

THE HOWEY POLITICAL REPORT



The Weekly Briefing On Indiana Politics

The Howey Political Report is published 40 times a year by NewsLink, Inc. The Howey Political Report is an independent, non-partisan newsletter analyzing the political process in Indiana. It neither endorses candidates nor advocates positions of public policy.

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Gingrich's impact here unprecedented

Landscape changed on a presidential scale

The political impact of House Speaker Newt Gingrich here in the Hoosier state is unprecedented for a Congressional level politician and approaches presidential.

Presidents Roosevelt, Johnson, Nixon and Reagan all had coat-tails that brought along new Indiana congressmen and senators in landslide years. But no one has set an agenda, nationalized what had been localized races, or set the stage for a referendum (coming in 1996) like Newt Gingrich has.

Back in April 1990, Gingrich came to Indiana to campaign for U.S. Rep. John Hiler and predicted a Republican takeover of the House by 1994. It seemed like a remote possibility six months later when Hiler lost his re-election bid and Democrats controlled the delegation 8-2.

Next Monday, when U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar introduces House Speaker Gingrich before an almost certainly enthusiastic 2,000 people at the RCA Dome, the Georgian finds the Hoosier Congressional delegation 5-4 Republican, a "Contract With Indiana" placed in motion, and three of the four remaining Democratic seats vulnerable.

It is nothing short of a presidential styled achievement.

"Generally Hoosiers like their incumbent representatives on the basis of local issues," observed U.S. Rep. David McIntosh. "These Democrats were good people who were representing their people, came home and, like Phil Sharp, provided good constituent services.

"What Newt was able to do was transform those elections into national elections."

What Steve Buyer successfully did in 1992, followed by McIntosh, Mark Souder and John Hostettler in 1994 was to present the Gingrich doctrine in a question to voters: Do you want to send somebody back there who will be another vote for the Democratic

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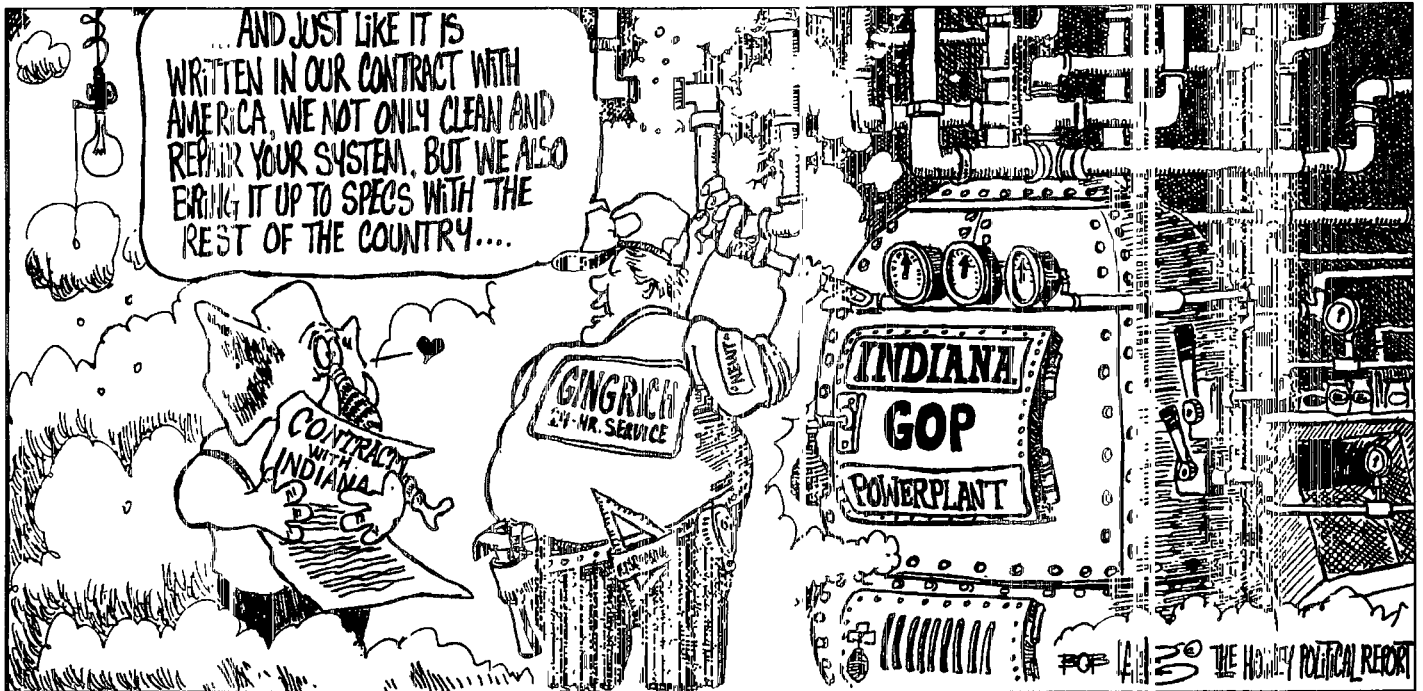
"QUOTE" OF THE WEEK

