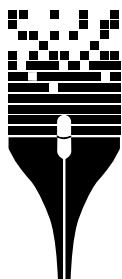

The Howey Political Report



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“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“I believe Chris Chocola’s political future will be a very bright one. The only way he won’t be in the district is if partisan politics plays a role” - Nicholas Tyszka, previewing 2000 3rd CD nominee Chris Chocola’s Thursday announcement.

Winston, McDaniel wary of reform

Party chairs await McCain-Feingold

By **MARK SCHOEFF JR.** *in Washington*

Campaign finance reform is a little like an old saying about Indiana weather: If you don't like it, wait a minute and it will change. As the Senate concludes its two-week debate on a reform bill written by Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Russell Feingold (D-Wis.), numerous amendments have created a complex and protean environment. And even when the Senate finishes its work, the legislation will have only begun its journey. The House must act and then a House-Senate conference committee must convene. And, of course, President Bush must sign the bill.

"All of this is evolving so much that it's going to change rapidly," said Robin Winston, chairman of the Indiana Democratic Party. "Every day, we're getting a new angle on this legislation."

His counterpart also couched his critique of campaign finance reform in a disclaimer. "Until we know what it is, it's hard for me to make a judgment," said Indiana Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel.

The McCain-Feingold measure would ban unregulated, or "soft money," donations to national political committees and would restrict state parties to federal limits on fundraising. The bill also would limit issue advertising and would maintain the ceiling on "hard money" donations. Under current law, individuals can give \$1000 to federal office candidates per campaign (primary and general) and political action committees can give \$5000. An alternative proposal by Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) that would cap soft money donations at \$60,000, raise the ceiling on hard money and force greater

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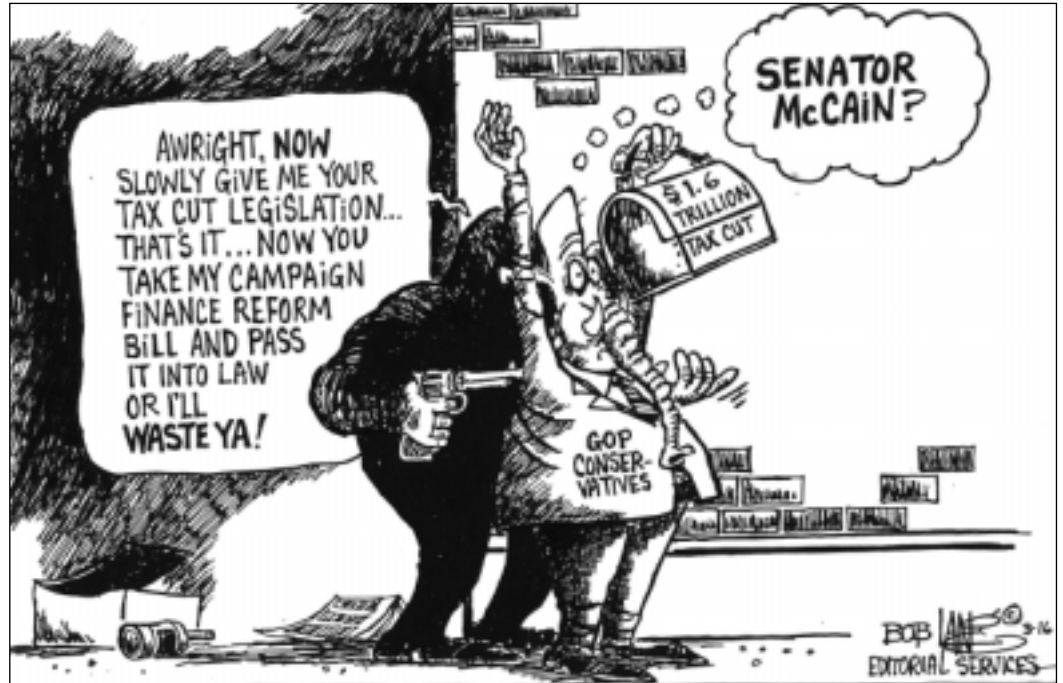
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Covering the golden age of Hoosier politics

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CHOCOLA EYES '02: Chris Chocola, the Republican 3rd CD 2000 nominee, will make an official announcement about the 2002 election at a press conference on Thursday morning. "I'm very excited about Chris's decision," said spokesman Nichola Tyszka. "I believe Chris Chocola's political future will be a very bright one." Asked whether Chocola would still run in the 3rd even if the maps didn't include his Bristol home, Tyszka said, "The only way he won't be in the district is if partisan politics plays a role." Meanwhile, Elkhart Mayor Dave Miller told WNDU-TV that he takes the idea of breaking up the 3rd CD "personally" because Elkhart and South Bend are like "family." Added Mishawaka Mayor Bob Beutter, "Historically these two communities are united. In fact, those of you who heard me spin the legend of Princess Mishawaka, know one thing I always say - her father is Chief Elkhart" (WNDU-TV). State Rep. Ed Mahern said the new Congressional maps should be ready by April 8 or 9.

