downing Street.
10.00	Meeting with Prime Minister in conjunction with Eisenhower Centennial. Photo call in the Cabinet Room.
10.50	Depart 10 Downing Street. Possible question and answer session outside No 10 with press (Vice President only, unless PM wishes to join him).

PO7ABO

11.00	Call on the Foreign Secretary preceded by photo call. One or two Foreign Office Ministers plus notetaker to attend on UK side. Vice President accompanied by Ambassador Catto, senior staff aide and notetaker.
12.00	Depart for Winfield House from FCO courtyard.
13.00	Lunch at Winfield House hosted by US Ambassador for Eisenhower delegation. Invitees to include the Lord President. US Ambassador to say a few words. Winston Churchill III to reply for the UK Eisenhower Committee.
14.30	Interview with BBC television.
15.00	Staff time.
17.00	Round-table discussion with written media.
17.50	Depart Winfield House for Houses of Parliament.
18.10	Arrive at Reception hosted by the Speaker to mark the Eisenhower Centennial. Mr and Mrs Sainsbury to attend.
18.40	Depart Houses of Parliament for Heathrow Airport.
19.15	Sir Donald Logan bids farewell on behalf of HMG. Doors close. Depart for Paris.

P07ABO

USA: Visits of Pres Quayle Pt. 2

(EXTN) C\WPDOCS\FOREIGN\EISENHOWER.TWN

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 April 1990

Eisenhower Centenary

As you know, a high-level delegation representing the Eisenhower Centennial Committee is to wait upon the Prime Minister on Tuesday 8 May. The delegation will be led by Vice-President Quayle. To mark the solemnity of the occasion, the meeting will be held in the Cabinet Room.

I think it would be appropriate for the Prime Minister to make a few remarks about President Eisenhower's role, both in the Second World War and as President. I should be grateful if someone - perhaps the Historical Adviser - could very kindly put together some appropriate material which could form the basis for the Prime Minister's remarks and let me have it by 4 May.

CHARLES POWELL

J.S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AT

24 April 1990

Dear Richard,

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE: 8 MAY

Thank you for copying me your letter of 20 April to Charles Powell. The Lord President would like to take up the suggestion of a follow-up meeting with Mr Quayle on 8 May and perhaps our offices can be in touch about the arrangements in due course.

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell.

Yours ever,

T J SUTTON
Principal Private Secretary

R H T Gozney Esq
PS/Foreign Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

USA: Visits of Vice Pres Part 2

APRIL 23, 1990

$2.50

EARTH DAY '90

TIME

No Joke

This man could be our next President. A probing look by Garry Wills

"I looked into those blue eyes, and I might as well have been looking out the window."
—William Cavanaugh, one of Quayle's college professors

● COVER STORY

Late Bloomer

Dan Quayle spent much of his life blissfully AWOL from history, a huge handicap even for a faster learner than he has given evidence of being

By GARRY WILLS

Can one, at this point, disentangle Dan Quayle from Dan Quayle jokes? He seems to induce a short attention span in others, leaving them stunned with a serene vacancy. The *New Republic* has penalized with mock awards people who are foolhardy enough to speak well of him. Can anyone be taken seriously who takes Quayle seriously?

As the polls show, Quayle has not recovered from the way he was shoved into the public arena under a rain of blows. Gallup reported last month that 54% of the public—including 43% of Republicans—said he is not qualified to be President; 49% thought Bush should pick a new running mate for '92. "My skills," Quayle said recently, "have always been in negotiating and conciliating." That sounds like wishful thinking from a man so long under assault, including the deadly assault of laughter. Like Charlie Chaplin in the ring, what can he do but crouch behind the referee and wave his gloves in vague call-it-off gestures? Yet he practiced conciliation even before he stood so badly in need of it.

When he was elected to the Senate in 1980, Quayle told political scientist Richard Fenno, "I know one committee I don't want—Judiciary. They are going to be dealing with all those issues like abortion, busing, voting rights, prayer. I'm not interested in those issues, and I want to stay as far away from them as I can." Yet Quayle was not raised among people who shied from extremes. He is the coeval of the cold war: the year of his birth, 1947, also gave us the CIA, the Attorney General's list of subversives and the internal-security program. When Quayle was five years old, Dwight Eisenhower carried Indiana with the help of Quayle's grandfather, publisher Eugene Pulliam, and William Jenner, who were, respectively, the right and the far right of the state Republican Party. When the John Birch Society was set

"When he comes in, he is underestimated—too young, too inexperienced—and then he surpasses people's expectations."

—M. Stanton Evans, ex-editor of the *Indianapolis News*

THEO WESTENBERGER—SYGMA

up in 1958 with the thesis that Eisenhower had collaborated with communism. Quayle's parents became enthusiastic supporters of it. James Quayle compared Birch Society founder Robert Welch to the legendary prophet Nostradamus.

When Dan Quayle was starting high school in Arizona, his neighbor Barry Goldwater was beginning his race for the presidency. When Richard Nixon ran for re-election in 1972, Quayle's father decided that Nixon, like Eisenhower, had betrayed the conservative movement—so Quayle *père* supported the insurgent Republican right-wing candidate John Ashbrook. When Quayle entered the Senate, it was as the beneficiary of a conservative political-action-committee blitz that knocked off five liberal Senators that year (including his opponent, Birch Bayh of Indiana). Quayle's whole (short) adult life was spent cocooned in the modern conservative movement. He should have spread his butterfly wings as an ideologue, yet he came out talking compromise. That is the most striking thing about his intellectual formation.

If he seemed for much of his life unaffected by the world around him, that may have been an advantage, considering the world he lived in. He avoided the Viet Nam War, but he also ignored much that led to Viet Nam. Inattentiveness is sometimes a survival skill. Quayle's pugnacious father did not always agree with Quayle's more famous grandfather, Eugene Pulliam, and among Pulliams it matters from which wife of Eugene one is descended (he had three). When the 17-year-old Quayle thought of siding with his father against his grandfather on behalf of family friend Barry Goldwater, his mother Corinne (a daughter of Pulliam's second wife) told him, "Don't start any more trouble in the family. We already have enough problems." Quayle's father James—an ex-Marine who named his son for a friend, James A. Danforth, a World War II hero killed in action in Germany—was gung-ho for Viet Nam. J. Danforth Quayle was, famously, not. Considering the other enthusiasms of his father's, from Robert Welch to Ashbrook, from Nostradamus to Fundamentalist preacher "Colonel" Robert Thieme, there is something to be said for the son's reluctance to join his father's battles. Quayle grew up golfing with his imperious grandfather and camping (gun in hand) with his volatile father, an opinionated owner-editor whose Indiana newspaper is known to its local critics as the Huntington *Herald "Suppress."* Young Danny kept his head down, his eye on the ball.

One of Quayle's college professors has an indelible memory of trying to make a point with Quayle, and talking into air. "I looked into those blue eyes, and I might as well have been looking out the window," says William Cavanaugh. But he was the teacher of Quayle's freshman composition course; he had differed with his student over the prose of Whittaker Chambers. *Witness*, Chambers' portentously anti-communist book, was a kind of bible in the Quayle family. Quayle's tactical incomprehension with Professor Cavanaugh may have been the response of one who knows where ideological conflict goes when it is pushed. Attending law school in Indianapolis, Quayle lived outside town with his grandmother, the divorced second wife, while a son of the first wife edited the Indianapolis paper, and the third wife was active in the Pulliam chain. Quayle kept peace all around. He may not know much, but he seems to have self-knowledge when he calls himself accommodating.

Is Quayle serene merely because he is vacuous, preferring drift to ideology? That view obliges one to explain how, in politics, he drifted often and early to the top. Even his friends admit that his success was not by any blaze of intellect. Says M. Stanton Evans, the ex-editor of the Indianapolis *News*, who helped Quayle get his first political appointment: "There is a cycle in all of his offices. When he comes in, he is underestimated—too young, too inexperienced—and then he surpasses people's expectations." In other words, Quayle first gets the job and then gets qualified for it. But for a politician,

The graduate, right, with Quayle père and grand-père

The new Senator, with Marilyn and children, savors his 1980 election

"There was one thing Dan Quayle never talked about, and that was his family."

—Law school classmate Frank Pope

getting the job is the primal qualification. How did he succeed at that? The only answer his critics have been able to come up with is a false one—family influence.

