

THE HOWEY POLITICAL REPORT



The Weekly Briefing On Indiana Politics

The Howey Political Report is published 40 times a year by NewsLink, Inc. Founded in 1994, 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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Subscription information: \$250 annually for 40 editions via fax or first class mail. Call 317-685-0883.

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“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“It appears to me that lawmakers ought to follow the law...”

—State Rep. Dan Stephan, on whether the Republican caucus should walk out or accept the 50/50 law that would make Gregg speaker

O'Bannon's victory from the dust of '94

Democrats recovered after the GOP tsunami

INDIANAPOLIS - History would not be served if the events surrounding Frank O'Bannon's Nov. 5 victory were not placed into proper context, and to do that you have to start with what happened in November 1994.

In that election, Hoosier Democrats were whipped. They lost the Indiana House by a 56-44 margin, three Congressional seats, the state ticket, and Evan Bayh allies such as Jeff Modisett, Joe Hogsett and Katie Humphreys were all defeated. Indeed, things were beginning to look precarious for the party in the inevitable post-Bayh era.

Following O'Bannon's victory over Stephen Goldsmith, most of the Hoosier press coverage has centered on how the Indianapolis mayor lost a race he should have won. From a pundit's point of view, that was an easy thing to do. Goldsmith miscalculated O'Bannon's fundraising potential, let the Democrat go up on TV unanswered for two weeks in August and when he did, it was with an inaccurate attempt to portray the Democrat as a tax and spend liberal, and he never made a convincing case for privatization.

“The point missed, the point no one talks about, is Democratic pride,” said Mike Harmless, the party's executive director, to an Indianapolis Press Club luncheon earlier this week. “In 1994, we were a beaten party. And I was one of them. I had my shorts handed to me.”

While Goldsmith self-destructed this year, what gave the Democrats their greatest comeback of the 20th century was nothing less than a harmonic convergence of personality, talent, energy, issues, luck and spirit. “To come back two years later I attribute to Frank and Judy O'Bannon,” Harmless explained. “People are saying Goldsmith lost. I'll debate that all night. Frank O'Bannon won the race.”

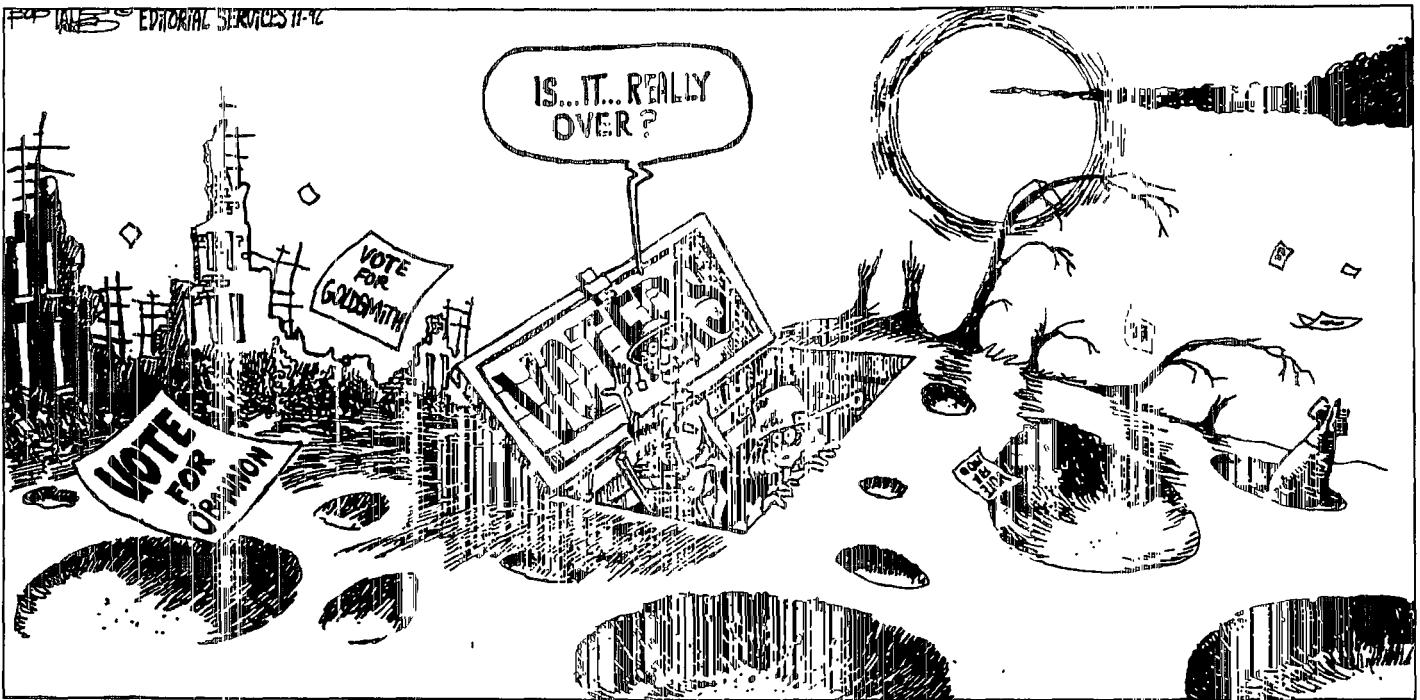
To place this in proper perspective, O'Bannon's own internal polling showed him trailing Goldsmith by 18 points at one early