"Of course, you hope you're not the only person at an axe fight without an axe...."

-Ray Rizzo, Sen. Bob Garton's campaign manager, on the risks of running a positive gubernatorial campaign for 1996

INSIDE FEATURES

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HUMOR M I L L

Wendellisms by Wendell Trogon Indianapolis News

"Steve Emtman is hard to figure. He suffers through two serious knee injuries and a herniated disc in his neck....and leaves the Colts because of hurt feelings."

Spouse: "Can we survive without federal funds?"

Artist: "Not unless I can paint something someone will buy."

Devil's Dictionary by Ambrose Bierce

Vanity, n. The tribute of a fool to the worth of the nearest ass.

Telephone, n. An invention of the devil which abrogates some of the advantages of making a disagreeable person keep his distance.

Gingrich was more helpful to challengers

from page 1
leadership and the direction that party is taking the country, or do you want to go in another direction?

"Newt laid out the positive vision for what that Republican leadership would do," McIntosh said. "That has changed the landscape in a lot of these Congressional Districts. People are now saying, 'I can have an effect on what's happening nationally.'"

Hiler didn't put a lot of stock in Gingrich's prediction in April 1990. "Newt is a thinker and there is always a kind of a consciousness flowing out," he said. "I don't think any of us focused that much on when we'd be in the majority. Bill Clinton helped that out a lot."

Nor was the Gingrich message that applicable, in Hiler's mind, to incumbent Republicans like himself. "He would be more helpful to a challenger than an incumbent," Hiler said. "At the time I was running as a minority incumbent, you tended to run on issues the party was espousing, along with your own attributes. Gingrich certainly played a role in shaping the Republican agenda, but I don't think the incumbents were getting the latest copy of Newt's GOPAC speech like a challenger. A challenger looking for the 15-minute speech could listen to

Newt's tapes and they could have a major impact."

That helps explain how a freshman like McIntosh can skyrocket into House leadership (the first since Nixon in 1946) while 16-term U.S. Rep. John Myers was shunted away from the House Appropriations Committee chair.

Hoosier origins

It was the 1984 Frank McCloskey-Rick McIntyre 8th CD race that Republican Capitol Hill sources say ignited the Gingrich phenomenon. Gingrich was so outraged by the party-line vote that seated McCloskey that he vowed to begin his crusade.

"It's one of the reasons he went after Jim Wright," McCloskey told HPR in March. "If there's one key watershed moment as to why we have Republican leadership now it was the day Jim Wright resigned. That in essence was having Newt Gingrich naming the Democratic speaker of the House."

