

THE HOWEY POLITICAL REPORT



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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Subscriptions: \$250 annually via fax or first class mail. Call subscription office at 317-253-0921.

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“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“I live in a fishbowl. Everything I say can - and will - be used against me....” - **Jeffersonville Mayor Tom Galligan**, responding to a Louisville Courier-Journal story about his personal problems, to the Jeffersonville Evening News

Hoosiers on the Hill drawing attention

But are they getting anything accomplished?

By Mark Schoeff Jr.
Howey Political Report

WASHINGTON - With Indiana losing more than 100 years of congressional seniority since 1994 and the retirements of Sen. Dan Coats and Rep. Lee Hamilton just over the horizon, there were fears that the Hoosier state would be losing serious clout on Capitol Hill.

But a combination of remaining seniority and aggressiveness has put the Indiana congressional delegation on the pages of national newspapers and in segments of network television programs with unusual frequency in the past several weeks.

By challenging Sen. Jesse Helms to force a hearing on an ambassadorial nomination, Sen. Richard Lugar appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press" and ABC's "This Week" in August. The Helms-Lugar fight also was frequently featured on the front pages of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* and has been the subject of a *Wall Street Journal* editorial and a nationally syndicated column by Robert Novak. Lugar, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, also is attracting much attention by holding hearings related to the proposed tobacco settlement.

Rep. Dan Burton has appeared on the front page of the *Washington Post* and the cover of *National Journal* within the last week as the committee he chairs moves toward hearings on campaign finance reform.

Reps. David McIntosh and Mark Souder drove coverage in the *Post* and *Times* recently with their attempt to overhaul a spending bill in protest of the balanced budget agreement struck between the House leadership and the Clinton administration. In a Sept. 5 *Post* story, Souder was the lead source and had a quote highlighted in bold with big type as the graphic feature of the page. In a Sept. 9 *Times* story, McIntosh was the lead source. In a Sept. 10 *Washington Times*

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Bob Lang



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PLAY OF THE WEEK: House Speaker John Gregg who slammed the brakes on an I-69 Coalition seminar scheduled to take place at the Casino Aztar in Evansville. Gregg was smart enough to realize that the riverboat casinos will likely be a major political football during the 1998 elections.



Indiana House Democratic floor leader Mark Krusan told the *Bloomington Herald-Times*, "Anything that is related to the gaming industry, John (Gregg) and I are at the level of paranoia. We will err on the side of anti-gambling every time, just because it's

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Jeffersonville Mayor Galligan learning that his job is the hottest thing this side of hell

JEFFERSONVILLE - It's surprising this doesn't happen more often: a mayor of a medium-sized Hoosier city who is getting some bad press pops off about life under the microscope.

That's what happened to Jeffersonville Mayor Tom Galligan. He was the subject of stories in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* last week that he is being sued by six people, including his ex-wife and three of his four adult children for more than \$53,000 in wages from a company he owned. The IRS moved to attach his \$40,000 salary to pay off back taxes and a company he owns is more than \$800,000 in debt.

"I live in a fishbowl," Galligan complained to Tom Lindley of the *Jeffersonville Evening News*. "Everything I say can - and will - be used against me."

Galligan added that seeing reports on his personal life is hard to accept. "In talking about your family - and my family is in the newspaper all the time - you pay a helluva price."

One price was a speech he gave to the Chamber of Commerce's Political Training

Institute at IU Southeast, having not read the front page *Courier-Journal* article. But as Lindley reported "many others there had."

He added that if all people knew about him was what they read in the newspapers they'd probably think he was the "second coming of the anti-Christ. But you don't have to worry about the media - you have to worry about your enemies."

Yes, the enemies. Mayors - even good ones - make lots of enemies. It's because people take the business of their city - on their street and their garbage, etc. - much more personally than a Washington tax hike. A mayoral decision is often met with people believing they have been seriously, *personally*, wronged."

