

THE HOWEY POLITICAL REPORT



The Weekly Briefing On Indiana Politics

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“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“God is not a Republican”

—Rev. Mike Deeg, Christian Fellowship

Church in Evansville, on turning down a request from the campaign of U.S. Rep. John Hostettler to speak at a Sunday service, to the Evansville Courier.

Goldsmith ad blast pre-empts strength

Media attention settles on negatives, not crime

INDIANAPOLIS - Last February, Rex Early attempted (with little success) to pre-empt Steve Goldsmith by attacking him on the crime issue.

But the critics and pundits admonished Early for playing to a Goldsmith strength and the former Republican chairman's primary gubernatorial campaign never found traction.

Last week, the former Marion County prosecutor pre-empted himself on the crime issue. When the mayor appeared with AG candidate Steve Carter to unveil his long-awaited anti-crime program, the ensuing media coverage instead focused on a TV ad Goldsmith began running in the Chicago media market.

“What was interesting was how it all evolved,” said Prof. Robert Schmuhl of the University of Notre Dame. “To go to Chicago with what was essentially a sort of toxic commercial and then lob it over the state line was strange.”

Schmuhl saw two reasons for the Goldsmith tactic. The first was to draw LG Frank O'Bannon into the expensive Chicago media market. Secondly, “They were getting signals that their support needed bolstered in Northern Indiana,” Schmuhl said. “They might have been further behind than some people expected. This was kind of a neutralizer; to show the flag and make a point in a rather flamboyant way.”

And there was one more quirk in the Goldsmith strategy - the “less hysterical” approach by telling voters that “Frank O'Bannon is no Evan Bayh.” Observed Schmuhl, “That’s an interesting way of starting: conceding the popularity and stature of the opponent’s closest political ally.”

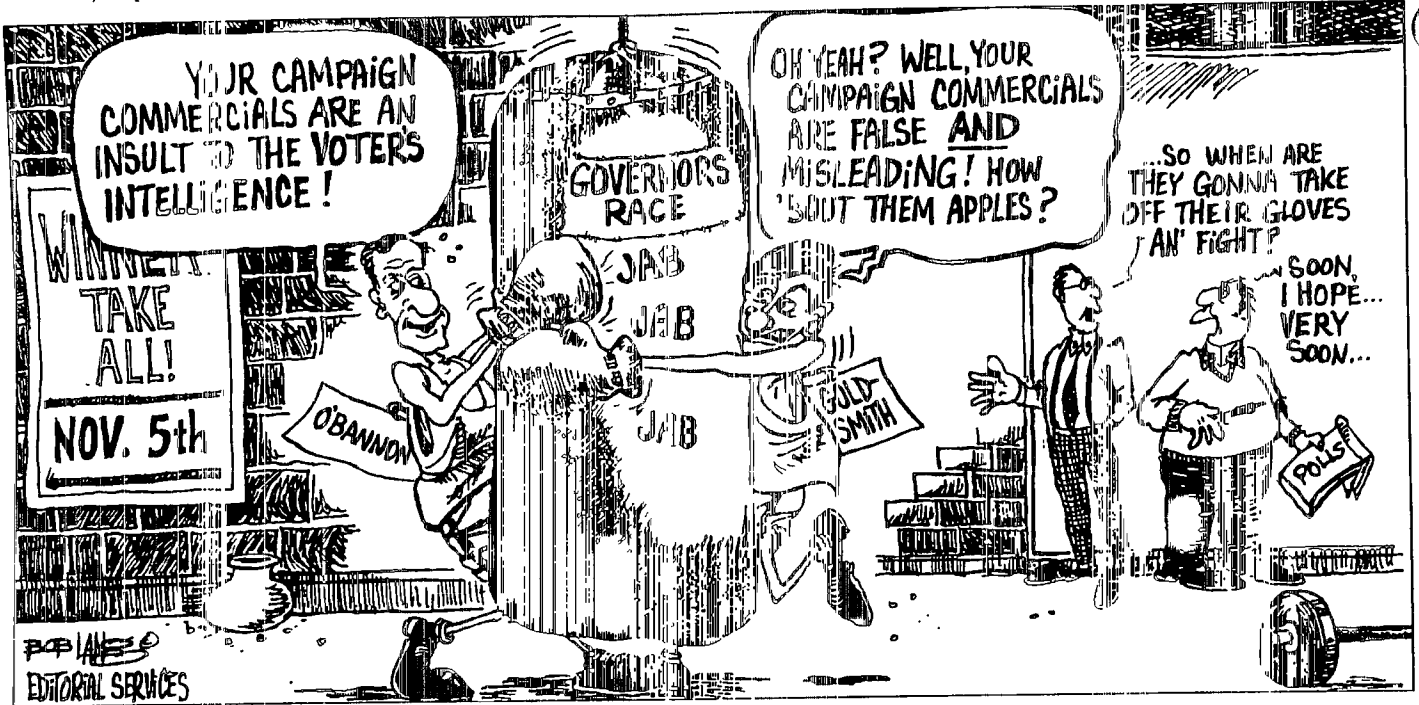
HPR surveyed political observers and the press around the state since the negativity began. The overwhelming observation from both groups was this: the police controversy in Indianapolis is of little interest beyond I-465. Goldsmith’s anti-crime package became lit-