Influence should have counted at DePauw University, an old Methodist school in northern Indiana with loyal alumni and great institutional pride. Quayle was a third-generation Pulliam at the school, a member of the same fraternity (Delta Kappa Epsilon) to which his grandfather, father and uncle had belonged. His grandfather founded the national journalism fraternity Sigma Delta Chi at DePauw, gave the school many bequests and served on its board. There was a Pulliam Chair in History until just before Dan's arrival on campus. "If I had known he was a Pulliam," says Ted Katula, the athletic director who was Quayle's golf coach, "that would have impressed me. Pulliams are big here. I didn't learn he was one till he was running for Congress." Yet Katula was the member of the university staff Quayle saw the most. Little was made of Quayle's being a Pulliam because few people knew it. He did not bring the subject up. In his experience, family ties were as much a source of division as advantage.

Quayle got special treatment at DePauw in one provable case: he graduated with a major in politics without taking the required course in political theory. When he flunked the theoretical parts of the final exam, he was given a special exam without those parts. He was one of two students for whom this was done that year, and the common denominator in their case is not family (the other man was not a Pulliam) but a quarrel between the department head and the teacher of political theory over the size and kind of assignments given in the course. The two students had dropped the class when there were protests that the teacher, newly arrived from Harvard, had too long a reading list, protests the department head energetically backed. If other teachers went easy on Quayle, it was because he is the kind of person for whom people like to do favors. They were just doing what George Bush would later do on a colossal scale.

Quayle, who has refused to release his college and law school transcripts, was certainly no student at DePauw. The teachers who disliked him did so because he was good at getting by on charm. He was serious only about golf, a family passion instilled in him during the long Arizona days of his adolescence. His father, who has a unilaterally disarming candor, admits overstating it when he said of Dan's major, "If he's anything like his old man, it was probably booze and broads." But the minutes of Quayle's fraternity have this entry: "A petition was submitted to have Bro. Quayle censured for his violation of house security. It was moved he be: 1) fined $25, 2) removed from all house offices, 3) warn him that his pin will be lifted if he does it again. A motion was accepted to table the petition's motion." Violating house security means having unauthorized persons in one's room.

There had not been much war protest on the DePauw campus by the time Quayle graduated in 1969. Quayle's father was writing editorials backing the war in Viet Nam, but his son was not paying attention. As graduation approached, Quayle had to do some shopping around to find an opening in the National Guard. (In 1988 he said he meant to go to law school, but he had not applied to one.) He asked people he knew about the Guard, whom to call, but it is unlikely they did or could rig things for him. His grandfather was semiretired in Arizona; his father was not a natural ally in this effort. He had the advantage of knowing where to go, but not of fixing what the response would be.

During his service in the Guard through much of the academic year 1969-70, Quayle decided he did indeed want to study the law. Admission would not be easy after his admittedly poor academic performance at DePauw, but here a personal contact was helpful. He knew the admissions director of the Indiana University law school in Indianapolis—through his family, as he knew most older people. This admissions director, Kent Frandsen, was a judge in the little

Quayle's whole life was spent cocooned in the conservative movement. He should have spread his butterfly wings as an ideologue, yet he came out talking compromise.

PAUL MILLER—BLACK STAR

The Vice President presses the flesh at a refugee camp in Thailand last year

town of Lebanon, outside Indianapolis. Another prominent citizen there was Quayle's grandmother, Martha Pulliam, who was given the Lebanon paper as her own in the divorce. (She was the one Quayle would live with.) Frandsen gave Quayle a break, something he was doing for many others at the time. The night school was expanding its enrollment—it would move into a new and larger building in 1970—and Frandsen had a summer program to try out marginal cases. Quayle, out of school for a year, went into that program.

Frandsen did him another favor when he called in Quayle and another student, Frank Pope, and asked them to start a student newspaper for the night school. Before, there had been just a mimeographed sheet. Frandsen wanted to begin life in the new building with a real paper, and he allotted money to the project. Quayle became the editor of the journal he and Pope called the *Barrister*. It is unlikely Frandsen would have asked Quayle to do this if he doubted he could manage the newspaper along with courses at night and work during the day.

Daytime work was expected of Quayle (he had waited on tables at DePauw), and his father suggested working in the office of Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar. The father called his friend, fellow Pulliam editor Stan Evans. According to Evans, "Jim asked me to lunch with Dan. I did most of the talking and learned for the first time that he wanted to go to law school. I said I thought it would be better to work in the [state] attorney general's office than in the city government, since I knew that many of the people who worked there were in law school."

Evans knew about the young Republicans in the statehouse, since they were involved with him in conservative causes. As he said of Quayle's performance, "He was not as ideological as the other people in the A.G.'s office. He was certainly not out at Ashbrook rallies." (Evans, a friend of Quayle's father's, agreed with him on the need for a third-party candidate in 1972.)

It was normal that those working in the state government should have political connections of some sort. In the Lieutenant Governor's office were Daniel Manion, son of the John Birch Society's Clarence Manion, and Frank Pope, whose family was so close to William Jenner that he grew up calling him Uncle Bill. In the budget agency was Judy Palmer, who was the personal assistant to Edgar Whitcomb's wife during Whitcomb's 1968 campaign for Governor; in the prosecutor's office was Vicki Ursalkis. All these people were students at the night school, only a few blocks from the statehouse, but they saw more of each other during their daytime tasks, in the balconies ringing the rotunda, than in the school, even though Quayle, Pope, Ursalkis and Palmer made up a study group for their law classes. According to Pope, the women carried the men in these preparations. "Dan and I wouldn't have done what we did in law school without Vicki and Judy." Quayle dated Vicki before he met Marilyn.

Most of these Republicans had past ties to the Jenner organization, which Quayle's grandfather had opposed for years, but that did not trouble Quayle's relations with them. Quayle liked to ask Pope's mother, when he played bridge at her house, about the old Jenner wars she relished as a party organizer. He took this in without much comment, and certainly without reciprocal revelations. "There was one thing Dan Quayle never talked about," Frank Pope says now, "and that was his family."

The statehouse was a den of young activists, among whom Quayle seemed almost apolitical. Pope says Manion "dragged" Quayle and him to a meeting or two of the Young Americans for Freedom, but "Dan [Manion] was so far right he scared Danny and me." Certainly there were young activists in Quayle's circle who shared his father's zeal for Ashbrook. But Quayle did his work at the attorney general's office and in class, and went home to his grandmother's house in Lebanon.

Marilyn Tucker was as bright as the women in Quayle's study group, and her

Quayle is to Bush what Nixon was to Eisenhower—a bridge to the right

Quayle starts from a conservative base but tries to keep the freedom to maneuver away from it. In 1976 he suggested that marijuana be decriminalized.

uncle, the Indiana secretary of state, was a Jenner man. She and Quayle were sure of each other from the start and were married in 1972 by the friend of both their families, Kent Frandsen. It was a fine political marriage by Indiana standards, but after passing the bar exam in 1974 Quayle went back to Huntington, to his father's small paper, without announced political ambitions.

The myth now firmly established is that some Fort Wayne party men chose Quayle because of his looks for the thankless task of running against eight-term Democratic Congressman Ed Roush in 1976. Quayle was recently introduced to a board meeting of the Hoover Institution as one who volunteered to "fall on his sword" in that 1976 campaign. But Walter Helmke, the G.O.P. candidate in 1974, says that the idea of Roush's invincibility is nonsense. "He only beat me by 8,000 votes, and that was in the post-Watergate election when Republicans did badly. When Dan ran against Roush, Gerald Ford swept Indiana for the Republicans. Ford carried Dan."

The idea of Quayle's passive role in this beauty-queen audition is also overstated. Helmke remembers that Quayle was out in his journalist's role observing his own campaign and Richard Lugar's unsuccessful run against Birch Bayh in the 1974 Senate race. Helmke was surprised when Quayle asked foreign policy questions in those local races. And two years later, when Helmke showed Quayle around Roush's district, they were not looking for swords to fall on.

Nor did talent scouts have to prod Quayle into his 1980 campaign against Birch Bayh. He aggressively sought a conflict in which the odds were longer against him than they had been four years earlier with Roush. When the golf coach, Katula, asked why he would risk a safe House seat on such a race, Quayle told him, "Coach, we're just going to have to work harder."