14,000 HOOSIER FAMILIES USE UP WELFARE: The Washington Post's Charles Babington speculates that a bad economy and higher unemployment may test the welfare reforms of the 1990s. "If the current economic slowdown continues

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Reform, *from page 1*

disclosure on issue ads but not restrict them was defeated in the Senate on Tuesday. (Republican Sen. Richard Lugar and Democratic Sen. Evan Bayh, an original McCain-Feingold cosponsor, both voted against the Hagel measure.) Numerous amendments have been approved. Among them, one that would raise the contribution limit for a candidate facing a self-financed opponent (Lugar for, Bayh against) and another that would ban issue ads from special interest groups 60 days before an election (Lugar and Bayh against).

Key votes remain on increasing hard money donation limits and on making McCain-Feingold severable. If it is severable, one part of the bill can be declared unconstitutional while other provisions remain in place. If it is nonseverable, the whole bill is unconstitutional if one part is voided by the Supreme Court.

"We're not sure what McCain-Feingold will be in the end," said Andy Fisher, Lugar's spokesman. "There are many twists and turns in the road."

Rep. Tim Roemer (D-3rd CD) wants to make the road through the House as smooth as possible. He is leading a group of 10 House centrists that is urging House leaders to schedule a debate soon after the Senate completes its action, perhaps before Memorial Day. He acknowledges that the House-Senate conference could be volatile.

"The conference could kill it, if it's not done right," said Roemer. "Therefore, if we could take up the Senate-passed bill, that would expedite the process through the House and make it less complicated."

A Senate Republican aide said: "There are few bills where the conference will matter so much as this one."

The House passed campaign finance legislation in 1998 and 1999 that would ban soft money, but it is not identical to McCain-Feingold. The Republican chairman of the House Administration Committee is quoted in the March 24 Congressional Quarterly as saying that his panel would send a bill to the full House in the summer.

Although he's retiring at the end of this term, Roemer is passionate about changing fundraising rules. "We need

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Indiana politics as the decade begins

Howey, Feigenbaum, Cranor, Hadley weigh in at Wabash

CRAWFORDSVILLE - The Indiana Political Science Association conducted its annual meeting at Wabash College on March 23. HPR Publisher Brian A. Howey participated in a panel - *Indiana Politics as the New Decade Begins* - along with Prof. David Hadley of Wabash College, Prof. John Cranor of Ball State University, and Ed Feigenbaum, publisher of *Indiana Legislative Insight*. Prof. Jim McDowell of Indiana State University moderated.

As an *HPR Special Report*, here are the highlights of that discussion:

Brian Howey: An Overview

I went out on a limb last fall as we were heading into an Election Day and as we watched the unraveling of David McIntosh. He was supposed to be the Republican version of Evan Bayh and didn't quite come up to muster. In our Sept. 28 edition of HPR, I began speculating whether Indiana was indeed a Republican state anymore. Obviously we're always the first red state that comes on the Electoral College map for Republican presidentially, but we're also looking at 16 years of Democratic dominance in the governor's office, Democrats control the House and, thus, the map making. I became politically intoxicated on those elements over the prospects of Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan, and speculated that perhaps Indiana was becoming a Democratic state. I was looking at things such as the bench. Joe Kernan is going to be an extremely strong, vibrant candidate. We have a crop of young mayors - Bart Peterson in Indianapolis, Graham Richard in Fort Wayne. For the first time in modern politics, the two largest cities were in the hands of Democratic mayors. There is other decent talent - Bloomington Mayor John Fernandez, House Speaker John

Gregg. I also saw several polls in September and October that showed Al Gore only 5 to 8 percent behind George W. Bush. Al Gore is an opponent of the internal combustion engine and coal and if you do that in Indiana, you're really not anywhere if you're a political figure. But there he was with about 42 percent and I wondered, geez, what if Bill Bradley had been the nominee, a basketball star, a moderate. So that led me to pose the question, is Indiana becoming a Democratic state? Gov. O'Bannon pasted David McIntosh with a 14-percent victory, and the stage seemed to be set. This past week in HPR, I retreated from that assessment. Two things led me to reassess. One of them is Gov. O'Bannon, who took this 15-percent

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mandate, and until this morning the most conspicuous thing he's done in 2001 is to tell folks he wants a new house. His legislative program isn't in the greatest shape. He won the governor's race in 1996 saying he wanted to restructure the tax code. We have what I call the ticking time bomb of Indiana public policy - property tax reassessment. Many peoples' property taxes are going to be vastly different in 2003 and 2004 than they are now. Not only that, if reassessment goes through without some kind of bipartisan compromise the areas that are going to get hit the worst are the Democratic base in Lake County - Whiting, Hammond, Gary, East Chicago. That's a big problem. So here we have Gov. O'Bannon who has the most political capital, never has to worry about being on the ballot again. At Ed's *Indiana Legislative Insight Conference* in December; we heard legislative leaders saying we need to restructure now. You've got the capital. Once we got into January,

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and drives unemployment up, many thousands of low-income Americans could fall back into a federal welfare system that now cuts off individuals after five years, and limits payments to states no matter how many poor residents they have. Indiana, for example, allows a person a lifetime total of 24 months on welfare." The curtain began falling in July 1997, and thus far 14,300 families have hit the cutoff, said James Hmurovich, director of Indiana's Division of Family and Children. Of those, 495 requested extensions - which the 1996 legislation permits a state to grant to as many as 20 percent of its recipients. Hmurovich said he has approved 129 extensions.

O'BANNON PRESSES FOR UTILITY ACCOUNTABILITY: Gov. O'Bannon urged the public to help him convince lawmakers in the State Senate to protect utility consumers. "We are currently among the bottom 10 states in our ability to protect utility consumers," O'Bannon said. "Indiana utility consumers deserve as much protection as citizens in other states.."