Evansville Mayor Russell Lloyd paid the ultimate price - he was assassinated. Others have been indicted and sent packing to prisons. Galligan and others like East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick are being pressed by the press. Stephen Goldsmith discovered last year what an ugly diving board a mayoralship can be.

Mayors run with clay feet and cry mud. ☞

Helmke deftly uses his U.S. Conference of Mayors leadership as campaign tool

HORSE R A C E

TRENDLINE: While Republican U.S. Senate candidates Peter Rusthoven and Robert Price were debating in sparsely-populated LaGrange County on a dazzling autumnal Saturday afternoon, Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke was hosting 42 U.S. Conference of Mayors leadership members over the weekend in the Summit City. Who got the better press? Virtually nothing was written about the LaGrange County debate (See page 8). Helmke ended up with a page 3 article and photo in *USA Today* and headlines in such Indiana newspapers as the *Anderson Herald-Bulletin* and the *Munster Times*. *USA Today* reported Helmke announcing a proposal calling for the evaluation of federal anti-drug spending and share information on effective local anti-drug measures. Helmke noted that of the \$16 billion federal agencies spent on drug interdiction annually, only 25 percent of that reaches local agencies. Helmke also announced a first-of-its-kind national summit on Oct. 15 in Detroit where big city mayors and school superintendents will discuss common issues. What is emerging is Helmke using the national forum he leads to accentuate conservative themes on issues that will play into his Senate candidacy. Now, Republicans, remember what the ol' Horse has been telling you: Paul Helmke on the campaign trail can be a shrewd, tactical SOB while coming off as an earnest public servant. **Forecast:** *This GOP Senate primary could well shape into quite a little barnburner.* TOSSUP ♣



- **1ST CD:** Congressman Silent - i.e. Pete Visclosky - a cinch for re-election. *Safe D.*
- **2ND CD:** McIntosh becoming a national powerhouse who can effectively argue with Democrats on labor issues. Just keep him out of the New Castle airport. *Safe R.*
- **3RD CD:** Roemer, a Bayh Democrat if there ever was one, looks strong in withstanding milquetoast mid-term assault from either Dan Holtz or Brad Allamong. **Status:** *Leans D.*
- **4TH CD:** Nobody is going to take out Mark Souder. Even if he insulted young, grieving Prince William, Souder is in stunning command of the nuts and bolts politics and would win. *Safe R.*
- **5TH CD:** It will take big bucks to retire Steve Buyer in a district splayed between six media markets. *Safe R.*
- **6TH CD:** Pakistani-WASP coalition should be enough to save Congressman Dan Burton no matter what the Justice Department does. *Safe R.*
- **7TH CD:** Pease should thwart ISU insurgency candidate to win second term. *Safe R.*
- **8TH CD:** Bloody, bloody, bloody. Until the very end. Riecken v. Hostettler is our true national entree. Very bloody. Very. *Tossup.*
- **9TH CD:** Mike Bailey vows to make riverboat casinos an issue against Jean Leising in GOP primary. Uh-oh. Baron Hill has a great shot at being the king. *Leans D.*
- **10TH CD:** Blankenbaker-Hofmeister GOP showdown good news for Julia Carson, who will be a strong favorite to win re-election no matter what. *Leans D.*
- **Auditor of State:** We're looking at a possible Republican race shaping up between Allen County Auditor Tim Berry, Marion County Auditor John Von Arx and former Huntingburg Mayor Connie Nass. *Tossup.*
- **2000 Republican Governor:** Will Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith fork over \$15 million to keep the Colts in the stable? One GOP bigwig says that when it happens it "will guarantee the next mayor of Indianapolis will be a Democrat." But here's Goldsmith's dilemma: he'd probably be damaged even more by being the guy who "lost the Colts." That logic is kinda funny, considering the team blew a historic 26-0 lead up in ... a... Buffalo last Sunday. ♣

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been so problematic in other states."

