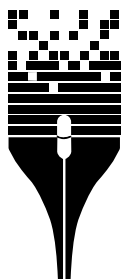


The Howey Political Report



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Brian A. Howey, publisher

Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington writer

Jack E. Howey, editor

The Howey Political Report Office: 317-254-1533
PO Box 40265 Fax: 317-466-0993
Indianapolis, IN 46240-0265 Mobile: 317-506-0883

brianhowey@earthlink.net
www.howeypolitics.com

Washington office: 202-775-3242;
Business Office: 317-254-0535.

Subscriptions: \$250 annually via e-mail or fax. Call 317-254-1533.

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“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“My mistake was overstaying the situation....”

- Former Indiana University basketball Coach Robert Montgomery Knight, to ESPN.

Bloody 8th CD in national spotlight

Hostettler ahead, but by how much?

By **MARK SCHOEFF JR.** in Washington and **BRIAN A. HOWEY** in Indianapolis

With Democratic challenger Paul Perry focusing tenaciously on health care in the 8th CD congressional race, incumbent Republican Rep. John Hostettler has played Dr. No. So far, he has avoided the political sick bay.

Democrats and Republicans agree that Hostettler, who has voted against Republican alternatives on Medicare prescription drug and patients' rights bills, is leading the race. The question is: By how much?

A Hostettler campaign poll shows its candidate holding a 23-point lead. The 300-person sample was taken in late August by the Anderson Group of Alexandria, Va. It has a +/-5 percent margin of error. The National Republican Congressional Committee, the GOP House campaign arm, says that its internal polls have Hostettler in a double-digit lead. Vanderburgh County Democratic Chair Jack Waldroup said a poll he's seen, taken in August, shows Hostettler up by 3 points. Indiana Republican Chair Mike McDaniel adds, “Every number I’ve seen shows John with a healthy lead.” The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee says Hostettler is up 4 points, based on a poll taken in May after the primary.

Our best calculation on what's probably swimming underneath the murky survey waters is a Hostettler lead just outside the margin of error. With the GOP holding a five-seat majority in the House of Representatives, most observers agree that the 8th CD is a crucial matchup.

In a recent front-page article, *The Wall Street Journal* cited the race as one of 12 nationwide that will determine the

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In Our 7th Year of Covering the Golden Age of Hoosier Politics

TICKER T A P E

O'BANNON, McINTOSH ON KNIGHT FIRING: Gov. Frank O'Bannon said Sunday he supported Indiana University President Miles Brand's decision to fire coach Bob Knight, while expressing disappointment at the chain of events that ended Knight's 30-year career at the university (South Bend Tribune). "It really is a very disappointing end to a very distinguished career," O'Bannon said on WNIT television's "Politically Speaking," a public-affairs program hosted by longtime Tribune political reporter Jack Colwell. "Coach Knight was a great asset to the state university and the basketball world." The Democratic governor said Brand called him earlier in the day to tell him of his decision to fire Knight before announcing it publicly. When Colwell asked O'Bannon if he considered intervening in any way, the governor said that was not his role. Republican David McIntosh said he did not believe he or the governor should become involved in the issue. "I understand President Brand felt he needed to do it and that he did consult with the governor," McIntosh said. "I don't want to comment. But I know Bob Knight and think he's a good coach. ... I'm one Hoosier who will miss him."

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Bloody 8th, *from page 1*

House makeup. In Wednesday's edition, the *Journal* devoted most of its back page to a story about the 8th.

One clear sign that the district has been targeted is that the state Democratic and Republican committees have television issue ads in rotation. "Now Perry's priority is making our health care system work for us," says the Democratic ad, which has been paid for in part by the DCCC.

The GOP spot attacks Perry. "Paul Perry and the special interests don't want you to know the truth about their new health care plan. A plan that means higher costs. Nearly 28,000 Hoosiers would lose their medical benefits." State Republicans say they put up the ad to rebut an AFL-CIO spot criticizing Hostettler for his stance on the Patients' Bill of Rights.

Perry, who is pro-gun and pro-life, went up for nine weeks prior to the May primary. His campaign is keeping its ad powder dry while gauging the effect of the state committee spots. "We're hoping to see that the attack ads are not going to work," said Jordan Matyas, Perry's spokesman.

The Hostettler campaign isn't up on

television, but is on radio. A spot that started this week warns against government take over of health care and calls for protecting the Social Security trust fund. A previous ad, which ran for three weeks in August and early September, touts Hostettler's support for repealing the marriage tax penalty and estate taxes and praises the congressman for bringing Doppler Radar to the district and supporting the Crane Naval Surface Warfare Center.