CLARK, MILLER ON LD CIRCUIT: Fueling speculation of potential gubernatorial bids in 2004, State Sen. Murray J. Clark and Advance America's Eric I. Miller, both

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attended the St. Joseph County Lincoln Day Dinner. Miller has also been rallying support to derail a tax aimed at church property.

MOURDOCK EYES SECRETARY OF STATE:

Vanderburgh County Commissioner Richard Mourdock is sniffing out a possible run for Indiana secretary of state in 2002 (Susan Taylor, Evansville Courier & Press). Mourdock, a Republican who ran for the 8th CD in 1992 (losing to Frank McCloskey by a 53-45 percent margin), said he's been attending various counties' Lincoln Day dinners, trying to determine if he has support from his party. He said he expects to make a decision next month.

FALWELL BLASTS POLITICAL CORRECTNESS:

Rev. Jerry Falwell told students at Grace College why they should avoid being politically correct when it comes to certain issues (WANE-TV). Falwell said Christians should look disapprovingly on abortion and homosexuality because the Bible teaches both are sinful. But Falwell says political correctness blurs the line of morality, leaving no room for "absolute rights and wrongs."

SOUDER DENOUNCES 'EVIL' MARIJUANA:

Suggestions that marijuana laws should be eased so

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the governor gave his State of the State address and there was little. So I'm thinking, boy, if I'm Joe Kernan, I'm seeing this tax reassessment as a ticking time bomb. That's what Larry Borst, the very powerful Senate Finance Chairman is calling it. He's going to be content in 2003 to just let it go off in the Democrats' faces. These Republicans have been in the desert now for 16 years and they do want to reclaim the governor's office. So we have a governor who hasn't really done anything until today, when he indicated he was looking at a special legislative session this summer or fall to restructure the tax code. That's the first time they've moved off dead center on that issue.

The second decisive thing was the 2000 Census data, that the four caucuses are now feeding into their computers and will fashion new maps in the coming

weeks. It's not good news for the Democrats. They're going to control the

mapmaking in the Indiana House. I'm not seeing any good news there. It will be very easy for Senate Republicans to design maps that could easily give them 34 votes for a quorum within their caucus.

In the Indiana House, there's a 53-47 seat Democratic lead, but there's been a real erosion of populace in key districts. They've got three House seats in the Region where they'll have to add 10,000 to 12,000 voters. They've got a big problem in Indianapolis where 14 House seats are evenly split between the two parties. Indianapolis's population grew by only 1.7 percent, whereas the collar counties all grew between 20 and 60 percent. The Democrats will have a little more latitude to stretch those districts out, but a lot of that representation is going to have to go out into very Republican suburban areas.

Finally, you're looking at Democrats - some of them getting up in age - who are holding seats that are in Republican districts. Bob Bischoff won by about 200 votes; Claire Leucke up in the Fowler area won by less than 100 votes;

Dick Bodiker in Richmond; Sheila Klinker in Lafayette. If any of them retire, it's going to be very hard for Democrats to hold on to those seats even if they gerrymander them into some kind of shape to make them more viable. Even with the Democrats controlling the Indiana House, it's going to be very hard for them to craft new districts to maintain control.

At the Congressional level, it gets even worse. It's going to be hard to hold on to the 3rd, Pete Visclosky's district in the 1st is going to be tougher; I believe Julia Carson in Indianapolis is going to have to take on about 150,000 more voters and the only way she's going to be able to move is into more Republican townships in Indianapolis. I think she's going to have a couple of tough elections. There is an influx of Cincinnati Republicans moving into Lawrenceburg and Rising Sun. Baron

I call the Indiana Republican Party the sleeping giant. If they can ever get their act together....

Hill will likely have a stiff couple of elections.

I call the Indiana Republican Party the sleeping giant. If they can ever get their act together; if they can ever find a gubernatorial candidate who can get his act together and develop some competent new talent at the staff level. I've changed my assessment. It's going to be tougher for the Democrats.

Now, the Democrats have a good organization. Robin Winston has the party working hard and I don't detect the same degree of workmanship coming out of the Republican Party. The Democrats will have a tough time. I speculated in HPR last week that we may be seeing the high-water mark of the Indiana Democratic Party. The Bayh-O'Bannon era has been one of over-achievement by the party. They've done a great job - politically. If Bayh runs for president, they might get a reprieve for awhile, but they really do have their work cut out for them.

Ed Feigenbaum: Agreement

Brian and I are in a surprising amount of agreement on virtually everything he's brought up. That's not as interesting as the fact that with the exception of some of the real partisan political things that Brian alluded to, there are a lot of Republicans and Democrats that will tell you - not for attribution - the same thing. Democrats will tell you they're hurting. Republicans will tell you, yeah, we really don't have the bench but we're poised for growth.