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Indiana’s fastest growing source of political news



TICKER TAPE

PLAY OF THE WEEK: U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer brought pro-life colleague Henry Hyde of Illinois in to the Statehouse to talk about the partial birth abortion ban override. He found the media room filled with reporters listening to Mayor Stephen Goldsmith explain his campaign's TV ad. Even before Goldsmith was done, Buyer and Hyde pushed to the front of the room and requested the reporters stay - which some did, resulting in several newspaper stories that probably wouldn't have happened. So Buyer becomes the first beneficiary of campaign coattails in 1996.



Only three gubernatorial

Continued on page 3

While Scott King tries to revive a ghost community, a \$250,000 ad campaign ignores the Steel City

GARY - Newly-elected Mayor Scott King told HPR last December that part of his huge challenge is to change the perception of Gary in the eyes of its residents.

For that to happen there must be a conversion of The Region's news media. If Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith had a tough go of it over the past week, he might take some solace from where Scott King is.

Already tagged with the moniker "Murder Capital USA," the news emerging from the Steel City was of a raging gun battle in the Delaney Housing Project across the street from Roosevelt High School. King responded by not asking Gov. Evan Bayh for the Indiana State Police or the National Guard. He declared a state of emergency and called up local reserve units. Press reports by early this week said that calm was prevailing.

A Lake County deputy prosecutor initially refused to press charges against four men involved in the gang-related shooting, but reversed himself after receiving an angry phone call from King.

As if bullets causing high school students to scatter on campus were not bad enough, King found himself reading the Sept. 17 edition of the *Chicago Tribune* under the head-

line "Northwest Indiana: Just another Chicago 'burb?'" It detailed how the Northwest Indiana Forum under the leadership of former Republican Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott was spending \$250,000 on an 18-month campaign on two Chicago radio stations to lure Chicagoans to southern Lake County. That part of the county has already become a haven for those fleeing Chicago proper and the political impact is that southern Lake County is quickly becoming a Republican stronghold. An estimated 50,000 people have moved in from Illinois over the last 15 years.

Thus, when Goldsmith bought Chicago TV market time at the start of an early phase of the campaign last week, it was that voting pool he was trying to motivate.

The twist here is the radio ad campaign ignores Gary. And the *Tribune* story quotes Peter Van Allen, business editor for the Gary Post-Tribune as saying, "I dragged my wife here in tears when we arrived" 11 months prior.

So the Goldsmith Republicans flock to the cozy suburbs of Cedar Lake and Crown Point. Scott King is left with the zinging bullets, gang battles and talk of gas masks as he tries to revive a ghost city.

