

EXCLUSIVE

THE
HOWEY
POLITICAL
REPORT



The Weekly Briefing On Indiana Politics

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“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“This institution has no soul.”

- State Sen. Robert Hellman, after Senate
Republicans voted unanimously to seat Sandy
Dempsey over Frank Mrvan

Andrew seeking
‘centrist’ course

Incoming Democratic state chairman
to begin work at ‘grassroots’ level

INDIANAPOLIS - Incoming Democratic State Chairman Joe Andrew has vowed to chart a "centrist" course for Indiana Democrats that includes reclaiming urban legislative seats lost last fall as well as a couple of congressional seats.

"I feel confident John Gregg will be speaker of the House in 1996," said Andrew, an attorney with Bingham Summers Welsh & Spilman, in an exclusive HPR interview.

Andrew said he will attempt to reinvigorate the party at its basic level. "I am a person who comes from grassroots organizations," Andrew said. "I grew up in politics licking stamps for Ed Roush and knocking on doors for Win Moses. That's what politics was to me when I got involved."

Andrew is expected to be voted state chairman when the state committee meets Monday, replacing Ann DeLaney, who resigned. Ninth Congressional District Chairman Mike Jones is considering a run for the chair, but Andrew's behind-the-scenes selection by such party heavyweights as Gov. Evan Bayh, Lt. Gov. Frank O'Bannon and long-time strategists Tom New and Bill Schreiber make his election all but inevitable. There was speculation before the preliminary announcement of Andrew's selection in December that Bayh would cede the choice to O'Bannon, the probable 1996 gubernatorial nominee.

"Apparently when the two of them talked, they both came to the same conclusion that I would be the appropriate person," Andrew said. "When the governor approached me, he made sure I knew that Frank O'Bannon was very supportive of the decision."

Andrew's resume reads like a who's who in modern Democratic Party circles. He worked as a volunteer on the campaigns of Rep. Ed Roush and later for then-Fort Wayne Mayor Win Moses.

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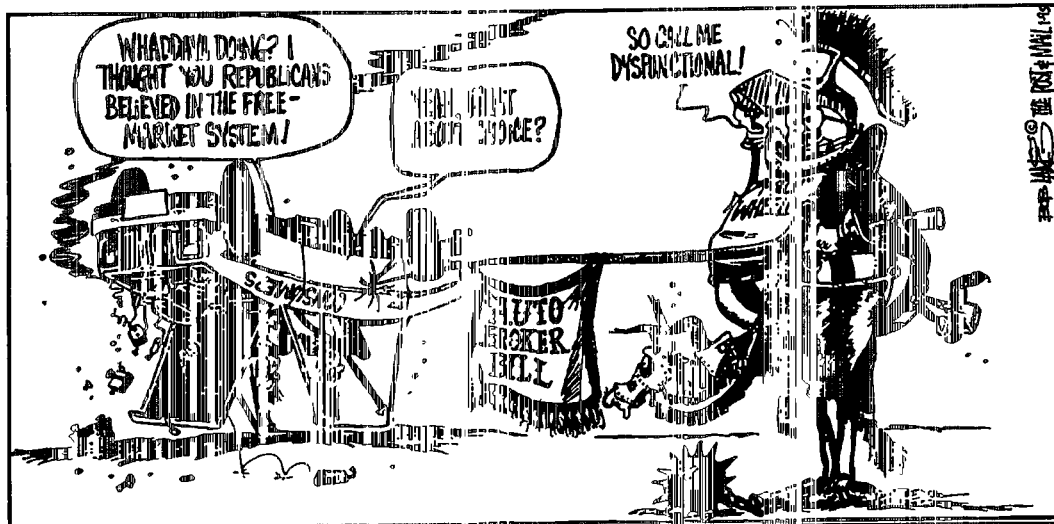
TICKER T A P E

A one-sentence bill introduced by **U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar** is swamping Chicago financial market executives with work, according to **Mitchell Losin** of the *Chicago Tribune*. The bill extends the life of the Commodities Futures Trading Commission for five years. The commission oversees the Chicago Board of Trade and the Chicago Merchantile Exchange. The bill would reauthorize the missions Congress gave the CFTC in 1992 in the wake of the 1987 stock market collapse and the 1989 FBI probe of Chicago commodities markets.

Chris Jones has jumped from the office of **U.S. Rep. John Myers** to **David McIntosh**, where he will also be press secretary. **Doug Wasitis** will be Myers' interim press aide, a slot he held several years ago.