The irony is that when Gingrich's power grew like a thunderhead, McCloskey himself was a victim. "He has the most massive unrestrained ego without any sense of his own human proportions or limits," McCloskey said

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Odds-making on the 1996 Republican gubernatorial race

HORSE R A C E

<u>CANDIDATE</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
STEPHEN GOLDSMITH	2 to 1	The front-runner when he gets in. The trick will be to convince Indy voters just days after he wins this fall that he can do more for them at the Statehouse, while not alienating other Hoosiers by becoming "the governor of Indianapolis." Could be tricky, right Joe?
PATRICK ROONEY	1 to 5	Had to have questions repeated to him at FW campaign declaration, possibly bringing in the question of age. Wealth is no problem, but watch those contributions to Packwood. Opening TV was slick. Durnil's win streak is on the line. Want to bet against him?
REXFORD EARLY	1 to 7	Work on that speaking style, Rex. When HPR caught you, it was flat. Should have enough money. Early campaign literature impressive.
ROBERT GARTON	1 to 10	Punchy speaking style at HQ opening this week. Have you been practicing, senator? Hopes Indy base will split, creating opening for out-stater/insider. O'Bannon's preference.
GEORGE WITWER	1 to 25	The party's future. The unconventional candidate in unconventional times. Makes geographical sense as ticket's second banana.

TICKER TAPE

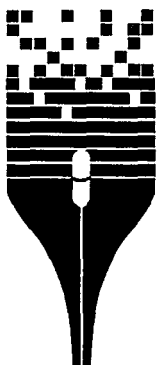
What a contrast in style. Two Indianapolis congressmen got a sense of potential opponents this month and the way they responded was intriguing. When **Brose McVey** leveled his sight at **U.S. Rep. Dan Burton**, the incumbent laughed and told **Mary Beth Schneider** of the *Indianapolis Star*, "He must have a death wish politically. After it's all over, he'll have to find something to do because he won't be in Congress."

Then there was **U.S. Rep. Andy Jacobs**. When Schneider called him for reaction to a potential challenge from former **State Sen. Virginia Blankenbaker**, Jacobs responded, "I'm crazy about Blankenbaker. I think she's wonderful."

Speaking of **Burton**, *Newsday* reports that the International Freedom Foundation wasn't just a conservative think tank, but a front organization bankrolled by South Africa's last white leaders to prolong apartheid. *Newsday* identified **Burton** and **Rep. Robert Doman** as "active in IFF projects."

Chicago Tribune's George Gunset calls the NBD-First Chicago Corp. merger the "Midwest's business bombshell of the year." "He doesn't give it very high marks." In effect, executives of both banks are asking stockholders to approve the \$5.3 billion deal that brings them only the promise of a higher share price to be created by what would be the megabank of the Midwest," Gunset said.

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TICKER T A P E

Jordan Lebamoff, secretary of the Indiana Young Democrats, was selected to run for the city council nomination vacated by Fort Wayne Councilman Mark GiaQuinta.

Perennial candidate David Roach tried to pull a fast one last week, declaring himself chairman of the Allen County Libertarian Party and selecting himself as the party's mayoral candidate. The problem is that the Libertarian's national chairman is Steve Dasbach, who lives in Allen County and confirmed that the county chairman is Tim Ashby. Sources tell HPR that attempts may be made to file election fraud charges against Roach.

Brose McVey, whose name came up as a possible Republican challenger to U.S. Rep. Dan Burton in the 6th CD last week, is helping Virginia Blankenkaker set up her organization in the 10th CD. Brose is going to be a major player in my campaign," Blankenkaker told HPR last Tuesday. Asked if McVey might challenge Burton, Blankenkaker responded, "All I will say is that all the people who came up to me this week said they wished I was running in Burton's district."

Key sources in the 3rd CD say the man to watch for the GOP nomination and a run against U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer is stockbroker Dan Holtz. They cite the fact that he's from Elkhart County - a big fund-raising base - is "fresh and new, doesn't carry any baggage" and is a "presentable guy."

