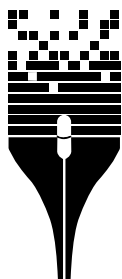


The Howey Political Report



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“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“The president is relevant...”

- President Bill Clinton, April 15, 1995.

A retrospective on Clinton and Indiana

President left a facinating wake here

“Bill Clinton is the best politician I’ve ever heard, seen or dreamed of...” - L. Keith Bulen

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY** in Indianapolis

The quote you just read came a few months before Keith Bulen’s death in January 1999. It came in response to a question I asked - almost an after-thought at the end of my last interview with Bulen: “What do you think of President Clinton?”

What made Bulen’s quote so remarkable was that this was a guy who was a senior campaign official for the Great Communicator - President Ronald Reagan.

President Bill Clinton passes from the presidency at the end of this week and he will have left a deep shadow across the face of Indiana, despite the fact that this was a state that resoundingly rejected him twice. It was a state where the governing conservative Democrats never completely warmed up to him in the good times, and had their 10-foot poles ready during the worst.

And even as Clinton leaves the White House, there is every indication that he won’t really pass at all. Bill Clinton is poised to become the consummate, behind-the-scenes player that may be more akin to Mark Hanna or the ultimate king-maker, the elder Mayor Richard Daley.

Clinton claimed two obvious Hoosier victims who bookended his presidency. The first was Vice President Dan Quayle, a foe to whom Bill Clinton dealt his first electoral defeat in 1992. Eight years later, the victim was Democratic National Chairman Joe Andrew, who would vigorously

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CLINTON'S APPROVAL: Gallup staked President Clinton's final approval rating at 65 percent, compared to 64 percent for President Ronald Reagan in 1989.

BAYH TEPID ON BIG TAX CUTS: Just days before his inauguration, President-elect George W. Bush is facing a significant hurdle in his attempt to reach across the aisle and convince moderate Democrats to help pass his \$1.6 trillion tax cut. Moderate, business-friendly "New Democrats" and fiscally conservative "Blue Dog" Democrats drew a line in the sand last week, telling Bush they oppose a tax cut that does not include an equal commitment to paying down the national debt. "I can support a tax cut, but it needs to be balanced with stimulating our economy and maintaining fiscal discipline," Sen. Evan Bayh, the incoming chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, the policy arm of the New Democrats, said in an interview (Roll Call). "A tax cut? Yes. But one that threatens our fiscal responsibility? No."

LAMOTHE CALLS US CHAMBER ADS "DISGUSTING": Christopher LaMothe of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce called HPR to say he had no prior knowledge to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's negative ads

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Clinton, *from page 1*

deny victimization even as word emerged that a party led by Al Gore in 2001 would prefer Andrew maintaining the helm. Instead, President Bill and U.S. Sen. Hillary Clinton have essentially seized control of the Democratic National Committee by maneuvering Terry McAuliffe into command. This will likely have a huge historical impact on politics both nationally and here in Indiana.

Just as Quayle would have been waiting in the presidential wings had he won in 1992, the emerging Clintonian coup has an unalterable impact on the presidential designs of Sen. Evan Bayh.

Early Clinton

Back in 1991, most Hoosiers viewed Gov. Bill Clinton as a third-tier presidential contender who won the nomination almost by default after party stalwarts ranging from Mario Cuomo to Jay Rockefeller didn't have the guts to take on President George H.W. Bush following his Gulf War victory.

The state never warmed up to him, in part because of Quayle's favorite son

status, despite Clinton's position as a "New Democrat" with the potential to be more harmonious with the conservative brand practiced in the Bayh II era. Despite the post-convention Clinton-Gore feell-good bus foray across I-64 in Southern Indiana, the vanquished G.H.W. Bush carried the state by a 43 to 37 percent margin, with Ross Perot taking the 20 percent that would have given the elder Bush an outright landslide. In fact, '92 represented the first instance of Clinton drag here. Going into that year, Indiana Democrats held an 8-2 margin in CDs. U.S. Rep. Jim Jontz, running in a freshly carved 5th CD designed by Democrats in the Indiana General Assembly, lost to Steve Buyer by a 51-49 percent margin. Buyer ran a fiesty campaign dressed in military fatigues to take advantage of the Gulf War and probably benefitted from Quayle on the ticket. But there was quiet revulsion to the frequent Clinton bimbo eruptions, his draft status, and his perceived inhaling fib.