continued on page 2

INSIDE FEATURES

- **Play of the Week: Gregg-Mannweiler summit** page 2
- **Horse Race: Handicapping Bayh-Coats '98** page 3
- **HPR Interview: Goldsmith's John Hatfield** pages 4-5
- **Columnists: Colwell, Krull, Dieter, Kitchell** page 6
- **Campaign '96: Negative ads hurt the GOP** page 8

Indiana's fastest growing source of political news



TICKER T A P E

PLAY OF THE WEEK: John Gregg and Paul Mannweiler for planning to sit down and talk about avoiding what will be seen as a ludicrous Republican walk-out of Organization Day next Tuesday. HPR senses the voting public - many of whom sat out the Nov. 5 election - will have little tolerance for this crucial session of the Indiana General Assembly to get off to such a bad start.



INDIANA CONGRESSIONAL TOTALS

1ST CD	
Visdosky, D	132,430 (69.1%)
Petyo, R	56,205 (29.3%)
Crass, L	3,122 (1.6%)

Continued on page 3

From page 1

point. But the Democrats began making inroads virtually in the dust of the 1994 defeat. Indianapolis attorney Joe Andrew was brought on as chairman that next January. It was Andrew who constructed the plan to resurrect the party's base at the precinct level.

Andrew was a tireless worker. One weekend in October 1995, Andrew spent the weekend at Democratic events in Batesville, Evansville, Angola and Merrillville - literally the four corners of Indiana. Andrew and O'Bannon crafted "agreements" with local county parties that promised phone banks and absentee ballot strategies.

The party immersed itself in the 1995 city elections where old-hand mayors like Elkhart's Jim Perron and East Chicago's Robert Pastrick mentored new candidates. The party test-marketed issues related to privatization and prevailing wage. The Democrats also used a coordinated campaign process where congressional and legislative campaigns in specific regions around the state worked out of the same offices, sharing resources such as phone banks and direct mail capabilities. The labor component, riled by Republican attempts to reform prevailing wage, was thus incorporated into the Democratic equation after it had been dormant for more than a decade.

Out of these elements, Frank and Judy O'Bannon, Andrew, campaign manager Tom

New and the late Bill Schreiber constructed a campaign plan that centered on an aggressive fundraising stance, developed a positive introduction of O'Bannon that aired after the bloody Republican primary, trotted out Gov. Evan Bayh in May and again in October, and completely out-flanked Republicans on identifying the Goldsmith reforms in Indianapolis.

By late summer, the Goldsmith campaign was attempting to re-educate the media on the virtues of competitive government. A classic example of the issue erosion surrounding privatization was the O'Bannon "fish ad." In a commercial that still stirs controversy inside the Goldsmith campaign, O'Bannon was able to create an image of a privatization experiment that ended up with thousands of dead shad in the White River linked to the city's wastewater treatment plant at a time when Goldsmith could have been featuring central city Indianapolis residents talking with pride about their revitalized neighborhoods.

The O'Bannon campaign took advantage of a good economy and reduced it to "Why change now? Why risk the progress for risky experiments?" Said Indiana Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel, "That was a very powerful message down the stretch. Hoosiers voted for a caretaker rather than an aggressive innovator."