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Lugar admonishes opponents on unity; divorce emerging as 'subtle' theme

Two themes - one orchestrated by House Speaker Newt Gingrich, the other by "the press in the hallways" - emerged last week as potential prevailing forces in the Republican presidential nomination.

One was the conflicting personalities in the race and the other was divorce and its impact on the breakdown of the American family.

Gingrich sounded the warning on the first theme, telling Republican National Committee members on Friday that if the race turns on personality, President Clinton will get re-elected. The warning came after Pat Buchanan called Sen. Phil Gramm a "bogus" conservative. Later, Sen. Bob Dole and Gramm clashed over welfare reform. Dole threatened to keep the Senate in session over the planned August recess while Gramm vowed an even tougher alternative.

U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar became, as the *Chicago Tribune's* Mitchell Locin wrote, "the voice of reason." He quoted Lugar as saying, "Before long the whole platform is tilting to the right and everybody is about to fall off almost oblivious to the fact that we want to win a general election. You cannot win it that way."

Indiana Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel underscored that theme. "If there's one thing Bill Clinton is good at, it's running for president," he said.

Terry Holt, Lugar's press spokesman, said the unity message plays into Lugar's game plan. "There has to be a message of unity and a message based on the pocketbook. Ronald Reagan did it," Holt said. "This is particularly important because Lugar has all the conservative credentials it takes to win the Republican primary."

Locin was quick to point out that "despite his admonition, Lugar couldn't resist taking his own shot by suggesting that Dole, Gramm, and California Gov. Pete Wilson have a problem discussing moral values because they're divorced."

Divorce is becoming a recurring theme in the press. Columnist Michael Gantner wrote in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, "Republican moralists have a bit of a problem: ex-wives. That's why they're not talking about divorce."

In Saturday's *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel*, a

column by William R. Mattox Jr. reprinted from the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, noted: "Indeed, when Dan Quayle returned last year to the San Francisco club where he gave his famous 1992 Murphy Brown speech, the former vice president was quick to point out that when he speaks of the problems surrounding single-parent families, he's not referring to households where the father has died, or even where he is separated by divorce."

Mattox continued, "One of the reasons there is less public hand-wringing about divorce than illegitimacy is because divorce hits closer to home in Middle America." He notes Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's term of divorce as actually "defining deviancy down" because of its sheer prevalence in middle and upper income stratas whereas illegitimacy is rare in those classes.

LUGAR WATCH Lugar responded to reporters' questions about divorce and his reference to Dole, Gramm and Wilson's problems in discussing the issue wound up as Bruce Morton's main theme on Friday's edition of CNN's *"Inside Politics."*

"It won't become a theme," Holt said. "I would call it an honest response to a question asked. Lugar will focus on how to get the middle class to break out of the box they're in."

Yet the issue has been and will be there in a subtle context. In the coming months, Lugar will accent his own personality, character and the way he has made decisions in his life, just as he did in his Feb. 19 Manchester, N.H., speech as well as the campaign opener on April 19.

■ **Lugar notes:** McDaniel said of Lugar, "One of the heartening things for me in Philly were the number of people walking up to me and saying, 'I like your senator. He's my second choice.' He is starting to get a foothold."

■ **Congressional Quarterly** reports that many Republicans are concerned about cuts in agriculture subsidies "and their reluctance to alienate farmers," an important constituency.

COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

Bonnie Blackburn, *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* - House Speaker Newt Gingrich's appearance Thursday night on MTV - entitled "Newt: Raw" may have been the Repubs first stab at wooing the youth vote that could help them capture the White House in 1996. And judging from Newt's performance, I don't think he's there yet. An unnamed television reporter asked, "Boxers or briefs?" Gingrich was not amused. "That is a very stupid question and it's stupid for you to ask that question," he barked. That's a stupid answer, Newtie, ol' boy. That's not how you win friends and influence people. It just reinforces that you're out of touch with today's youth.