The Buyer victory served as only a premonition of disaster to overcome Democrats seeking federal office here. And yet, the so-called Clinton drag rarely moved beyond the 10 Congressional districts and ultimately bolstered the conserv-

ative Democrats that ran statewide and locally for the rest of the decade.

Hamilton gives 'em hell

The low point was obviously 1994. Clinton's first mid-term election was preceded by the closing of two military bases - Grissom AFB and Fort Benjamin Harrison - along with the gay service issue that found U.S. Sen. Dan Coats as a national contrarian spokesman. There were Hillary Clinton's health care fiasco, the controversial stimulus package, the proposed BTU tax, and President Clinton's ardent support of the Brady Bill that ignited 2nd Amendment fervor.

Recognition of the rumblings was perceived at different stages. U.S. Rep. Phil Sharp recognized them early and bowed out of a 20-year career that winter. Buyer's challenger, the hero-sheriff of Howard County - J.D. Beatty - figured out the gun owner anger by early summer.

The most astute among them, U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton, knew it as early as any of them. When the Indiana Democratic Editorial Association convened during the final week of a brutishly hot August, Hamilton unleashed an emotional diatribe upon his quaking Democratic brethren.

In what still ranks as one of the most indelible moments in HPR history (covered in only its 4th edition) Clintonism had placed the pragmatic Hoosier voter into an "anti-government and anti-elitist" fervor. "It's very, very strong. It's as powerful as I've ever seen in Indiana politics," Hamilton said with great emotion. "Sometimes when I'm standing at a public meeting, I feel a curtain drop between me and the people I'm talking to. I'm a politician and therefore, they say, my word cannot be trusted.

"They understand one thing. They know Bill Clinton is a Democrat. And they know the Congress of the United States is controlled by Democrats. They understand that. They expect us to be

accountable. They want us to act. And the pressure is on us. And that's what the '94 election is all about."

Hamilton counted nine speakers at IDEA that day, including Evan Bayh, Frank O'Bannon and Joe Hogsett. "And not one of them said anything about Bill Clinton or Al Gore. And then I got up, and I was just mad." When Hamilton concluded, he simply sighed, "Oh my. It's time to go...."

The lesson was ignored. By mid-September, the Republicans had gathered at the Capitol to sign the "Contract with America" and HPR moved the 4th and 8th CDs into the tossup zone on Sept. 29 - an early precursor to the developing Republican wave. The 4th CD move was based in part by the HPR publisher glimpsing for a split second an extremely worried Jill Long heading to her Fort Wayne campaign headquarters.

By late October, David McIntosh sprang a trap on Joe Hogsett in a debate in Anderson, goading the favored 2nd CD Democrat into trading "you pulled a Bill Clinton" jabs.

By the time it was over, President and Hillary Clinton watched several of their "friends" - Hoosier Democrats - become the first victims of the Gingrich Revolution on a terrible night ... Jill Long, Frank McCloskey, Joe Hogsett all defeated. The Indiana House was back in Republican hands, its Democratic speaker upset. Andy Jacobs and Hamilton himself barely escaped. Hogsett knew it was over when UAW workers at Anderson refused to look him in the eyes at the crack of Election Day dawn.

A month or so later, when Lee and Nancy Hamilton attended the White House Christmas dinner, the Clintons pulled them aside and, having read HPR's account of IDEA, thanked them profusely for the defense.

President Clinton himself would later say, "To whatever extent we didn't do what people wanted to do. I bear my part of the responsibility."

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that ran against then-Attorney General Karen Freeman-Wilson last fall. "I thought it was disgusting," LaMothe said of the TV ad campaign. Last October, the U.S. Chamber spent close to \$500,000 against Freeman-Wilson, accusing her of hiring former drug dealers to work for her judicial office in Gary, Indiana. Democrats are currently pursuing a complaint against the U.S. Chamber through the Indiana Election Commission. LaMothe said the ad campaign "was all independent. I had no idea it was coming. I wish I did. I would have told them that running a negative ad campaign in Indiana doesn't work. Since 1986, no Republican has won who has gone negative." Current Attorney General Steve Carter disavowed the ads when they ran. Asked if he protested to the U.S. Chamber, LaMothe said that he didn't, explaining, "We don't get involved in anything other than Indiana General Assembly races." As for a potential run for governor in 2004, LaMothe said, "I don't have any plans today to seek that office." But, he added, "There is no heir apparent. Anybody with a pulse is considered a candidate."