**'Divine intervention'
only thing that will save
Dole, analyst says**

HORSE R A C E

TRENDLINE: Analyst Stuart Rothenberg observes, "Barring divine intervention on Dole's behalf, Bill Clinton will win re-election." Yet an ABC-News poll on Sept. 15 had Clinton leading Dole by only 8 points, 49-41 percent among likely voters.

PRESIDENT

Bill Clinton, D Bob Dole, Rep Ralph Nader, I Ross Perot, Ref	Likely D	Dole creeping closer to Clinton in the ABC News poll can be a bit deceptive. Clinton won in 1992 by 6 points and yet was an Electoral College landslide. Both candidates spar in Midwest over crime issues. And hey, who's that dweeb with the Texas accent?
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GOVERNOR

Stephen Goldsmith, R Frank O'Bannon, D Steve Dillon, L	TOSSUP	Goldsmith had a "Linley Week." His opening TV goes negative; the facts are wrong; his police chief resigns; he disses Bob Dole in the New York Times; he conducts a truly weird press conference and disses his own staff; and ends up with scads of bad press. Republicans had better hope he's got it out of his system.
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10TH CD

Virginia Blankenbaker, R Julia Carson, D	Tossup	Rothenberg Political Report has this race "Tossup/leans D." We'll stick with the pure tossup.
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34TH INDIANA HOUSE

James Vanleer, R Tiny Adams, D	TOSSUP	Of the two Muncie seats, this one may be on a slippery slope for the GOP. The national dynamic is setting up to favor Adams. But too close.
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80TH INDIANA HOUSE

John Becker, R Ben GiaQuinta, D	TOSSUP	GOP won this by 7 votes in 1994. But Becker is a fighter and Allen County organization will help. Goldsmith isn't catching fire up here, though.
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ATTORNEY GENERAL

Steve Carter, R Jeff Modisett, D	LEANS D	Carter starting to emerge, but Modisett was scaring up earned media all summer. Bad press for current AG Carter could sting ... someone.
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Horse Race Key: Safe means assured victory; Likely is outside 10 points; Leans is between 4 and 9 points; Tossup is within statistical margin of error. Status in bold/caps means a change.

**TICKER
T A P E**

debates are going to be scheduled: Oct. 7 at DePauw University in Greencastle with Ken Bode moderating; Oct. 15 in Lake County with Peter Blum of the Gary Post-Tribune moderating; and Oct. 18 for the Indianapolis Star/News/WTHR-TV debate that will be televised. O'Bannon is not happy with the number. He had wanted 10 - one in each congressional district - and accused Mayor Stephen Goldsmith of stalling. "It's been a disappointing response," O'Bannon said.

Here's one of those signs of the times articles that appeared in Roll Call this week: the U.S. House's e-mail system is susceptible to infiltration. The story quoted an Inspector General's report that said that House Information Resources employees "have the capacity to access and delete Member, Committee and House office e-mail messages without leaving an audit trail." Which is just another reminder when you use the net to document your most intimate feelings: the whole world may be watching.

The Sierra Club has targeted U.S. Rep. John Hostettler as part of a \$140,000 TV ad campaign "as part of our overall plan to elect a pro-environment Congress," said Dan Weiss, Sierra's political direc-

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O'Bannon emphasizes need for campaign accuracy, documentation

HPR INTERVIEW

"They're going to talk about tax votes? Well, I'm more conservative than any of the Republican legislative leadership...."

- Frank O'Bannon



MERRILLVILLE - Three weeks ago in the HPR interview, Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith watched LG Frank O'Bannon go up on the air and basically conceded his lead in the polls.

Now, with the race neck-and-neck, Goldsmith firing off the first negative ad salvo, and the two campaigns sparring over taxes, privatization and Mini-Thins, it is time to get O'Bannon's perspectives on the race.

HPR: This past week has been one of the more defining phases in your campaign. What have been the highs and lows for you?