At times it looked as if the wheels were about to come off the O'Bannon campaign. In

**Lugar stays in Senate;
Quayle 2000 frontrunner;
Bayh 'leans' over Coats**

HORSE R A C E

TRENDLINE: Why didn't Sen. Richard Lugar want to be President Clinton's secretary of state? Because the emerging Indonesian scandal will cut a swath through Foggy Bottom. Besides, Lugar doesn't seem to be the type who would want to end up praying with Clinton in the Lincoln bedroom as the Burton Committee presses toward impeachment. We see Lugar seeking re-election in 2000 (and winning Lake County).

SOUTH BEND DEMOCRATIC MAYOR

Mike Barnes	TOSSUP
John Voorde	
Joe Nagy	
Steve Luecke	
Sean Coleman	
John Hosinski	

Excellent cast of candidates lining up to succeed Mayor Joe Kernan. Barnes is St. Joseph County prosecutor, Nagy is auditor, Voorde is Portage Township Assessor and son of a former mayor, and the others are city councilmen. Look for Kernan to annoint one and the others to form concensus.

46TH INDIANA HOUSE

Vern Tincher, D	SAFE D
David Lohr, R	

Horse Race remembers the 1986 recounts involving John Hiler and Dean Mock. It was here that Rex Early unveiled the "S--- Happens" bumper sticker above the recount room door at the Elkhart County Courthouse well before Forest Gump. But it won't happen. Tincher keeps his 99-vote win and Lohr does the '98 rematch.

1998 U.S. SENATE

Dan Coats, R	LEANS D
Evan Bayh, D	

When Evan Bayh went on the air for Frank O'Bannon in the spring, FOB's numbers shot up. The same thing happened in late October. Plus, by '98, the adorable Bayh twins will give the H.H. Gregg flat-toppers the baby boot. But, on issues, Dan Coats has never raised taxes either. His organization is top-flight. This will be a Holy War with the GOP organization seeking redemption.

June during an FOP endorsement, O'Bannon announced a 10-point anti-crime program but couldn't address its fiscal impact. The word at the Statehouse was that Schreiber's death had left a void. But after that botched press conference, the O'Bannon campaign certified itself as a textbook example of how to create position to reap an upset. It was as good in that mission as was Sen. Dan Coats' 1992 campaign when he exploited Hogsett's office-jumping and took that Democrat out of the race early.

"Tom New is the unsung hero," McDaniel observed. "He ran an aggressive campaign as far as strategies go."

But the spiritual embodiment of this effort did come down to what Sen. Richard Lugar stressed during the 1996 presidential campaign: "It's how you lead your life."

Hoosiers were comfortable buying into Frank O'Bannon pumping in a jump shot in a gym while advocating better schools the week kids returned to class and Judy O'Bannon talking about her family while sitting on the porch.

The O'Bannon campaign underscored a notion of trust and virtue as Hoosier as a buttered ear of corn on the cob on a sultry August evening.

**TICKER
T A P E**

2ND CD

McIntosh, R	122,288 (58.1%)
Carmichael, D	83,478 (39.7%)
Zimmerman, L	4,662 (2.2%)

3RD CD

Roemer, D	114,381 (57.9%)
Zakas, R	80,748 (40.9%)
Taylor, L	2,331 (1.2%)

4TH CD

Souder, R	118,344 (59.4%)
Houseman, D	76,152 (38.2%)
Bisson, L	4,743 (2.4%)

5TH CD

Buyer, R	133,604 (64.9%)
Clark, D	67,125 (32.6%)
Lehman, L	5,255 (2.6%)

6TH CD

Burton, R	189,461 (74.9%)
Dil-Tram, D	58,362 (23.1%)
Peterson, L	5,295 (2.1%)

7TH CD

Pease, R	130,010 (62%)
Hellmann, D	72,705 (34.6%)
Bourland, L	7,125 (3.4%)

8TH CD

Hostettler, R	109,582 (49.9%)
Weinzapfel, D	106,134 (48.3%)
Hager, L	3,799 (1.7%)

9TH CD

Hamilton, D	128,885 (56.3%)
Leising, R	97,747 (42.7%)
Feeny, L	2,315 (1%)

10TH CD

Carson, D	80,869 (52.5%)
Blank'blr, R	69,248 (45.1%)
St. Angelo, L	3,505 (2.3%)

continued on page 5

Hatfield talks of Goldsmith's polling, ads, issues and why the mayor lost

HPR INTERVIEW

"One explanation I heard that strikes me as the best is that Hoosier voters are fairly conservative when it comes to change. And when things are going well, they won't vote for it..."