U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer has a simple suggestion for the big controversy over the Smithsonian Institution's Enola Gay exhibit. Says Buyer press aide **Pat Hinton**, "Steve feels there should be a sign that just said, 'This is the Enola Gay that dropped the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima.' Now, would that be considered 'revisionist?'"

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COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

■ **David L. Haase, Indianapolis News** - Why can't the U.S. government be more like hard-working, God-fearing, taxpaying Americans? Why can't it balance its budget the way these red-white-and-blue folks do? That's what some in the balanced budget amendment corps want to know. I believe I know the answer. If my fellow Americans are like me, they balance their budgets with Visa, Mastercard, the credit union and the mortgage company. It's called debt. And that's how the government balances its budget. Only the numbers are bigger. All Americans spend about 15.1 cents out of every dollar they earn to pay off debt. Funny thing, the U.S. government spends about 14 to 17 cents on the dollar to pay off its debts. We need some new Americans.

■ **Dale Moss, Louisville Courier-Journal** - Abortion grabs and squeezes many people hard. It polarizes in a way unlike Democrat/Republican or Hoosiers/Wildcats or tastes great/less filling. It consumes. Going door to door in Jeffersonville, former city council candidate Charles Schladand was asked his stance on abortion. Schladand responded diplomatically that the council deals with drainage and the like, not with reproduction and the like. "But they didn't want to talk about anything else," he said. It incites. People rarely picket for a balanced budget, much less murder on its behalf. From political oblivion, Indiana congressional candi-

date Michael Bailey won 70,000 votes in November 1992 showing aborted fetuses in campaign commercials.

■ **Mike Leonard, Bloomington Herald-Times** - The real reason I'm writing this story is that I want to do an election piece that doesn't mention Newt Gingrich. Oops. That indiscretion aside, the purpose of this column is to discuss an election that assuredly will be less contentious than the '94 campaign: the vote to choose a new color of M&M. The candy candidates are blue, purple and pink. Frankly, I think if the research were accurate, the new M&M would be colored teal.

■ **Brian Howey, HPR** - It's interesting that Lt. Gov. Frank O'Bannon's political strategist - Bill Schreiber - is praying for (or at least hoping) that Senate President Pro Tem Robert Garton is the November 1996 opponent. You can bet that if the press doesn't scrutinize Garton over the income he derives from giving seminars to firms lobbying the legislature, an O'Bannon gubernatorial organization in a tight campaign would. The "you make us feel dirty" quote *Indianapolis Star* columnist Dick Cady reported is intriguing. It's a conspicuous invitation for calls of full and complete disclosure. Bob Garton better come to terms with the political microscope along with some trail mud if he's going to run for governor. Because the '96 GOP primary campaign will not be for the faint of heart.

Dan Quayle already has one of the best strategists on his campaign

It is worth noting that CNN's Bruce Morton thinks Dan Quayle winning the GOP presidential nomination isn't that far-fetched.

His "Inside Politics" report on Monday included this statement by conservative activist Paul Weirick: "Don't write him off for the nomination. But if he gets the nomination, a general election fight is going to be very, very difficult."

Morton agreed. "I think he's a good candidate for the nomination. His popularity is with the Christian coalition and the party activists and, as you know, those are the people who tend to come out."

That's the unconventional wisdom surrounding a "Quayle Quest" for the presidency, the core constituencies and IOUs the former veep will be collecting.

But there's one point that almost everyone at this early juncture has neglected to factor in on the QQ. Marilyn Quayle broached the topic in Hammond earlier this month, when she zinged Lamar Alexander for trying to "buy up all the good campaign operatives" and Phil Gramm for his "joke" straw poll win in Louisiana.

Forget John Sununu, Ed Rollins and Bob Teeter. Ditto for Bill Kristol. Dan Quayle already has one of the nation's top strategists in his camp. In fact, she lives with him.

Marilyn Quayle has been an integral part of the QQ since 1976 when she held court in the back room at Mother's Restaurant in Fort Wayne and engineered the upset of Rep. Ed Roush. Two years later, she infuriated the old GOP bosses and moved the re-election campaign out of their realm and onward toward an improbable upset of Birch Bayh in 1980.