"He is doing well with the large bloc of Crane families," said John Myers, GOP chairman in the 8th. The Crane bounce will help Hostettler in Daviess, Greene, Lawrence, Orange and Martin counties. The facility employs more than 3,600 people. "Being an engineer, he visits Crane a lot and is interested in the scientific things they're doing there."

Health care motif

On health care issues, though, the staunchly conservative Hostettler is defined by what he doesn't do. He has not advocated any type of Medicare prescription coverage or patients' bill of rights. He voted against the GOP prescription drug plan because he said it would cost too much. He believes "that government

shouldn't be involved in the health care debate," said Hostettler campaign spokesman Jim Banks.

Democrats think health care is Hostettler's achilles heal. Perry is relentless is advocating health care, viewing nearly every issue through that prism. "There's no doubt that that struck a chord in the primary, and he's stayed on his message," said Waldroup.

National Democrats want this seat badly. National Chairman Joe Andrew is personally interested in seeing Hostettler knocked off. John Del Ceccato, DCCC spokesman, said, "The 8th district is one of our top races in the country. We're more confident every day that we're going to get a 'W.'"

Washington Republicans also exude certainty. "He acts like he doesn't need us," said Jim Wilkinson, NRCC spokesman. "He's getting the job done on the ground, where it counts." Look for NRCC issue ads this fall. "Paul Perry has given us a lot of material."

McDaniel observes from the state GOP perspective, "What you've got here is every election that goes by John is a better known entity. They keep running better funded candidates and he keeps winning by bigger margins." Hostettler upset Frank McCloskey in the 1994 Republican tidal wave, 93,529 to 84,857. In '96, he defeated Jonathon Weinzapfel by about 350 votes. In 1998, Hostettler topped Gail Riecken by about 11,000 votes.

In a year that will be good for incumbents and so far has been devoid of a national theme, medicare prescription coverage could be a wildcard. "That's the one issue that I really see popping," said Charlie Cook, editor of the *Cook Political Report*. "I would go straight off on pharmaceutical companies about prescription drug costs."

Perhaps the most important factor is presidential turnout. Chris Sautter, a Washington political consultant who has worked Hoosier races for 20 years, says that if Vice President Al Gore stays close

to Texas Gov. George W. Bush in the 8th, Perry will win. If Bush blows away Gore, Hostettler will prevail.

In the Hostettler campaign poll, Bush held a mere 43-41 lead over Gore in the district, a marked improvement from the summer when a June HPR/ Tele-Research Poll found Gore's fav/unfavs in the 25/75 percent range within the 812 Area Code. With Gore's standing in the 8th improving that much in a Republican poll, it is that reason that we find it hard to believe that Hostettler would have a double digit lead, particularly when Gore's biggest source of traction has been Perry's Medicare and prescription drug issues. "Gore's standing has increased everywhere I've seen a poll," said Sautter.

Two 'A' games

Both parties say their candidate is bringing his "A" game to the ground war. Hostettler is known for stoking up avid support at the grass-roots level, and 2000 might be his most well-oiled campaign. "It's the best I've seen in 18 years in the county chairman's job," said Myers. McDaniel calls Hostettler's corps "the strongest ground organization of any congressman in Indiana. Those people are very, very loyal to him." McDaniel was concerned about Perry peeling off some of Hostettler's pro-life supporters, "but so far I like the sound of these numbers."

And McDaniel doesn't see the race becoming "nationalized" either, adding, "This election is really boiling down to a district-by-district agenda."

Waldroup is equally enthusiastic about Perry's ground machine, saying that the candidate has good coordinators in each county. "Dr. Perry is working extremely hard," Waldroup said. In the past week, Waldroup has met with the Sullivan, Knox and Greene county party chairmen. "Each of them thinks that Dr. Perry is going to run really strong in their counties. We're really looking forward to this." ❖

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LIBERTARIANS ORGANIZE: The Libertarian Party of Indiana Central Committee has formally affiliated three county organizations - Delaware, Kosciusko and Tippecanoe - into the Libertarian Party of Indiana. The county chairs are as follows: Delaware County LP: John Dobelbower, Muncie; Kosciusko County LP: Michael Houze, Warsaw; Tippecanoe County LP: Kris Ames, Lafayette. They join affiliate counties Franklin, Monroe, Hancock, Lake, Cass, Marion, Sullivan, Owen, Washington, Vandenburgh, Vigo, Johnson and Allen. Currently, Hendricks and Hamilton counties are expected to present their affiliation petitions at the October Central Committee meeting. Other counties scheduled to hold organizing conventions in the near future include Newton, LaPorte, Elkhart, and Clay.