Curt Kovener, *Crothersville Times* - I disagree with limiting flag desecration to burning. If we object so vociferously to burning a flag because it is showing disrespect for the symbol of our nation, are there not other kinds of desecration and other forms of disrespect? Or do we only want to take aim at those who overtly express their feelings? Here's my point: Of all the flags proudly flown along the highways and byways of Crothersville, Jackson County and Indiana, have you ever seen one that is faded, frayed or torn? Of course you have, and a good number of them, I'll venture. But by allowing a tattered or faded flag to fly, is not the property owner guilty of disrespect? Could we call it flag desecration by abdication of responsibility?

John Krull, *Indianapolis News* - Jeanne White was too polite to call Jesse Helms a mean-spirited idiot. Or perhaps Ryan White's mother thought that attaching the words "mean-spirited" and "idiot" to Helms would be redundant. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Helms had called for deep cuts for AIDS victims because the disease is a result of their "deliberate, disgusting, revolting conduct." Helms timed his statements to coincide with congressional deliberations about whether the Ryan White Care Act of 1990 should be re-authorized. Well, Jesse Helms is entitled to believe what he wishes. His brand of hate is itself a social disease.

Sylvia Smith, *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* - Surely no adult who was even vaguely alert during the last presidential campaign is unaware that President Clinton didn't serve in the military during Vietnam. We all know, too, the lengths to which he went to avoid service. Anyone in Northeast Indiana who had half an eye cocked at the 1994 congressional campaign also must be aware that Rep. Mark Souder also avoided service during the Vietnam War. He had a student deferment and appealed for non-combatant status on religious grounds. In that regard, Clinton and Souder had much in common with many middle- and upper-class (and almost exclusively white) males who manipulated the system to stay on this side of the Pacific. You might think their common history during an era of dramatic social upheaval would lead Clinton and Souder to the same perspective of contemporary U.S.-Vietnamese relations. You'd be wrong. "Normalization and increased contact between Americans and Vietnamese will advance the cause of freedom in Vietnam just as it did in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union," Clinton said. Souder thinks just the opposite, calling Vietnam "evil" and a "totalitarian" country.

David Mannweiler, *Indianapolis News* - The Forces of Good cannot rest just yet because they have railroaded the (Marion County) library board into changing its lending policy for both of the NC-17 rated videos in the library's collection of 17,430 video titles. No, friends, the flow of filth continues. The sick attack on the morals of our children and ourselves by the evil, godless, witless, smut-meisters goes on unabated. The mayor, the juvenile court judge, the sheriff, and Citizens Concerned for the Constitution concurred during the library debate that today's youth is riding the handbasket to hell because of all the bad stuff they're exposed to out there. But where are the mayor, the juvenile court judge, the sheriff and the CCC when it comes to the foreign-made, imported skin show that pollutes our city at a most unlikely parlor of raunch - the Indianapolis Museum of Art? They are silent.

TICKER TAPE

Marvin O. Ross, who served as UniServe director for the Fort Wayne Education Association for 22 years, is fighting his dismissal last year as a violation of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Ross, 60, has had nine knee and hip operations since 1958. **Julie Zasadny** of the *Journal Gazette* wrote on the issue, "Croninger Elementary School teacher Glorinda Dance said it is ironic Ross' long-term disability benefits were cancelled because such benefits are something ISTA pushes to have bargained into teacher contracts." ISTA associate executive director **Doyle McAllister** said the disability benefits were discontinued based on a doctor's evaluation.

Indianapolis Democratic nominee for mayor **Z. Mae Jimison** will be taking on **Mayor Stephen Goldsmith's** intention to use the November city election as a referendum on reshaping city government (**Gerry Lanosga**, *Indianapolis News*). She plans to call attention to what she calls suffering city employee morale. "I believe in lean government, but I do not believe in mean government," Jimison said.

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats called President Clinton's normalization of relations with Vietnam "premature," saying he should have waited until all possible information on 2,200 MIAs is resolved.