Even more compelling was 1988, when for months the Quayles adroitly planned, exploited the circumstances, and strutted Dan's

stuff until George Bush tabbed him as his running mate. It was no accident and might be one of the greatest behind-the-

scenes maneuvers in modern political history since no one was giving him a chance the weekend before his selection even as he matched wits with George Will and Sam Donaldson on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley*. At that point, no one was talking about the "deer in the headlights."

Marilyn Quayle offering her critique in Hammond had the markings of an expert's observation.

The Alexanders, Gramms, (sorry, no Bells) Doles and anyone else in the way will do themselves no big favor if they dismiss Dan Quayle's kitchen cabinet.

HORSE R A C E

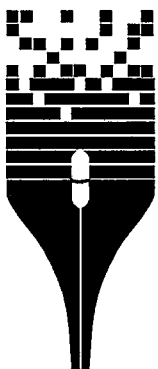
TICKER T A P E

George Witwer has filed his committee papers for his 1996 Republican gubernatorial bid. Observers are watching closely what kind of impact Witwer will have on the freshman class of GOP House members, many of whom Witwer helped elect through his **Opportunity Project of Indiana**.

Hammond GOP precinct Chairman **Vernon Vierk** is getting a lot of support from political bigwigs since being arrested on two DUI counts, including one that resulted in the injury of **Pamela Dimitriou**, a secretary to Lake County **Commissioner Peter Katic**, D-Hammond. Writing letters on behalf of Vierk to **Prosecutor Bernard Carter** include Lake County **GOP Chairman Roger Chiabai**, Hammond **Mayor Duane Dedelow Jr.**, former Calumet City Mayor **Robert Stefaniak**, and former Hammond Police Chief **George Wise (Mark Kiesling, Hammond Times)**. Dedelow's was the shortest, asking for "any positive consideration you can give Vern."

Speaking of sauce, the Bluebird, one of Bloomington's great watering holes, just celebrated its 21st birthday last week.

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Thursday, January 26, 1995

TICKER T A P E

U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky has reversed his position and will co-sponsor and vote for one of the balanced budget constitutional amendments up before the House this week (**Rick Rothacker**, *Michigan City News-Dispatch*). "I have lost my patience and do not want to wait any longer to begin actively balancing the national budget. I did not make this decision lightly," Visclosky said. He joins Indiana Democratic **U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer**, who also co-sponsored the Stenholm bill.

Newsweek featured a story in last week's edition on how **U.S. Rep. Mark Souder** was torn between supporting the GOP agenda and looming cuts to the National Endowment of the Arts, which partially funds the Fort Wayne Philharmonic. Its supporters include some of its campaign's biggest benefactors. On his WGL radio call-in show Tuesday, Souder said he hadn't made a decision but would probably support some cuts. Souder also said this: "Every dollar going to the arts is coming off Medicare."

Former Notre Dame coach **Digger Phelps** says he'll run for president in 2004, adding he wants to "coach the country."

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Mrvan loses Senate seat on party line vote; GOP acknowledges no fraud

INDIANAPOLIS - Voting along the 30-19 party lines, the Indiana Senate accepted the Republican majority report Tuesday and officially seated Sandy Dempsey as senator from Lake County's 1st District.

With outgoing Sen. Frank Mrvan previously watching from the sidelines, and Dempsey's name removed from the voting board, a packed chamber listened as Republicans attempted to justify the report and Sen. Robert Hellman pleaded with his GOP colleagues to "do unto others...."

Mrvan appeared to have won the 1st District seat by 54 votes in November. But the Senate majority seated Dempsey last Thursday after the Senate Election Committee accepted the subcommittee report giving the Republican a three-vote lead.

Here is some of the compelling testimony during Tuesday's Senate floor debate:

■ **SEN. RICHARD THOMPSON:** "I know there is the charge of only clerical errors. But we must also follow the law in this process. If the Indiana General Assembly doesn't want to follow the election process, then we might as well repeal it all."

■ **SEN. ANITA BOWSER:** "The emphasis of ...the whole defense of the majority report had to do with process. The process was designed to prevent fraud. Was there fraud committed? Was there an evidence of fraud anywhere? The answer is no."

■ **SEN. ROBERT HELLMAN:** "It's an old do unto others that you would have a judge do unto you. Sometimes that's easily said and, on occasion, done with great difficulty. I have said from the day the session began that we can expect from the Indiana Senate an honest judgment."