Brian talked about how it looked like Indiana was becoming a Democratic state and now he's moving back. I'm not sure Indiana was ever really moving there. I think people were responsive to good individual candidates with well-run campaigns. If you look at how the Indiana Democrats have won, it's been with good candidates. It's been with targeted races. Democrats don't run four good candidates for statewide office each year and throw \$2 million into each race. They go for one race they think they can win and they go with one good candidate there and everybody else is an after-thought. It's a strange strategy. It's one that has worked for them at times. But it's also a strategy that has put them in the unique situation of people perceiving the Democratic Party of being so strong right now when in fact they

The Democrats are going to have a real tough time with the Congressional map....

have fewer elected office holders at the state level than they did when Evan Bayh was first in power. The offices of auditor, treasurer and clerk of the court are essentially irrelevant. They wanted to win attorney general badly last year. Karen Freeman-Wilson did not come out of the box last year strongly. She had the money but she had so much turnover on her campaign staff and received so much conflicting advice that that campaign never really got off the ground and then the U.S. Chamber of Commerce came in and blast-

ed her.

Anyway, let's go back to that main point. The Democrats are in search of that majority status. They've got a U.S. senator, they've got a few members of Congress although 10 years ago they had eight members of the 10-member delegation. They have a majority in the House of Representatives and they've held at least 50/50 parity since 1988 with the exception of the 1994 election. So you'd think they're in pretty good shape. They've got a great organization, a great chairman. Fund raising between the two parties is now at parity. Neither party in the past six or eight years could ever look you in the eye and tell you with a straight face that we don't have the money we need to run the kind of races we need to run. The Republicans got out-smarted and Brian spent a lot of time talking about this in 1998 on technology and voter targeting, particularly in Indianapolis. The Republicans realized the deficiency and responded immediately. I talked with Mike McDaniel yesterday and he was saying, "I think we've got a better voter targeting system than the Democrats do now, quite frankly."

The Democrats have a tough task ahead of them. The Democrats are going to have a real tough time with the Congressional map, with the state Senate maps, and with the House maps, as Brian pointed out. The bottom line for Democrats is

that their strengths come from the urban areas and once you get beyond the urban areas, it is very difficult to craft Democrat majority districts. It is also very difficult to start carving up urban areas and keeping Democrat majority districts. So what the Democrats are faced with is that their strengths are in a few big cities and even those areas are shrinking. Brian talked about Northwest Indiana and Earl Harris is state representative from East Chicago, John Aguilera is a state representative from East Chicago. Harris's district needs

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people can use it to treat severe pain "sends a more confusing and contradictory message to our kids," U.S. Rep. Mark Souder, R-4th, said Tuesday. Another congressman called it "lunacy" (Sylvia Smith, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). During a House subcommittee hearing on the medical use of marijuana, a witness who endorses the idea said, "Sick people, as well as healthy people, should not be arrested and put in jail for smoking marijuana." The U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on the case on Wednesday.

BUSH TABS TWO MORE HOOSIERS: President George W. Bush has nominated Carol D'Amico to be assistant secretary of education for vocational and adult education. D'Amico is executive director for work force, economic and community development at Ivy Tech State College. PSI Energy President Vicky Bailey was nominated to be assistant secretary for international affairs and domestic policy, a job that involves formulating policy rather than overseeing programs.

LAKE COUNTY TAX PLAN CRUMBLES: With time running short in the budget-writing session, Lake County lawmakers huddled behind closed doors Tuesday trying to hammer

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an agreement on any last-minute provisions - among them a proposed municipal income tax - to include in a legislative tax reform package. After plenty of back and forth, however, lawmakers failed to reach a consensus on any additional reform strategies (Terry Burns, Times of Northwest Indiana).

HELMS SIGNALS HE MAY SEEK RE-ELECTION: North Carolina U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms has sent a letter to key supporters asking whether he should seek another term. If Helms were to retire, U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar would be in line to resume the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, should the GOP retain control of the upper chamber. Columnist Robert Novak reported on Monday's edition of CNN's Inside Politics that the letter Helms sent noted that "He and his wife Dot are in as good of health they've ever been" and he asked whether he should run. Said Novak, "We may have six more years of Jesse Helms, which may be heartburn to some."

GARTON SAYS MOBILE HOMES MAY BE TAXED AGAIN: Mobile homes would again be taxed as property under a version of the state budget being considered by the Indiana General Assembly. Senate

to add at least 10,000 people. All of a sudden you're wondering, why does East Chicago have two state representatives? Fishers doesn't even have one! So you can understand what kind of sea change this is. This census was a major, major sea change for the state of Indiana. Democrats are going to have real problems expanding out of the cities and most of all, keeping districts they can win. Second will be finding other places they can pick off Republicans. Brian mentioned a number of Democrats who won by a slim margin. I think there's somewhere between 12 and 14 districts that are currently represented by Democrats that are really Republican majority districts and if those

Democrats aren't running in those districts, Republicans will likely be able to pick those off in at least 75 to 80 percent of those districts.

One of the biggest chores of Speaker John Gregg was to convince people like Dick Bodiker and Claire Leuck and a few others - maybe even Earl Harris and Pat Bauer - to stick around until after the 2000 election so they could maintain the majority for the map drawing. There are going to be a lot of Democrats who will be attriting themselves because they want out.

In the Senate there's absolutely no way the Democrats will have a shot at that in our lifetimes. Then again, you look back. If we were sitting in these chairs in 1981 and looking at the maps that Republicans were drawing we would have probably said the same thing about the Democrats. Back in 1981 the Republicans drew the maps in such a way that the Democrats took the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. It ruled in this case, a gerrymandering case. Democrats said that the way these maps are drawn, there's no way of us ever coming close. Wait a minute! In 1988, the Democrats ended up with a 50/50 split in the House. In 1990, the Democrats ended up the majority. As hyperbolic as we might get about it, you

never can say never. But I'll say never with respect to the Indiana Senate.