- John Hatfield



INDIANAPOLIS - With Mayor Stephen Goldsmith vacationing and speaking on the topic of competitive government in London, Cairo and Tel Aviv this week, the election post-mortem falls on deputy campaign manager John Hatfield.

HPR sat down with Hatfield at Goldsmith campaign headquarters to talk about why the Indianapolis mayor lost to Democrat Frank O'Bannon on Nov. 5.

HPR: Mike McDaniel said Tuesday that bad polling begets bad decisions. What happened with the polling The Tarrance Group was giving the Goldsmith campaign?

Hatfield: Our internal numbers all along showed Steve with a pretty healthy lead throughout the race, right up until the final day.

HPR: Were there corresponding peaks and valleys with Vargus, Mason-Dixon and the IMA? Or was Tarrance on a totally different plane?

Hatfield: It was remarkably steady.

HPR: I was looking at Mason-Dixon, Vargus, TeleResearch and the IMA, plus I was getting smaller snapshots like the tracking from Jean Leising's state Senate District that included Shelby, a doughnut county. It showed Goldsmith going from a 14-point lead in July, to a 10-point lead in early October and then a deadheat by the end of that month. That's the one that convinced me you guys were in trouble.

Hatfield: Right. The public polls were all over the place. And it's hard to figure out from polling company to polling company. You can't make comparisons, you don't know their methodology. It's difficult when you're running a campaign to look at a public poll and come to any conclusions. That's dangerous. But what we were looking at was a rolling nightly average, 200 every night. We took our rolling average, the last four nights for 800. That was our average. And we started our tracking in mid-October. At that point, it showed us about 5 points up. That was our low point. From the second week in October through the end, it showed our lead getting wider.

HPR: And you thought you had a double digit lead on Election Eve?

Hatfield: We were up to on Oct. 29 a 13-point lead in our internal numbers.

HPR: What in the hell happened?

Hatfield: To some extent, that's a little misleading. Even though our internal numbers gave us a 13-point lead, no one thought that would translate to a 13-point victory. We assumed that inside the Indianapolis media market people would view Steve as the incumbent and since they knew him well, would break against him. Clearly, even accounting for that, the numbers were off.

HPR: Did Tarrance give you any indication where the undecideds were heading?

Hatfield: Our numbers were remaining constant. What we did see was that our numbers were constant even though other numbers showed voters in the Chicago media market were going home, which we thought they would. One of the things I would disagree with in your (Nov. 7, HPR Vol. 3, No. 12) analysis is to say the Lake County strategy backfired badly. We never thought we were going to win in Northwest Indiana. We wanted to hold the margin down in Lake County and we did despite one of the most aggressive union campaigns in history. If you look at 1988 as a model Democratic race, they won a huge margin in Lake County. But I'm not going to say Lake County strategy was a resounding success.

HPR: You were trying to draw Frank's resources up there.

Hatfield: Absolutely.

HPR: What did Tarrance tell you after the election? Were they as stunned as you were?

Hatfield: I have not talked to Tarrance since then. I know Arnie (Shane) has and it was a brief conversation.

HPR: Had you been getting internal numbers similar to what we saw, would you have altered your decisions?

Hatfield: Difficult to tell. But, for example, one thing to tell in hindsight is the O'Bannon campaign had waged a fairly negative race,

if you take the Golfgate ad, the mayor-in-crisis ad, the fish kill ad, the direct mail that went out that was all attack, the phone banks that came from somewhere, the AFSCME mailers that went out, the ISTA involvement - all in the last week of the campaign - was overwhelmingly negative, all directed at Steve. All of our phone banks were positive, all of our mail was positive. We only mentioned Frank O'Bannon once. In none of our commercials did we ever attack Frank personally. The only one we criticized him was the tax ad.

HPR: What happened in Marion County?