■ **SEN. FRANK MRVAN:** "It was Frank Mrvan at least five or six times during Sen. Thompson's subcommittee when they talked about fraud who insisted that we go to the state troopers, we

The 'essential' argument

This is a key exchange between Sen. Robert Hellman and Sen. Richard Bray over the majority report involving the seating of the 1st Senate District victor.

HELLMAN: In your experience, what does the verb mean, to judge?

BRAY: To evaluate.

HELLMAN: When you go to a judge, what do you expect?

BRAY: I expect the judge to weigh the evidence and apply them to applicable laws.

HELLMAN: Are you familiar with Indiana Code 12-1-20?

BRAY: I presume I've seen this before.

HELLMAN: Could you relate what it is, since you're the only one with the book, what it is that Indiana Code 12-1-20?

BRAY: It says that the counting of votes should not be invalidated solely for the mistake of an election official.

HELLMAN: Because of an error or an omission of an election official, a ballot should not be discounted in the absence of some evidence of fraud or tampering. Is that essentially what that law says?

BRAY: Unless there is evidence of fraud, tampering or misconduct threatening the integrity of the ballot presented, the ballot shall proceed. Yes, that's essentially what that says.

HELLMAN: All the differences of those ballots are traceable back to the misfiling in the pigeon holes.

BRAY: I think that is correct. The ballots were found in a rather informal search in the cage of the storage facility at the Lake County clerk's office.

go to the U.S. attorney, and to the election board, and the prosecuting attorney. I was the one who kept saying, 'You know fraud. Let's go after 'em.' They never did. They always backed off...You may give her my seat, but she didn't win it. I won it fair and square and you are never, ever going to take that away from me."

Elmo Gonzalez won't seek third term; Brazil candidate faces assault charge

LAPORTE - Mayor Elmo Gonzalez, citing his "grueling" 1994 race for state auditor, will not seek a third term.

"This decision is one that I have made after long, agonizing hours, and I believe that in the interest of good government it can't be delayed any longer," said Gonzalez (Frank Conway, *Michigan City News-Dispatch*).

Gonzalez, 69, said he wanted to dedicate the final year as mayor to steer through several projects. He added that he may attempt to launch a career as a motivational speaker. Republican Morris Wooden defeated Gonzalez in the Nov. 8 election, his first statewide and one that brought him a reputation as a fine singer.

Gonzalez's departure leaves four candidates. Democrats William Netzer and Barbara Huston and Republicans Clay Turner and Charles "Ken" Schnable have announced.

■ **BRAZIL:** At least one Indiana mayoral candidate is in trouble with more than voters. Brazil Republican Charles Burgess faces a Class B misdemeanor charge for allegedly assaulting James P. Miller of Staunton at a city food mart. Burgess, 29, was also charged with child molestation in Clay County court in April 1991. Those charges were dismissed by the prosecutor when the victim moved. Burgess is challenging Mayor Kenny Crabb in the primary. Norval Pickett Jr., has filed for the Democrats (Caryn Shinske, *Brazil Times*).

■ **KOKOMO:** Republican Councilman James Trobaugh has announced his candidacy for mayor, saying his leadership has brought a drop in local property taxes (Mike Jackson, *Kokomo Tribune*). Trobaugh has served on the council since 1983. Council President Mike Kennedy, a Democrat, is the only other announced candidate seeking to succeed the retiring Bob Sargent.

■ **BLOOMINGTON:** Monroe County Republican Chairman John Lee Smith proposed forming a local "Blue Ribbon Committee" as he announced his mayoral candidacy. He faces Councilman Kirk White in the May primary

CITY WATCH

(Jackie Sheckler, *Sunday Herald-Times*). Smith said the prime focus of the committee would be to evaluate the city budget and trim costs. "In Indianapolis, a building permit can be had in an hour. In Bloomington, it can take weeks," Smith said.

■ **INDIANAPOLIS:** As of Dec. 31, Mayor Stephen Goldsmith had \$1.2 million in his war chest, with \$800,000 coming in 1994 (*Indianapolis News*). The probable Democratic nominee, Marion County Chairman Thomas P. O'Brien said there was no way a nominee of his party could raise that kind of money, adding a candidate could be competitive by raising between \$700,000 and \$1 million. Goldsmith spent \$1.58 million in 1991. Rex Early, a GOP candidate for governor, said, "I'm not intimidated. I'm not sure what Steve is running for. If he announced tomorrow that he would run for governor, I'd still run."