O'Bannon: I'd say the high certainly is the polling information put out by the Star/News - saying that I had caught up. Actually it's 3 points now, essentially a dead heat.

HPR: Have you done any followup tracking?

O'Bannon: Our polls track about the same thing. And it did a month ago with the Star/News poll.

HPR: Has there been any significant change in the numbers in Lake County with Goldsmith putting about 400 gross rating points in the Chicago TV market?

O'Bannon: No. We really haven't polled that fact yet. The fact that he ran Chicago television against Rex Early really raised his name recognition in Northwest Indiana. But we were extremely pleased because our support has been going up and his has been coming down some. We attribute some of that to two weeks of television; getting my name recognition up and getting my message out. People are hearing the message on what we're saying about taxes, crime and education.

HPR: Were you surprised that Goldsmith didn't counter your first ads?

O'Bannon: Yeah. Anybody going up two weeks before the first of September was unusual. But we felt it was time to do that. I was surprised that he immediately started with a negative ad or attack ad, whatever you want to call it. We felt it painted a very untrue picture. And to do it on Chicago television, which is the most

expensive. I really don't know why. But it might signal that he'll have a lot of money available.

HPR: You and Judy said from the very beginning of this campaign that you didn't want to go negative. But it's a proven fact that negative advertising works up to this point. What do you do?

O'Bannon: When you make a decision that you're going to run for office; when you make a decision that the most important media is television today and in a 10-second or 20-second bit that you can make an impression in people's minds that you're making these choices every day - you know that's what it takes to get a message out. Television is very important. You also have to decide if your opponent is going to run negative ads against you, it requires you to counter that negative ad right away or the person being influenced by the 30-second TV just has that much information. And it's hard to convey very much in a 30-second ad. I felt sure they would try to do something like that. But my record is so strong on voting against any important tax increases in the state of Indiana that it would account for 90 percent of the increases here in Indiana. For them to pick up on the innkeeper taxes and food and beverage taxes that aren't even increases but just enabling taxes and then try to paint it as a tax and spend type of liberal is still the modus operandi of the Republican Party ... well it's just not true.

They're going to talk about tax votes? Well, I'm more conservative than any of the Republican legislative leadership.

HPR: What are your own thresholds of negativity? Could you become a nattering nabob of negativism?

O'Bannon: Well, let me tell you. What we've done with every ad is preview it before the media *and* document each statement. So it is being based on fact. Now as long as I do that, I believe I am being true in getting the message out to the people of Indiana. Certainly not anything that is false or misleading or distorted.

HPR: I've spent the first minutes of this interview talking about TV ads. Yet the mayor just came out with his anti-crime program.

Does it bother you that the media seems transfixed on talking about TV ads and not the real issues?

O'Bannon: Yes. It takes away from the time it takes to discussing the message and the issues and the vision we have for Indiana for the next four years. And then it gets off the television ads and on to the fight over the television ads.

HPR: Twice I've heard you challenge the statehouse press corps to go out expose the truth and basically do their jobs. Are we doing that?

O'Bannon: I think so. That's the best of all worlds for the press to have the time, personnel and expertise to dig out those facts when you're looking at a four year record of a city like Indianapolis. Ours is to look at my voting record. I didn't have time to do that myself. It took several people many days to record all of my voting record over 20 years. It is incumbent on all of us to seek out the truth and get the facts out before the people. So I told my people to get as much information out as they can based on facts so we don't mislead and make that available to the press so they can convey it the way it should be. I felt that Steve's staff really hasn't done that. They had their conclusion set but didn't have the right basis to even say it.

HPR: What is your reaction to the Goldsmith anti-crime program?

O'Bannon: Well, I haven't seen a copy of that. Part of it is more prisons; keep people off the streets which is similar to ours. Certainly there is truth in sentencing.

HPR: And the third basic plank was to appoint tougher judges.

O'Bannon: I think that is true in giving the judges the right to retain those people who are violent and keep them off the streets. Judges need to be able to do that.