JUDGE DISMISSES GARY LAWSUIT ON GUNS: Lake Superior Court Judge

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James Richards said Tuesday he has dismissed Gary Mayor Scott King's lawsuit against AmeriPawn of Lake Station, Blythe's Sport Shop of Valparaiso and Griffith, Cash Indiana of Burns Harbor and Lake Station, Jim Sheema's Outdoor Sports of Merrillville and Westforth Sports of Calumet Township (Times of Northwest Indiana). King filed suit 16 months ago against the local businesses, several wholesale gun distributors and gun manufacturers such as Smith & Wesson, Beretta U.S.A. Corp. and Glock Corp. He wanted to force them to stop marketing weapons to inner city gangs. But defense lawyers successfully argued the litigation was an unconstitutional intrusion on interstate commerce. "We think the court's finding is clearly erroneous and we will be studying the opinion and evaluating it as to how we will proceed," James Meyer, the lawyer representing Gary, said. Local gun dealers were pleased. "It was expected," James Sheema said Tuesday. "It followed the pattern of all the other suits that have come to court. I just hope they don't waste any more of the taxpayers' money."

IU LAW PROFESSORS RAP SUPREMES: A full-page ad in Saturday's New York Times criticizing the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling end-

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Three days; three weeks

The Clinton comeback played out over three days in April 1995 and three weeks at the end of the year and each period had interesting Hoosier ties.

On April 14, Clinton filed for re-election. A day later, President Clinton was at his low point, insisting to the press that, "The Constitution gives me relevance. The power of our ideas gives us relevance. The President is relevant." And then came April 16, 1995. As U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar prepared for his presidential kickoff at City Market in Indianapolis, word filtered through the crowd - the federal building in Oklahoma City had been bombed. The Commander-in-Chief became the the Empathizer-in-Chief and went a long way toward restoring his relevance. Clinton also took on conservative talk radio, saying it was a purveyor of "hate and paranoia."

In the middle stood Mike Pence, whose Network Indiana statewide radio show had raised him from a vanquished congressional candidate and conservative think tank president to a daily Hoosier commentator with Clintonism supplying much of the fodder. Pence resisted the hate, telling HPR in April 1995, "I think President Clinton is right in that vein. We have rights in America. And in tandem with those rights, we have responsibility. We are not interested in creating a forum for the conveyance of paranoid conspiracy theories at the state and federal level."

The new Clinton following Oklahoma City was not so easily recognized by Pence and the Indiana freshman Republicans. Going into the budget showdown in December that year, Republicans were smelling blood in the water, led in part by the revolutionary freshmen David McIntosh and Mark Souder. The hard-line stance of the freshmen led to the government shutdown in December and a bloody game of chicken by January 1996.

Souder told HPR in early January of a proposed settlement between Speaker Newt Gingrich and Clinton. "We've been

thinking about this. This is a lousy deal," Souder told Gingrich.

McIntosh was even more recalcitrant toward Gingrich. McIntosh was quoted in the book *Gang of Five* by *Los Angeles Times* reporter Nina Easton, "Newt's calculation was that in order for us to preserve power in Congress, we had to retreat because the President had beaten us." On Jan. 4, McIntosh had proclaimed, "We will not reopen the government."

The next day, Gingrich rebuffed the freshmen. He issued an ultimatum to McIntosh: Vote with leadership or resign your leadership post, to which McIntosh responded, "Newt, you didn't choose me."

Souder recalled the Speaker saying, "I'm taking names of the people who vote against it, not for any retribution, but if any of you complain against another Member, I will be able to look at my list and I will not listen to you. If you don't want me as Speaker, get yourself another Speaker."

"And he walked out," Souder said. "The freshmen met and decided what to do and we ended up bitterly divided." McIntosh would go back to his office and tell his staff that he felt "dirty." Gingrich would scrap a fundraising trip to Evansville that was to have raised money for another freshman, John Hostettler.