■ **FORT WAYNE:** While Mayor Goldsmith has millions, Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke reported \$18,332 as of Dec. 31 (Mike Dooley, *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel*). Helmke won his second term four years ago spending \$241,310. Democrats are still searching for a candidate.

■ **ROUNDUP:** Joe Elmore will face former Peru Mayor Dick Blair in the Democratic primary....former Gary Mayor Peter Mandich is dead at age 79. Mandich was indicted in the late 1950s for tax evasion, but the charges were dropped when another former mayor, George Chacharis, pleaded guilty. Said East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick of Mandich, "He was a very good Democrat. He served his constituency; he served his people." (Whit Andrews, *The Times of Munster*)....Angola Mayor Bill Selman, a Democrat, will seek a second term.

TICKER TAPE

Yes, this is a Chicago story, but its relevant any time the topic of a third Chicago airport story comes up.

Thomas Hardy of the *Chicago Tribune* writes of Mayor **Richard Daley's** re-election campaign: "The proverbial Fat Lady won't sing for another month or so, but she is clearing her voice."

President Clinton's State of the Union speech Tuesday night was, by many accounts, jovial, well-received and, of course, long. It was also a victim of bad timing..A White House nightmare would have to be having the speech come up against opening arguments in the **O.J. Simpson** trial. Even Washington was intrigued. Mark Souder went into a staff room on Monday to see how legislation was faring in a committee, and found the staff watching trial coverage.

Back in 1981, then-**U.S. Rep. John Hiller** found himself in political hot water for not wanting to seek a UDAG for Elkhart, saying he needed to be consistent with his campaign stance as part of the "Reagan Revolution." Now, **U.S. Rep. John Hostettler** is saying he will refuse to pursue special funding for the Indianapolis-to-Evansville highway. Added chief of staff **Curt Smith**, Hostettler doesn't want "to play the Washington money game" (Marian Young, *Sunday Herald-Times*). Smith adds, "His goal is to get Indiana's fair share of the trust fund money back. If we do that, we don't need to go after special appropriations for the highway." Young's story notes that Hostettler's approach "has raised some eyebrows among highway supporters."

Indiana Operation Rescue leader: 'Now they've got a monster...'

HPR INTERVIEW

"The whole movement is kind of woefully right now. It's kind of like putting a collar on a mad dog. You kind of have to let it sit still for awhile before you approach it again..."

- Wendell Brane

"John F. Kennedy said that if you make a peaceful revolution impossible, you make a violent one inevitable...."

- Wendell Brane

Right-to-life activists will march in cities across Indiana and the United States this weekend. The shadows over this movement are the recent homicides and shootings at abortion clinics in Pensacola, Brookline, Mass., and Norfolk, Va.

In Indiana, Dr. George Klopfer, the Crete, Ill., osteopath who performs abortions in Gary, South Bend and Fort Wayne, filed reports with police that he was fired at on U.S. 30 between Plymouth and Warsaw on Jan. 5. Jon DeGuillo, U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Indiana, told the *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel* that it remained a question "if a shot was fired, if it was directed toward Dr. Klopfer and, if it was, what was the motivation."

Pro-choice activists fear that violence will become an increasing part of this political debate, the most contentious since the early days of the civil rights movement. In the past three years there have been acts of violence or vandalism at abortion clinics in Fort Wayne, South Bend, Merrillville

HPR talked with Wendell Brane, who leads the Northeast Indiana Rescue Movement, Indiana's most activist pro-life organization. He believes legal and political gains sought by the pro-choice side are pushing away law-abiding activists and radicalizing the fringe of the movement. Here's how the interview went:

HPR: How is the rescue movement dealing with the violence and perceptions that might reflect on your activities in light of the recent homicides in Brookline and Norfolk?

Brane: There are several issues involved here. One is that the effort to paint all pro-lifers and identify them with this violence is really absurd. If you look historically at Operation Rescue, the movement itself has been committed to peaceful acts of non-violence. It has a track record for that. People who involve themselves in these acts of violence are not part of Operation Rescue. They are out there doing their own thing. And to a large degree it is the

result of an intense frustration. John F. Kennedy said that if you make a peaceful revolution impossible, you make a violent one inevitable. Because of the new federal legislation that has been used against peaceful pro-lifers and because of recent Supreme Court decisions that have caused major setbacks for us and because of violently hostile lawsuits, and police departments and judges, what they have done is basically move the mainstream pro-lifers out of the movement. The hole that's been created has been filled by radical extremists who are resorting to violence.