HPR: It appears there isn't that big of a difference between your proposals and his. When I talked to the mayor several weeks ago, he said you weren't adequately addressing juvenile crime. How do you respond?

O'Bannon: I think juveniles are really the place to concentrate. Crime as a whole has decreased but not with juveniles. It gets into the drugs and things. Violent juvenile crime is one of our real problems and certainly that's an area

we will concentrate on, starting with more boot camps. We'll also look at more alternative schools, which is part of our school program. If they are violent and disruptive, they shouldn't be in the classroom and we should be certainly addressing that need in a different way to keep them in the mainstream so they don't become criminals.

HPR: The tax issue and privatization will be the huge issues in the campaign. Are those issues being adequately covered?

O'Bannon: When you start with the Republican convention and they put out five or six statements where Frank O'Bannon stands and five or six where Steve Goldsmith stands and I think if you take each one of them and root out the facts on them (it) isn't true according to the facts. We've been holding the line on spending and taxes; reduced the number of state employees except for prisons. And we've cut excise and homestead taxes and he has not, even though he has had the chance; even though his tax collections went up over four years by \$37 million.

HPR: How do you respond to Goldsmith's criticism that the amount Hoosiers have paid in property taxes has doubled under the Bayh-O'Bannon administration?

O'Bannon: That's certainly true, even though we have spent an additional \$4 billion for schools, even though we held the line on state spending. He has to make the decision and the other people in Marion County have to make the decision on property taxes. That is not made by the governor and lieutenant governor.

HPR: How important is the Mini-Thin issue to your campaign?

O'Bannon: It's an issue that should be brought out. I don't think you win or lose a campaign on an issue like that. It is a gateway drug. It's a gateway drug for dealers, also. I didn't know the Mini-Thins had grown into that kind of abuse by middle school kids.

HPR: Goldsmith said you could have gone to the pharmacy board.

O'Bannon: We can still do that, too. The only thing the pharmacy board can do is make a recommendation to the legislature.

TICKER T A P E

tor. The Sierra Club has targeted 35 races, mostly freshmen Republicans. Not included on the list is U.S. Rep. David McIntosh, viewed by environmentalists as an enemy. The fact that McIntosh's 2nd CD opponent Marc Carmichael will not benefit from the ad campaign is another indicator that will not be a competitive race.

Kate Hinton, wife of U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer staffer Pat Hinton, gave birth to twin daughters on Aug. 23 - Mary Jennifer and Helen Catherine.

A bipartisan group investigating the Vanderburgh County Election Office has discovered that 138 absentee ballot envelopes disappeared before the 1995 city primary elections and that another 26 ballots had forged signatures. Most of the irregularities were discovered in Evansville's 4th Ward, where Connie Robinson won the Democratic primary by a 74-vote margin over Wayne Washington.

U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar warned that opposition by fellow Republican Sens. Jesse Helms and Trent Lott could "devastate" the chemical weapons treaty. "We've never had leadership against an arms-control treaty before," Lugar said.

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COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

TICKER TAPE

Reporter Jim O'Connell of the Evansville Courier reports that several Evansville area churches are mixing prayers with politics. "Worshippers can register to vote, receive printed voter guides, and meet candidates at Sunday morning services," O'Connell wrote. "Although tax exempt churches are prohibited from endorsing political parties or candidates, they are free to publicize which candidates share their views and which candidates don't." However, he reports that the "thin line between healthy citizenship and illegal electioneering" has brought several congregations "under legal scrutiny by critics who suspect they abuse their tax-exempt status with partisan activities."

Former Vice President Dan Quayle and wife Marilyn addressed 200 Hostettler backers at an airport rally in Evansville last Saturday. Quayle told the crowd to "say no to liberal special interest groups. Big money special-interest groups are trying to buy back Congress. This is our district, not theirs."

