The Howey Political Report

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"QUOTE" OF THE WEEK

"The vistas that the young boy or girl born in 2000 can find in Indiana today are even more limitless than those John Bartlow Martin described as he talked about the last turn of the century...." - Brian A. Howey

Political vistas at the century's end

What will Hoosiers do with a new day?

By BRIAN A. HOWEY, in Indianapolis

Gordon Durnil was right.

The new millennium really does begin in a dozen days. So does the new century.

You'd never know it by the news media, who reacted to the calendar change like kids watching the odometer collecting zeroes on father's Oldsmobile back in the Cold War days of the mid-Baby Boom. In 12 days, there won't be fireworks exploding from the Eiffel Tower. Vladimir Putin won't be asked what the word of the new millennium is by the high priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, and he won't repeat last year's answer ("Love").

Since this is the last HPR Weekly edition of the old millennium and the old century, what better time than to offer my perspectives on Indiana's three major political parties and the news media?

And I choose Gordon Durnil as an interesting human vessel to begin this journey.

While my political participation began at age 14 by asking Doc Bowen questions at the 1970 Miami County Lincoln Day dinner, my professional reporting career began with Durnil at the helm of one of the last great political machines of the 20th Century - the Indiana Republican Party - from 1981 to 1989. There was patronage fueling the party coffers, and Rs in every major office - governor, U.S. Senate, mayor of Indianapolis. It was in the midst of a 20-year grip on the governor's office.

In 1986, Durnil was one of the first to realize a grave danger to the machine - young Birch Evans Bayh Jr. I first met Evan Bayh when he stumped for Wayne Townsend in

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Coats set for Defense?

Nation replaces Bremen;

Gilroy urges election updates p. 2

Create your own

2001 HPR 50 Most Influential List

COATS DRAWS OPPOSI-TION: Former Sen. Dan Coats, R-Indiana, who is said to be the leading choice for defense secretary, visited the presidentelect Monday at his Washington hotel. Coats, a former member of the **Senate Armed Services** Committee, pushed for a stronger military during his Senate tenure. Bush aides said Tuesday that the president-elect did not plan to name his defense secretary nominee Wednesday, indicating Coats did not have a lock on the position. Groups representing gays and women in the military expressed alarm yesterday over the possible nomination of Coats. "We have great concern about Senator Coats," said C. Dixon Osburn, co-director of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, which defends the rights of gays in uniform (Washington Post). He argued that Coats, a social conservative, is well to the right of Bush on issues such as gays serving openly in the military. Winnie Stachelberg, political director of the Human Rights Campaign, a gay rights advocacy group, told the Post it has consistently rated Coats' voting record as among the most conservative in the Senate, on a par with those of Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Strom

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My Indiana, from page 1

1984. My colleague at the *Elkhart Truth*, Phil Schermerhorn, bluntly asked the question, "So Evan, what are you running for?"

The answer came less than two years later: Secretary of State. Sizing up the young Bayh, Durnil and the Republicans waged a campaign which was a loser from the get-go in the eyes of the public - challenging Bayh's residency. Then Durnil decided to counter a legacy with another legacy - Rob Bowen, son of a governor. Both backfired, and the Bayh genie escaped from the bottle. The Republican machine no longer was firing on eight-cylinders.

It's been a long process, but by 2000 - the last year of what Durnil repeatedly tried to educate us odometer readers as really the final year of the old century/millennium - the Republican machine for all intents and purposes seized up. A machine such as your lawnmower seizes up when the oil seeps through the cracks and isn't replaced or repaired. A political machine seizes up when the money and talent run their course, and when the old schemes are tried once or twice too often.

That's what has happened to the Indiana Republican machine. The young, audacious combo of Evan Bayh and Joe Hogsett went out and started slaying the Republicans waiting their turn in line. These were impressive Republicans such as John Mutz and Bill Hudnut - men with perfect resumes for governor - who lost.

Leading Democrats realized a dynasty when they saw one and stepped aside, as Frank O'Bannon did in 1987, lessons not learned by Republicans in 1996 and 2000.

Durnil finally stepped aside as Republican chair and watched as his beloved machine lurched from a convention floor loser (Linley Pearson, circa 1992), to a man who almost single-handedly destroyed the infrastructure of the party's bulwark in Marion County (Stephen Goldsmith) and then painfully lost the 1996 governor's race (and his own county).