HPR: Are the numbers of those participating in your movement declining?

Brane: The number of people going down on Thursdays (to counsel at the Women's Health Organization in Fort Wayne) when abortions are performed have dropped off some. There are still a number of people who go and do sidewalk counseling on Thursdays. Some people think we go down there to express some kind of opposition to abortion to the community. That's not why we go down there. It's simply to try to offer some last ditch hope to the woman who is scheduled to kill her child that morning.

HPR: Have you done any "actions" in Gary, South Bend or Niles, Mich?

Brane: No. Our last event was in August. The whole movement is kind of woefully right now. It's kind of like putting a collar on a mad dog. You kind of have to let it sit still for awhile before you approach it again. I don't anticipate us moving in a large offense mode as far as planning any large demonstrations any time soon, that's for sure.

HPR: Have you had members of your movement come to you and say, 'It's getting too hot for us?'

Brane: No. It's not really been hot here. Klopfer claims he's been shot at, but we're convinced he made that up. Anyone who's ever watched him knows

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that he just thrives on attention and he's probably jealous that everyone's had that kind of attention except him. I have not heard anyone even entertain the idea of doing anything more intense or the use of force. I think people are frustrated that more is not happening.

HPR: When you saw that *News-Sentinel* story on Klopfer being a target, how did you react, because it kind of fit the stereotype that some want to place on your movement.

Brane: He's an opportunist. He wanted to use that to paint us with the same brush and get some national mention. Susan Hill, the manager of these health organizations around the country, has been crying about getting federal marshals stationed. They probably schemed together this claim because anybody will believe when an abortionist claims he's been shot at right now. It makes front page, people feel sorry for him and everybody felt these terrible pro-lifers who claim to be pro life yet they're shooting this poor doctor.

HPR: I watched you address your movement on the use of violence (in October 1993). Have you had to counsel any members who at least wanted to explore those options, or has it been absent.

Brane: It's really been absent. There have been other leaders nationally who haven't entertained doing it, but have entertained the philosophical justification for doing it. Occasionally you find that in some debate. But we've not had anybody who has seriously entertained it.

HPR: How do you address the use of violence these days?

Brane: Two reasons. It's ineffective because you can't guarantee that a baby is going to be saved. They can go to another abortion clinic the next day. And you can't kill all the abortionists the same day, that's kind of stupid. The other thing is it's excessive. There are other means of stopping an abortionist besides taking his life. We absolutely oppose it.

HPR: How do you see the political atmosphere in Indiana and the nation, with Republicans taking over the legislature and Congress?

Brane: We're cautiously optimistic. We're concerned the Republicans who have

come in, even though they may be more aligned with us than Democrats, do not really have the commitment and resolve to make our commitment to the babies our priority. I'm concerned that behind the scenes, with the wheeling and dealing that goes on, this will be one of those they will sell out on. I'm not real optimistic, but I'm more hopeful than I have been before.

HPR: The race for the Indiana Republican chairmanship involves Vigo County Chairman Jim Bopp, who some are trying to cast as a one-issue figure, he being active in the national right-to-life movement. There are elements of the Republican Party that say he may not be acceptable. Does that concern you?

Brane: What these people do is that every time you take an issue on abortion, everybody accuses you of being a one-issue person. I'm sure that he is not one issue, but one of many issues that he has a great deal of passion for. If anybody wants to discredit a politician with pro-life conviction, that's how they do it, 'Oh, he's a one-issue person.' I think it would be tragic if he would be intimidated by that or if the Republican Party would maneuver him out of a place of influence.

HPR: What's is the most compelling challenge facing your movement today?

Brane: What the pro-abortion people need to understand is that all their efforts against us, all their laws against us, all these bills, lawsuits that have tried to remove us, well, they've won. They have removed the mainstream pro-life movement off the main streets. But now they've got a monster on their hands. We can't keep the extremists from doing what they're doing.

HPR: If you had come face-to-face with a Paul Hill or a John Salvi prior to their homicidal acts, would you have said to them, 'Brother, you went the wrong way?'

Brane: Absolutely. And if I were to know of their plans before, I would have notified the authorities. I'm that strongly against that.



HUMOR

M I L L

Wendellisms, by Wendell Trogdon, *Indianapolis News*

"The Republicans have public TV and radio stations scared. Barney is sending out resumes.."