He campaigned in all 92 counties of the state. He defused the age issue by saying, over and over, "Birch Bayh was almost the same age when he beat Homer Capehart." (This ploy would backfire when Quayle used a similar line about John Kennedy in 1988.) When Bayh accused him of extremism, Quayle distanced himself from the ads being run against Bayh by the National Conservative Political Action Committee, telling the Washington lobbyists, "Your negative campaign will allow him [Bayh] to allege that outsiders are trying to tell the people of Indiana how to vote." Quayle resigned from the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress because it was trying to purge third-party presidential candidate John Anderson from the Republican party. He ran an ideological campaign but with just enough touches of pragmatism.

Quayle is not interested in lost causes. (Maybe it was fitting that he not go to Viet Nam?) In this he resembles his grandfather, who constantly frustrated his conservative editors. Eugene Pulliam, says Stan Evans, "was a seat-of-the-pants guy, unpredictable." Jameson Campaigne Jr., whose father edited the Indianapolis *Star* for Pulliam, says, "He [Pulliam] was not a conservative; he was a Methodist—a good government type. That is why he opposed Jenner and the corrupt Republicans in Indiana."

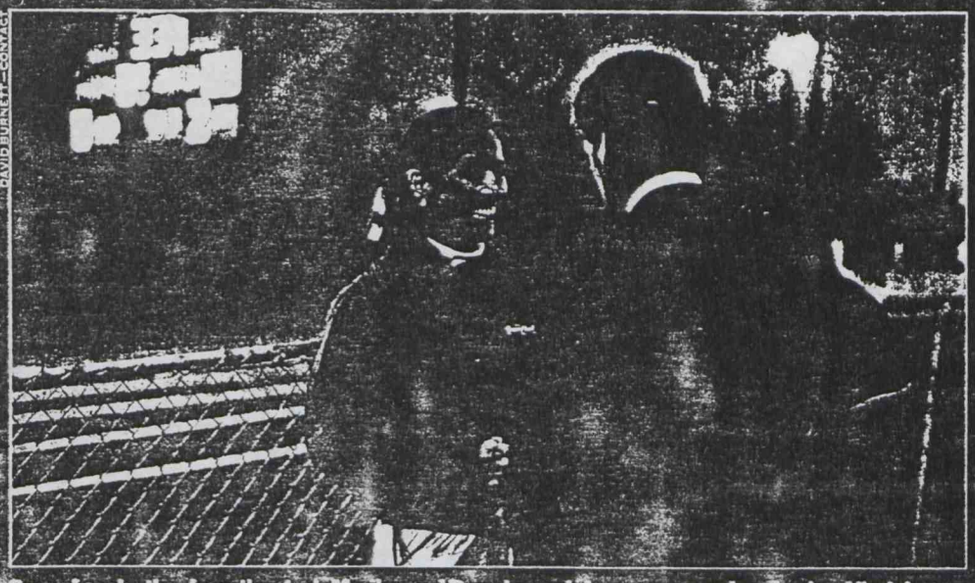
Pulliam bought 51 newspapers in his career, but most of them were small-town papers, and he had a small-town approach to government. It is not surprising that he settled in Lebanon, a little community that is almost an annex to its golf course. Pulliam believed in paternalistic civic improvement, where business, politics and journalism unite to clean up a town and then run it for its own good. He clashed early in his career with the Klan, lax liquor laws and prostitution.

When he got involved in national politics, it was as a pragmatist. He joined Eisenhower in 1952 against the Taft conservatives. He joined Lyndon Johnson in 1964 against Goldwater, whom he had helped draw into politics in order to "clean up" Phoenix. He went back to the Republicans in 1968 and stuck with Nixon. Quayle's father rebelled against both Eisenhower and Nixon by supporting Birch and Ashbrook—lost causes. Pulliam had no more use for the Birchers than for Klansmen.

Some mistook Pulliam for an ideologue because his pragmatic political stands mattered as much to him as the papers' income. He defied advertisers over matters like liquor licensing and a Phoenix beltway, favored by the business establishment, which he helped defeat. He was prickly about his independence and about that of his family and loved institutions. He resigned from the board of DePauw when the school refused to turn down federal money with strings attached. His own children and heirs were expected to work; the money he left them is tied up, dependent on their performance on the newspapers.

Pulliam gave the readiest daily sign of his competitiveness on the golf course. He learned in Lebanon how to talk with the city establishment on the links, and he set a Quayle family pattern of buying homes that overlook the fairways. He liked year-round golfing, so he left Lebanon in the winter, first for Florida, then for Phoenix. He was an advocate of improvement, tourism and more golf courses for Phoenix long before he bought his paper there. The Phoenix course on which Quayle learned to play is nestled among a dozen or so clubs, their bright green carpets dramatic against the pebbly desert.

Quayle was such a natural golfer that his grandfather soon liked having him for a partner. The Pulliams read character on the golf course. The DePauw coach admires the nerve, even the courage, of Quayle's game. "He likes the heat of battle." He claims that Quayle rises to challenge, takes chances but



DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT

If he inherited the Oval Office tomorrow, Quayle would be the first modern President who did not serve in World War II. He is the first baby boomer so near the top.

Sure of each other from the start: Marilyn and Dan at a son's lacrosse game in suburban Virginia

keeps his head. Could Quayle beat his old coach, who stays in shape and plays constantly? "By the 16th hole, conversation would be at a minimum."

Quayle's competitiveness appealed to Roger Ailes, who handled him in his 1986 re-election race for the Senate. Quayle's record in debates was good until he met Lloyd Bentsen. He debated Roush five times in 1976 and Bayh once in 1980. The general view was that both men underestimated him and were beaten by him. Dan Evans, Quayle's 1980 manager, says he was effective against Bayh because he was not being "handled," as in 1988—the Nancy Reagan excuse about debate "overpreparation." But Quayle needed help in 1988, when he was on the defensive from the outset. Indiana reporters say that even now he has not regained the confidence and ease he showed in his earlier campaigns.

Quayle starts from a conservative base but tries to keep the freedom to maneuver away from it. In 1976 he suggested that marijuana be decriminalized, a view too radical to be repeated before his constituents. Dan Coats, who now holds Quayle's Senate seat, is a born-again Christian who as Quayle's aide helped him win votes from the religious right; but Richard Fenno, the political scientist who observed his 1980 race, noticed that Quayle kept his commitments to a minimum in this part of his campaign. In the Senate, Quayle avoided the social issues and sought expertise in defense, specializing in SDI. His staff emphasizes the way he could cooperate "even with Teddy Kennedy" to pass the job-training act. This is the kind of paternalistic program, involving business, that his grandfather supported in towns he "looked after." Quayle's pragmatism is good politics, but he seems to favor it in any case. In an editorial for the *Barrister* (the first political writing of his I can find), Quayle attacked the machine-driven convention system in Indiana, calling for open primaries—the kind of reform Eugene Pulliam always favored.

As Vice President, Quayle has established a right-wing base again, choosing a hard-line and activist staff (unlike Vice President Bush's bland low-profile aides). The number of Ph.D.s is emphasized by his press office (two for Carnes Lord, his national security aide). He recruited from the ranks of believers in the cold war, just before that war's demise, surrounding himself with those who have an investment in it. His chief of staff, William Kristol, is the son of neoconservative Irving Kristol and Gertrude Himmelfarb and is a former aide to William Bennett. Quayle is comfortable with intelligence in his vicinity.

Structurally, Quayle's position with Bush, a man never quite accepted by the right as "one of our own," is that of Nixon with Eisenhower—bridge to the right, voice of the right, pacifier of the right. In the latter role he has already been criticized by the *National Review* and conservative columnist Eric Breindel. It is a high-risk position, since reflex anticommunism is not the right-wing glue it was before Mikhail Gorbachev. Quayle has treated changes in the Soviet Union as suspect, while saying he does not differ from the President (the refrain against which all Vice Presidents must play their own tunes). Quayle is loyal to individuals, as he showed in the Senate in 1986 by his frantic efforts to win a judgeship for Daniel Manion (whose written opinions were more embarrassing than Quayle's spur-of-the-moment inanities); but he does not play to lose. If Bush wants to get rid of Quayle, he may get as little cooperation as Eisenhower got from Nixon. Kristol, who turned down other job offers in the Administration to go with Quayle, is firm for his man. Similar commitments are in the making.