Easton summed up what would later prove to be the turning point of the Clinton presidency by paraphrasing Mick Jagger: "In the bitter winter of 1995-96 the members of the freshman class didn't even get what they needed." Clinton had stuck to his guns and his post-shutdown spin propelled him to a second term in 1996. Little did anyone know how Clinton was spending casual time during the government shutdown.

Michigan City & new cops

President Clinton used Michigan City as his staging point for entry to the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago that August. He was at his best on the stump. With nearly 20,000 people

jamming the lakefront Washington Park, Clinton acknowledged he was the first President since William McKinley to visit Michigan City. "All I've got to say is the rest of 'em didn't know what they were missing," he said, stroking the throng.

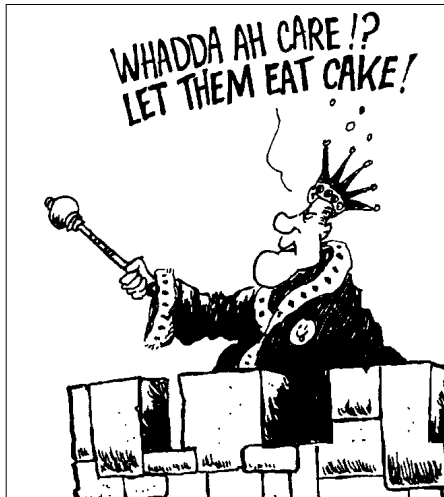
The Michigan City-Chicago sequence is important for three reasons. First, it poised then-Gov. Evan Bayh for the national stage with his convention keynote speech. "I appreciated what Gov. Bayh said about the relationship he and Susan have with Hillary and me," Clinton said. "It's way beyond politics and beyond the fact that we're from the same party or we served as governors together. They are our friends. I don't know what the future holds for them, but I wouldn't be surprised at all if some day Evan Bayh came back to Michigan City as President of the United States."

But during the night of Bayh's keynote, the first strains of the post-Clinton world appeared. Hillary Clinton's speech preceding Bayh's kept pushing the keynote back. A introductory video on Bayh was scrapped and the young governor barely got on before the 11 p.m. newscasts on the Eastern Seaboard. Some in the Bayh camp wondered if Mrs. Clinton had ulterior motives. Bayh was ever so diplomatic, saying, "Obviously she had had her fair share of critics, many of them unfair. I think everyone in the hall wanted to give her a very rousing welcome and it's very hard to sustain that kind of level. I had some people tell me they thought the keynote had been shifted to another night. It's just one of those things."

In retrospect, the Bill and Hillary move last month against Joe Andrew, seen in the context of the 1996 convention events, figures to have potentially interesting consequences in 2004 and beyond.

Secondly, the final day of the DNC in Chicago was an ironic precursor of things to come. Loathed Clinton advisor Dick Morris was uncovered in a sex scandal with information that he had carried on presidential phone conversations while cavorting with prostitutes. Bob Schieffer of CBS noted - with incredible foresight - that it was just another chapter in Clinton's "exploding cigar" presidency.

Finally, Clinton's 1996 acceptance speech unveiled public policy initiatives that would bolster a couple of Hoosier Democrats. It was then that Clinton called for "100,000 new cops" as well as more teachers, more schools and school uniforms. The new police would be instrumental in positioning Gov. Frank O'Bannon (500 new cops) toward his



2000 re-election, and allowed Indianapolis Democrat Bart Peterson to stake out the law and order high ground in his breakthrough 1999 campaign that ended 32 years of GOP Unigov dominance. His 200 new cops would come with the help of Clinton-inspired federal grants. The Peterson victory and its fund-raising engine in the Democratic camp has the potential of taking Indiana out of the "Republican state" column.

In that '96 acceptance speech, Clinton declared that the "era of big government is over" - a notion that reinforced the conservative Indiana Democrats who four years later would increase their gubernatorial dominance to 16 years as they successfully painted David McIntosh as an "extremist."

The mid-era of Clintonism was that of Dick Morris' famed "triangulation" where they cherry-picked ideas from both Republicans and Democrats. NAFTA was

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ing the presidential election controversy was signed by 554 law professors, including five on the faculty at Indiana University (John Meunier, Bloomington Herald-Times). The ad said the five-member majority on the court operated as "political partisans, not judges of a court of law." The ad was paid for by People for the American Way, a liberal activist group. The IU professors are Jeannine Bell, Cathy Crosson, Colleen Pauweis, Gene Shreve and Earl Singleton.