Hatfield: Any analysis of what happened in Marion County before people break down a precinct-by-precinct analysis to look at what happened is premature and inaccurate. For example, what happened in 1995, that analysis has been inaccurate because people said Steve only got 58 percent of the vote. If you look at what happened, there were a group of about 15 precincts in Center Township that voted overwhelmingly for Mae Jimison. If you took out 15 precincts or so, you'd see that in all of the suburban townships and the rest of Center, Steve won by healthier margins than Bill Hudnut ever did.

HPR: A lot of Republicans just didn't vote.

Hatfield: That could be, too. There's probably 50 or 100 different reasons why. It's probably some combination that the 10th District brought people out, the presidential race failed to excite some Republican voters, Frank's ads were probably effective in painting Steve. One explanation I heard that strikes me as the best is that Hoosier voters are fairly conservative when it comes to change. And when things are going well, they won't vote for it.

HPR: Would you have liked to have done over your first attack ad - the 38 tax increase ad - that had the documentation problems?

Hatfield: No. We would have liked to have done the corrected version of the ad the first time. As it turned out, even that first ad was more accurate than any of the ads Frank put out in the last part of the campaign.

HPR: Do you feel you adequately portrayed privatization?

Hatfield: I think there are two answers to that. The first is, Steve never campaigned on privatization per se. What he campaigned on

was the things that privatization and competition can allow you to do. He didn't say we were a success in bidding things out. What he did say was we were able to hold the line on taxes, cut the budget, invest in infrastructure and put more police on the street. People in Indianapolis don't feel good about privatization. What they do feel good about is their taxes didn't go up. We were saying, here are the end results of what government can do. Now on the other half of the story, the Democrats ultimately did a successful job of misrepresenting everything that competition is, what it meant.

HPR: Democrats defined privatization in the same sense that Dan Coats defined Joe Hogsett in April 1992.

Hatfield: That's an interesting observation.

HPR: And the police brawl?

Hatfield: That was one of the 50.

HPR: Was there a point where you thought, this thing might sink us, or did you think you'd get over it?

Hatfield: We always thought we'd get over it. Our internal numbers were healthy throughout those weeks of the campaign. I remember thinking at the time we could name four or five things that happened to Steve as mayor that were difficult situations: 38th and College, the closing of the Naval Air Warfare Center. This one happened to occur during the course of a political campaign.

HPR: Was it a mistake for Steve to seek re-election as mayor?

Hatfield: I've heard people advise that's what he should have done. But the fact is, there were still some things he wanted to accomplish as mayor that he felt were still at the stage where they could go either way. He felt that if he were to declare he was going to step down as mayor, that decision should have been made after three and a half years.

HPR: Did Republicans ultimately doom the Goldsmith race for governor?

Hatfield: That whole argument is so completely overblown and inaccurate. In the month leading up to every election, people have said, 'The problem with Steve is people just don't like him.' And he rolls to victory. People have been saying for six years that people don't like Steve and he keeps winning elections.

TICKER T A P E

Newsweek cited several mayors for taking particularly bold stances in their cities. "Tony Masiello of Buffalo called in the National Guard to bulldoze a crack house. Ed Rendell took on the sclerotic municipal unions of Philadelphia. In Ft. Wayne, Ind., Republican Paul Helmke stood up to his party and supported the Brady gun bill; the party hasn't forgiven him." Time magazine also featured 25 of the nation's most innovative mayors. Missing from the list was Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith.

For the second consecutive day after election, a legislative leadership position was lost because of a delay in fleshing out the votes. In 1994, John Gregg saw Michael K. Phillips headed for defeat, summoned allies at the Statehouse by 10 p.m. Election Night and had the Minority Leader post sewed up by midnight while Rep. B. Patrick Bauer futilely tried to line up support the next morning. Last Wednesday, it was a deal between Sens. Richard Young and Earlene Rogers that determined the top Senate Democratic caucus positions. And it was Hellmann, fresh off an exhausting 7th CD campaign, who spent a frantic morning looking up cell phone numbers of senators who weren't returning phone calls.

continued on page 6

TICKER T A P E

The Internet's All Politics web site lists outgoing Gov. Evan Bayh and Gaston Caperton of West Virginia as the top candidates to succeed U.S. Department of Education Secretary Richard Riley. But Bayh spokesman Fred Nation calls Bayh's elevation to a second Clinton cabinet "highly unlikely." The main reason is that it would be tough to serve in the cabinet and conduct the probable 1998 Senate race against Republican Dan Coats.