During the 1988 campaign, people wondered about Quayle's actions (and even his whereabouts) in the Viet Nam War. But the startling thing is that, if he inherited the Oval Office tomorrow, Quayle would be the first President since World War II who did not serve in the military during *that* war. Even Jimmy Carter, the U.S. President of most recent birth (1924), was a Navy cadet during the war. Not only was Quayle born after the war—the first baby boomer so near the top—he is also the first man to have grown up entirely within the confines of the modern conservative movement. He was surprisingly unscarred by that (or any) experience when Bush chose him. Quayle claimed John Kennedy was just as young in 1960; but Kennedy had known prewar Europe as well as the wartime Pacific.

Stan Evans traces an arc in Quayle's career of rising (if belatedly) to expectations. The angle of the arc must now go up, dramatically. Quayle was born not only roughly a quarter-century after any preceding President; he spent another quarter-century blissfully AWOL from history. His press secretary, David Beckwith, calls the Vice President a "classic late bloomer"—which means that the first three decades or so of his life do not matter, just the last decade. That is starting late even for a faster learner than Quayle has given evidence of being. How can he "rise to expectations" when the U.S. can expect all the troubles of a world coming out of the cold war, and when the person doing the rising came in with the cold war himself? That is why, for all the jokes, we must take Dan Quayle seriously. We must do so, because Bush did not. ■

CONFIDENTIAL

To file
cc Quayle
Sec AP
AG

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 April 1990

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Thank you for your letter of 20 April about the visit of Vice President Quayle on 7/8 May. This is very short notice, and the dates are hardly convenient. Vice President Quayle will presumably come to No.10 with the Eisenhower Centennial delegation on 8 May. It is really not feasible to try to arrange a formal dinner in his honour on the evening of 7 May, since it is a Bank Holiday. But the Prime Minister has agreed that she will give supper to the Vice-President and Mrs. Quayle and the members of the Eisenhower Centennial Committee at Chequers on the evening of 7 May. She would also fit in a half-hour talk with the Vice-President before supper.

You will wish to consider the logistics with the American Embassy, in particular whether to bring the Vice-President to Chequers ahead of the others. There is something to be said for bringing them all direct from Heathrow. Those not involved in the talks can look round the house. Supper would be early, say 1915, with return to London at 2100.

For the avoidance of doubt, those expected for supper would be the Vice-President and Mrs. Quayle, the US Ambassador and Mrs. Catto, Susan Eisenhower, William Rogers, Maxwell Robb and James Robinson, and <u>one</u> member of the Vice-President's staff. Any attempts by the Americans to extend participation beyond this will be ill-received.

C.D. POWELL

Richard Gozney, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 April 1990

Dear Charles,

Visit of Vice President Quayle: 8 May

Vice President Quayle is to lead a US delegation to commemorations marking the Centenary of the late President Eisenhower's birth, which will visit London on 8 May.

Mr Quayle will arrive in London at 5.15 pm on the evening of 7 May after visits to Bonn and Rome (6 and 7 May respectively). He will travel to Paris on the evening of 8 May before returning to Washington late on 9 May. Those accompanying the Vice President are Susan Eisenhower, daughter of the former President; William Rogers, former Secretary of State; ex-Ambassador Maxwell Rabb and James Robinson, Chairman of American Express which is involved in the administrative arrangements for the activities. The delegation is due to arrive at No 10 for a call at 10.00 am on 8 May; we understand that this has been arranged between Mr Winston Churchill MP and Andrew Turnbull. Other events planned for that day are a lunch hosted by the US Ambassador and a reception in the Speaker's house from 6-7.30 pm.

Mr Quayle had to cancel a planned visit to London in February. On that occasion, the Prime Minister offered talks and dinner. We recommend taht something similar might be offered this time, but the only gap for a dinner is on the evening of 7 May. There would appear to be no other opportunity for the Prime Minister to offer hospitality.

I am copying this letter to Tim Sutton (Lord President's Office), who may also wish to consider a follow-up meeting to the one in Santiago in the margins of the Chilean Government inaugurations.

Yours ever,

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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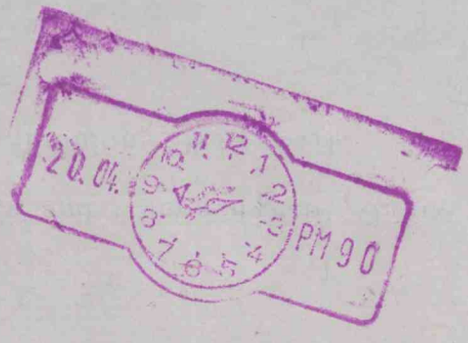
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EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON
January 22, 1990

CAB 24/1

Dear Prime Minister:

The Vice President has asked that I pass to you the attached message concerning his postponed February visit.

Sincerely,

Henry E. Catto
Ambassador

Attachment:
CONFIDENTIAL

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

January 22, 1990

Dear Prime Minister:

The Vice President has asked that I pass to you the attached message concerning his postponed February visit.

Sincerely,

Henry E. Catto
Ambassador

Attachment:
CONFIDENTIAL

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London.

(2)

Prime Minister

CDN 24/1

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Prime Minister:

Please accept my personal apologies for the need to postpone our February 8 meeting in London. As you have heard, the President has asked that I undertake a mission to Latin America to consult with our friends there. We expect that this consultation, coupled with withdrawal of U.S. troops that were temporarily sent to Panama, will have a salutary effect on our relations in the western hemisphere.

The President and I are, of course, deeply grateful for the support you gave us on Panama. The relationship between Britain and the United States remains very special, and I look forward, as soon as possible, to receiving your insights on the fast-changing situation in Central and Eastern Europe. I enjoyed our conversation at Tokyo and regret very deepely that Marilyn and I will not be able to accept your very kind invitation to dinner.

Let us hope, however, that we can see you again as soon as possible.

Best New Year wishes,

Sincerely,

/S/

Dan Quayle

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London.

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YOUR TELNO 2232 (NOT TO ALL): VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

1. WE SPOKE TO QUAYLE'S OFFICE ACCORDINGLY. THEY HAVE CONFIRMED THAT QUAYLE WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO ACCEPT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFER OF TALKS AND A DINNER ON 8 FEBRUARY.

2. QUAYLE'S OFFICE SAID THAT VICE-PRESIDENT WOULD BE ARRIVING IN LONDON FROM MUNICH IN THE EARLY AFTERNOON OF 8 FEBRUARY. IT HAD NOT YET BEEN DECIDED WHETHER HE WOULD FLY BACK TO WASHINGTON THAT NIGHT OR STAY ON UNTIL THE FOLLOWING LUNCHTIME TO ENABLE HIM TO HAVE MEETINGS WITH QUOTE POLITICAL FIGURES UNQUOTE NOT IN THE GOVERNMENT, AND/OR TO DELIVER A SPEECH AT EG THE IISS OR CHATHAM HOUSE. THE US EMBASSY IN LONDON HAD BEEN ASKED FOR SUGGESTIONS, BUT QUAYLE'S OFFICE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR ANY THOUGHTS WE MIGHT LIKE TO OFFER. NAD MAY WISH TO CONCERT WITH THE US EMBASSY.

3. QUAYLE'S OFFICE EXPLAINED THAT HIS VISIT TO LONDON WOULD COME AT THE END OF A TOUR OF BRUSSELS (FOCUSSING ON EC '92), GENEVA (WHERE QUAYLE WOULD ADDRESS A UN HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE), BONN (FOR MEETINGS WITH MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT) AND MUNICH (TO VISIT RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THEIR ROLE VIS A VIS EASTERN EUROPE).

4. QUAYLE'S OFFICE LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING WITH US IN THE COURSE OF JANUARY THE AGENDA FOR QUAYLE'S MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.

5. QUAYLE'S OFFICE EMPHASISED THAT THEY WANTED TO KEEP THE VISIT UNDER WRAPS UNTIL MUCH NEARER THE TIME.

ACLAND

YYYY

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

16 December 1989

Dear Stephen,

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

I have seen a copy of the Washington telegram about Vice President Quayle's planned visit to Europe in February. The Prime Minister would be able to offer him talks in the late afternoon of Thursday 8 February and a dinner that evening. It would be helpful to get our bid in early and I should be grateful if you could offer these dates.

Yours sincerely,

Charles Powell

C. D. POWELL

J.S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

(1)

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

Vice President Quayle is visiting London and other European Capitals next February. Since it will be his first visit as Vice President, I think you ought to see him and offer him a meal. I attach the diary for the week in question. It is not ideal but you could do a lunch on the Monday or a lunch on the Friday, or a dinner on the Thursday. Could you kindly say which you would prefer?