After leaving the GOP chair, Durnil published two books of note: *The Making of a Conservative Environmentalist* and *Is America Beyond Reform?*

In the first book, Durnil attempted to break the mold on the perceptions of the GOP being anti-environment, even Page 3 of 9 Wednesday, Dec. 20, 2000

though some of the great environmental advances occurred under Republican presidents. "Conservative avoidance of the environmental issue has been called one of the strangest political phenomena of the past couple of decades," Durnil noted in a 1997 Conservative Monitor interview. "Because we don't like the way the government deals with environmental issues, we tend to deny the existence of such problems - especially those regarding human health. We should liken it to welfare. We conservatives bemoaned everything about welfare and it was always a liberal or Democratic issue."

He went on to say that "we came up with solutions and made it our issue, especially at the state level," which was true in John Engler's Michigan and Tommy Thompson's Wisconsin, but in Indiana it was Evan Bayh who was, as Al Hubbard would angrily observe, "stealing our ideas." And it would be President Bill Clinton who would go on to steer through the biggest federal welfare reforms.

A second post-chair posture that Durnil took came in late 1998 when he got behind the Indianapolis mayoral candidacy of Sue Anne Gilroy. It was a critical move because the Indiana Republican Party has not been gender-inclusive when it comes to electoral politics. It has never had a viable female candidate for governor, lieutenant governor, U.S. Senate, nor has any won a Congressional seat. Few have played any significant role in fashioning an Indiana biennial budget.

The Gilroy campaign had great promise at its inception as it promised to blend the finer aspects of Lugar, Hudnut and Goldsmith, but was a fiasco by committee, failing to draw on what should have been strengths (law and order where Goldsmith, Cottey and Newman should have helped with defining issue positions), while facing a most disciplined, on-message challenge from Democrat Bart Peterson.

The shock to Durnil and the Gilroy campaign was the number of Republican

females who abandoned the Gilroy candidacy.

Indiana Republicans today

Today, if biblical terms were applied to Hoosier Republicans, they are less than halfway through their wandering -not through Indiana, but a political desert. Their last two Moses characters (Goldsmith and McIntosh) found the Red Sea crashing in around them. In Goldsmith's case, it was Indianapolis operatives misreading the rest of the state, along with shoddy campaign research shoehorned into fictional slogans. With McIntosh, it was a lack of campaign talent with shoddy research shoehorned into fictional slogans.

The party's spawning grounds for talent - both as candidates and operatives - that used to emanate from the Lugar, Quayle and Coats organizations, seems to have run dry. There is little new blood on the State Central Committee, where most members don't even have e-mail addresses.

There's another disturbing trend: Meanness. Goldsmith decided not to kick off his 1996 fall campaign by speaking of the ample virtues of his Building Better Neighborhoods program, but by falsely accusing Frank O'Bannon of raising taxes 38 times. In 1999, Durnil himself watched an 11th-hour Gilroy campaign send out scurrilous direct mail that simply did not reflect the true character of the candidate. In 2000, House Republicans earnestly felt they had a shot at picking up three to four House seats, but more mean direct mail may have compromised their position (Rep. Clarie Leuck's constituents didn't really believe she favored the release of prisoned perverts). Here again, the better angels of Lugar, Coats and Quayle campaigns were lost on hunkered down operatives who decided to throw off the gloves in the final rounds. The message should be loud and clear: Hoosier voters have developed a disdain for gutteral politics.

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Thurmond (R-S.C.). "We're not as worried as the gay groups, but almost," said retired Navy Capt. Lory Manning of the Women's Research and Education Institute, a nonprofit group on women's issues. But, she added, "of all the nominees I've heard of so far. he's the only one who makes my hair stand on end." Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, said Coats "has been, and is, one of the fiercest opponents of women's rights in general, and specifically a woman's right to choose." "I think he would be an excellent choice," said Sen. Olympia Snowe (R-Maine), who served with him on the **Senate Armed Services** Committee. "He may be conservative, but . . . I always found him dynamic and flexible in his thinking."