BURTON LOBBIES BUSH TO KEEP DRUG CZAR: Concerned that President-elect George W. Bush will "drop" the Cabinet-level status of the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), eight high-ranking members of Congress, including Indiana's Rep. Dan Burton, have appealed to Mr. Bush to "re-energize" the commitment to fighting the national drug epidemic (Washington Times). "We believe that any downgrade of the drug czar position below Cabinet status at the outset of your administration would be a political misstep," says the letter, obtained by The Times. "Early on, President Clinton's misguided efforts to severely reduce the ONDCP staff was met with strong public and congressional condemnation and eventually reversed," say

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the congressmen, who tell Mr. Bush they want a "nationally prominent figure" appointed as drug czar.

LIBERTARIANS TO MAKE BIG ANNOUNCEMENT: Indiana Libertarians are expected to announce on Feb. 9 that they will host the party's national convention in 2002. The Libertarians also announced that LaPorte County became the 17th county affiliate in the state. Greg Kelver of LaPorte is the county chair.

SOUDER WANTS TAX CUTS: If upper-middle income people don't get a tax cut, a recession can't be avoided, believes U.S. Rep. Mark Souder, R-CD4 (Sylvia A. Smith, Fort Wayne, Journal Gazette). It isn't politically popular to advocate tax breaks for people who are well off, Souder said, but they are the ones who keep the economy moving. Souder said if the economy stagnates it will be the fault of President Clinton and the Democrats.

ND PROF TO ADVISE BUSH: Jimmy Gerule, a Notre Dame law professor, will advise the Department of Justice on key issues in the new administration (South Bend Tribune). He will focus on federal criminal law, which involves drug trafficking and international money laundering.

passed in the face of Democratic labor constituencies with GOP help. Clinton granted welfare waivers to Gov. Bayh, giving the Bayh-O'Bannon era conspicuous welfare-to-work successes. Trade with China came with the help of U.S. Rep. Julia Carson, Baron Hill and Republicans.

President Clinton seemed to have co-opted Dan Quayle's notion of "family values" that the former vice president was ridiculed for in 1992. The President amazed Sen. Coats by seeking him out twice in 1996 to learn about the senator's "Project for American Renewal" while Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole had given Coats the cold shoulder.

It led former Republican state Chairman Al Hubbard to fume, "They're stealing our ideas."

Clinton and the prostitute-toe nibbling Dick Morris - who was once a campaign adviser to Coats - had done just that.

Scumbags & Impeachment

"I did not have sex with that woman - Miss Lewinsky," a defiant President Clinton said, shaking his finger at the nation in January 1998. A Democratic friend of mine watching *Nightline* with me as the epic scandal began unfolding, honked at the denial. "Haaa! It's true," he said as images of Monica Lewinsky crossed the TV screen. "That's Clinton's kind of woman."

While Indiana Republicans scoffed and weren't surprised, Hoosier Democrats were quick to dust off their 10-foot poles.

U.S. Rep. Dan Burton had played a key and constant role in trying to pick through the Clinton/Gore '96 campaign irregularities. His own comment to the *Indianapolis Star* about Clinton being a "scumbag" was a shot across the bow in 1998 on what was to become an ugly partisan showdown with the ramifications yet to be fully understood. Burton would soon find himself the target of moral media policing as an illegitimate son and ques-

tionable office/campaign staffings came to light.

Burton, however, can rightfully claim historic justification as an array of Clinton/Gore fundraisers - the Tries and Riadys - pled guilty to financial misdeeds.

Burton found the waves of public opinion lapping both for and against him, with scandal fatigue and Clinton fatigue pulling him and the Republicans back and forth across the public conscience.

But nothing - *nothing* - would compare to impeachment and the crazy predicaments that it placed Hoosier political figures in.

Then Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke, serving as president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, recalled being with Clinton and Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt at the White House shortly after the scandal surfaced. Babbitt had been fighting his own legal intrigues. "Clinton comes over to him and said, 'I did all this just to keep you off the front pages this week,'" Helmke related in his book, *Son of a Son of a Politician*. "It really threw Babbitt and me. Here's Clinton joking about something that's obviously coming really close to bringing down his presidency. And he had that kind of way of handling people. It is one of his strengths and weaknesses."