CDP

Dinner on Thursday

MT

C. D. POWELL
14 December 1989

C:\FOREIGN\QUAYLE.DAS

Sunday 4 February

Speechwriting (Young Conservatives)

Monday 5 February

WINTER BALL

Tuesday 6 February

RECEPTION AT NEW ZEALAND HOUSE

Wednesday 7 February

0930	Mr. Felber + CDP
1040	**DEPART NO. 10**
1100	**CHILD OF ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS CEREMONY**
1315	**DEPART FOR NO. 10**
	Lunch in flat
	Speechwriting

Thursday 8 February

Friday 9 February

Speechwriting

Sunday 4 February

Speechwriting (Young Conservatives)

Monday 5 February

WINTER BALL

Tuesday 6 February

RECEPTION AT NEW ZEALAND HOUSE

Wednesday 7 February

0930	Mr. Felber + CDP
1040	DEPART NO 10
1100	CHILD OF ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS CEREMONY
1315	DEPART FOR NO 10
	Lunch in flat
	Speechwriting

Thursday 8 February

Talks and dinner with President Salinas of Mexico + CDP

Friday 9 February

Speechwriting

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 December 1989

Dear Charles,

Vice President Quayle's visit to London and other European Capitals: 4-9 February 1990

The US Embassy have told us that Vice President Quayle intends to visit London, Paris, Bonn, Rome and Madrid from 4-9 February on his way to the Andean Summit. He will wish to enlist the support of European governments for Andean nations' anti-narcotic efforts; encourage support for free and fair Nicaraguan elections on 25 February; and reiterate the importance of democratic rule in Panama. Mr Quayle will also be interested in discussing topical European issues, including Western support for East European democratisation. A Vice-Presidential advance team is expected to visit London and the other capitals soon.

The Foreign Secretary recommends that the Prime Minister receive Mr Quayle next February. He has been developing a conservative base in Washington and shown some independence of mind when commenting on developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He is also paying increasing attention to Central America and has been asked by President Bush to take an interest in drugs matters. Mr Quayle's overall popularity in the US remains low. But we would otherwise do ourselves no harm in maintaining good relations with him. The Embassy in Washington agrees.

On timing, we understand from the No 10 Diary Secretary that 9 February could be difficult for the Prime Minister.

I should be grateful to learn whether the Prime Minister would be prepared to see Mr Quayle during that week.

Yours

Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

October 5, 1987

M[redacted] Charles Powell

With the Compliments of

THE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Charles H. Price, II

24, Grosvenor Square,
London, W1A 1AE, England.

3. THE VICE PRESIDENT AND AMBASSADOR PRICE HOSTED A SMALL, RELAXED BREAKFAST FOR BRITISH GOVERNMENT LEADERS AT WINFIELD HOUSE ON OCTOBER 2. THE GUESTS INCLUDED THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, LORD WHITELAW, FOREIGN SECRETARY SIR GEOFFREY HOWE, ENERGY SECRETARY CECIL PARKINSON, EMPLOYMENT SECRETARY LORD YOUNG, FCO PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY SIR PATRICK WRIGHT, CHIEF OF THE DEFENSE STAFF ADMIRAL SIR JOHN FIELDHOUSE, AND SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE BERNARD WEATHERILL.

4. THE VICE PRESIDENT RECOUNTED A NUMBER OF PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS VISIT TO POLAND. DEVELOPING A PICTURE OF POLAND'S COMPLEXITY AND FASCINATION, THE VICE PRESIDENT TOLD OF HIS ENCOUNTERS WITH GENUINELY WARM AUDIENCES THROUGHOUT HIS TRIP AS WELL AS THE MORE FORMAL, "RENT-A-CROWD" RECEPTIONS AT OTHER STOPS. HE WAS STRUCK BY THE REMARKABLE DEGREE OF KINSHIP THAT POLES CONTINUE TO FEEL FOR THEIR RELATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES, BY THE VIGOR OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, BY THE CURIOUS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS IN THE POLISH ECONOMY, BY THE PERVASIVE GHOST OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE STRENGTH OF POLISH NATIONALISM, BY THE POLITICAL ACUITY OF LECH WALENSA AND THE STOLID, HUMORLESS MANNER OF JARUZELSKI.

5. JARUZELSKI'S MAJOR COMPLAINT, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID, SEEMED TO BE THAT THE UNITED STATES EXPECTED A STANDARD OF PERFORMANCE ON THE PART OF POLAND WHICH WE DID NOT EXPECT OF MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. WHAT THE U.S EXPECTED OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HURT THE POLISH

ECONOMY AND THEREFORE THE POLISH PEOPLE. THE VICE PRESIDENT REBUTTED THESE CHARACTERIZATIONS, POINTING OUT THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC SUPPORTED THE CAREFUL POLICIES THAT REFLECTED THE WISHES OF THE POLES THEMSELVES.

6. TURNING TO THE SITUATION IN THE GULF, THE VICE PRESIDENT STRESSED HOW HELPFUL THE BRITISH REACTION HAD BEEN IN THE WAKE OF THE IRAN AJR INCIDENT LAST WEEK. HE SAID THAT THE NO-NONSENSE EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHERS IN HMG HAD GONE A LONG WAY IN GETTING THE ISSUE QUICKLY AND PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD IN THE UNITED STATES AND AROUND THE WORLD. THIS KIND OF ALLIED SOLIDARITY ALWAYS YIELDED GREAT BENEFITS, WHETHER THE ISSUES WERE EUROPEAN OR ELSEWHERE. THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE VITALITY OF THAT ALLIANCE AND THE GULF DEMONSTRATES ITS REWARDS. THE BRITISH GUESTS ALL APPLAUDED THE U.S. ACTION AGAINST THE IRAN AJR AND SUGGESTED THERE WAS NO PUBLIC OPINION SUBSTITUTE FOR THE QUICK RELEASE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF IRANIAN GUILT.

7. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE GAVE HMG'S CURRENT VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN THE GULF. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE PRESENT TWO TRACKS, THE FIRST WITHIN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL BY ENCOURAGING THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND KEEPING THE SOVIETS INVOLVED ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE SIDE OF EVENTS; AND THE SECOND, IN THE GULF ITSELF WITH VIGILANT PATROLLING TO MAINTAIN THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS. ON THE SECOND TRACK, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD AVOID TAKING ACTIONS THAT WILL DRAW US INTO AN OUT-AND-OUT CONFRONTATION WITH THE IRANIANS.

8. THE VICE PRESIDENT PRESSED THE FOREIGN SECRETARY ON THIS LAST POINT. HOW, HE ASKED, WOULD HMG REACT IF ONE OF ITS NAVAL VESSELS WERE ATTACKED BY AN IRANIAN SHIP OR PLANE? HOWE SAID THE BRITISH RULES OF ENGAGEMENT ALREADY PROVIDED FOR AGGRESSIVE SELF-DEFENSE. WHAT IS IMPORTANT, HE WENT ON, IS TO EMPHASIZE THE LEGALITY OF WHATEVER ACTIONS ARE TAKEN. IN HIS VIEW, DETERRENCE IS A PART OF SELF-DEFENSE. AND IF THIS CAN BE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED, IT IS APPROPRIATE IN LAW. BUT RETALIATION FOR ITS OWN SAKE SHOULD BE AVOIDED.

9. THE VICE PRESIDENT AGREED WITH THIS ANALYSIS. HE WENT ON TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT

THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD REACT FORCEFULLY IN THE FACE OF ANY IRANIAN ATTACK. THE ISSUE OF WHY WE ARE IN THE GULF IS NOW BETTER UNDERSTOOD IN THE UNITED STATES THAN WAS THE CASE AT THE TIME OF THE STARK. PUBLIC OPINION AT HOME WILL SUPPORT TOUGH ACTION IN SUPPORT OF OUR LEGAL ACTIVITIES IN THE GULF. PRICE

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject ce Master

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

2 October 1987

From the Private Secretary

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH

The Prime Minister had a meeting yesterday with Vice-President Bush. The Vice-President was accompanied by the United States Ambassador and Mr. Craig Fuller. The Prime Minister also dined privately with the Vice-President yesterday evening.

At the beginning of the meeting, the Vice-President handed over a message from the President to the Prime Minister. I enclose a copy. – See Defence : Arms Control : Pt 13.