"Most benefactors give money for a specific purpose...exceptions being those who bankroll Stephen Goldsmith."

"Washington really is confused. The GOP Congress wants to take Americans off U.S. welfare rolls. President Clinton wants to add Mexicans to them."



Devil's Dictionary, by Ambrose Bierce

Ejection, n. An approved remedy for the disease of garrulity. It is also much used in cases of extreme poverty.

Dissemble, v.i. To put a clean shirt upon character.

Ambition, n. An overmastering desire to be vilified by enemies while living and made ridiculous by friends when dead.

Take, v.t. To acquire, frequently by force but preferably by stealth,

Joe Andrew , continued from page 7

After graduating from Indiana University and Yale Law School, Andrew worked on Gary Hart's 1984 presidential campaign.

Hart won an upset victory in the Indiana primary. "Gary Hart won because of the organization he put together - the ability to get to people with a message that they felt was important, and convince them they should go to the polls," Andrew said.

On the Hart campaign, Andrew met Jack Wickes, and he managed Wickes' unsuccessful 1988 senatorial campaign, with headquarters next door to O'Bannon's gubernatorial campaign office. "I had a personal relationship with Frank and Judy that goes back then," Andrew said.

He spent much of the '88 summer and fall campaign sequence traveling with Bayh's gubernatorial campaign manager, Joe Hogsett, and followed Hogsett to the secretary of state's office as chief of staff.

Andrew will assume control of a party organization still holding executive and judicial power, but rocked on the congressional and legislative levels. Here is how Andrew perceives his mission:

■ **URBAN FALL-OFF:** "No question about it, there are seats a Democrat should not have lost and will not lose again in 1996," he said. "The first thing I'm going to do is sit down with people who are actually in those areas and see what needs to be done. I don't profess to be an expert of differences between Wayne Township and Center Township (in Indianapolis). While it's important to have a unified message, it is also important for us to recognize the differences that are geographic and social in different areas and deal with them. One of the dangers we have is that people involved in statewide politics make pronouncements to try and cover areas that have very different issues."

■ **NEGLECTED GRASSROOTS:** One trap on the Bayh-Hogsett era is the notion that they raise a lot of money and dump it into heavy October TV buys. The grassroots "have not been neglected," Andrew began. "The party structure is in good position. We had a large mail program, a large grassroots program. We had greater use of technology in 1994 than we ever did before. For those things not to have hap-

pened, it would have been even worse here in Indiana than it was."

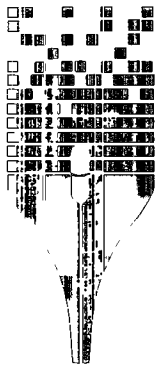
■ **CONGRESS:** This is where Andrew talks about the "but for" sequence. "I think the reason that Jill Long and Frank (McCloskey) and Mike Harmless would be looking at these races again is that they recognize that but for a national landslide where people wanted to kick anybody who was in there out, they would win again." Andrew said he hasn't talked to Long, McCloskey and Harmless yet. "But when I do, I will urge them to consider" rematches.

■ **DEMOCRATIC MESSAGE:** "What I believe you will see in the end is that the centrists in the party are the people who appeal to most Hoosiers. In general, there is a message of common sense that appeals to most Hoosiers. If the Democrats can return to the fundamental message as to why they're Democrats; if they support the hopes and aspirations of the working people; that yes, government needs to be reformed, but government is not the enemy, then we'll win. When people recognize Democrats are there for them and that Republicans cannot get away with defining Democrats as the party of welfare and affirmative action, then we'll be fine."

■ **REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION:** "What we stand for are the hopes and aspirations of the working people who make up 90 percent of the population and who will not buy into this very strange world of Newt Gingrich and the state Republican Party who believe that Big Bird is an elitist and Rupert Murdoch is a cozy, warm friend," Andrew said.

■ **THE FUTURE:** "I was just at the Democratic National Committee's conference. The wake is over. Everybody is very energized about 1996. The general political climate is moving very fast. Where it used to take decades, now things are happening in a two-year cycle. That is part of our culture and that is worrying every Republican in every corner of the country. They fear their rise to power might just be a blip on the screen."

■ **ON PERSONAL GOALS:** "I should work on my quotes, so I can be as quotable as Rex Early. I can never hope to attain that kind of fame and fortune, but it helps to have high goals."



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