KNIGHT (IN A NUTSHELL): Former Indiana University basketball Coach Bob Knight said these things in an ESPN Interview on Tuesday: "My mistake was overstaying the situation," Knight said of the May through September "zero tolerance" era. Zero Tolerance? "Nobody ever explained that to me," he said. "If I get a technical foul, is that zero tolerance?" On whether IU students should drop their death

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threats against freshman Kent Harvey, Knight said, "I'd be the first person to say that." On whether he should have resigned, "Maybe I was dumb. In retrospect, that's probably what I should have done."

KNIGHT SWAMPS POLITICS: Politics took a back seat in the Indiana media Monday to the story of IU basketball coach Bob Knight's firing by President Myles Brand (and to think of the grief we took when we put the coach on HPR's 50 Most Influential list). Here are a few comments on the subject gleaned from the Internet:

Evansville Courier & Press: Pat Graham, IU basketball player from 1990-94 - "The only way he could have made it through was to walk with a coat over his head, never go outside, never be around people."

Bloomington Herald-Times: Steve Alford - "As a former student-athlete at Indiana and former player for Coach Knight, it saddens me to see one of the greatest eras of college basketball end this way. Since I was in third grade, attending Coach Knight's basketball camps, I have always seen Indiana University and Coach Knight as one and the same."

Fort Wayne News-Sentinel: Bob Ford, Purdue basketball player in 1970-72 and now a radio announcer

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PERHAPS... WE WANDER

By Brian Howey

Book 'Gang of Five' fleshes out McIntosh

INDIANAPOLIS - Not since 1968, when Edgar Whitcomb's book "*Escape from Corregidor*" was published has there been a campaign for governor where a leading character is fleshed out in vivid book detail.

But that is exactly what former *Los Angeles Times* reporter Nina J. Easton has done with her book "*Gang of Five: Leaders at the Center of the Conservative Crusade*" (Simon & Schuster, \$27), which reveals the origins of Republican gubernatorial nominee David Martin McIntosh, along with Bill Kristol, Ralph Reed, Grover Norquist and Clint Bolick. For anyone following Indiana politics this year, "*Gang of Five*" is a must read, although one that will draw much debate and fire on its conclusions from true conservative believers.

"As the new millennium opened, the baby-boom conservatives had much to celebrate," Easton concluded. "They had shifted the nation's cultural and political landscape away from the legacy of the 1960s. They had transformed American conservatism to new levels of intellectualism, and broadened its reach by crafting a language of inclusion rather than division. They had held positions of power their predecessors on the activist Right could never dream of, helping to reshape not only the Republican Party, but also the policies of the entire nation."

Throughout the book, Easton gives us fascinating glimpses of how McIntosh has operated in the past and how he views the world on today's Hoosier campaign trail. She opened the second chapter "Wonk" with the USAir story from May 1995 where McIntosh got into a shoving match with two "rude" employees at National Airport. "More telling was that

those who knew David as a child saw something strikingly familiar in the incident: His propensity to barge through, even if the obstacles in his path might be reasonable ones. It was a trait shared by other smart young lawmakers on the Right in the 1990s, as they pushed their no-holds-barred strategy of confrontation, even when their standing with the public flagged." It might have been that very David McIntosh who created headlines last May when he tried to barge into the Indianapolis 500 Festival Parade.

The young McIntosh that emerges in this book is of a 5-year-old boy who lost his father to cancer and took literally the graveside notions of "being the man in the family." He became deeply committed to Christianity as a young boy. He set his sights on Yale because Thurston Howell III had promoted it during an episode of *Gilligan's Island*. He began plotting his political career at the age of 8, with his eye ultimately on the White House.

At the McIntosh dinner table, "You were expected to defend your assertions with clean, crisp reasoning - or face withering rebuke," Easton said of the kid from Kendallville whose mother was the first female city judge in Indiana (and a Democrat). Later, upon arriving in Congress, "UniMac" (a childhood nickname) became "a politician who raced through each day as if he had been shot from a cannon, intent on pursuing every idea his fevered brain churned out, and at maximum speed. For David, inept in sports, the policy debate was his football, his basketball, his golf."

McIntosh at Yale

When McIntosh emerged at Yale in 1976, Easton notes, "Unlike liberals, budding conservatives on campuses had to defend themselves against a prevailing assumption that they were wrong; forced

to justify their positions, they became brilliant debaters assuming intellectual airs expressly designed to make their liberal foes look sloppy-minded and ill-informed."