Visit to Poland

The Vice-President gave an account of his visit to Poland. It was clear that Jaruzelski saw himself as the closest of all the East European leaders to Mr. Gorbachev. He had a considerable stake in Gorbachev's success, and believed that glasnost would give him some extra room for manoeuvre. Jaruzelski was personally a cold fish. He generally avoided ideological or polemical points in discussion and concentrated on pragmatic issues, above all Poland's need for economic help. He spoke of politial reforms which he intended to introduce, laying particular stress on the creation of an Ombudsman. On some issues he was very naive. He had claimed that Solidarity no longer existed and had, at its height, consisted only of 120 or 30 people. He had also compared the situation on the Berlin wall with that on the United States/Mexico border. The Vice-President had pointed out that in Berlin, the East Germans were trying to stop people getting out: in the United States, they had to stop them coming in. The Poles had lived up to their promises about his programme and had allowed him to appear on television. He had also met Walesa, whom he had found a charismatic character, and Cardinal Glemp who was rather unimpressive. The Church played a very large part in Poland's life, and the priests were astonishingly outspoken.

The Prime Minister congratulated the Vice-President on a very successful visit. She had it in mind to visit Poland herself next year, but was anxious not to give the wrong signal to Poles in the United Kingdom.

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East/West Relations

The Vice-President gave an account of his talk with Chancellor Kohl. This had clearly covered much the same ground as the Prime Minister and Chancellor Kohl when they met in Berlin on 25 September. Kohl had been pleased, indeed euphoric, about the success of Honecker's visit to the FRG. The Prime Minister said that Chancellor Khol tended to put the best possible construction upon any event. Her own assessment was that Honecker had been given the opportunity to appear as a respectable leader and had gained considerably from the visit. She was more doubtful whether there had been any significant gain in it for the West.

The Vice-President commented that no date had yet been set for the Summit between President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev. But planning was proceeding on the assumption of a date in late November.

Arms Control

The Vice-President gave a brief account of his discussions with Kohl, Chirac and Giraud on arms control. While Chirac appeared in favour of the INF agreement, Giraud had expressed some doubts. The Vice-President had asked him whether he would not have been happy to accept the agreement now on offer in 1983. Giraud had admitted this. Kohl had wanted to see early progress towards negotiation on short-range nuclear missiles. He had forecast that the Russians would offer to eliminate all their remaining short-range missiles, in return for the very few held by the West. Such an offer would be impossible to refuse. He was also wringing his hands over the difficulties of modernising Lance. Vice-President Bush said that he had made clear that the next priorities in arms control were a 50% reduction in strategic nuclear weapons and the elimination of chemical weapons. There should be no further negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons until after agreement was achieved on conventional weapons. He commented that he had the impression that the United States and British position on a chemical weapons ban were now moving closer.

The Prime Minister strongly agreed that it was vital not to go any further with negotiations on SNF until Soviet chemical weapons had been eliminated and balance achieved in conventional forces. A zero INF agreement was not ideal in military terms. It would have been better to have equal ceilings at some level above zero. But the West had been constrained by the terms of the original deployment decision and it was no good carping about it. The agreement should be presented as a triumph for the West. The Prime Minister added that she remained very concerned by the threat posed by Soviet chemical superiority. We must overcome German resistance to the modernisation of NATO's short-range nuclear missiles. They would remain a vital element in the range of options available to SACEUR to defend Europe.

The Prime Minister said that she hoped very much that the President would come over to Europe to meet with NATO Heads of Government before his summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. This would underline the unity of the Alliance. The Prime Minister subsequently repeated this point to the President, when he telephoned after dinner. Although it is clear that no firm plans for such a meeting yet exist, the Prime Minister's support for it is firmly registered with the President and the Vice-President.

The Gulf

Vice-President Bush thanked the Prime Minister for her vigorous support for the American action against the Iran Ajr. He left no doubt that contingency plans exist for United States retaliation against Iran in the event of further Iranian mining or attacks on US-flagged ships.

The Prime Minister referred to the discussions going on in the Security Council. It was important to keep up pressure on Iran by preparing for an arms embargo. But she was deeply suspicious of the Soviet role. They clearly saw in the present crisis an opportunity to make strategic gains in their relations with Iran. She found a number of Arab leaders anxious about whether the United States would stand firm in the Gulf in the event of an incident involving major loss of life. They tended to draw a parallel with the situation in Lebanon. She had assured them of United States' resolve. The Vice-President said that the two situations were not comparable.

Arab-Israel

The Prime Minister commented that Soviet diplomacy was also active more widely in the Middle East. She feared that by giving Shamir a veto over an international conference the United States were in effect inviting the Soviet Union to build up its position in the area. She was particularly concerned by the possibility that King Hussein might purchase Soviet aircraft. We were doing our best to discourage this. Vice-President Bush shared the Prime Minister's concern about the Soviet role. He agreed that the opportunity presented by the understanding between Mr. Peres and King Hussein should not be lost. But there were differing views within the United States Administration on how to handle Shamir. He very much hoped that a way could be found to finance the sale of Tornado to Jordan and so avert purchase of the Mig 29.

Mozambique

The Vice-President said that President Reagan continued to face difficulties with the right of the Republican party over Renamo, which was portrayed as a democratic and pr-Western organisation. He hoped that the meeting between the President and President Chissano would go well. The Prime Minister's role in persuading Chissano not to go on to visit Cuba and Nicaragua had been very helpful.

The Prime Minister said that Renamo were not an indigenous movement like UNITA, but were largely financed from outside Mozambique and engaged in banditry. The strongest reason for supporting Chissano was that he represented a common-sense view of the need for the Front Line States to co-exist with South Africa. It would be a great mistake to leave him with no alternative source of help than the Soviet Union.

The Prime Minister referred to her concern about the Soviet and Cuban-backed advance by MPLA forces in Angola. Some of UNITA's bases in the South-East of the country appeared to be under threat.

South Africa

The Prime Minister said that the experience of the past year showed that the sanctions adopted by the United States Congress had been counter-productive. They had slowed down the pace of change in South Africa. She hoped that there would be no further measures taken. Declarations of principles and the like from outside South Africa were no help. She had herself deliberately refrained from corresponding with President Botha for some months so that he could not claim outside interference. We would then be in a stronger position to criticise him for failure to make progress. She remained convinced that release of Mandela was the key. Vice-President Bush referred to the Administration's need to report to Congress on the operation of sanctions. The President would be critical of the effect of sanctions and recommend against any more. But South Africa remained a very delicate issue in American politics.

Nicaragua

The Prime Minsiter asked about the peace initiative by the Central American Presidents. The Vice-President said that the United States had been rather blind-sided by the initiative. The Sandinistas were playing their hand skilfully, taking a number of liberalising steps. President Duarte welcomed the initiative as a way of dealing with his own guerilla problem. Honduras was under strong pressure to allow inspection of the camps. The Contras had enough funds to keep them going until mid-November. The situation was on hold until then. The Prime Minister remarked that she was uneasy about the process. The danger was that the Contras would lose heart, whereupon the Sandinistas would promptly reverse any movement towards genuine democracy. It was a very difficult situation to handle.

I enclose a transcript of remarks made to the Press by the Prime Minister and Vice-President Bush after the meeting.

I am copying this letter to John Howe (Ministry of Defence) and to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

A.C. Galsworthy, Esq., CMG,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

TRANSCRIPT OF REMARKS

MADE BY THE PRIME MINISTER

THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER FRS MP

AND VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AT 10 DOWNING STREET

ON

THURSDAY 1 OCTOBER 1987

PRESS OFFICE
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
10 DOWNING STREET
WHITEHALL
LONDON SW1

TRANSCRIPT BY ALEX STACEY OF:

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH AFTER MEETING AT 10 DOWNING STREET ON 1 OCTOBER 1987

==========

We are very happy to see Vice-President Bush. He is always a welcome visitor. I am particularly pleased that he has come after his extensive tour of Europe. Of course we have discussed many things in particular the coming INF agreement and the whole East West situation and of course we agree on most of it. We regard the INF agreement - assuming it comes about - as a great triumph for the West because it would never have happened of course but for the resolute way in which we deployed Cruise and Pershing missiles. We have also discussed the Gulf. We have nothing further to report on it. As you know the matter is in the hands of Peres de Cuellar and seeking some further position from Iran but there is also some work going on on a contingency basis on arms embargo. We have discussed the situation in Central America and also considerable discussion about the Middle East. A very interesting worthwhile session and a very happy session.