How will the riverboat casino issue be cast in the 1998 and 2000 elections? One clue came in a *Chicago Tribune* article which reported that the four Northwest Indiana casinos (excluding the Blue Chip casino at Michigan City) raked in \$649 million during the first seven months of 1997, while paying customers only \$52 million - or just 8 percent. During the same period, the four boats pumped in \$88 million into the state coffers. In August, all Indiana riverboat casinos took in \$91.9 million - up \$7.5 million from July (Debra Gruszecki, *Munster Times*).

House campaign finance hearings chaired by Rep. Dan Burton may begin next week. The House Government Reform and Oversight Committee has a scheduled a meeting for Sept. 24 to determine whether to grant immunity for three key witnesses. The witnesses backed out of hearings originally scheduled for Sept. 17 when their lawyers advised them to seek protection from prosecution before testifying. The Justice Department approved immunity within 24 hours of the canceled hearing. The committee also is likely approve the immunity requests because

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Indiana delegation getting the ink, but are they really doing anything?

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story, Souder was again the first scorer in the piece. Sen. Dan Coats continues to receive recognition from national reporters for his Project for American Renewal, which outlines a new Republican approach to social issues.

The Democrats also have been getting in on the action. A Sept. 3 *Wall Street Journal* article featured Rep. Tim Roemer, who has helped form a coalition of centrist Democrats called the New Democrats. Rep. Lee Hamilton has recently weighed in on the op-ed page of the *Washington Post* about policy toward Russia. As ranking member of the House International Relations Committee, he is a frequent source on foreign policy stories.

es for themselves even though they all were elected in the 1990s. Lugar is the only four-term senator in Indiana history while Hamilton has served in Congress for more than 30 years. Just last year, Indiana lost more than 60 years of congressional seniority with the retirements of Republican John Myers and Democrat Andy Jacobs, Jr.

McIntosh and Souder were credited for adding a unique element to the Indiana phenomenon. "The interesting thing is the prominence of the 1994 freshmen," said Michael Barone, editor of the annual *Almanac of American Politics*. "They have a combination of true-belief and competence. They have become important at an unusually early time in their congressional careers."

Gigot said, "McIntosh and Souder are in the top five in the sophomore class in terms of political skills and being principled conservatives. That's how you're going to get attention."

A reporter who covers Souder on a daily basis said that the congressman's approach to the press helps him generate coverage. "Unlike a lot of conservatives in the sophomore class, Souder is not afraid nor suspicious of the media," said Sylvia Smith, Washington editor for the *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*. "He's given the most access of any member of the class."

It's extraordinary

"It's extraordinary," said Tim Russert, NBC bureau chief and moderator of 'Meet the Press.' "It's a disproportionate impact when you consider the number of Hoosiers in the delegation."

David Broder, a *Washington Post* political columnist who is nationally syndicated, said, "Indiana has a lot of clout at this point. For a medium-sized state, much depends on seniority or having skillful and aggressive folks. You've elected some pretty aggressive people in Indiana."

The right timing also has helped push Indiana members into the news. "It seems there's been a confluence of events where Indiana members have had a role to play, and they've played them," said Richard Benedetto, national political correspondent for *USA Today*.

Paul Gigot, a *Wall Street Journal* political columnist, said different factors contribute to different members making news. "You have some talent in the delegation and people with long tenure," he said. "It's not the same in every circumstance."

Burton, for example, has attained a chairmanship after long service in the House. McIntosh, Souder and Roemer are carving nich-

Replacements for the unnotable

The turnover in the delegation also has contributed to its high profile. "The predecessors of the men you're writing about were not notable, except in a few cases," said Broder.