"Opponents who later wrote him off as a single-minded ideologue, a kind of political Mr. Spock, invariably underestimated McIntosh and his shrewd political instincts." At the Yale Political Union, McIntosh was well-liked but earned "a reputation as an ambitious schemer."

At the University of Chicago, where McIntosh pursued his graduate degree and joined the law and economics movement, he gravitated to the view that the country's "legal system could and should promote economic efficiency." Bureaucrats were seen as inefficient meddlers, not skilled technocrats shaping wars and economies. "The great and logical minds at Chicago were determined to unmanage, deplan, free the free market from the bureaucrats so it could operate in its inherently rational fashion. Their theories clicked with David's logical mind. (Richard) Epstein's teachings inspired David's career course - first in the Bush White House, later in Congress - as a leading enemy of federal health, safety and environmental regulations."

Bush/Quayle White House

Joining Vice President Dan Quayle and his chief of staff, Al Hubbard, at the Competitiveness Council brings conclusions from Easton sure to prompt many McIntosh followers to view this book as hostile. "David approached his job like a committed ideological warrior, certain that there existed a vast public mandate for deregulation behind him. In fact, there was none, and the Council couldn't create one." She notes that while polls in the early 1990s showed 70 to 80 percent of Americans consider themselves environmentalists, "By contrast, McIntosh and his friends traveled in political circles that frequently labeled environmental leaders as 'radicals' and called environmentalism 'the new socialism.'"

Easton said that McIntosh came to "regret his strategies" on the Council, but not the goals. Protecting the environment could be attained through "incentives to industry" rather than regulation from Washington.

War on regulation, taxes

The McIntosh that emerges in Easton's book is one of a proponent of massive tax cuts. Even as 185 Republican Congressional candidates gathered on the Capitol steps on Sept. 27, 1994, to sign Newt Gingrich's "Contract With America," Easton reports that McIntosh was already complaining that the Contract's tax cuts weren't big enough. When McIntosh defeated Joe Hogsett in the '94 tsunami, the *Wall Street Journal's* Paul Gigot tabbed him as "one of the best and brightest of the famous class of 1994." And, as Easton notes, "He would also demonstrate the limits of the movement that put him in office."

McIntosh and the 72 other GOP freshmen entered office in 1995 "animated by righteous idealism. They considered themselves purer than the party regulars, purer than even Newt Gingrich, their revolutionary leader." McIntosh would observe that "Newt is much more on the side of acquiring and maintaining power. The average freshman wanted to preserve the movement toward the idea."

Easton observed, "The freshmen were also, by historical standards, short on the experience of give-and-take lawmaking, a deficiency that would come to define their revolution and David's role in it." While McIntosh continually pressured Gingrich on tax cuts, Easton said that "as he moved into his thirties, he adopted an equally important view - that we must be loving toward those who hold different views."

McIntosh was instrumental in pushing for a balanced budget. "In the first months of Republican control, the House had produced a budget encompassing two

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for Purdue's games - "Bob Knight has been a great part of college basketball. He's done a lot of great things for the game, and I don't like seeing it come to an end this way."

Bloomington Herald-Telephone: Murray Sperber, IU professor and college sports critic on leave because of receiving death threats because of his comments concerning Knight - "I hope I can go back to being a critic of the overuses of college sports and not a Knight critic. I hate that I was branded a Knight critic."

Elkhart Truth: Kevin Lemme, IU basketball manager three years and on team in 1995-96, now a second-year medical student in Indianapolis - "It's going to be very interesting to see what happens. I wouldn't blame the players if they left. I'm not sure they came to play for Indiana. They came to play for Coach."

Times of Northwest Indiana: Al Hamnick, sports columnist - "How sad that despite the Hoosiers' zombie-like fan following and huge pro-Knight coaching fraternity, no one was able to sit him down and say, 'Bob, don't throw it all away. Beat this. Beat them. Show everybody just how tough you are.' The great Bob Knight couldn't deliver."

Anderson Herald Bulletin: Justin Bates, sports columnist - "I asked the same

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question many other Hoosier fans asked of such a sharp basketball mind. Why can't he treat people nicer? He was the most popular figure in basketball-crazy Indiana, but he couldn't lower himself to just be nice to other people."

Elkhart Truth: Patrick Whisler, attorney who was an IU cheerleader in 1975-76 - "We were on the floor before a game waving to friends in the stand when I had my only encounter with Coach Knight. He said, 'Get the hell off the floor. You guys don't have a game tonight.'"