Former House **Speaker Michael K. Phillips** told the *Indianapolis Star* he is "pretty certain" he won't seek to reclaim the seat he lost in 1994. **Russ Stillwell** of the UMW is eying the race against **Rep. Sally Lambert**.

Virginia Blankenbaker:

'People won't have to sort out my value system'

HPR INTERVIEW

"I don't think I am a normal Republican candidate. I've had support across party lines...."

- Virginia Blankenbaker

Virginia Blankenbaker could be excused for not being very focused on the issues earlier this week when HPR tried to snag her for an interview: she was anxiously awaiting the birth of what became a grandson on Monday.

Tuesday, the former Indianapolis state senator was ready to talk about her looming race for the Republican 10th CD nomination.

HPR: A potential race between yourself and Andy Jacobs is intriguing. What's your relationship with the congressman?

Blankenbaker: First of all, I don't know anyone who doesn't like Andy Jacobs. He's been a very positive campaigner. The district I served overlaps the 10th District, so he and I were often on the campaign trail together and we had a very friendly relationship.

HPR: Do you expect Jacobs to run again?

Blankenbaker: That's very difficult to say. I know he's been there for a long time. He has young children and the parental responsibilities become very important. So do I expect him to? I don't know. I suspect he's struggling with it. The fact is, politics has a lot to do with timing and availability. And for the first time in my life, I have no reason that would keep me from serving in this capacity. I have the legislative ability, I have the confidence. I have my health.

HPR: Let's do the hypothetical and say Jacobs is the candidate. He's an unusual candidate because he doesn't spend much money. How do you run against him?

Blankenbaker: You know, the fact is, I have a tough campaign before that. So I have to take them one at a time. The spring election will be the most important for me at this time. How do I do that? I'll make use of all the volunteers that have called me in the last two days. It will really do me no good to look out much further than next May.

HPR: How will you campaign against Marvin Scott?

Blankenbaker: I will campaign on my legislative record. And I have never campaigned against anyone. It has always been for certain issues. We have very deep roots here. The point

is I will campaign on people knowing who I am and they won't have to sort out my value system because Richard and I have lived it.

HPR: What are you hearing about Bill Hudnut these days?

Blankenbaker: Nothing.

HPR: How would it change the race if he got in?

Blankenbaker: It wouldn't change how I approach it. I haven't heard from him and I haven't talked with him.

HPR: If you do get the nomination and run against Jacobs, do you proceed like a normal Republican candidate would?

Blankenbaker: I don't think I am a normal Republican candidate. I've been pretty much a person who has worked hard for my district. I've had support across party lines. I would just work hard to meet as many voters as I can. I would think it would be a very lively, positive campaign. It would be a very fun race.

HPR: Republicans think they can win the 10th CD. Is it ripe for the GOP?

Blankenbaker: It will be a very tough race, whoever the candidates are. It's my understanding that it's still a very Democratic district.

HPR: People are looking at what Marvin Scott was able to do in '94.

Blankenbaker: That was an extremely unusual year. The Democrats did not go to the polls and I don't think they will next time out. I don't think those numbers would have been that way in a normal year. Every place the Republicans won, the Democrats stayed home.

HPR: 1996 is shaping up to be a referendum on the Gingrich revolution. Will you shape your campaign to that national dynamic?

Blankenbaker: I'm going to take tailor my message to what the needs of the district are. Urban issues are very different from, say, those in Switzerland County. If you live your life in an urban district, it's different than when I was growing up on the farm.

HPR: Have you talked with Gingrich?

Blankenbaker: No. It would be nice to meet him. I do plan to go Monday night.

Garton kicks off generational battle with vow of running a clean campaign

The 1996 gubernatorial race promises to be nothing less than a generational struggle for the control of the Indiana Republican Party.

Not since 1972 when Otis Bowen won the nomination has there been so much at stake for the GOP in choosing its ticket. The difference in the 1996 race, however, is that it will occur in an open primary, as opposed to the convention process that established 16 years of Bowen-Orr leadership.