GOLDSMITH DOESN'T GET **HUD: MAY GET ANOTHER** POST: Bush announced Florida county official Mel Martinez as housing secretary today. \Martinez, 54, cochaired Bush's campaign in Florida and is closely aligned with Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, the presidentelect's brother. Martinez fled Cuba at age 15 in 1962. During the Elian Gonzalez controversy earlier this year, Martinez called on the Clinton administration to

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allow Elian's U.S. relatives to keep custody of the boy. The Washington Post reported that Bush plans to establish an "office of faithbased action" in the White House to remove regulations that prevent religious organizations from participating in federal programs. A top prospect for this job is Goldsmith, a top domestic policy adviser to Bush. The Post reported, "Goldsmith is said to be interested in the new post if it is a Cabinet-level position."

NATION REPLACES BRE-MEN: Governor Frank O'Bannon today appointed the press secretary of his re-election campaign, Thad Nation, as press secretary for the start of his second term, succeeding Phil Bremen. Nation will assume his new responsibilities January 1. At that time, Bremen, who left a long career as a broadcast journalist to help launch O'Bannon's first term in January 1997, will return to the private sector. "Thad brings a wealth of experience and instincts to the job at a particularly challenging time," the governor said. "He has served in several state agencies, and also brings impressive experience at the national level. Deputy press secretary Cheryl Reed will move to a planning and research job.

TAX FILING MAY BE TOO continued on page 5

Beyond the old editorial writers, Indiana Republicans view the press as enemies (Lugar is a notable exception). The perfect metaphor for this can be seen at any convention. When the Democrats meet, you can find the governor, LG, speaker, etc., etc., milling around the periphery and totally accessible. When the Republicans meet, they sit high and mighty on the dais. There are no Republican events where curious reporters (and we'll get to them later) can develop relationships with candidates and operatives. These are lessons that have not been learned during the 16 years in the desert.

Durnil would also try to reconcile another division in conservative culture: the quizzing "of what kind of conservative I am - social or economic?" He explained, "I find that question strange and usually answer that I am a conservative."

The problem for Indiana Republicans is that the Democrats are conservative, too. Today, the GOP is not dead, but is a slumbering giant, its ideas nibbled away by the opposition and a lack of a reliable feeder system to develop new talent.

Indiana Democrats

Last September, I raised the possibility of Indiana emerging in the new century not as a traditional Republican state, or even a swing state, but a Democratic state.

Republicans - including some of .the 12 who cast Electoral College ballots for George W. Bush earlier this week - see Indiana as a bastion for GOP presidential candidates (though Bill Bradley would have done much better here than Al Gore). Others pointed out that this would be a "conservative Democratic" state.

I had pondered this question a couple of years ago and was approached at a Democratic event (Democrats invite me to their events because they know I won't throw up in the punch bowl, as Rex Early might say) by Betty Cockrum, the state budget director, who temporarily fretted about such a distinction. Success breeds intoxication in some; for people such as Cockrum, it was sobering. "Don't let us become too complacent," she said.

I thought about that moment as Gov. O'Bannon emerged from his historic 15-point victory last month over the GOP's version of Evan Bayh - David McIntosh. O'Bannon had the mandate.

Last week, at *Indiana Insight's* Legislative Conference, I heard this dialog:

State Rep. Jeff Espich, the ranking Republican on House Ways and Means, acknowledged that the Democrats were "in charge," but worried, "No one is talking about property tax reform. I was here 28 years ago when Gov. Bowen brought true reform. It hasn't happened since. We've had a Blue Ribbon Commis-sion, four legislative sessions and two elections and nothing has happened. That's bad news."

Sen. Vi Simpson, D-Bloomington, said minutes later, "We need to talk about property tax reform, not relief. This is a very good year for reform. The only way you can talk reform is to talk about the entire tax code; talk openly and honestly about replacement revenue. It is disingenuous at best and misleading at most for taxpayers to do anything but."

Gov. Frank O'Bannon, less than an hour later in his first major post-election speech, spent only one paragraph on property taxes and did not indicate reform would be on the table. "Property tax reassessments - probably the big one - and a historic change there will happen and we will move forward. Again, we'll propose several steps to ease the burden of reassessment on Hoosier families."

O'Bannon went on to declare that, "Education will be the top priority."

At Tuesday's fiscal projection press conference, HPR asked the governor about Espich's and Simpson's request for property tax reform, not simply relief, noting that it has been almost 30 years since Doc Bowen revamped the tax code.

O'Bannon corrected me. Doc Bowen didn't restructure the tax code. He merely shifted the sales taxes.

Would O'Bannon heed the bipartisan pleas of Espich and Simpson? "That's a question we'll look at," he responded.