Jack Howey, IU '51 and an avid IU basketball fan and one-time supporter of Bob Knight - "I was one of the many fans who applauded Bob Knight's coaching skills, principles, and obvious regard for his players, but shuddered at his public profanity and tantrums that made him look like a dolt. It was time for Bob Knight to go. It's too bad he couldn't have made the decision himself instead of having to undergo the indignity of being fired. Now I hope he has enough class to meet with his players and convince them they should stay with IU's basketball program and show that they deserved to be recruited for a Knight and IU team."

BURTON SEEKS RICHARDSON TESTIMONY: U.S. Rep. Dan Burton has asked

COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

Bob Hammel, *Bloomington Herald-Times* - So high the mountain tops, so low the valleys. Especially this valley. Surely that was the kind of thought running through Bob Knight's mind when he sat in an airplane taxiing to a stop at Monroe County Airport just after 9 o'clock Sunday night — taxiing over the same runways he and his Indiana basketball teams had used to return home many, many winter nights over the last 29 years. Sometimes it was after victories that brought out middle-of-the-night crowds that roared a reception. Sometimes it was in the cold solitude of early-morning after a Hoosier loss. Sunday night's return was the ultimate basketball loss for Knight. It was at the end of his first day as a coaching free agent. And that's what he is at the moment: a coach who fully intends to stay at his profession, not at all pleased to be leaving an area, a town and a university that have worked out ideally for his all-round, all-year happiness but even less inclined to leave his profession. You remember, this is a man six weeks from 60, who had been a head coach in college basketball every day since he was 24, until Sunday. That was a day that began with Knight in Quebec, on a long-planned fishing trip. He called president Myles Brand, and that's when he learned he was fired. That was about 7:30 a.m., back in Bloomington. And that's when the last day of the Bob Knight Era, the longest head coaching tenure in Big Ten basketball or football history, formally ended. ❖

Melissa Isaacson, *Chicago Tribune* - The truest measure of the Bobby Knight era is the putrid odor emanating from the bonfires still smoldering in Bloomington. Those upon whom the deposed coach had the strongest influence are choosing not to take the enlightened approach of writing editorials or canceling their season tickets,

but to behave like the sort of lunatics who could only make the man proud. Death threats. Shredding their Indiana T-shirts. Burying a scapegoat effigy. Abbie Hoffman would turn over in his grave at a campus protest over the firing of a white, middle-aged male basketball coach with a long history of crude, boorish behavior. You have to weep for our youth if this is what raises their ire. ❖

Max Jones, *Terre Haute Tribune-Star* - Early next month, deep in the bowels of Holmstedt Hall on the campus of Indiana State University, two members of ISU's faculty will embark on a research project with broad implications. When their project is completed -- it should only take a few days -- they may well be able to provide the nation with a good indication of who will be the next president of the United States. Robert L. "Kirby" Goidel and Tom Steiger are joining forces to conduct a public opinion poll of Vigo County voters that will gauge their preferences in the upcoming election. Those poll results could tell a larger tale, given Vigo County's uncanny knack for voting for the eventual winner in presidential races. The county hasn't voted for a losing presidential candidate since 1952, when it narrowly favored Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson (by only 35 votes!) over Dwight D. Eisenhower. That almost 50-year record spanning 11 elections has seen Vigo County voting for such diverse candidates as Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton. The county's record actually goes back even further. The Stevenson-Eisenhower race broke a chain that went back to 1912. In fact, the only year besides 1952 that Vigo County failed to pick the winner this century was in 1908, when William Jennings Bryan nipped William Howard Taft by a couple hundred votes. ❖

Indiana 2000 Racing Form

TRENDLINES: Bobby Knight flotsam and the Summer Olympics in Sydney mean a big fade-out of the collective electorate attention span.

GOVERNOR, congressional races

Governor: Republican: U.S. Rep. David McIntosh. **Democrat:** Gov. Frank O'Bannon. **Libertarian:** Andrew Horning. **1996 Results:** O'Bannon 1,107,342, Goldsmith 997,505, Dillon 35,261. **2000 Forecast:** WISH-TV Poll by Dr. Brian Vargus (800 likely voters, +/-3.9 percent) poll has O'Bannon leading 44 to 26 percent, with Horning at 1 percent and a whopping 29 percent (yeah, right) undecided. Debates are scheduled for Friday Sept. 22 in Indianapolis, Oct. 10 in Fort Wayne and Oct. 12 in Evansville. These - particularly the