The Congressional maps are problematic for the Democrats. They stand a chance of picking off a Republican congressman in the district we're sitting in right now - Brian Kerns, the freshman Republican. Democrats are interested in a district that runs from Evansville to Terre Haute and maybe a little farther north into Vermillion County. It is a district that makes a lot of sense because it really is a community of interest, more than the current 8th District. When you do that, you can shift Baron Hill a little more north-

In the Senate there's absolutely no way the Democrats will have a shot in our lifetimes....

west, cutting off some of the Clark/Floyd County Republican increases we've seen. Brian talked about the Cincinnati out-migration into Dearborn, Ohio and Ripley, Fayette counties. He might move into part of the district Mike Pence currently represents and that district will be more Republican.

The Democrats' problem comes up north. Tim Roemer's district is being fought over by more different interests than I can name. There are umteen different people who have their eyes on different districts set up there and that will be key to determining what will happen. There are Republicans who are all out to help Pete Visclosky for two reasons. One is because he's important to the state because he sits on the Appropriations Committee; the only one Indiana has sitting on one of the big finance committees. At the second time, there are some ulterior motives. The more Democrats you can pack into the district that would favor Visclosky, the better it is for Kerns, Buyer, Burton and Souder up there.

One other thing I want to talk about that Brian alluded to. It was something Brian wanted to take off on and he was kind enough to leave it to me. It was the question of leadership. The governor has

had a very tough year and I think it's really of the governor's making. The governor has chosen to sit back until the end of the session. His aides will protest and say, Oh, we've been doing things behind the scenes. That's not good enough. That's not going to get your agenda through. The governor talks about how he is a creature of the legislature and as a result he doesn't want to interfere with the natural forces of the legislative process. But at the same time he says this, legislators, at least some of them with a straight face, are saying, we need leadership. Brian ticked off some of them, foremost reassessment and tax restructuring. Education has to be added to that list.

Frank O'Bannon is doing a disservice to his lieutenant governor, Joe Kernan, the heir apparent for 2004, by delaying the mitigating effects of property tax reassessment. By delaying things, he's making Kernan look like the bad guy and giving Republicans additional leverage because they know something has to be done by Democrats at that point in order to save Joe Kernan. One thing that has kind of disturbed me about watching Evan Bayh and Frank O'Bannon over the past 12 years is their extreme reluctance

The only thing worse than using up all your chits before the end of your first term is not using them all up before the end of your last....

to use the vast reservoir of political goodwill that they've accumulated. I remember going to the Democratic National Convention in 1996 and running into the Democratic congressman that I knew from way back in the 1970s who was pretty good friends with Birch Bayh. He asked, Well, how is Evan Bayh doing? I told him, the guy is really afraid to take any risks. He's built up all this good will and he's not willing to use any of it. He said, "I remember what Mo Udall once told me: The only thing worse than using up all your chits before the end of your

first term is not using them all up before the end of your last term." I think that Frank O'Bannon is in a position where he's free to do something. This state is pleading for leadership and this would be a good time to show it.

John Cranor: A Study

I'm not so much interested in Congressional redistricting as I am in the Indiana General Assembly. In that light, there are a number of forces going on that will bode quite interestingly for Indiana in the next decade. I've just been putting up the data for the 2000 elections in Indiana and I've been building my data in precinct-by-precinct voting returns. There are about 5,000 of them and none of them are computerized and consequently it becomes a real mare's nest to straighten them out and put them into some semblance of a working order, which I've finally been able to do.

My research indicates ... and what I've discovered is the over-arching determinate of election results were predicated on districts that were configured in 1991. You can talk about incumbency until you are blue in the face, but what really matters is the partisan composition of the district carrying forward

what the redistricters established in 1991. To me, that's important. To that you can

add another insight. The idea of shifting voters, packing Democrats if you're a Republican or dispersing Republicans if you're a Democrat - the so-called gerrymander, and I offer this tentatively, is that gerrymandering strategies have worked well for Republicans in the Senate. Those same strategies have not worked well for Democrats in the House. The general implication is it seems to confirm with impressionistic data or from insiders, people who follow this day by day; it seems to me that Democrats in the House, if they're going to continue in the majority are going to be pressed mightily

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President Pro Tempore Robert Garton, R-Columbus, said at Monday's Third House session that eliminating the exemption for mobile home owners was being considered in the Senate version of the biennial budget (John Clark, Columbus Republic). On other topics, Garton said the House recommended a joint study committee be created to investigate the possibility of switching Indiana to Daylight Saving Time. However, Garton said he and House Speaker John Gregg, D-Sanborn, have an agreement to stop the creation of any study committees. All study committee requests will be lumped together and considered in a joint conference committee.

ENVIRONMENTALISTS CRITICIZE McINTOSH: Environmental groups don't like former U.S. Rep. David McIntosh because while he represented the 2nd District he was seen as one of Congress' most active opponents of mandatory reductions in carbon dioxide emissions and the international proposal to reduce greenhouse gases (Seth Slabaugh, Muncie Star-Press). Now President Bush has backed away from a campaign pledge to reduce carbon dioxide pollution by citing a recent Department of Energy report concluding that caps on carbon dioxide emissions would lead to an even more

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dramatic shift from coal to natural gas for electric power generation. The report was prepared at McIntosh's request. McIntosh's position, according to his staff, was that if the government could regulate carbon dioxide "it could pretty much regulate anything, including breathing." McIntosh tells HPR, "I am working on teaching and some legal matters for folks who have problems with regulatory agencies. They keep reading about the different projects I worked on in Congress that are now coming to fruition in DC."