A more likely "retirement" scenario for Evan Bayh is the purchase of a home near the governor's mansion, a job with a top Indianapolis law firm, an affiliation with a college or university, and seats on what will likely be a flood of offers to serve on corporate boards.

Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman has signaled his intent to stay on during a second Clinton administration. Should Glickman leave that post, a top candidate to succeed him there would be former Indiana congresswoman and current under secretary Jill Long.

Indiana Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel told the Indianapolis Press Club that he will make a decision on whether to return as chairman

continued on page 7

COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

Mary Dieter, *Louisville Courier-Journal* - If Indiana Democrats were happy when Evan Bayh was elected governor in 1988 and 1992, they were ecstatic over the election of Frank O'Bannon last week. Not just because the last time Democrats were elected governor three times in a row was 1932-1940. And not just because O'Bannon's election proved that Indiana's Democratic Party goes deeper than Bayh. The reason that O'Bannon was greeted at the election night party, at his lieutenant governor's office and at the governor's office the next day - with wild, heartfelt applause and enormous grins is that people love him. As popular as Bayh is, as evidenced by his sky-high approval rating; as well-liked as U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar is, as evidenced by his ability to twice win 91 of 92 counties - O'Bannon has to be, on a personal level, the most beloved politician in Indiana.

Jack Colwell, *South Bend Tribune* - In the final analysis, rejection because he is mayor of Indianapolis was a key factor in Goldsmith's loss to Democrat Frank O'Bannon. But it wasn't rejection OUTSIDE Indianapolis as much as rejection IN Indianapolis that delivered the fatal blow. In fact, a 17,000-vote loss for Goldsmith in his home county was detected in TV network samplings and led to surprisingly early election night projections of an O'Bannon victory. Goldsmith made some bad mistakes during the campaign. He also had some bad luck. And O'Bannon, who said his own polling showed he started 18 percentage points behind, wasn't just sitting there waiting for Goldsmith to stumble. He ran an effective campaign.

Dave Kitchell, *Logansport Pharos-Tribune* - In what will go down as a gubernatorial race for the ages, Democrat Frank O'Bannon defeated Republican Steve Goldsmith. Three months ago, that would have been considered an upset. But the series of events that unfolded since then in Indianapolis unraveled what appeared to be an impenetrable campaign. The amazing part of

this race was not just that O'Bannon won, but that he won so convincingly. What was expected to be a race that would be decided by 1 or 2 percentage points turned out to be nearly a 100,000 vote margin for O'Bannon. It was a race that was truly Goldsmith's to lose from the outset. For those searching for reasons for Goldsmith's loss, there are many. A police scandal in Indianapolis, a lawsuit won by a former parks employee that exposed problems with privatization, a battery of negative campaign ads and a weak running mate may have been contributing factors. But give credit to O'Bannon and campaign manager Tom New. His campaign for the most part matched Goldsmith's in every respect.

John Krull, *Indianapolis News* - When Steve Goldsmith came out to make his concession speech, the people in the crowd at the Westin Hotel applauded him. There were no tears, no moans, no sounds of anguish. Even though, in losing the governor's race to Frank O'Bannon, Goldsmith had just come up short in the most important campaign of his life and had done his career grave damage, his supposed supporters seemed remarkably subdued. Those gathered might have invested their money and their votes in Goldsmith's campaign, but not their hearts. Steve Goldsmith is not a man who courts affection. He sees politics and government as a series of intellectual problems, almost as if the concerns of the public were questions on a test. The emotional piece of the political equation is the part he never got.

Mary Beth Schneider, *Indianapolis Star* - And, many said, there was one problem that Goldsmith, perhaps, can do little about: People just don't like him. He is intelligent and creative, but he demonstrates little patience or warmth for people. And it shows. Only a week ago, Goldsmith was a rising star nationally in the Republican Party. Now people are asking if he has any political future. Most people I interviewed doubted it. Some were blunt, saying Goldsmith is "toast."