HORSE RACE

Indianapolis debate that will be the only one to reach Central Indiana - will be absolutely critical to McIntosh getting back into this race. As our excerpts from Nina J. Easton's book "*Gang of Five*" reveal, McIntosh has a reputation dating back to his days at Yale as a master debater. That's why O'Bannon wanted the Indianapolis debate on a Friday night when TV viewership will be low and newspaper coverage will be relegated to Saturday's sparsely read editions. The Indiana Manufacturers Association has endorsed McIntosh. The decision was based on a unanimous recommendation by IMA's Executive Committee. "The IMA carefully examined the responses to extensive questionnaires sent to the candidates, along with a thorough analysis of each candidate's previous votes on the issues," said Mike Eagle of Eli Lilly. "Based on this information, we believe that David McIntosh is the candidate that should lead Indiana in these ever-increasing competitive times." IMA PAC Chair Jean Ann Harcourt added, "Indiana must make significant improvements, particularly in the areas of education and tax policies, to remain competitive in the future." Eagle said, "Clearly, the most important issue for Indiana right now is property tax reassessment. Gov. O'Bannon's previous plan would have made a broken system even worse." The Republican took a page from the 1996 O'Bannon campaign and has recast the "Bad for fish; bad for Indiana" theme the Democrat used so decisively against Stephen Goldsmith. McIntosh is blaming O'Bannon for failing to respond in a timely fashion to the December/January fishkill on the White River between Anderson and Indianapolis. O'Bannon responded with a TV ad beginning Wednesday citing McIntosh's attempts to gut environmental regulations while serving on the Bush/Quayle Competitiveness Council. The *Indianapolis Star* reported on Sunday that Gov. O'Bannon and McIntosh have declined to criticize the recent performance of Ameritech, which has compiled an abysmal record of customer service in recent years. The *Star* reported that numerous customers have gone without phone service for weeks because Ameritech doesn't have enough repair technicians. How good are Indiana public schools? It depends on which candidate is doing the talking and which statistics they are using (Susan Dillman, *South Bend Tribune*). The subject is prominent in the race for governor. Democrat Gov. Frank O'Bannon cites a study that places Indiana fourth graders 10th in the nation in terms of reading ability. Republican challenger David McIntosh cites SAT scores that rank the state's college-bound 45th in the nation. Educators don't like using ISTEP scores to figure how public schools are doing, and Suellen Reed, state superintendent of public instruction, says comparing states' SAT scores is misleading. **General Status:** *Leans O'Bannon.*

Congressional District 2: Republican: Mike Pence. **Democrat:** Robert Rock Jr. **Independent:** Bill Frazier. **Geography:** Muncie, Anderson, Richmond, Shelbyville, Columbus and East Central Indiana. **1994 Results:** McIntosh 93,592, Hogsett 78,241. **1996 Results:**

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Energy Secretary Bill Richardson to testify next week about what his agency plans to do to combat soaring energy prices. Burton heads the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee. Burton said on Monday he wants to hear from Richardson, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission Chairman James Hoecker and representatives from oil companies and other businesses affected by high energy costs. The hearing is scheduled for Sept. 21 (CNN). "With winter just around the corner and energy markets in turmoil, families and businesses face serious financial consequences," said Burton.

GARY, U.S. STEEL NEAR COMPROMISE: Gary Mayor Scott King believes the city and U.S. Steel are close to an agreement on the company's property tax payment (Steve Patterson, Gary Post-Tribune). The company did its own reassessment of its property and said its Gary Works is worth less than half of what it was in 1999 because of obsolete equipment. That would mean an \$18 million hit to Gary property taxes and another \$10 million to the rest of Lake County. King said talks last week ended with a proposal "that could be a win-win for both sides."

BAYH LIKES RAINY DAY

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PLAN : Indiana's Sen. Evan Bayh said last week that Vice President Al Gore's economic blueprint, which includes setting up a federal rainy-day fund, makes good sense and is smart politics (Sylvia A. Smith, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The 10-year plan would create a \$300 billion reserve as a hedge against bad economic times. Bayh was governor of Indiana when a rainy-day fund helped the state through a downturn in 1990-91.

'MOSES' GOING TO FORT WAYNE: Charlton Heston will be the keynote speaker for the annual Allen County Republican Bean Dinner Oct. 16 (Lisa Shidler, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). County GOP Chairman Steve Shine said Heston was chosen because he "epitomizes" conservative Republican philosophy and Heston's presidency of the National Rifle Association "has nothing to do with this." Shine said Heston will give a formal speech then answer questions from the crowd.

DILLMAN LEAVING SOUTH BEND TRIBUNE: Statehouse reporter Susan Dillman is leaving the South Bend Tribune to serve in the IUPUI news bureau.