The term "generational" means that the 1996 nominee has a chance to stamp his name and public policy emphasis on the GOP, should he prevail against Lt. Gov. Frank O'Bannon. Bowen's property tax relief effort of 1973 still remains the modern political watershed event in Republican politics. The Democratic equivalent was simply Evan Bayh ending 20 years of machine-like Republican rule.

Indiana began the primary process in 1976 - won handily by Bowen prior to his reelection. The historical order of succession ended with Bayh's defeat of John Mutz in 1988. But the 1992 "open" primary between Linley Pearson, John Johnson and H. Dean Evans never really became etched as a generational battle simply because few people were convinced the winner had any chance to defeat Bayh.

"It will be a test for the party," conceded Ray Rizzo at this weekend's opening of Senate President Pro Tem Bob Garton's campaign office. "How do we conduct a contested primary and how do we emerge this fall? The primary has to be a positive experience. It will be a real test."

Garton opened up his headquarters with a punchy speech that centered on an introduction of his family and staff, the pocketbook issues that will become the campaign's theme, and an attempt to clarify the ground rules.

"It will not be a divisive campaign," Garton vowed to a room packed with supporters and press.

While observers have predicted the Republican nomination process could end up in a brawl, Garton stretched the civility notion into the fall campaign as well.

"I have respect for Frank O'Bannon. He

and I came to the Senate together. We know each other well," Garton said. "He's asked me a number of times whether I would be a candidate and I've said each time that, 'If I am, Frank, and if we end up facing each other in the general election, it will be one of the cleanest, and one of the most positive campaigns the state of Indiana has ever seen.' Because I think both of us have enough respect for each other that we will not engage in a negative campaign."

Rizzo underscored the candidate's pronouncement. "Anyone who knows Bob Garton knows he's not a gutter fighter," Rizzo said. "Of course, you hope you're not the only person at an axe fight without an axe."

Garton may be the candidate who can establish the demeanor on the trail and in the airwaves. In Rizzo's way of thinking, Garton either wins, or the eventual winner of either party will have to deal with him. "Bob Garton will either be governor or be president pro tem," he said.

■ **CAMPAIGN NOTES:** Pat Rooney spent between \$300,000 and \$400,000 for four weeks of radio and TV ads, campaign spokesman Brent C. Embrey told John Ketzenberger of the *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*. Rooney is also getting exposure in radio ads playing in Indiana and Washington, D.C., for his Golden Rule Insurance Co.

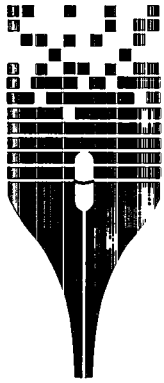
■ Rex Early is on record objecting to Gov. Bayh's "potential selection" of Stan Jones to become commissioner of the Indiana Commission for Higher Education. "This would effectively put the ISTA in control of higher education," Early said. "This is intolerable."

■ Rooney is critical of the United Airlines deal, saying it may prompt American Trans Air to leave Indy. "When the city of Indianapolis and the state of Indiana gave \$100,000 per employee to United Airlines on the promise that they would bring 6,000 people to Indiana, you can sure expect that everybody else will have their hands out wanting the same thing," Rooney said.

TICKER T A P E

Winston Churchill is to many Hoosiers a giant political figure. In Sunday's *New York Times*, two book reviews brought insights into what makes leaders great through the prism of Churchill. In the first, reviewer **Gertrude Himmelfarb** quoted English historian **Geoffrey Elton** on the historical belittling of great men: "When I meet a historian who cannot think that there have been great men, great men moreover in politics, I feel myself in the presence of a bad historian; and there are times when I incline to judge all historians by their opinion of Winston Churchill - whether they can see that, no matter how much better the details, often damaging, of man and career become known, he still remains, quite simply, a great man."