VISCLOSKY TO ADDRESS INDIANA DEMOCRATS: U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky, dean of Hoosier Democrats in Congress, will deliver the keynote speech to the Indiana Democratic Party's annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner on May 19. ❖

**Next HPR
Weekly
will be
published
on April 12.**

to find those votes and distribute them in such a fashion that they can continue with the 53 to 47 majority, or a 52 or 51-49 working majority. Couple that with the fact that they've got several older legislators who run and win in Republican districts like Bodiker, Gary Cook out of Marshall County, these people are on the cusp. They retire, and we do know the biggest surge of retirements is that elec-

Gerrymandering strategies have worked well for Republicans in the Senate. Those same strategies have not worked well for Democrats in the House

tion that follows redistricting, if they retire those seats go. And consequently you produce in Indiana a House with a Republican majority.

Now, to couple that with the Democrats who do not stand a snowball's chance in Hades of capturing the Senate, you're looking, in a sense, at the next decade being a Republican-controlled General Assembly with the prospects of a Democrat losing, if you will, with these pending problems a Kernan succeeding an O'Bannon and continuing the gubernatorial run for the Democrats. Which leads us, paradoxically, back to the 1981 redistricting which gave us Vanderburgh and Davies and the redistricting court and the opinion by the Supreme Court. You may well find in 2011 that Republicans are firmly in control of the redistricting mechanisms again, shunting aside the Democrats.

David Hadley: Who's next?

I would comment that Indiana politically has a strong tradition of really being a pretty competitive state, even though at the national level we always talk about it as being strongly Republican. It's a shallowly competitive state. It depends on, as Brian said, a single candidate winning big office and the shallow competition is manifested in one other place at this point and that's the House of Representatives. The interesting thing about that is even though it's been narrowly Democratic, if you look at the House of Representatives, it says

we've got strong party competition in Indiana; see how close the House is while the Democratic Party manages to maintain control for a significant period of time. When you look at it, the number of House races where there is significant competition is very, very small. In the last election, there were probably a dozen?

A dozen that were intensely fought for and a number of those are ones that have been held by Democrats who have been able to win by personal

effort. It's not necessarily partisan effort. They can't post up Dick Bodiker much longer. It's a problem for them. You have to look for Bodiker not to run again in 2002 and Claire Leuck likely not to as well. That, along with redistricting, is going to cause some problems for them.

I am interested in hearing people who watch this every day about the benches that the two parties have. Who's standing in the wings? Who's on the Republican bench ready to get into the game? I know John Fernandez is seen as the likely successor to Kernan.

Roundtable Discussion

Feigenbaum: I'm not so sure the bench strength is as important as some people attribute the factor to be. I've already talked about how you need a single good candidate. If you look at where the governors have come from, in the past 30, 35 years, with the exception of Gov. Bowen, everyone of them has, at least back to Whitcomb. And Bowen was speaker of the House. So you have to look at who's in the offices right now as a indication of your bench strength, unless you think you're going to get a John Corzine or a Michael Bloomberg - you know, someone totally out of the blue from the private sector to come in and capture everybody's imagination, like Pat Rooney didn't, and Bob Green didn't, and John Hillenbrand didn't. You have to look there. There are a number of people looking to run for secretary of state next year

that has a real potential.

David mentioned Bloomington Mayor John Fernandez, who poses a real dilemma for Democrats. The Democratic organization is lining up behind Mayor Fernandez pretty strongly. You've got Fernandez out there poor-mouthing the way O'Bannon and Kernan have run the state's economic development effort over the last six years. He's saying we need a totally different direction there and he's not afraid to speak out on that.

The Republicans have a dearth of real strength in the years in which they ran and won statewide offices; the 40- and 50-year-old Republicans. But if you look into the 20-somethings, the early 30-somethings, you've got some talent out there. In particular, you need to look at a guy named John McGoth, Dr. John McGoth, from Indianapolis, the Marion County coroner who all of a sudden realized there's no one from Marion County who's even going to be running on the ticket next year and thought, "Maybe I ought to put my name in for sec, thinks he can move on up. Some of the incumbent statewide Republicans such as Connie Nass thinks she can move up, but I think there's really not an opportunity for her. The challenge is for the Republicans in particular to find a top of the ticket in 2004 and that's going to be tough.

Howey: One of the more jarring moments of the 2000 campaign was when David McIntosh decided to gather the Republican mayors around to back his 25-percent guaranteed property tax cut, which, by the way, would have been impossible now. Instead of being surrounded by the mayors of Fort Wayne and Indianapolis, he was surrounded by the mayors of Tell City, Elwood and Greenwood. That really told me where the party stood. The David McIntosh campaign had problems with staff and research and that was glaring when compared with the kind of talent we'd seen over the past generation with Lugar, Quayle and Coats.