Earlier in the day, because of the economic downturn, Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst was talking about putting property tax reform/relief off until 2003.

I began writing in 1997 that O'Bannon had missed the boat by not using his fresh political capital to revamp the tax structure. What do I know? He paid for that inaction by defeating McIntosh by 15 percent less than four years later.

Now I find myself the plaintive wail on the frosty Hoosier plain: Gov. O'Bannon must restructure the tax code in 2001 when he has the optimum political capital, doesn't have to face the voters again, and can use his mandate, his bully pulpit, and threats to hold the legislature in session until August (or, as Adlai Stevenson might say, "Until hell freezes over") to restructure the code, much the way Engler did several years ago in Michigan, a state that is now beginning to attract Indiana industry.

This sequence is critical to whether Indiana will become a Democratic state, or whether voters will decide in 2004 that 16 years is enough to induce Democratic fatigue.

The read at this point is to prompt Betty Cockrum to fret even more: That there is no plan to restructure and there is little time to pull one out of the hat. That the lack of a plan is troublesome for a state where a potentially powerful high-tech business constituency is emerging, but there is little hope that the state can shift its taxing priorities to reflect and take advantage of a rapidly accelerating globalized economy. We are expecting the Indiana of the 21st Century to compete with a 1973, or, as O'Bannon clarifies, a 1960s model, tax code.

Why is restructuring such a huge leap for Democrats?

The answer lies with George Bush Sr. and Evan Bayh.

The elder Bush emphatically said in 1988, "Read my lips; no new taxes." Then he raised taxes. Gov. Evan Bayh watched this and the actions of the faltering president became anathema to conservative Hoosier Democrats.

You can never raise taxes. Never. Ever. Not even if you raise taxes here in order to lower taxes there.

Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke backed a CEDIT tax that took about 50 cents out of a weekly pay check to repave miles of crumbling city roads, and significantly reduced the city's property tax levy, yet found himself pilloried by Bayh during the 1998 Senate race as a big taxer. Joe Hogsett successfully cast Bill Hudnut as a big tax and spender in 1990.

The Indiana Democratic mindset is that any kind of tax increase, no matter what the context, is bad - *bad*.!

Some day, if Indiana's high tech industries find greener pastures in Michigan or Champaign-Urbana, a new day may emerge. Or when a commuter trying to get home to Fishers wonders why he is spending 15 minutes each day idling on I-69 waiting to get on the 96th Street exit ramp and then decides to take his anger out at the ballot box.

At this writing, the state-of-the-art Indiana Democrats have many elements working in their favor: a deep bench full of young rising star politicians, fundraising centers stemming from the governor's office and the big city mayoralships, control of the critical reapportionment process, and talented and thorough political operatives.

Waiting until 2003 to restructure with a bloody reassessment already heading down the pipeline could be a dynasty crusher.

Indiana women

The Lugar Series on Public Excel-

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LATE: Bethlehem Steel Corp.'s tax consultant last Thursday filed an amended personal property return on behalf of the company reducing the taxable value of the Burns Harbor plant by about \$100 million. But State Tax Board Chairman Timothy Brooks said a technicality in the law that denies "abnormal obsolescence" on an amended return may mean the filing was too late to take effect in 2001 (Robin Biesen, Times of Northwest Indiana). That would mean Porter County residents would not see a drastic reduction in the company's property values next year. U.S. Steel Gary Works, LTV Steel Co. in East Chicago, and BP Amoco filed for the tax break last June. Brooks said he would have to see the company's filings to know whether it violated the rule.

FERNANDEZ PONDERS STATE POST: Bloomington Mayor John Fernandez says "a lot of people" around the state have encouraged him to run for secretary of state in 2002, and he's giving it consideration (Marda Johnson, Bloomington Herald-Times). Any decision, he said, is months away. The Democrat is serving his second term as mayor. Fernandez said he "loved being mayor," but that there are aspects of the state position that are

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appealing.

PISTOL-PACKING LIBER-TARIAN: Paul Hager is a Bloomington software engineer and a Libertarian who has run against Richard Lugar for the Senate and John Hostettler for 8th CD congressman. He also believes the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which he says gives him the right to bear arms, is under assault and he is literally bearing arms in an attempt to prove his point (John Meunier, **Bloomington Herald-**Telephone). Hager, 50, has had a permit to carry a handgun for seven years. but says he hasn't fired one since August. Now, though, he is wearing a holster on his right hip with a handgun in it. "For me," he said, "this is a way to get people to talk. It's a sort of an object lesson. It's a way of breaking down stereotypes." Hager also is an advocate for marijuana legalization.