Another factor pushing the Indiana delegation to the top of the news is something McIntosh, Souder, Roemer and Lugar have demonstrated -- a willingness to take on Capitol Hill leadership. Lugar played a mostly behind-the-scenes role earlier in the year in helping lead the ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention. He wound up making history, but not necessarily news. Going mano-a-mano with Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Rela-

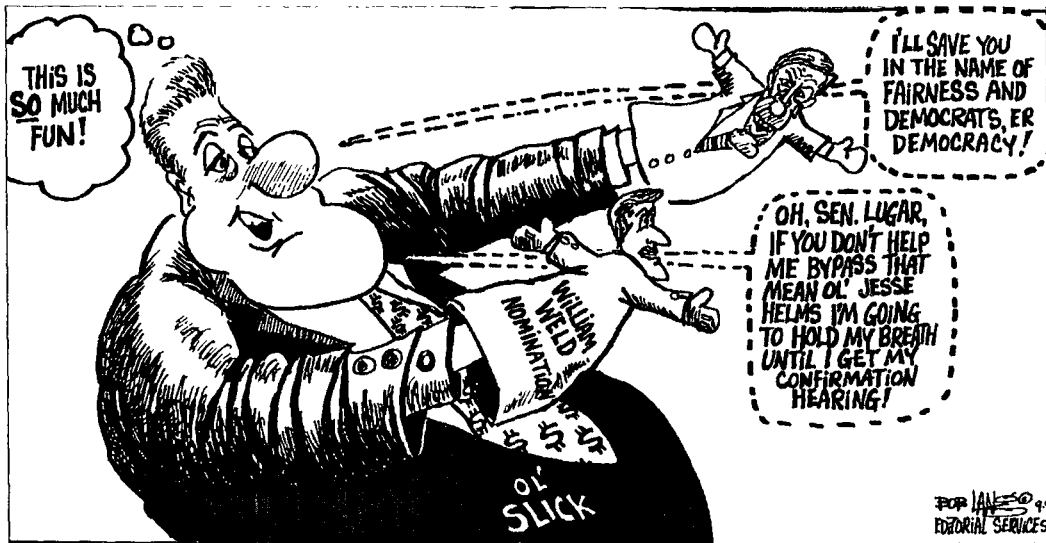
CONGRESS WATCH

"It's extraordinary. It's a disproportionate impact when you consider the number of Hoosiers in the delegation..."

- Tim Russert
NBC's Meet the Press

"These guys are getting a fair amount of press, but that doesn't mean they are doing anything..."

- Ken Bode
Washington Week
in Review



tions Committee, is a different situation. It didn't play itself out in office meetings, but rather on national airwaves.

"Lugar has been around a long time and doesn't mind taking on Helms," said Gigot. "He wants to be chairman of the committee or secretary of state. He has motive and status, which gives him credibility."

But are they doing anything?

Making news, however, is not the same as making things happen, said Ken Bode, moderator of Washington Week in Review. "These guys are getting a fair amount of press, but that doesn't mean they're doing anything."

He said the Indiana congressional delegation is not as important as one like Texas, which has "the institutionalized power of chairmanships." Texas features the House majority leader and the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Although Lugar is regarded as the leading foreign policy voice on Capitol Hill and the president turns to him for help on diplomatic matters, he didn't achieve a hearing for William Weld, former Mexico ambassador nominee. At a committee meeting on the subject, Helms asserted his authority as chairman to control the agenda. "Lugar forced a meeting, but he didn't get a chance to speak," said Bode, who is the incoming dean of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University.

Burton stumbled in leading the Government Reform and Oversight Committee's hearings on campaign finance, Bode said. He failed to obtain protection from prosecution for key witnesses, which forced cancellation of the panel's initial round of testimony.

Although Indiana is in the news now, its prominence may be ephemeral. Two of the biggest newsmakers, Hamilton and Coats, are stepping down at the end of this session of Congress. "In retirement alone, you're losing two notable figures, leaving aside whatever may happen in terms of (election) upsets," Broder said.