Having said that, you can't discount David McIntosh reinventing himself. He went into this situation realizing that if he didn't knock off an incumbent governor, he might be one of the rare exceptions to get a second shot. I still think he's got a lot of what we call "splainin'" to do. He's got to go out and talk to a lot of the county chairmen and money people and say, "Hey, we screwed up but hey, I know what we did wrong and this is what I'm going to do to fix it." I think we're going to see David McIntosh re-emerge on the Lincoln Day circuit pretty soon. He's a sharp guy; he's young and he's a guy who has a chance to reinvent himself. Now, is he going to get that second chance? I don't know.

Who are the alternatives? These are the people I'm

keeping an eye on. Pat Kiely, head of the Indiana Manufacturers Association, is a bright guy whose been talking about forming the shadow government trying to get O'Bannon to move on property tax reform. When you look at the Indiana General Assembly, I just don't see really anybody who really appears to be gubernatorial timber. You see a Luke Kenley, perhaps.

Cranor: McIntosh is probably the guy you need to keep in the back of your mind. I keep driving by his house in Muncie and there's still no for sale sign out. I think McIntosh is on that horizon.

Hadley: But for a guy of such promise. People believed he could walk on water, what on earth happened? He totally crashed and burned, had no connection with the voters in the state.

Howey: It came down to staff and research. The night before they released the guaranteed 25-percent tax cut plan one of the foremost economists in the state got a phone call from the campaign, saying, "Hey can you help us make the numbers work?" And the guy says, "Well, if you'd given me two weeks...." Before we move on, I'd like to throw out another name and a notion. I think the person, if it isn't McIntosh, the person the Republicans really ought to consider rallying around is Jean Ann Harcourt, who is a former Republican National Committee Woman who has run a very successful family business in Milroy,

I keep driving by his house in Muncie and there's no for sale sign out. I think McIntosh is on that horizon....

Indiana. It's interesting this state has been in business since 1816 and we've had only one female on the ticket. Jean Ann would be credible. I know Republicans might be a little reticent after watching Sue Ann Gilroy in 1999, but that was the same thing, a lack of good campaign research and staffing. Also, keep your eyes on the business sector. There may be that John Corzine out there. A guy who may say, "Hey, if nobody is going to take this, well I'm going to do it."

Cranor: And Scott Jones denies his candidacy?

Howey: Right.

Feigenbaum: April 5 is going to be David McIntosh's coming out party. He's going to be speaking out at the Hoosier Taxpayers Watch. You may want to see what his rhetoric is like that day. I'm a little more reticent about Pat Kiely being a candidate. As soon as Pat Kiely sues the state over the shelter allowance, which is the proposed State Board of Tax Commissioners, he becomes the next Joe Gomeztagle. If I had to guess now, I would say the Republican ticket would be Luke Kenley and Becky Skillman. Kenley is as good as they get, He's the exact

type of person we need in government.

Prof. Maurice Eisenstein: The name I've heard is Sen. Teresa Lubbers, who would be very credible.

Feigenbaum: When was the last time we elected a governor from Marion County?

Howey: This is a Frank O'Bannon quiz. There's never been a governor from Marion County.

Feigenbaum: There's never been a female governor, either. Imagine Mark Lubbers as first spouse.

Howey: Here's the problem. In the last eight years or so, there've been two females who have gotten close to the LG nomination. I believe Jill Long; I'm not sure if it was officially extended to her, but she was seriously in the mix before Joe Kernan emerged. Same thing with Teresa Lubbers. This is what faces female political figures.

They're juggling family and teenagers. I believe that was the case with Jean Ann Harcourt.

Feigenbaum: And Becky Skillman.

Howey: Susan Estrich's book on the subject tells of how the female politician, when she's younger and vibrant, finds herself in a balancing act with family, children, a spouse, and when they're empty nesters, they have things like wrinkles.

Feigenbaum: Teresa would draw in the Lugar organization and that would be a real plus in this state. Now, here's my opening to talk about one of my theories of political cycles here in Indiana. There's a notion of everybody fortuitously running at the right times or being the beneficiaries of certain circumstances. The flip way of putting it would be to call it the 20 years of Republican neglect cycle and theory. But it's more than that.

In 1988, the Republicans ran a really good candidate for governor. Good in the sense that he was a Jeff Linder-Luke Kenley type who knew government and was probably more qualified to be governor than anybody who's ever run for governor in the state's history. Was he a good candidate? Probably not. John Mutz ran at the wrong time. He ran at the time the Democrats had labeled it as 20 years of Republican neglect. And you could see it every day in state government if you were down there. You'd see in the very old and decrepit State Office Building all of these zombified workers with their polyester ties up to here, wearing their pants up to here, walking around with the Morrison's coffee mug in one hand, doughnuts in the other. Government was literally on cruise control in the late 1980s. The Republicans had total control over everything and they ossified.

I think the Democrats are getting very close to that

point now. I'm starting to see some of the same clothes. The retro look returns (room erupts into laughter). Every decent Democrat who's wanted a job in state government has had that opportunity over the past 12 years. People have come and gone and it's very difficult to bring in new blood right now. You have a lot of people who started at the beginning of the Evan Bayh administration. They've got their 10 years in so they're PERF vested now. They're real comfortable in what they're doing so you can't kick 'em out. What does this remind you of? Geez, the City Hall in Indianapolis at the City-County Building two years ago where you had 24 years of Republican neglect. People were used to getting arrogant responses from people who had been in there forever. We wanted a change.