NEW REVENUE FORECAST PUTTING BRAKES ON PROPERTY TAX CUTS: A newly released state revenue forecast predicting state growth at 2.7 percent instead of the previously forecast 5 percent could put the brakes on property tax reforms in the 2001 Indiana General Assembly. Senate Finance Chair Larry Borst said the economic downturn could put off property tax

lence is more than 10 years old and has succeeded in positioning some of its graduates in elected political positions.

In the two gubernatorial election cycles since HPR began publishing in 1994, both major parties' gubernatorial nominees flirted with naming a woman to the ticket - O'Bannon with Jill Long Thompson in 1996 and David McIntosh with Sen. Teresa Lubbers or Jean Ann Harcourt. There was great angst involved in both of these selection processes - either on the part of the potential nominee due to family or professional concerns, or due to the weight of the political establishment which keeps getting further and further away from Ann DeLaney's 1984 breakthrough LG nomination.

Harcourt stands out as a particularly compelling figure. Successful in business and industry, the matriarch of her family and, by all accounts, a wonderful mother, there is no doubt that she would have added an effervescent spark and credibility to a McIntosh campaign that ultimately suffered from the same large gender gap that has plagued most GOP gubernatorial tickets in the Bayh-O'Bannon era. O'Bannon out-polled McIntosh by 18 percent among female voters. This is not to denigrate the LG nominee, Sen. Murray Clark, who HPR got to know and respect. But ultimately, he added little to the ticket - O'Bannon out-raised McIntosh and carried Marion County by 50,000 votes - and only reinforced a business as usual perception to the higher ranges of the food chain.

Susan Estrich's new book *Sex and Power* defines some of the quandaries, noting, "Waiting for the connection between gender and parenting to be broken is waiting for Godot. Pretending that children have no impact on a woman's career is turning the exception into the rule."

Yet, the children are the most compelling reason for people such as Lubbers, Harcourt and Thompson to seek the political break through Indiana's gender ceiling, or as Estrich puts it, "climbing to the top of the slippery pole." Many of the most compelling and deeply divisive issues of the day - abortion, welfare and poverty, medicine, education, taxes - run deep through the bodies and minds of women. More of them should be addressing the needs of society in Congress, on Ways and Means and Senate Finance, and some day, in the governor's office.

There is the "neutral atmosphere" and "unconscious attitudes" that dot the political landscape that make high-powered career paths incompatible with the course of parenthood, as Ann Hulbert described it in the *New York Times*. Estrich argues that if women unite, they might find a less forbidding job landscape awaiting them when they are ready to get back on track - "now with wrinkles and with gaps in their resumes."

Indiana will be a better place when women here decide to unite within their parties and demand the kind of parity at the top of the ticket that is now required at the top of state and county organizations.

Indiana Libertarians

The final year of the century was a disappointing one for the Libertarian Party. It had an articulate and upstanding candidate for governor - Andrew Horning - who drew less than 5 percent of the vote. Horning offered up good ideas off the beaten track that deserved debate.

What went wrong?

The first syllable in the party's name is a hindrance. Hoosiers are distrustful of liberals and many don't make the distinction. A name change might be in order.

Indiana Libertarians did learn something from Bart Peterson's 1999 Indianapolis mayoral campaign: In order to gain credibility, they have to assure the business community that they won't abandon good economies or government responsibilities, which some of the traditional party dogma suggests. When Peterson became acceptable to big busi-

ness, that's when he had a fighting chance to win.

Indiana Libertarians must sow the seeds of the next generation in the business and law schools of the state's great universities. When they argue on an intellectual level (and leave the legalized marijuana issues behind), they can begin to build the kind of rapport with incoming business and legal classes and their professors that could pay dividends down the road as far as candidate recruitment and financial support - the key oxygen for party building they now lack.

The news media

More than a year ago, I participated in discussions on a news staff about how we would treat the "odometer millennium" in our final 1999 issue. After reading an orgy of "looking to the past" issues in other publications and seeing much more just ahead, I suggested that we project into the future: What Indiana society would be like in 2050 or 2099? We could talk with local visionaries in their respective fields - arts, medicine, communication, technology, law, agriculture. The prevailing sentiment on the staff was that we didn't have the caliber of intellectual professionalism in the state to make such assessments, and so we went backward with a "Hoosiers of the Millennium" edition. This from a staff where the new editor conducted his first meeting with the lights off - literally in the dark.