Eighteenth Senate District Democrat Charles Ellison of Logansport is challenging a decision by Secretary of State Sue Ann Gilroy to keep him off the ballot in a race against Sen. Tom Weatherwax.

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Mary Dieter, *Louisville Courier-Journal* - It's probably an understatement to say Steve Goldsmith hopes he never has another week like the last one. Nothing could go right for the Indianapolis mayor. Things were so bad that it's tempting to feel sorry for him - until you consider that much of what plagued him was his own doing. The good news for Goldsmith is that, with the election seven weeks away, he has time to rebound. If taken as a lesson and warning, his travails should humble him and teach diligence. The bad news for Hoosiers is that the smugness, hypersensitivity and void in leadership he exhibited have troublesome implications for how he would govern if he defeats Democratic Lt. Gov. Frank O'Bannon on Nov. 5.

Jack Colwell, *South Bend Tribune* - Nobody ever accused Lt. Gov. Frank O'Bannon of being some kind of wild-eyed taxer and spender. Not until last week. That's when Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith bought the expensive Chicago TV market for a barrage of television spots aimed at voters in Northwest Indiana. The charge: "Frank O'Bannon never met a tax he didn't hike." The effort to portray the rather fiscally conservative O'Bannon as this wild-eyed taxer and spender included the claim that he voted 38 times for tax increases while serving in the Indiana Senate. Goldsmith had to admit error in documentation for the claim and seemed unprepared for defense of the controversial TV spot during a news conference. But the Republican candidate was far from contrite and insisted O'Bannon really was a big taxer. Let's get straight to the heart of this matter. Was the TV spot unfair? Of course. Is it effective? Probably so. Though it could backfire.

Morton Kondracke, *Roll Call* - There's been widespread speculation about whether President Clinton would prefer a Congress to remain Republican or switch to Democratic, requiring a pickup of at least four Senate seats and 20 House seats for formal control and probably 40 for working control. The evidence increasingly suggests he wants Democrats in

charge, at least partly to shut off Congressional investigations of the administration. Former DNC executive director Mark Siegel says that the ideal time for Clinton to unleash personal and DNC resources would be mid-October, after the presidential and vice presidential debates are over. "If his own election is secure by mid-October, watch for the president to forge into non-Electoral College-rich states fertile with marginal House and Senate races," Siegel said.

Alan Julian, *Evansville Courier* - Republicans have enjoyed a resurgence in Vanderburgh County elections for the last six or seven years, but some in the GOP privately worry that their good times might be cut short this year by an outside force. Poll results indicate President Clinton has a significant lead in Indiana. If that holds up, it probably means Clinton will win by a landslide in Vanderburgh County. And that, in turn, could lift the entire Democratic ticket here.

Gerry Lanosga, *Indianapolis News* - Just when you really start to lose faith in government, along comes a great idea that makes you a believer again. This is one of those times, thanks to State Rep. B. Patrick Bauer. Demonstrating his keen instinct for the issues that matter, Bauer wants to include a legislator's hall of fame at the new state museum. I envision the display being highlighted with salient quotes from great lawmakers of past and present. Such as Senate President Pro Tem Bob Garton's comment this year on constituent concerns about special interests influencing the legislature: "What gives them the right to question us? What gives them the right to question our integrity?" The Hall of Fame would have to recognize the legislator's commitment to children. This year, for instance, they killed a bill to punish those keeping loaded handguns where children can reach them, refused to approve college tuition tax credits and rejected the idea of rent-free textbooks for schoolkids. Then they passed a resolution declaring their recognition of children's "importance to the future prosperity and growth of our state."

PERHAPS... WE WANDER

By Brian Howey

Agnew's death prompts a story of driving politics

The death of former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew conjured memories among several of us political junkies Wednesday. Agnew was a surprise vice presidential nominee, blundered worse than Dan Quayle during the fall 1968 campaign, then used Bill Safire's written prose to scour the opponents of the Silent Majority at the height of the Vietnam War.