Never shrinking violets

But history suggests Indiana congressmen may continue to draw attention. "Indiana political people have never been shrinking violets. They've always had a willingness to speak out and lead," said Benedetto.

Another national writer theorized that science may be a more important factor than the whims of the media or the electorate. "The Hoosier blood is powerfully affected by a media DNA gene," said William Safire, a *New York Times* columnist. "As a result, we always have Hoosiers in the news."

Russert gave a nod to the Hoosier influence in a couple important areas of life. "Basketball and politics. Thank God for Indiana," he said.

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Democrats on the panel have indicated they will vote in favor, said John Williams, a spokesman for Burton. Witnesses can be called 10 days after the immunity issue is settled. "We hope to have the first official hearing next week," said Williams.

Kevin Shaw Kellems found it interesting that U.S. Rep. Henry Waxman would sign off so quickly on immunity for several witnesses during Burton's campaign finance hearings. Appearing on WNDY-TV's Mike Pence Show, Kellems noted that Waxman is a strong congressional ally to U.S. Rep. Dick Gephardt. By signing off so quickly on immunity, Waxman paved the way for a major hurt to be applied to Gephardt's fiercest rival for the 2000 Democratic presidential nomination - Vice President Al Gore.

U.S. Rep. David McIntosh comes off as a "big spender" in one aspect of governance. Roll Call cites McIntosh's congressional office as having the fifth highest total expenditures in the House at \$853,964. The lowest amount spent in 1996 was former Hoosier congressman Andy Jacobs, who spent only \$523,044.

Republican Allen County

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Surveyor Jeff Sorg was forced to resign due to a law that makes it illegal for an elected official to have any felony convictions. Sorg was convicted of theft in the mid-1970s.

The war of words between Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy and Democratic Party Executive Director Mike Harmless continues. Harmless criticized Gilroy for spending work time in schools when it has nothing to do with her elected job. Gilroy, appearing in Bloomington, responded, "I think all of us should spend more time in schools - elected officials, people of influence, parents and grandparents. At a time when Indiana is required to compete globally, we're really struggling to keep pace in training our workforce." Harmless said he didn't object to Gilroy's school visits. "It just shouldn't happen on state time. She is running for either re-election as secretary of state or governor or whatever she's running for," Harmless said. "I think it's inappropriate."

Gilroy isn't the only one visiting schools these days. Gov. Frank O'Bannon has been visiting a number of schools recently to promote his 'Safe Haven' school program which would keep at least one school in applicable school districts

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COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

Robert Novak, *Chicago Sun-Times* - Just before Sen. Richard Lugar pushed for confirmation of William Weld as ambassador to Mexico, he wrote two letters that explain so feckless a venture by the usually disciplined Rhodes Scholar from Indiana. He is competing with Jesse Helms to be foreign policy king of the Senate. On July 23, Lugar wrote National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, asserting that "it is time to turn our attention" to "a strategy" for Senate approval of NATO enlargement. With this, the No. 2 Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee sought to bypass the secretary of state, the NATO Observer Group and especially his committee chairman, Helms. On July 25, Lugar wrote Helms, complaining that the chairman had omitted him from the conference to resolve Senate and House differences on the foreign affairs authorization bill. "When was not invited to be a conferee last year," he told Helms, "I reasoned there must have been exceptional circumstances of time or subject matter. This year, I simply accept your definition of our relationship in the committee, although I am surprised that you would take such overt and deliberate action to make your point." ↵