As the Lewinsky scandal unfolded, Democrats were skeptical. At IDEA in August 1998, the Clinton jokes and black humor were in full force as the party pros, except for Joe Andrew, feared a '94 redux.

The problem was, the Republicans had never recovered from the winter of '95-96. The message was muddled down the homestretch of the mid-term campaign. The Republicans overplayed their hand and scandal fatigue won out. Though there were no gains in Indiana, Democrats actually picked up seats nationally.

At the Bulen Symposium in December '98, Mike Tackett of the *Chicago Tribune* gently ribbed his old IU journalism colleague, saying, "The only one talk-

ing about impeachment here today is Brian Howey.”

When the 228-206 House vote for impeachment came down three weeks later, no Hoosier demagoguery was to be found, though radio commentator Mike Pence was outraged by air attacks on Iraq on the eve of impeachment.

U.S. Rep. Ed Pease was a thoughtful voice on the House Judiciary Committee. Hamilton and U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer were two of 31 Democrats to vote for the impeachment inquiry. “It can make for confusion, chaos and crisis,” said Roemer, “but it can also draw out the very best of our conscience, constituents and Constitution.”

Said Pease, “It’s a somber time and it’s been difficult. I do believe the overwhelming majority have struggled through this. They’re not rushing to judgment.” Rep. Souder, who voted for only one of the four articles of impeachment, said “I’ve been through multiple wringers.”

Hamilton cast his final votes in Congress on President Clinton’s impeach-

ment. U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh made his first votes on the same. “I have cast 16,000 votes,” Hamilton would tell HPR. “It’s depressing to me that my final votes will be on impeachment.”

Rep. Buyer wrote an 80-page legal brief advocating Clinton’s impeachment, then became one of 13 House managers of the Senate trial. In addressing the Senate, Buyer intoned, “Do not be tempted to believe the argument that lying about sex doesn’t matter, that it’s private. Acts which are not crimes when committed outside the judicial realm become crimes when they are committed inside the judicial system.” CNN’s Frank Sesno noted that Buyer’s presentation was “organized, powerful and at times impassioned.”



David Broder of the *Washington Post* would observe that Lugar “raised the most important question left unanswered by the Senate’s acquittal verdict: Is Clinton trusted enough to lead?”

In the midst of the trial, Clinton was ... well, Clinton. During his State of the Union address, he paid tribute to the spurned First Lady. “I honor her,” he told the nation, and then mouthed the words “I love you” to the future senator.

It was Sen. Lugar, whose 1988 book “*Letters to the Next President*” advised future chief executives to “never lie,” who rose to provide the most stinging rebuke to Clinton just before the Senate voted 55 to 45 against conviction.

“I believe the crimes committed have demonstrated that he is capable of lying routinely whenever it’s convenient. He is not trustworthy. His leadership has diminished because most Americans have come to the cynical conclusion that they must read between the lines of his statements and try to catch a glimmer of truth amidst the spin.”

Sen. Bayh would provide the anguished reasoning for Democrats. “Clearly the president’s behavior was wrong. Clearly it was immoral. Clearly his actions fall far below the conduct Americans should expect of their chief executive. In the end, I am compelled to vote against conviction because the exacting standard for presidential removal has not been met, the heavy burden of proving any defendant’s guilt beyond a reasonable doubt has not been carried, and the national interest in maintaining a separation of powers, a stable presidency and the sanctity of elections require it.”

Despite all the tortured stances, impeachment was a word barely uttered on the Hoosier campaign trail in 2000.

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LUGAR WARNS THAT CHINA WILL TEST NEW PRESIDENT: U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar warned Americans in a speech before the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis Thursday that President-Elect Bush can expect a challenge from mainland China. “The Chinese traditionally have tested new American presidents to assess their priorities and their resolve,” Lugar said. “Bush administration actions regarding arms sales and ballistic missile defense will be seen by both Taipei and Beijing as critical indicators of the new president’s intent toward the region.” Lugar added, “It is in the self-interest of the United States to diligently seek an improvement to the unstable relationship between China and Taiwan. Any military conflict between China and Taiwan, whatever its catalyst, would surely draw in the United States, destabilize the entire region, compel an increase in U.S. Defense expenditures, adversely affect the global economy, and turn U.S.-Sino relations back to Cold War calculations. It would be unthinkable for any U.S. administration to stay aloof during a Chinese attempt to take Taiwan by military means.” Lugar noted that China and Taiwan currently stand “at an impasse.” He said that China has positioned short-range missiles opposite of

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Taiwan, "thereby evoking worst-case scenarios about Beijing's intentions."