I recalled a story former Allen County Republican Chairman Orvas Beers once told about Agnew, who was coming to Fort Wayne back in the early 1970s on a campaign swing. Agnew's visit had been announced and Beers received a phone call from a local man. "I was Agnew's driver during the war," Beers was told. Could he have the honor to squire the vice president around Fort Wayne for old time's sake. Beers checked the man out and discovered he had a couple of DUIs and other moving violations and blew the request off. Agnew came to Fort Wayne, campaigned, and Beers accompanied him to the airport for wheels up. Agnew was already on the plane when Beers approached him for a final farewell. But Agnew was on the phone, cupped his hand over the mouthpiece and with a smile told Beers, "I'm talking to my driver from the war."

Bill Justice's passing brings out a Hoosier passion

HPR appreciates good political writing and we saw a perfect example of this from Dave Kitchell of the Logansport Pharos-Tribune. He wrote a column about the passing of former State Sen. Bill Justice, a 50-year Republican political pro from Cass County who served two terms in the legislature.

"He was the walking stereotype of a farmer who aged gracefully," Kitchell wrote. "He lived from the land and never strayed from his core beliefs, his roots or his farm. Bill wore bow ties and suspenders when they were fashionable. He wore them when they weren't. If heaven accepts elected officials, Bill is there. Given

his 50-year career in politics, he probably is already trying to lobby for divine intervention for the Republicans in the next two months."

Hubbard takes a distorted look at distorted distortion

Some campaign writing isn't so good. The news media have been receiving faxes from former Indiana Republican Chairman Al Hubbard supporting the campaign of Steve Goldsmith. This one came in on Wednesday:

"Many of you have seen a new commercial by the Frank O'Bannon campaign that criticizes Steve Goldsmith's record as mayor of Indianapolis. It is one of the most inaccurate, distorted commercials ever to run in Indiana," Hubbard wrote. "Unfortunately, the reporters covering the campaign do not seem to be giving Frank's commercials the same scrutiny that they have given to commercials run by the Goldsmith campaign."

And Hubbard concludes with this: "Early in this campaign, Frank O'Bannon and Steve Goldsmith agreed to run fair and clean campaigns. Steve Goldsmith backed up his words with action by actually changing one of his commercials to respond to criticism by the O'Bannon campaign, but Frank O'Bannon continues to run a commercial filled with distortions and deception."

Could O'Bannon's lemonade buy make him a big spender?

Finally, when Gov. Bayh, LG Frank O'Bannon and others were traveling to President Clinton's stop in Michigan City a few weeks ago, the bus took a wrong turn and headed toward Long Beach, passing a homemade "Liberty Lemonade" stand run by the Baker family. After a few minutes of pondering, Bayh, O'Bannon and others disembarked to buy some refreshments. O'Bannon handed one of the boys a \$10 bill when the word came out that the Secret Service wanted the bus to move. O'Bannon failed to get his change, which could make him a ... big spender?

TICKER T A P E

emergency hearing has been set for 9 a.m. Sept. 24 in Marion Superior Court. Ellison had been selected by a Democratic caucus in July, but Gilroy cited a date on a notary public seal as the reason to disqualify, according to a story by the Logansport Pharos-Tribune's Dave Kitchell. "The whole goal was to avoid lawsuits altogether and encourage the Secretary of State to err on the side of inclusion," said Tim Jeffers, working on behalf of the Democratic Party.

Democratic AG candidate Jeff Modisett has announced a plan that would take advantage of a new law "to end the oversight of Indiana's prisons by federal courts and return the powers of prison administration to state officials."

Steve Schmidt, managing Joe Zakas' 3rd CD campaign against Tim Roemer, says the Republican has \$133,000 cash-on-hand, another \$5,000 on the way from the Republican National Committee and is about ready to go up on TV with 3,200 gross rating points. "It's clearly a winnable race," said Schmidt, who came on board last July 1. "We're looking for PACs to cut loose with the checks in the next week or so. We expect to start seeing that stuff," he said.