Mike Leonard, *Bloomington Herald-Times* - It was an eyebrow-raising plan from just about anyone's point of view. For members of the Indiana General Assembly, the Interstate 69 Legislative Coalition's "October Legislative Seminar" looked like a dandy way to whistle while you work. The location of said seminar: the Evansville riverboat casino known as Casino Aztar. The perks: \$25-a-night hotel rooms, a reception and dinner paid for by Alcoa Corp., an Ohio River cruise, country line dancing, and of course, the ability to win friends and be influenced by people. "I think the thing that made us madder than hell was the arrogance of it all," says Clark Sorensen, a member of the anti-I-69 group Citizens for Appropriate Rural Roads. "Politicians are supposed to represent all of the people and we can't even get them to come to

our meetings so that we can present our side of the case." ↵

Sylvia Smith, *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* - They vowed to eliminate the Education Department. They promised to kill Goals 2000, the Bush administration education program they described as Washington taking over local school boards. They wanted to stop tax money from being used for family planning, for government "harassment" of businesses. They pledged to cut federal spending on social programs; freeze it if they had to; but certainly not create new programs to which to lavish money. They had a host of other ways they wanted to yank the country's social policies to the right, and "compromise" was not part of the highly charged rhetoric they were using during the campaign of 1994. But the conservatives elected in that Republican sweep of the House are learning an important lesson: Democracy almost always means compromise. ↵

Chuck Malloy, *New Albany Ledger-Tribune* - Republicans may be without a household name in this year's Senate race against former Gov. Evan Bayh. But there is one candidate who has at least some recognition, as well as a large degree of respect that crosses party lines. Mayor Paul Helmke of Fort Wayne is the third Republican to enter the party sweepstakes for the position held by Sen. Dan Coats and possibly represents the GOP's best chance of defeating Bayh next November. Helmke's biggest challenge might be trying to convince state party leaders that he's the best one to face Bayh. Another challenge facing Helmke is that he already has been tagged with the "moderate" label, which is poison among many Republicans. Helmke says the "moderate" label is a mystery to him. He favors a balanced budget, fewer government regulations and is pro-life, which generally covers the issues that define Republicans. ↵

PERHAPS... WE WANDER

By Brian Howey

Riverboat casino issues could play a role in 1998 elections

INDIANAPOLIS - Michael Bailey made a vow last week when it became clear he would be the sole challenger to former State Senator Jean Leising in the 9th CD Republican primary.

"Jean Leising voted for casino gambling and she is going to have to explain herself," Bailey charged.

It's been a little more than four years since the Indiana General Assembly approved riverboat casino gambling. Now, many of the members of the legislature who allowed the casinos in can start coming up with solutions for the Pandora's Box they helped open. There have been numerous press reports in the past few months about the toll casino gambling is wreaking here in Indiana.

Most significant was *The Times* in Northwest Indiana that reported that 18 percent of the current bankruptcies in The Region are directly tied to legalized gambling. They are expected to rise to 35 percent within the next year now that the final riverboat in Michigan City has opened.

The human face *The Times* affixed to a story that is only going to grow more vivid is that of a 50-year-old woman - divorced and lonely - who blew her \$1.5 million inheritance in about 15 months on the Empress Casino in Hammond.

There is other news. Dick Duchossois is closing down his Arlington International Racecourse near Chicago because, he says, the riverboat casinos in Illinois and Indiana are cutting into attendance, the caliber of horses racing there, and the purses. It's a media power play because Duchossois wants the Illinois legislature to allow him to put in slot machines.

Similar proposals have been floated for Hoosier Park horse track at Anderson.

Last year, I reported that the community mental health center in Evansville had hired 20 new gambling addictions counselors in response to Casino Aztar's City of Evansville boat. The question that must be asked is this: Is

this really good public policy?

Even the Hoosier Lottery is running a tagline on the end of its radio commercials urging people to play "responsibly."

The problem is that gambling is addictive - just like alcohol and cocaine. This shouldn't come as any surprise. There are scores of studies just coming out that are precursors to the festering social sores that will need bandages in a number of Hoosier counties.

In Iowa, Tom Coates of the nonprofit Consumer Credit Counseling Service in Des Moines, reports that 10 to 15 percent of the people his agency counsels have financial problems "directly related to gambling" - up from 2 to 3 percent 10 years ago. His business is up 30 to 40 percent over a year ago, even though Iowa's unemployment rate is at an all-time low.