QUESTION:

Prime Minister, could you comment on the situation in Fiji?

PRIME MINISTER:

No, I did not discuss that with Vice-President Bush and we have no further information to give you.

QUESTION:

Could you tell us what you would like to see done at this point about the conventional balance or imbalance in Europe following an INF agreement?

PRIME MINISTER:

Look, I think is someone going to ask Vice-President Bush first? I am quite happy to go on answering them but I have said so frequently that the next steps following an INF agreement and the 50% negotiated reductions in the Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles must then be devoted to reducing the Conventional imbalance in which as you know the Soviet Union has an enormous preponderance and also of course they have an enormous preponderance, even greater, of chemical weapons. Unless we give foremost attention to those, then it could, I think imbalance our fundamental defence.

QUESTION:

What about the US presidential elections Mrs Thatcher?

PRIME MINISTER:

I have no vote.

QUESTION:

Would you feel more confident if you knew that the Vice-President was going to be sworn in in January '89 as to what would happen with continuing negotiations?

PRIME MINISTER:

You are tempting me into spheres into which I shall not be tempted. I am not easily provoked.

QUESTION:

Mr Vice-President. Honestly now, was this journey part of the opening salvo in your campaign?

VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH:

No, it was not. I think most people that are serious about foreign affairs, I hope by now realise that it was not. I recall going to China in 1983 and the first question off the plane was "Are you here to help yourself politically?" I was not then and I am not now and I think it has been a very useful trip and of course we value the judgement, the opinions of the Prime Minister and we had the fullest sense of consultations as she said so hopefully the trip will be viewed as what it is supposed to be and that is continuing consultation, brand new moves in the Poland and a very good trip in terms of seeing the common ground and I might say that I agree totally with what the Prime Minister said and so does our President in terms of the priorities on arms negotiations. But it is important that I hear directly from her, her latest thinking on these matters so when I see the President Monday morning, we can go over these matters. So that is what it is really about.

QUESTION:

Mr Vice-President, this camera right here is employed by your election campaign stand. You said this is not a political trip. Why are you having this camera here?

VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH:

I hope that those pictures will be very good when I get into politics. When I get back I will be in it right from the beginning but just as President Reagan was accompanied by cameras when he went to Normandy, there is nothing inappropriate, but for that to be the whole focus simply would be misunderstanding the importance of this trip and most people that have observed what took place in Poland seem to think that it had some substantive importance. And I can

tell you - having been involved in foreign affairs for some time - that the visits I had in Italy, France, Germany and especially here today with the Prime Minister, have been all substance and no politics

PRIME MINISTER:

I would like to confirm that they have all been on issues which the Vice-President deals with as Vice-President, all very important. Now I am not quite sure about you. I have some other engagements.

(END OF TRANSCRIPT)

NNNN

PRIME MINISTER

cc Mr Ingham

MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH

You have an hour's meeting with Vice-President Bush tomorrow afternoon. You are also dining with him at the American Embassy in the evening.

The purpose of the Vice-President's visit is unabashedly electoral (he will also have been in Germany, and goes on to France and Italy). He has no specific items of business to conduct. There will of course be photographs before the meeting. I am sure that he would appreciate it if you were also to say a few words to the press with him at the front door after the meeting.

You will want to start by asking about developments in the US Presidential election campaign since your last talk in July. Relatively little has happened on the Republican side: no-one has made up ground on the Vice-President, and Dole's campaign in particular seems to be stationary at present. But the view is still very widespread that Bush is not a winner. On the Democratic side, the so-called Seven Dwarfs are diminishing in number with the demise of Senator Biden (for plagiarising a Kinnock speech and exaggerating his academic record) and the withdrawal of Mrs Schroeder. Governor Dukakis continues to look the strongest candidate, but there is a widespread expectation that Governor Cuomo will enter the race later on.

The Vice-President has just been on a visit to Poland. His programme included an uncensored TV broadcast. You might ask his impressions of Poland. You will be seeing the Polish Foreign Minister in December and have agreed in principle to visit Poland next year, provided that the Polish authorities agree to certain conditions (meeting with Walesa, TV interview, visit to Father Popieluszko's grave). You could go on to give your assessment of Gorbachev's policies on the lines of your Berlin speech. The Americans will need to consider the presentational aspects of a visit by Gorbachev to

the United States very carefully. There is a real risk that he will sweep American public opinion off its feet.

You might next ask about the likely timing of a US/Soviet Summit. You will want to give strong support to the idea of a meeting between the President and NATO Heads of Government beforehand. You might also mention your idea of regular biennial NATO summits. You will want to make sure that the arms control agenda continues to be based on the priorities agreed between you and the President last November, and that there is no weakening on SDI.

The Vice-President will want to discuss the situation in the Gulf. You might probe him for views on the likely nature of Iranian retaliation for the attack on the Iran Ajr (the JIC are looking into this): and perhaps even more importantly, establish what contingency planning the Americans themselves have done for possible further military action against Iran. You might also ask how highly he rates the likelihood that Congress will try to put a time limit on the US presence in the Gulf.

You should take the opportunity of reiterating your strong views on the need to move forward to an international conference on Arab/Israel. George Shultz is now to visit the area in mid-October, which may be a good sign.

You will want to hear what the Vice-President has to say on the US economy and the prospects for the deficit; also on Nicaragua, where the US has been put on the defensive by the peace initiative taken by the Central American Presidents.

I attach briefing material from the FCO.

C.D.P.

Charles Powell

30 ~~October~~ September 1987

MJ2BLF

COPC
B/HP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

30 September 1987

Dear Charles,

Visit to the UK by Vice-President Bush, 1-2 October

The Prime Minister is seeing Vice-President Bush at 1700 on 1 October, followed by dinner at Ambassador Price's residence. Mr Bush will be nearing the end of a nine day European tour, centred on Poland, with short stops in London, Rome, Bonn, Paris and Brussels. His main object is to discus defence and arms control.

Defence/Arms Control

On the INF the Prime Minister could offer her congratulations on the progress at the Shultz/Shevardnadze meeting. It would be useful to confirm the US timetable for conclusion of the INF treaty, beginning with a Shultz visit to Moscow in late October. The Prime Minister might urge caution about building up exaggerated expectations about an agreement until details of verification and phasing of reductions have been worked out: we do not want to give the Russians the impression we are ready to rush the final hurdles for the sake of a quick agreement. We are ready to play our full part in ensuring the effectiveness of verification. The Prime Minister may wish to reassure Mr Bush that there is no truth in recent UK press reports that HMG have insisted that only Greenham Common and Molesworth be subject to Soviet inspection.

Mr Bush may also be able to give the latest US assessment of START. Shevardnadze, without suggesting decisive progress on strategic reductions, seems at least to have kept the START ball in play. The Prime Minister might ask Mr Bush which part of the outline START agreement offers the best prospect of progress - eg sublimits, arrangements for SLCMs. We understand the Soviets also proposed a detailed list of technical parameters to define permitted testing in space. The US believe this represents some progress.

On SDI and the US/UK MOU, the passage of Senator Glenn's amendment to the Defence Authorisation Bill will effectively subject the award of SDI contracts to the UK to a case-by-case evaluation by the US Secretary of State for Defence. Contracts could not be awarded unless he certified to Congress that the work "cannot be competently performed by a US firm at a price equal to or less than" the foreign firm's price. We lobbied intensively against this amendment as being contrary to the spirit of the US/UK MOUs on SDI. MOD ministers are urging their counterparts in the US to adopt a flexible interpretation in the award of contracts. The Prime Minister might register our concern that our interest in SDI participation be safeguarded.

Mr Bush will be going on to Brussels where he intends, in a statement to the North Atlantic Council, strongly to reaffirm the US commitment to NATO. The Prime Minister may wish to underline the Government's intention to maintain the UK's own substantial contribution to the Alliance, and to reaffirm our support for NATO's arms control priorities. She might also express strong UK support for adjustments identified as necessary to maintain the credibility and effectiveness of NATO's nuclear deterrent following an INF agreement.

East/West issues

The Prime Minister may wish to raise broader East/West issues and the prospective Summit in late November. Mr Bush may seek the Prime Minister's views on Gorbachev. He will share President Reagan's wish for a broad East/West agenda. The Prime Minister may wish to underline our hope that a summit will produce not just arms reductions, but also progress on regional issues and human rights: the Soviet Union must not be allowed to confine the agenda to arms control.