McIntosh 122,288, Carmichael (D) 83,478, Zimmerman (L) 4,662. **1998 Results:** McIntosh (R) 99,584, Boles (D) 62,426, Federle (L) 2,236. **2000 Forecast:** Pence received the Indiana Farm Bureau endorsement. "Mike (Pence) will be an outstanding member of the 107th Congress," said Kent Yeager, the Indiana Farm Bureau government relations director. "His speaking ability added to his deep understanding of the issues will allow him to be a leader in Washington, D.C. He truly is the best person to represent this district." Both party leaders in the 2nd CD agree that agriculture is the sleeper issue in their district this year. In a Monday meeting, GOP Chairman Virgil Scheidt said he told Pence to pay attention to agriculture. "This is an agricultural district, and neither party has addressed the agricultural problems," said Scheidt. "Farmers are in desperate straits because of prices." Scheidt said prices are down to levels not seen since the 1960s. Democratic Chairman Ray Scheele believes that Rock also should give agriculture its due. Scheele blames ag woes on the Freedom to Farm Act, a 1996 bill written by Sen. Richard Lugar that eliminated agricultural subsidies and planting restrictions, allowing farmers to plant crops to meet market demand. "That whole thing has failed. Consequently, farmers are failing across the board," Scheele said. **Status: LIKELY PENCE.**

Congressional District 3: Republican: Chris Chocola. **Democrat:** U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer. **Geography:** South Bend, Mishawaka, Elkhart, Northern Indiana. **1994 results:** Roemer 72,497, Burkett 58,787. **1996 Results:** Roemer 114,381, Zakas (R) 80,748, Taylor (L) 2,331. **1998 Results:** Roemer 84,625, Holtz 61,041. **2000 Forecast:** Chocola visits Roemer's 3rd CD "residence" which turned out to be his district office in downtown South Bend. The *Elkhart Truth* asked Roemer about his Indiana home and Roemer replied that Congress is in session for 11 months a year and he has to be in Washington to vote. "According to the clerk of the House, Congress was in session just 139 days in 1999," Chocola said. "Of the 226 days that he had available to live with us in Northern Indiana, he spent 40 some days actually living here. He doesn't want you to know that he doesn't own property here in the Third District. He doesn't want you to know that he doesn't pay property taxes here. And he doesn't want you to know that his primary residence is in Great Falls, Virginia." **Status: Leans Roemer.**

Congressional District 5: Republican: U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer. **Democrat:** Greg Goodnight. **Libertarian:** Scott Benson. **Geography:** Kokomo, Marion, Peru, Monticello, Lowell, Northern Indiana. **1994 results:** Buyer 108,575, Beatty 43,619, Alfred (L) 3,328. **1996 Results:** Buyer 133,604, Clark (D) 67,125, Lehman (L) 5,255. **1998 Results:** Buyer (R) 101,567, Steele 58,504 (D), Waters (L) 2,317. **2000 Forecast:** Buyer doesn't release internal poll numbers. Goodnight kicks off his "Message in a Bottle Tour" - his term for the skyrocketing prescription drug issue - in Greentown. **Status: Likely Buyer.**

INDIANA HOUSE r aces

House District 19: Republican: Ron Johnson. **Democrat:** Rep. Bob Kuzman. **Geography:** Crown Point, south Lake County. **1994 results:** Conlon (R) 8,850, McCall (D) 5,280. **1996 Results:** Kuzman (D) 12,236, Sparks (R) 10,453. **1998 Results:** Kuzman 9,130, Gasparovic (R) 6,917. **2000 Forecast:** Johnson is using what has been described to us as an "army" of volunteers stemming from his youth minister program. That kind of volunteer effort has Republicans hopeful they can pick off this seat. **Status: Leans D.**

House District 57: Republican: Mike Herndon. **Democrat:** J.D. Lux. **Geography:** Shelbyville, Shelby, Bartholomew and Rush counties. **1994 Results:** Linder (R) 12,626. **1996 Results:** Linder 13,730, Thayer (D) 6,704. **1998 Results:** Linder 12,741. **2000 Forecast:** Republicans insist that Herndon, a former Shelby County sheriff, has a healthy lead and that's why Lux has taken a leave of absence from the AG's office. **Status: Tossup.**

House District 89: Republican: State Rep. Larry Buell. **Democrat:** Brian Sims. **Geography:** SW Indianapolis, Irvington, Beech Grove. **1994 Results:** Buell (R) 9,583, Feeney (D) 5,770. **1996 Results:** Buell 11,281, Osborn (D) 7,872. **1998 Results:** Buell 8,235, Jeffers (D) 5,761, Hubertz (L) 230. **2000 Forecast:** Republicans tell HPR that recent polling in this district shows that McIntosh and O'Bannon are tied, that Buell's name ID is high while Sims' is low. **Status: Tossup.** ❖

Gang of Five, *from page 5*

main goals of its conservative faction: It purported to be balanced in seven years while still handing taxpayers a massive rebate of \$335 billion," Easton wrote. And "David McIntosh conspired with like-minded colleagues to disarm the Republicans' opponents."