GREGG SAYS HE HOPES DOCKSIDE IS DEFEATED: House Speaker John Gregg allowed bills seeking dockside casino gambling, but took flak for choosing State Rep. Markt Lytle to carry the measure. Gregg is opposed to an expansion of gaming. "In a move that angered many Northwest Indiana lawmakers, Gregg, who personally opposes dockside gaming, unexpectedly tapped Democratic state Rep. Markt Lytle, a funeral director from downstate Madison, to carry the controversial gambling measure" (Terry Burns, Times of Northwest Indiana). "I couldn't turn down the speaker," said Lytle, admitting that he hasn't staked out a position concerning dockside gambling. "I've made it a point to be neither for nor against." The move angered State Rep. Charlie Brown, D-Gary. "The speaker is all powerful," Brown said. "I'm very angry at the manner in which the speaker handled this whole issue. It's disgusting. This apparently has been a master plan for some time." On Thursday, however, Gregg reiterated his opposition to the measure. "I intend to vote against anything that would have any expansion of gambling in it," he said. "I hope it's defeated."

O'BANNON SEEKS HIGHER SPEEDING TICKET FINES;

President Clinton swooped into the Indiana Fairgrounds to stump for Rep. Julia Carson last October, and audaciously raised money for Hillary Clinton's New York Senate campaign - deep in the heart of Dan Burton's district. And he asked a familiar question: "Are you better off now than you were eight years ago?" He answered it himself: "You bet you are."

Rube Goldberg Presidency

At Purdue University each year, they have a Rube Goldberg Contest: Who can build the oddest, gaudiest contraption that carries off some mechanized task, be it relevant or inane. The Clinton presidency has been one big Rube Goldberg contraption, a synthesizing, complex, fascinating, bizarre, cunning and grotesque political drama of soap opera proportions.

It has been the Great Gatsby

Presidency along with the American Evita, with the Clintons using so many allies, and sacrificing so many friends and colleagues, leaving a wake of personal destruction, suicide, and towering legal bills. I winced watching the PBS *Frontline* footage of Secretaries Madeline Albright and Donna Shalala unwittingly lie for Bill Clinton's sexcapades. Neither would resign because of the exploitation. But the nation prospered in a virtually unprecedented way. There was growing wealth and opportunity across the board.

Yet, if I ever had a chance to meet the man, I would be compelled to do so. We are outraged by President Clinton, and yet we are in many ways better off than we were. And the undeniable truth is, Bill Clinton will still be with us and may, some day soon, take up residence once more at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. ❖

COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

David Broder, *Washington Post* - Bill Clinton is too young -- and too protean a character -- to sum up for history in a few words. It is entirely possible, given his energy and his talent for arranging both catastrophes and comebacks, that what he does in the next quarter-century will be more significant than what he has accomplished in the 22 years since his first election as governor of Arkansas. Nonetheless, the presidency will be a notable part of his saga. By almost every measurable standard, he leaves the nation stronger than he found it in 1993 -- its finances, its crime rates, its environment and its economy all improved. The budget he passed with only Democratic votes in 1993 and the one he negotiated with Republicans in 1997 were landmarks on the road back to fiscal sanity. The opening of trade with Mexico and Canada in 1993 and China in 2000 promises long-term benefits, and his efforts to bring peace to the Balkans, the

Middle East and Northern Ireland, though not uniformly successful, were entirely commendable. The Welfare Reform Act he signed in 1996 was a landmark of social policy whose long-term effects are yet to be measured. And yet there is clearly a sense of disappointment as his tenure comes to a close, and not just because of the reckless personal behavior that brought on his impeachment. There are too many jagged edges to the whole Clinton experience, too many highs and lows, too much grandeur and too much farce. What was the flaw? In one word, immaturity. All his life, Bill Clinton had been so obviously fortune's favored child that he came to believe he could talk his way out of any jam. The same sense of immunity -- of indestructibility -- that made him the self-styled "comeback kid" also led him to repeated instances of reckless behavior with disastrous consequences. ❖

PERHAPS... WE WANDER

By Brian Howey

And now for something completely different... O'Bannon's state of state

INDIANAPOLIS - Some distant day there may be an Indiana governor who can deliver a good old-fashioned stemwinder.