A study by the University of Minnesota Medical School reported that 21 percent of the state's compulsive gamblers had filed for bankruptcy and 90 percent had borrowed money from their banks, credit cards, and loan companies to finance their gambling.

The Wisconsin Policy Research Institute study in 1995 showed that 10 percent of the population is spending less on food; 25 percent is spending less on clothing; and 37 percent of the population had "dipped into their savings to gamble," reported University of Illinois Prof. John Kindt.

"Gambling contributes to lost sales in other parts of the economy," Kindt explained. "Food and clothing are the necessities of life, but people would rather gamble than eat or dress."

Look for Gov. Frank O'Bannon to call for statewide impact study. "Discussions are going on right now as what the next step will be," said Steve Campbell, the governor's spokesman. "It's an issue the governor is very concerned about."

It could also be a political issue next fall and in the 2000 elections when we learn more and more about a public policy that looks like a self-inflicted gunshot wound. ♪

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open from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. in an effort to steer kids away from drugs, violence and teenage pregnancy. About 60 of the state's 295 districts applied for the \$6 million in grants over the next two years. O'Bannon indicated that more urban districts will receive money than suburban and rural communities (Laura Diamond, *Munster Times*).

Former State Sen. Jean Leising was in Washington earlier this week trying to consolidate her position once Kevin Shaw Kellems dropped out of the GOP primary race. Leising's schedule on Tuesday was packed with meetings, said her husband and campaign manager, Frank Thompson.

U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton said the stage is set for Congress to act on campaign finance reform. "The hearings in Congress have now built a powerful case for fundamental changes in the way we finance our political campaigns in America," Hamilton said. "I see the potential for the current system, if it continues its present pattern, to do serious harm to our system of government. Now is the time for Congress to act."

Washington political analyst **Stuart Rothenberg** lists the Indiana Senate seat as "highly vulnerable" for Republicans to

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retain. Also in that category are Senate seats in New York (D'Amato), Ohio (Glenn) and Illinois (Moseley-Braun). Rothenberg writes about Evan Bayh, "He is very popular, even with Republicans. Bayh is a solid favorite."

State Sen. Bob Meeks told LaGrange County Republicans that he intends to seek re-election in the year 2000.

Indianapolis Councilwoman Susan Williams tells HPR she will make a final decision on whether to run for mayor in 1999 within the next several months.

Price, Rusthoven conduct cordial debate before sparse LaGrange County picnic

LAGRANGE - About 50 people - many of them children at a Republican picnic - witnessed the first confrontation in the 1998 Republican senatorial nomination fight.

Peter Rusthoven and John Price conducted a gentlemanly debate that gave additional clues to the themes they will strike in the upcoming campaign. Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke did not attend, since he was hosting a U.S. Conference of Mayors conference.

Price and Rusthoven differed on two significant issues. On campaign finance reform Price opposed the Kassebaum legislation fearing it would leave associations without a voice. Rusthoven believes that individual contribution levels are too low since they haven't been adjusted for inflation in the last 25 years.

On fast track, Price announced his complete opposition. He said it would undermine the principles the nation was established on by placing more authority in the hands of the

President, therefore altering the balance of powers. Rusthoven said he believes fast track is a good idea since the President needs a mechanism in order to push trade deals through.

There were several other trends that emerged. Rusthoven took every opportunity to make references to his former boss, President Reagan. And Rusthoven indicated he would support a new tax code, either by a flat or consumption tax.

Price was prop-oriented. He fully extended a tape measure and told the audience that tax code books could not fit on a shelf as long as the tape he was holding. Price used a folded dollar bill to indicate which percentages of each dollar were used for various taxes.

At least two other debates have been scheduled among all three GOP primary candidates, including one in Knox County on Feb. 12 and a second in Fort Wayne on April 23, both in 1998.



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