That episode and watching the 2000 campaign sequence pass, where there was virtually no comprehensive coverage of the reassessment issue, brought two notions to my mind. One was a quote Robin Winston often used to rally his troops this past year: "There's nothing wrong with Indiana that can't be fixed by what's right with Indiana."

The other was by author John Bartlow Martin in his 1947 book *Indiana: An Interpretation*. He wrote about Indiana's guilded age after the

Civil War and prior to World War I when Indiana was at the heart of American culture - political with President Benjamin Harrison (who probably got more ink this past fall than during his entire term), almost a dozen cabinet members, three vice presidents, authors such as James Whitcomb Riley and Booth Tarkington, and bicyclists turned industrial seekers like Elwood Haynes, Carl Fisher, Jim Allison and Fred Duesenberg.

Martin wrote, "Endless vistas of opportunities stood before a boy born in Indiana in 1900." But when a Michigan man named Henry Ford proposed putting a new auto plant in Indianapolis, he was told to take a hike.

Martin observed, "Somwhere,, somehow between the beginning of one world war and the end of another, the wonder went out of all the wonderful things of Indiana's past - the magic of McCutcheon's Indian summer cartoon and Riley's poems, the boundless promise of natural gas and Elwood Haynes' wonderful machine. A suspicion had arisen that bigotry, ignorance, and hysteria were as much a part of the Hoosier character as were conservatism and steadfastness and common sense. One of Indiana's chief exports had long been ideas, but so many of these had turned out to be wrong-headed, wicked or useless. Indiana lost its friendly tolerance, its conviction that things would work out, and it by no means fulfilled its magnificent promise."

He continued: "And even the material progress of Indiana was arrested. It had seemed limitless in 1900, but it was stunted by some of the very men of vision who had created it - the early capitalists. In almost every small city one can hear tales of how the chamber of commerce had discouraged outside manufacturers from building plants there."

Over the horizon in Indiana at the turn of the last century were two world wars, a take-over by the Ku Klux Klan, a Great Depression and, as Martin noted,

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reform until 2003. When Gov. Frank O'Bannon was asked about the potential delay, he responded, "We'll have to see. It will depend on the amount of revenue available." O'Bannon said the state has experienced "unprecedented growth" that has put it in an "enviable position." The governor further explained at a morning news conference, "The forecast we've just received reflects the slowing of our nation's economy, and we must be careful as we craft our next two-year budget so that Indiana remains on solid footing." Indiana's new forecast anticipates revenue growth of 4.9 percent in fiscal year 2002 and 5.4 percent in fiscal year 2003. The governor's office noted that according to the National Association of State Budget Officers, about half of 29 states responding to a survey said they are facing lower revenues than anticipated and higher-thanexpected health care costs. Others are taking steps to reduce current spending plans to accommodate the national slowdown. "This slowed growth can be absorbed, but not without making some difficult choices," O'Bannon said. "Not only will we have to strictly limit new spending, we must look for ways to meet our obligations without placing further stress on our revenue." State Budget Director

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Betty Cockrum said she and the state budget agency will work with the governor over the next several weeks to incorporate the revenue forecast into the state's next two-year budget. "There are some commitments we must and will honor." Cockrum said, referring to two new prisons that will open next year. Also, last week's Medicaid forecast indicated the state will need additional funds to pay for health care for Indiana's neediest citizens over the next two years, she said. "I'm confident we'll be able to put together a budget that will keep Indiana in a state of progress," Cockrum said. "New or expanded programs will not be encouraged."

GILROY SEEKS BIPARTI-**SAN ELECTION REFORM** TASK FORCE: Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy is calling on Gov. O'Bannon to form a bipartisan commission to reform Indiana election laws. "Indiana's general election on Nov. 7 demonstrated that our election process serves our state quite well," Gilroy said. "But the recent events elsewhere in the nation have made us aware that even a good system can be improved. We need to seize this unique opportunity to improve upon the election reforms of the past." Gilroy said the goals of the task force would include creating a "uniform and accurate computerized statewide voter registration system, as well

"there were few months between 1915 and 1947 when some Indiana public official was not under indictment, on trial, or in iail."