As the end game of the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting approaches, we want to avoid the misunderstandings which arose between the US and its allies at the Berne CSCE Human Contacts Meeting in 1986. Vienna could result in a concluding document which strengthens existing CSCE commitments in the "human dimension," and enables us to keep pressing the East for improvements after Vienna. To get this result we must be tough with the East, but not ask for the impossible. The Prime Minister could impress on Mr Bush that a specific and balanced concluding document should not be seen as a one-sided gift to the East.

The Prime Minister may wish also to ask for Mr Bush's assessment of the mood of Congress on the Pakistan nuclear issue. This could mean attachment of conditions over enrichment to the new $4 billion aid package for Pakistan, with serious consequences for US-Pakistan relations and US aid for Afghanistan. The Foreign Secretary met Yaqub-Khan on 25 September and stressed the need for Pakistan to give the Administration enough evidence to satisfy Congress.

Other Issues

Time permitting there are a number of other issues the Prime Minister may wish to discuss.

On Iran/Iraq, the Prime Minister may wish to underline the importance of holding the USSR and China to the twin track approach and of maintaining the new-found unity of the Five. Work on an arms embargo will help to keep pressure on both Iran and Iraq to implement SCR 598 and to stop attacks and mining in the Gulf.

The Prime Minister may also wish to express concern over the renewed high level of tension in the Gulf. The Iraqis are deliberately stoking this to draw in the West on their side, and must be restrained. The Prime Minister may wish to repeat our support for the Americans' action against the "Iran Ajr". She may also wish to note our decision to deploy minesweepers into the Gulf itself to sweep the newly discovered mines off Dubai, but explain why we regard national naval operations, co-ordinated locally, as the best option. We are doing our best to encourage such coordination amongst European naval forces.

The Prime Minister may also wish to suggest to Mr Bush that the Americans need to engage the Soviets in more substantive discussions on the Gulf. The USSR are seeking to enhance their influence in Iran and the Gulf: the best way of halting this (and bringing along the Soviets in New York) is drawing them in and making them play a more responsible role, rather than allowing them to score propaganda points from the sidelines.

Mr Bush will have just spent four days in Poland, where he saw both Jaruzelski and Walesa, and the Prime Minister may wish to ask for his impressions. US/Polish relations have been gradually improving. The US lifted its ban on new credits and MFN earlier this year. Ambassadors have just been appointed. But parts of the Administration have reservations about an IMF standby

programme for Poland. The IMF staff have been in discussion with the Polish authorities for some months, and a standby (on appropriately tough terms) will be the logical outcome. Without the discipline it would provide, it is difficult to see how Polish economic reform can get off the ground. The State Department are in favour. The Treasury Secretary, Baker, (who is politically close to Vice-President Bush) however fears that further funding for Poland might complicate Congressional approval for increased funding for the IMF and IBRD. One effect of the US go-slow on an IMF standby has been that Western banks have received the lion's share of Poland's available funds for debt service at the expense of Western governments, who at present are not being paid. The Prime Minister may wish to tell Vice-President Bush that we (and our main Western European partners) see an IMF standby on appropriate terms as offering the best prospect of Polish economic recovery and debt repayment; and to ask whether he gave the Poles any indication of US views.

On Arab/Israel Mr Bush showed himself in July not unsympathetic to the proposal for an International Conference. The Prime Minister may wish to build on this, reiterating that the Administration's failure to indicate clearly US support for a conference risks undercutting Mr Peres and King Hussein. Deadlock is dangerous.

Our aim is not to by-pass Mr Shamir, but to convince him that an international conference is in Israel's own best interests. To encourage him simply to throw up spurious alternative ideas does not take us nearer a solution. Persistent US diplomacy with high-level political backing will be required to enable Mr Peres to win sufficient support in Israel for a conference.

Should Trade Issues arise, the Prime Minister may wish to stress that we are fully behind the Administration's efforts to resist protectionist legislation, and to emphasise our concern to manage US/EC issues without unnecessary confrontations. We hope the Administration can persuade US firms (Boeing, MDD) that trade action against Airbus would set at risk work on a negotiated solution: Ministers on both sides are due to meet at the end of October. We for our part will continue to fight against the proposal for an oils and fats tax.

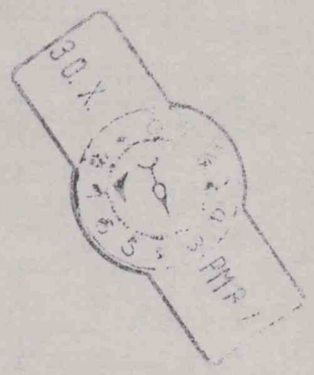
1988 Presidential elections

There is obviously an element of electioneering for 1988 in this visit. The Vice-President is due to announce his candidacy for the 1988 Republican nomination on 12 October. He has a good campaign organisation, plentiful funds, and has emerged largely unscathed by Irangate. In one recent opinion poll 46% of Republicans supported him as against 32% for his main rival Senator Dole. But doubts exist about his winning. A local straw poll in Iowa - where the first caucus will be held - went against him this month. Many feel that he fails to put across a strong image to voters, still being in the President's shadow. He has made campaign mistakes in the past and is distrusted by Conservative Republicans. Nevertheless he remains the front runner. If he does win, his chances in 1988 depend largely on whom the Democrats nominate. Of the remaining six candidates, Governor Dukakis and Reverend Jackson appear slightly ahead in the polls.

Yours ever,

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing Street


30.X.

Mr Thatcher

Is your dinner with Lord Westbury on 1 October definite? See attached note from Mark Addison to the P.M. for you both to dine with Ambassador Price that evening.

Yes Have spoken with PM

25.8.87

This is a FIRM Commitment! No breaking

PRIME MINISTER

VICE-PRESIDENT BUSH

You are seeing the Vice-President at 1700 hours on Thursday 1 October. At that time Charles Price did not suggest that the meeting should be associated with a meal that evening.

Ambassador Price rang this afternoon to ask whether you and Mr Thatcher would, in fact, like to join him and Mrs Price and the Vice President and his wife for a meal at the Residence. The difficulty with this is that the Party Conference is only a few days away, and there is bound to be a need for you to devote as much time as possible to the speech.

Agree to reluctantly refuse the Ambassador's invitation?

It would be very discourteous to refuse - I will ask DT what his diary is when he returns later today

MEA

Mark Addison

24 August 1987

MS

D.T. free - will accept

MS

MJ2BGW

NOTE FOR THE FILE

Ring Charles Price either early in the morning or leave to Wednesday

MEA
24.8.87

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

21 August 1987

Mark Addison wrote to Lyn Parker about a possible visit by Vice President Bush. The timing of this has changed. The US Ambassador telephoned me yesterday to say that Vice President Bush would now be here on Thursday 1 October, and the Prime Minister has agreed to see him at 1700.

(P. A. BEARPARK)

Robert Culshaw, Esq., MVO,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PPS PSW

PRIME MINISTER

Vice President Bush was pencilled in the diary to have lunch with you at Chequers on Sunday, 27 September. Charles Price telephoned this afternoon to say that his visit is being postponed, and he will now be arriving during the afternoon of Thursday, 1 October. The Ambassador asked if you could see him that afternoon, and I provisionally agreed 1700 hours. There was no suggestion from the Americans that you should offer any sort of entertainment that evening, and I am assuming that you wish to keep the time free to prepare for the Party Conference anyway.

PAB

20 August, 1987.

JD63

USA: Visit of Pres. Bush pt 2.

MJ2DGN

cc CDP
PC

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

11 August 1987

From the Private Secretary

The American Ambassador rang me yesterday to see if the Prime Minister would be able to meet the Vice President when he is in London towards the end of September. The Vice President is undertaking a tour of European capitals, I understand, at that time. With the Prime Minister's agreement, I have provisionally arranged for him to join the Prime Minister at Chequers for lunch on Sunday 26 September. Mr and Mrs Price would also be present.

The Ambassador is to confirm that this will fit in with the Vice President's plans. Andy Bearpark will be keeping you posted from here - he and I are swapping over with effect from lunchtime today.

Mark Addison

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PART 1 ends:-

PM/BUSH JOINT STATEMENT 3.7.05

PART 2 begins:-

MEA TO FCO 11.V.05

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