PERHAPS.. WE WANDER

By Brian Howey

The Mushy Middle, or the Starchy Center?

INDIANAPOLIS - Will there be a walk-out on Organization Day?

And what will the Mushy Middle - or, perhaps, we should call them the Starchy Centrists - do if there is?

The last time there was a 50/50 House, Organization Day became three. Secretary of State Evan Bayh threatened to keep legislators in session and got to the point that plans were almost made to ship turkey dinners in for a captive Thanksgiving audience.

Now there is the spector of another showdown over who is speaker, who chairs committees and how many from each party will get appointments. At this writing, Democratic Leader John Gregg and Republican Leader Paul Mannweiler were to meet today. The Republicans are due to caucus on Monday Nov. 18, one day prior to Organization Day.

"Nothing is off the table," said Mannweiler spokeswoman Kate Healey. "It's a little early to say that something will work out."

Which brings us to a group of about seven legislators who have the reputations of comprising the Mushy Middle or the Starchy Center. On the Republican side, those with little tolerance for potential BS or who have been publicly tweaked by Mannweiler include Dan Stephan, Vaneta Becker, Dick Mangus, Dean Mock and Jerry Bales. Two Democrats, the newly returned John Day of Indianapolis and veteran Dennis Avery, also have a low threshold of playing follow the leader.

Stephan has already made it clear that a Republican walkout would be a "terrible political mistake.

"I think Paul Mannweiler made a terrible mistake when he came up with this 50/50 agreement," Stephan said. "I don't see any choice but to live up to this agreement. I can read the law as well any Supreme Court lawyer could. The law says John Gregg is the Speaker. I don't think there's any fight in any direction. If

you graduated from 4th grade you'd understand that."

Is there a point where someone like Stephan would break from the caucus? "If it gets to the point where it gets stupid, like it was two years ago; if it gets to that point, several Republicans will step forward and say, 'This is nuts.' It appears to me that lawmakers ought to follow the law."

Stephan was referring to Mannweiler's controversial redistricting plan in 1995 that turned into a public relations disaster. His face-saving move was the agreement that allowed the party who wins the governorship to select a Speaker and committee chairs. "I wasn't the first one two years ago that said drawing new maps is stupid," said Stephan, who was publicly rebuked by Mannweiler in that session.

Becker was also publicly disciplined by Mannweiler for breaking party ranks on pre-vailing wage. But she was rewarded when Democrats passed on a general election challenge this year.

Legislators always move in different directions. Bales appears headed back within the cozy confines of his caucus, telling the *Bloomington Herald-Times* that he finds Rep. B. Patrick Bauer heading the House Ways and Means Committee unacceptable.

Others in our MM/SC group have revealed their independence in different ways. John Day got so fed up during the last 50/50 session that he left to coach a daughter's basketball game. Democrats subsequently found themselves one vote short and literally tracked Day down and brought him back to vote.

Avery is described as a veteran lawmaker who still recedes to the back of his caucus.

And Mock?

Pat Kiely of the IMA once told a story of bringing Mock into Gov. Bob Orr's office prior to the historic December 1982 special session in which a tax hike was needed to head off a recession-induced deficit.

"Dean, if we don't get this passed, we'll have to shut down the schools," Mock was told.

He responded, "For how long?"

TICKER T A P E

within the next few weeks. McDaniel said he has received several offers. "But I'd like to stick around a little while longer because I love what I'm doing," McDaniel said.

McDaniel is pulling for President Clinton to give U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton a cabinet post. If that happens, it could create another "Jill Long scenario" that occurred in the 4th CD back in 1989 for out-going State Sen. Jean Leising. Long had run against Dan Coats in 1988 and was soundly defeated. When Dan Quayle was elevated from the Senate to the vice presidency, Gov. Bob Orr chose Coats to fill that vacancy. Long then scored a special election upset over Dan Heath, in large part because her voter ID was so high. McDaniel believes that Leising will be an odds-on favorite should the 9th CD open up in the near future.

Marion County GOP Chairman John Sweezy irked the Goldsmith camp with talk that he might not finish out his second term as mayor. Said Goldsmith aide Dollyne Pettingill, "How would he know. He hasn't talked to Steve Goldsmith in weeks." Said McDaniel, "I'm sure it's kind of hard to go in there now, but I fully expect him to complete his term." And Democrat Executive Director Mike

continued on page 8

TICKER T A P E

Harmless, who also served as the mayor of Greencastle, observed, "It's hard to get back in after being defeated. It's important to go in and be very aggressive. If he were to walk away, that means he won't be running for re-election."