Why did this happen?

Martin observed: "Many plain people in Indiana blame the politicians most of all for stunting Indiana's growth. Today, Indiana is full of people who never see the economic or social ends of politics but are fascinated merely buy the day-today business of vote getting, buttonholing, horse trading, drink buying - all the little trickeries that made President and ward heelers alike. To win a public office is the same as to make a touchdown or to hit a home run, and as devoid of meaning. The bosses advise: 'If you got a weak candidate and no issue, wrap your candidate in the American flag and talk about the Constitution."

Dec. 20, 2000, and epilogue

John Bartlow Martin's words have been presented here to remind us that we are stewards of a fragile system.

If we do not maintain it, we could end up with a Florida, November-December 2000.

If we are not diligent about our ethics, we could end up like Chicago 1960 or find ourselves swamped with ads like the U.S. Chamber used against an Indiana attorney general candidate, paid for with big tobacco money.

If we are not inclusive and fail to recruit and accommodate candidates that bring gender and culture diversity, then we are closing out more than half of the good minds of our populace from the vital process.

If our public officials aren't willing to take a calculated, logical risks and stand tall to defend them with all the resources at their disposal, then we will see our state passed by those more progressive.

If the news media don't stay attuned and curious, then the discipline of this fragile system will be lost to the ethics of the wild and self-indulgent. This past week as President-Elect Bush began assembling his cabinet, we have seen in vivid detail many of the aspects of what Winston describes as "what's right with Indiana."

While many of our politicians Richard Lugar, Dan Coats, Stephen
Goldsmith, Lee Hamilton, Dan Quayle,
David McIntosh, Tim Roemer, Jill Long
Thompson - are mentioned as but won't
get there or expressed no interest because
of current commitments, what they do
represent is the core of what I have called
"The golden age of Indiana politics."

Add in the names of other Hoosiers who have stood tall in recent years at some point on a national context - Evan Bayh, Bill Hudnut, Andy Jacobs, Ed Pease, John Myers, Pamela Carter, Mark Souder, Julia Carson, Steve Buyer, Joe Andrew, Mike McDaniel, Paul Helmke, Frank O'Bannon and, yes, Gordon Durnil - and you begin to realize the high caliber of public servant that Hoosiers have chosen to represent them at the various levels of government and politics.

The vistas that the young boy or girl born in 2000 can find in Indiana today are even more limitless than those John Bartlow Martin described as he talked about the last turn of a century.

Scanning ahead, the challenges and dangers that will face us in the coming century could be as dark and crippling as the horrors of the past one, and just as bright as our finest moments that ranged from Cape Canaveral to Normandy, to Selma and the Silicon Valley.

When we stop thinking about our future, when we turn the lights out and look backward, then we risk the kind of lost Indiana that took shape between the world wars.

I'm an optimist. I see what Ronald Reagan described as a "morning in America" just on the horizon.

What we do with this new day remains to be seen.❖

2001 HPR 50 Most Influential List Requires Your Input

Obviously, due to changing fortunes - electoral, financial and perceptions - our "2001 HPR 50 Most Influential" list needs updating and we ask for your help. Do your own list (full or partial), send it to us by fax (317-466-0993) or e-mail (brianhowey@howeypolitics.com) by Dec. 22 and then watch for the new rankings in our Jan. 4 edition.

2000 50 Most Influential

- 1.) U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar
- 2.) U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh
- 3.) Gov. Frank O'Bannon
- 4.) Rep. David McIntosh
- 5.) State Sen. Larry Borst
- 6.) Chair Robin Winston
- 7.) DNC Chair Joe Andrew
- 8.) Speaker John Gregg
- 9.) Mayor Bart Peterson
- 10.) U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer
- 11.) U.S. Rep. MarkSouder
- 12.) U.S. Rep. Ed Pease
- 13.) Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan
- 14.) Rep. Patrick Bauer
- 15.) Rep. Jeff Espich
- 16.) Mayor Graham Richard
- 17.) Mayor Russell Lloyd
- 18.) Marty Morris
- 19.) Chair Mike McDaniel
- 20.) Judy O'Bannon
- 21.) Mitch Daniels
- 22.) Sen. Teresa Lubbers
- 23.) Jeff Smulyan
- 24.) U.S. Rep. Baron Hill
- 25.) Tom Sugar
- 26.) Mel & Herb Simon
- 27.) Stephen Goldsmith
- 28.) U.S. Rep. Dan Burton
- 29.) U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer
- 30.) Sen. Bob Garton
- 31.) Pat Kiely
- 32.) Ken Zeller
- 33.) U.S.Rep. Pete Visclosky
- 34.) U.S. Rep.Julia Carson
- 35.) David Gogol
- 36.) Margaret Burlingame
- 37.) John R. Price
- 38.) Rep. Paul Mannweiler
- 39.) Mayor Bob Pastrick
- 40.) Tom New
- 41.) Lee Hamilton