Bart Peterson was a great candidate who will proba-

Will they be ready for change at the statewide level in 2004? If the property tax thing hits the wrong way, yes they will...

bly be a good mayor, but even if they had only a decent candidate, they would have won because people were ready for change. Will they be ready for change at the statewide level in 2004? If the property tax thing hits the wrong way for Democrats, yes they will. Certainly by 2008 we'll be back at the 20-year cycle of Democratic neglect stage because it will be very difficult to bring new people in, to keep the new ideas flowing and to make government really creative and doing things for people.

Howey: One comment. I'm very interested in the John Mutz/Joe Kernan parallel there. The historic parallels are there, but really two very different men. John Mutz had a fabulous resume, the guy was all set to become governor and Kernan's got that, too. The difference with Joe Kernan is that he's got this personality that is just incredible. To give you an example, I was sitting in the Old Point Tavern during one of my pub crawls on Mass Ave in Indianapolis and who comes in, standing at the bar with a buddy? Joe Kernan. Here was Lieutenant Governor Joe Kernan, bellying up to the bar, having a beer and people introduced themselves. He was very gregarious and affable. I had to stop and think, when was the last time I ever saw someone of gubernatorial timber walk into a pub and just hang out with the common man? I can't remember, ever! The guy's a war hero, the All-American resume and the personality that might get them beyond that 16 years.

Hadley: Could you see McIntosh standing in that downtown pub having a beer?

Howey: No.

Feigenbaum: The guy can't even shoot a basketball.

Howey: But he's a heck of a tuba player! ❖

Reform, *from page 2*

campaign finance reform before we turn the House of Representatives into the House of Lords." In 2000, Roemer spent more than \$734,000 to fend off (52-48) a strong challenge by Republican Chris Chocola, who spent more than \$1 million, much of it his own money.

Loss of Soft Money

The open seat in the 3rd CD will be a petri dish for campaign finance reform, said Winston. The Democratic challenger may face a self-financed Chocola who has built name identification through the heavy advertising he did against Roemer. Under McCain-Feingold, the Democrat would have to operate strictly on hard money.

Banning soft money "means campaigns are going to be more expensive," said Winston, who blamed the high price of media buys for campaign inflation. "Coordinated campaign activity (financed by soft money) has helped mitigate the costs of campaigns and has helped build party organization at the grass-roots level."

Under current law, a yard sign featuring Gov. Frank O'Bannon and Rep. Julia Carson (D-10th CD) could be paid by a combination of soft money from the state and hard money from Carson. In a post McCain-Feingold campaign, the sign would have to be funded by hard money alone.

Although Democrats tend to raise more soft money than Republicans, a ban would hurt the GOP, said McDaniel. The state party uses soft dollars to finance voter identification and get-out-the-vote efforts, and absentee ballot mailings. "Sometimes the cure is worse than the disease," he said.

McDaniel also is wary of restrictions on political advertising.

"Basically, I'm a First Amendment guy. We ought to allow as much freedom of expression as possible."

Bayh's Leadership PAC

If soft money goes by the way-side, paying for advertising - and other campaign activities - may become more difficult for Democrats. In the 2000 election cycle, the Democrats raised \$243 million in soft money compared to \$244.4 million by the Republicans, according to the Federal Election Commission. But the GOP crushed Democrats on hard money--\$447 million to \$270 million.

Without soft money, Democrats may turn increasingly to leadership PACs. Bayh's PAC, Americans for Responsible Leadership, raised \$766,041 in the 2000 cycle and contributed \$142,605 to House and Senate campaigns, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Mary Meagher, Bayh's spokeswoman, said that the Bayh PAC raises only hard money. In addition to the maximum \$10,000 the organization can give to a candidate, it also bundles contributions made out to the candidate from its donors, according to reports in *Roll Call* and *National Journal*.

Leadership PACS will "provide a way to give money to candidates and the caucus," said Winston. "It will be federally qualified (hard) money, which means it will be invaluable."

His PAC gives Bayh currency among his Democratic colleagues and could help him build a national base. "These days, to be a presidential aspirant, you have to have a PAC to distribute the largess," said Marshall Wittmann of the conservative Hudson Institute. "It's the price of being a player." And if your party requires your financial help, it also may become the price of being a member of Congress.

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COLUMNISTS

Larry McIntyre, *Indianapolis Star* - (State Rep. Ed)

Mahern has one other tool at his disposal to blunt the impact of a growing number of Republican voters. He believes the districts he creates can vary in population by up to 10 percent and still survive a court challenge. That means the new Republican districts could have as many as 63,800 residents, while new Democratic districts could have as few as 57,800.

That 6,000-person margin could be crucial to control of the House. If the 47 Republican incumbents in the House find themselves in new districts that are "packed to the max," so to speak, that would effectively take 282,000 potential Republican supporters out of play. Mahern has given House Republicans just one promise: He will try hard not to put two incumbents into the same district. It's a matter of professional courtesy. ❖

Stuart Rothenberg, *Roll*

Call - When I hear talk-show hosts and pundits screaming at one another about whether George W. Bush is really in charge, I want to utter the same line Clark Gable once did: "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn." And I think most Americans feel the same way. The idea that Vice President Cheney is somehow "really" running the country is almost too ridiculous to entertain. Cheney obviously has influence with Bush but there is no doubt who has the real decision-making power - and, most important, the accountability for his decisions: It's the President. ❖