In the second review, **Dr. Henry A. Kissinger** writes: "Our age finds it difficult to come to grips with figures like Winston Churchill. The political leaders with whom we are familiar generally aspire to be superstars rather than heroes. The distinction is crucial. Superstars strive for approbation; heroes walk alone. Superstars crave consensus; heroes define themselves by the judgment of a future they see it as their task to bring about. Superstars seek success in a technique for eliciting support; heroes pursue success as the outgrowth of inner values. The modern political leader rarely ventures to comment in public without having tested his views on focus groups, if indeed he does not derive them from a focus group. To a man like Churchill, the very concept of focus groups would have been unimaginable."



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best”**

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- Charles E. Cook

Cook Political Report, Washington

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Gingrich was ‘the guy lighting my fire’

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while speculating that those traits may ultimately prompt Gingrich’s undoing. “I think we have a classic American political story in the making.”

Light my fire

Mike Pence first met Gingrich in 1987, prior to Pence’s first run against Phil Sharp in 1988. “Newt wasn’t even whip when I first met him,” Pence said. “He was this firebrand young lion, chewing on Wright’s leg. And he was the guy lighting my fire.

“He was one of the few guys who understood the resurgent conservatism Ronald Reagan had harnessed to get to the White House could be brought to the Hill. The message was clear: supply side economics and the Opportunity Society.”

That paired with a partisan ferocity that, like John Brademas and Phil Sharp, had Gingrich running for Congress three times before he finally succeeded. By the late 1980s, Gingrich’s vision applicable in today’s politics found him taking on people like Michigan U.S. Rep. Guy VanderJagt, ousting him from the Republican congressional campaign apparatus.

Pence sees Gingrich not only as a conservative firebrand, but as a “New Ager” who studies Alvin and Heidi Toffler like “kind of a religion.”

“Gingrich is much more,” said Pence. “If liberals could get beyond the politics and take a hard look at him, there’s more there they’d like.”

A case in point was an editorial by the liberal Fort Wayne Journal Gazette on July 12, urging a “redirection” of the war on illegal drugs since it has been a failed effort. Two days later, Gingrich said in Philadelphia that the U.S. “should quit playing games” on illegal drugs and either legalize them or adopt penalties severe enough to get rid of them. That would include the “death penalty for those who import commercial quantities... to sell them to our children.” The purchasers of illegal drugs, instead of jail, should be required to perform two days of public service a week for at least a year, he said.

The contracts

The Gingrich impact has been more than just winning congressional seats here in Indiana

and elsewhere. His “Contract with America” was used as an example for the state GOP’s “Contract with Indiana.”

Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel agrees that Gingrich’s impact here and across the nation is unprecedented. “Part of the reason for the overwhelming election in 1994 was the contract,” McDaniel said, adding, “and then producing on that contract within 100 days.

“I can’t remember anybody asking for and receiving national TV time. That kind of thing had always been reserved for presidents.”

“This guy is clearly the most talked-about figure in America right now. I can tell you from just witnessing the speech he gave in Philadelphia, it was electric. The room was electrified.”

The referendum

After two consecutive “change” elections, 1996 is shaping up to be nothing short of a referendum. “It will be a referendum on the Republican vision,” said McIntosh. “Traditionally Americans have enjoyed separate parties controlling the House and the presidency. President Clinton will run on that theme. What the Republican candidate for president and Newt will counter with is, ‘No, we have a distinct vision. We’ll produce the results if you have a Republican president and a Republican-controlled Congress.’

“Joe Hogsett, right after our election, commented on something I hadn’t really thought about. In retrospect, I think he was right. We may have seen ‘92 as the beginning of a watershed change in the Republican Party becoming the majority party.”

“These two years and, frankly, the next four years of whoever’s president will be critical in determining that. If at any point we fail to deliver on basic principles that we set out as a party, to shrink the size of government, increase individual freedoms, return moral issues back to the local level, then I think the people will say the Republicans were really no different.”