That day, however, was not Wednesday when Gov. Frank O'Bannon gave his fifth plodding State of the State address. Spokesman Thad Nation said going into the address that it would be "predictable."

And it was. Predictable in that it once again reiterated the O'Bannon campaign mantra ... 150,000 new jobs, \$1.5 billion in tax cuts....

The speech was unartfully crammed with an array of boasts and public policy initiatives with education being the most conspicuous. It turned out to be another attempt to make "education" the top priority. Education has been the top priority since Gov. Bob Orr launched his A+ initiative back in 1987. In fact, Indiana has had three consecutive governors who have tried to stake out the "Education Governor" title. While the Fordham Foundation has dramatically raised Indiana's standards, the release of ISTEP scores this past week revealed performance declines in places such as Indianapolis Public Schools. Yet Gov. O'Bannon declared, "Our greatest achievement the past four years has been changing the direction of our public schools."

O'Bannon said the state, "Must invest in school readiness so our first graders can meet the highest English and math standards in the country." Price tag: \$50 million. Another \$30 million will go to a "quality teaching initiative."

On the job development front, O'Bannon proposed a \$50 million 21st Century Research and Technology Fund. He also said, "Let's pass daylight savings time to help Indiana compete in the 21st Century

economy." While many advocates and detractors claim the DST will pass, from my perspective standing on the Republican side of the House floor, only about 30 percent of the legislators seemed to be enthusiastic about it. The other 70 percent were glancing around to see who was looking. Whether the 30 percent represented the ones who knew how to change the time on their VCRs remains to be seen.

O'Bannon spent one paragraph - six sentences - on reassessment. "Although the effect will not be felt immediately, once implemented it will have a dramatic impact on some households," the governor said. "So we must put politics aside and work together on this issue for Hoosier homeowners, farmers and busiensses."

This part of the speech drew absolutely no reaction from anyone. The 150 legislators didn't even glance around to see who was looking on that one. Speaker John Gregg's announcement that Bob Orr was in the gallery with his new fiancée received a far bolder response. There was only one man in the House chamber with any apparent spine on reassessment, and that was Tax Court Judge Thomas Fisher sitting in the gallery, and he wasn't talking.

House Minority Leader Brian Bosma, welcomed the call for bipartisanship, but said O'Bannon fell short in proposing bold leadership for the state over the next decade, saying that he only talked about the coming weeks.

"We need to create a taxing environment that attracts employers to Indiana instead of encouraging them to leave here, and address issues of concerns to seniors and health care for the most vulnerable citizens," Bosma said.

O'Bannon reminded legislators, "Now that the voters have spoken, we need to put partisan rancor behind us and take up the people's work. Hoosiers want cooperation, not conflict." ❖

TICKER T A P E

REPUBLICANS BALK: Democratic Gov. Frank O'Bannon wants the General Assembly to increase fines for certain crimes, including moving traffic violations, to help sustain a program that put nearly 500 new cops on Indiana's streets (Mike Smith, Associated Press). Under a proposal he plans to include in his legislative agenda, fines for all felonies, misdemeanors, acts of delinquency and moving traffic infractions would be increased by \$20. It would raise \$12 million a year in supplemental funding for police agencies to seek. "It's a sneaky way to raise taxes on people, and frankly, the fines for speeding are already like \$120, very high," said Rep. Jeff Espich, R-Uniondale. "I think it's pretty obvious that he is looking for any way to raise taxes that are backhanded. It's asinine to suggest that law abiding citizens pay \$150 for a traffic violation."

CIGARETTE TAX HIKE PROPOSED: State Rep. Brian Hasler wants to raise the tax on cigarettes by 25 cents a pack with the goals of reducing teen smoking rates and providing the state with additional revenue (Tim Starks, Evansville Courier & Press). ❖