McIntosh wasn't in it simply to cut tax bills; he was viewing tax cuts nationally - and again here in Indiana in 2000 - "in the context of a broader ideological war," Easton said. "This was not just a matter of putting more money in constituents' pockets, it was about sucking the fuel out of a bloated welfare state; drying up its resources." What followed was a constant leaning of McIntosh on Gingrich, the former being in no mood for compromise.

Showdown with Newt

As 1995 came to a close, Easton said it was McIntosh "who approached legislative politics like a game of chess" and who "was more interested in how to strategically exploit a government shutdown to trump the White House." Again, Gingrich wanted to compromise while the House freshman class began losing faith. McIntosh saw in Gingrich an undisciplined leader highlighted by his public tantrum after President Clinton purportedly snubbed him on the Air Force One flight to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's funeral. When the government did shut down for 21 days, the stock market plunged and the networks and newspapers ran countless stories of furloughed government workers bereft of paychecks at Christmas time. Public opinion was running against the Republicans and Gingrich sought an interim deal. On Jan. 4, 1996, McIntosh told reporters, "We will not reopen the government."

Easton wrote, "But the next day, Gingrich issued an ultimatum to the Indiana freshman: You either vote with the leadership and support its agreement with the White House - or you resign your leadership post."

"Newt, you didn't choose me," McIntosh recalled telling the speaker. His problem was that Gingrich could control the number of leadership positions for the freshman class. He ruled the day, choosing to compromise with Clinton, and 15 House Republicans - including U.S. Rep. John Hostettler - did not support the deal, although McIntosh did. "When he returned to his office, David told staffers he felt dirty," Easton wrote. Gingrich would later punish Hostettler and other McIntosh allies by cancelling a fundraising trip to Evansville and other cities.

Easton summarized the epic government shutdown / showdown this way: "In the immortal words of Mick Jagger, you can't always get what you want. But in the bit-

ter winter of 1995-96 the members of the freshman class didn't even get what they needed. McIntosh ended his first term chastened and matured, a convert to incrementalism maybe, but no less committed to the cause of conservative reform, no less certain that the House freshmen had been right all along. As for his own political future, he could see it in the words of his favorite Gospel verse, *Mark 9:23*: "All things are possible for him who believes."

Lowered sights

Within a year, McIntosh's turn on Speaker Gingrich was nearing 180 degrees. Easton observed, "Rep. David McIntosh crafted a softer version of conservatism even as he battled in vain to preserve one remnant from the Republican Revolution, major tax cuts, and in doing so turned against one-time guerrilla leader Newt Gingrich." This despite the fact that the early Congressional years had given him "a greater understanding that the public values programs in government - programs that, as a pure philosophical or ideological matter, you could say we could get rid of.." Easton said that McIntosh became "acutely aware" that the public wasn't as eager as he to eliminate scores of health, safety and environmental protections and so "he lowered his sights on regulatory reform, seeking incremental rather than sweeping change."

Said McIntosh, "We've shrunk back from trying to restructure the system."

With Gingrich's reputation irretrievably damaged and fears of losing the House in 1998, the '94 sophomores moved for his head. "McIntosh preferred a slow and steady transition, allowing Gingrich to save face by moving on to another endeavor, such as running for president." On July 10, McIntosh and 16 other Republicans met with Majority Whip Tom DeLay to urge a vote to vacate the chair. But the steam ran out a few days later and Gingrich snuffed out the coup. "McIntosh, as class leader, considered ways to defend the core coup plotters against Gingrich's wrath."

Run for governor

Easton ends her look at McIntosh by noting his run for governor, challenging Frank O'Bannon on tax and school reform issues. "It was a revealing move: While the Rightists on Capitol Hill had hit the wall in their dreams of transforming Washington, Republican governors were making steady progress transforming conservative ideas into public policy. With a willingness to compromise, they had built reputations as strong and pragmatic leaders, not divisive ideologues. Now, McIntosh looked to Indiana's statehouse as the place where he might fulfill the political ambitions he had nurtured since he was eight years old." ❖