AG-elect Jeff Modisett has named Jean Blackwell as director of his transition team and Ernest Newborn Jr. as assistant director.

HPR Publisher Brian Howey will be appearing on WNDY-TV's Mike Pence Show at 9 a.m. Saturday, where the topics will be the next speaker of the Indiana House and the political future of Stephen Goldsmith. Howey will be in Fort Wayne Friday night to tape a Primetime 39 show on WFWA-TV with WBNI-TV's Bruce Haines on the upcoming Indiana General Assembly. That show will air on Jan. 3. Howey will also serve on a Lugar Series panel Nov. 19 with WISH-TV News Director Lee Giles, political correspondent Jim Shella and Indianapolis Star editorial writer Andrea Neal.

Negative ads may have backfired against Indiana Republican candidates

HPR Forecast: Negative ads may have hit the apex of the bell curve - particularly with Republicans and the so-called "soccer moms" - in the 1996 election cycle.



INDIANAPOLIS - Jim Knoop had a creative game plan that he executed on behalf of 10th CD Republican nominee Virginia Blankenbaker.

The campaign had extensively researched Julia Carson's tenure in the Center Township trustee's office. Knoop then seeded stories that appeared in the *Indianapolis Star* about family members working on Carson's staff, her pay increases amounting to 65 percent within a five-year period, and the relationship between the trustee and a clothing store next door where those on poor relief could buy garments.

Once legitimized with a front page *Star* expose, the campaign turned around and ran the so-called "T.J. Maxx" or "boys underwear" ads beginning in October. The problem for Blankenbaker is that the ads didn't move the numbers and she lost to Carson by 13,000 votes.

"It may be that we just reached the critical mass on negative advertising," Knoop said after the election. "This is a very important point that all of us need to give some credence to. It was particularly critical with Republican voters."

Knoop followed with a remark that could have been lifted from an old Pogo comic strip: "I have seen the enemy and they is us." Said Knoop, "Part of what happened in a macro sense is turnout, and we may be part of the problem."

One of the reasons Republicans fared poorly on Nov. 5 is that a number of Republicans just didn't vote, although the fall-off was not quite as dramatic as the 10 percent fall-off Democrats felt in 1994. And Knoop believes that negative advertising just turned folks off. Only 49 percent of eligible Hoosiers voted, a historic low. Television analysts noted that viewership for national party conventions and election night returns were at historic lows.

In the 10th CD, 38,000 fewer people voted than in 1992.

It begs the question as to whether we have had enough, particularly when the fall-off followed a massive assault by Steve Forbes on GOP presidential nominee Bob Dole, artful attacks President Clinton laid into Dole starting in 1995, and the 38 tax increase ad Stephen Goldsmith leveled at Frank O'Bannon?

Knoop was asked, "Were folks you knew stopping you on the street complaining about the boys underwear ad against Carson?"

"There was some of that," Knoop said. "People complain about negative ads, but they work. But we may have reached a point in the process where they don't. I saw some things in our surveys that showed they were not as effective as in past cycles."

"We weren't the only ones who were doing the negative ads, but it may have cut against more with traditional Republican voters than with other groups."

Said Indiana GOP Chairman Mike McDaniel, "I think we've turned the corner on negative ads. When the campaigns took negative ads off the air, their numbers went up. People are finally get sick of negative ads."

It may explain why Goldsmith had troubles motivating his Republican base in the nine-county doughnut. In two critical sequences in the primary and fall campaigns, Goldsmith led off his TV advertising with negative ads. The first was in response to Rex Early's ad last February that claiming that in comparing per capita statistics, Indianapolis was more dangerous than New York City. Goldsmith responded with an attack ad. And he opened the fall sequence with the 38 tax ad claiming O'Bannon "never saw a tax he didn't hike."

The media covered that ad intensely. But in latter stages of the campaign, when reporters were busy do their pre-election stories, reporting on campaign ads fell off, with the exception of the *Indianapolis Star's* "Ad Watch."

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