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TICKER

T A D E

Indiana House Republicans and Democrats are seeking interns for the 1997 legislative session. For program information, Republicans should contact Anne Salaymeh at 800-382-9841 or 317-232-9887; Democrats should contact Judson Kring at 800-382-9842 or 317-232-9623.

Democratic National Chairman Don Fowler was in Indiana this week to boost the candidacies of Julia Carson in the 10th CD and Bob Hellmann in the 7th CD. Said Indiana Democratic Chairman Joe Andrew, "More time, attention and dollars will be devoted to the 7th CD race than have ever been devoted by the national party to this district."

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Goldsmith, from page 1

tle more than a footnote. Most of the political energy centered around the Chicago TV ad. Numerous observers told HPR they saw the ad as shrill, manipulative and, most importantly, inaccurate.

Goldsmith had accused O'Bannon of supporting 38 tax increases. In one of the most memorable press conferences (since, say, the lottery director's sex scandal back in 1989) a smug Goldsmith conceded that, yes, actually, there had been more tax increases than that, which in essence had the candidate acknowledging the lack of his campaign's own accuracy. When Goldsmith met the press again last Monday, the number swelled to 46, but many of the fee increases the campaign had tried to pass off as tax hikes were gone and replaced with a slew of enabling legislation - like innkeeper taxes from such Republican-dominated governments as Allen and Elkhart counties.

Goldsmith's Monday press conference was equally memorable for one line. When a questioner told the mayor that the inclusion of the enabling legislation had violated the criteria set forth last week by deputy campaign manager John Hatfield, Goldsmith responded, "John's not running for governor. I am."

If anyone captured the essence of Goldsmith's performance it was John Harwood of the *Wall Street Journal*, who quoted Republican consultant Alex Castellanos quoting a famous painter: "A fellow named Pablo Picasso said, 'Art is the lie that tells the truth.' That's what we do in political advertising."

In the same article, former journalist Paul Taylor called the negative political advertisement "a tired, exhausted, spent political art form."

Harwood noted, "The backlash against attack advertising is having an effect. Heightened viewer skepticism and press scrutiny have persuaded some ad makers to curb the hyperbole, rely on excerpts from news articles and issue reams of documentation with all their spots." He continued, writing that a recent Clinton campaign attack ad which called Bob Dole's retirement from the Senate "quitting, giving up, leaving behind the gridlock he helped to

create" drew torrents of criticism from both Republicans and Democrats.

That's what the reaction to the Goldsmith ad was. In Tuesday's edition of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, an above-the-fold page 1 story came under the headline, "Goldsmith weakens ad claims about foe."

The *Indianapolis News* editorialized on Sept. 17, "People want and deserve the truth from their elected representatives. They don't like distortion of facts, and they don't like it when they sense they're not getting the whole story."

Gubernatorial notes

When Goldsmith went up on Chicago market TV, part of the strategy was to get O'Bannon to commit resources to do the same. The Democrat responded, not with the expensive network affiliates, but with Northwest Indiana cable companies.

"We had to rethink it," O'Bannon campaign manager Tom New said of the Chicago strategy. "We had always planned to go up in Chicago, didn't know when. But going up in September as opposed to October, we had to make sure budget can handle that."

The difference is that while Goldsmith was being seen by hundreds of thousands of viewers on WLS-TV's Good Morning America, O'Bannon was doing CNN which gets much less viewership. The other huge difference is that cable costs a tiny fraction of what it takes to buy Chicago time.

But only 15 percent of the Chicago viewership resides in Northwest Indiana, which means each dollar spent is beamed into a lot of wasted territory.

"This is an era of niche information," Schmuhl observed. "Advertising on cable is one way to make sure the message is carried to a precise audience. You don't reach as many people, but it's more targeted to a specific number and a specific demographic."

Future polls will tell whether this cable v. network strategy works for O'Bannon. If Goldsmith surges in in Northwest Indiana, the Democrats will have to rethink their strategy.