- 42.) Chris Jones
- 43.) Butch Morgan
- 44.) Mayor John Fernandez
- 45.) Auditor Connie Nass
- 46.) Steve Hilbert
- 47.) Mayor Steve Leucke
- 48.) Supt. Suellen Reed
- 49.) Betty Cockrum
- 50.) Mayor Scott King

Honorable Mention: Karl Berron, Norm Cox, Dick Freeland, John Hammond, Al Hubbard, David John-son, Kevin Kellems, Bob Knight, Jeff Modisett, Win Moses, Mike Pence, Jim Purucker, Scott Newman, Chris Sautter, Steve Shine, Stephen Stiglich, Becky Skillman, George Van Til and Harrison J. Ullmann.

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- 2.) Gov. Frank O'Bannon
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- 4.) State Sen. Larry Borst
- 5.) Chairman Joe Andrew
- 6.) Dan Quayle
- 7.) Mel & Herb Simon
- 8.) Steve Hilbert
- 9.) Speaker John Gregg
- 10.) Marty Morris
- 11.) U.S. Rep. David McIntosh
- 12.) U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer
- 13.) U.S. Rep. Ed Pease
- 14.) State Rep.Patrick Bauer
- 15.) Mitch Daniels
- 16.) Chair Mike McDaniel
- 17.) Pat Kiely
- 18.) Judy O'Bannon

- 19.) Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan
- 20.) U.S. Rep. Mark Souder
- 21.) Chair Robin Winston
- 22.) Pros. Scott Newman
- 23.) Ken Zeller
- 24.) U.S. Rep.Julia Carson
- 25.) U.S Rep. Steve Buyer
- 26.) State Sen. Bob Garton
- 27.) Tom New
- 28.) Rep. Paul Mannweiller
- 29.) Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy
- 30.) Tom Sugar
- 31.) U.S. Rep. Dan Burton
- 32.) David Gogol
- 33.) Bernie Toon
- 34.) Stephen Stiglich
- 35.) Steve Shine
- 36.) Butch Morgan
- 37.) Mayor Stephen Goldsmith
- 38.) Mayor Paul Helmke
- 39.) Michael K. Phillips
- 40.) Gordon Durnil
- 41.) Mayor John Fernandez
- 42.) AG Jeff Modisett
- 43.) Lee Hamilton
- 44.) Bart Peterson
- 45.) Supt. Suellen Reed
- 46.) Nancy Pappas
- 47.) Dick Freeland
- 48.) Teresa & Mark Lubbers
- 49.) Ed & Ann DeLaney
- 50.) Jeff Smulyan

Honorable Mention: Vi Simpson, Jack Cottey, Rex Early, Peter Rusthoven, John Hammond, Jeff Espich, Eric Miller, Karl Berron, Mike Smith, Jim Purucker, and Peggy Welch.

TICKER

as a plan to update the voting systems throughout Indiana."

ANDREW DID NOT

RESIGN, AIDE SAYS: Despite what you may have been told or read. **Democratic National** Chairman Joe Andrew did not resign. That's the word from Andrew aide Brad Quiesser. Quiesser said that Andrew will serve out his term, which like the terms of state chairmen, ends in March. Thad Nation of the Indiana Democrats noted. "Without a Democrat president as the head of our party after January, Joe will have the primary job of defining the Bush presidency from the start. Joe is picking up a few perks on his way out. Also, Joe will meet with the President where he will finalize a deal for him to chair the 2004 Democratic National Convention and its site selection committee, and will be named a DNC atlarge member. Joe will also serve as the head of McAuliffe's campaign for the national chair for the next three months. While coming back to Indiana is not out of the question, Joe has already received five high profile job offers since the news broke, but he says that he is currently planning to return to Johnson Smith."