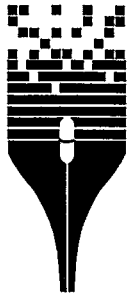
THE HOWEY POLITICAL REPORT



The Weekly Briefing On Indiana Politics

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"QUOTE" OF THE WEEK

"They're mad, they got out-foxed and they don't like it..."

- Speaker John Gregg, to the Associated Press, n the amendment controversy over workmen's compensation that ruptured the special sessi n.

'Bayhsmith Truce' comes to an end

O'Bannon, Goldsmith sparring may be natural

INDIANAPOLIS - From 1992 through 1996, there was a curious truce between Indiana's most dominating politicians in its biggest media market. It was the "Bayhsmith Truce."

From the time that Republican Stephen Goldsmith ascended to the mayor's office in Indianapolis, it meant that there were two big hats in a town where Democrat Gov. Evan Bayh had established himself as a true power.

During those four years there was never a criticism launched between Goldsmith and Bayh. They seemed so much alike: both young, handsome and highly-ambitious men. Both had visions of the White House tucked somewhere in the backs of their minds. Both were adroit at raising millions of dollars - much of it from vendors who did business with the city and state. Both tended to eschew the traditional building blocks of politics and centered their political campaigns on mega-TV advertising budgets - the so-called "air war." So comparable in their styles and even their ideology that Harrison Ullmann of *NUVO Newsweekly* combined the two and they became the "Bayhsmiths."

The reason the truce worked was that Bayh and Goldsmith were on different timetables. Goldsmith envisioned his succession of Bayh as governor. Bayh would move on to the U.S. Senate in 1998 with a shot at the national ticket in 2000 or 2004. Goldsmith had his sights set on the Senate in 2000 or 2006, or, perhaps, the presidency in 2004.

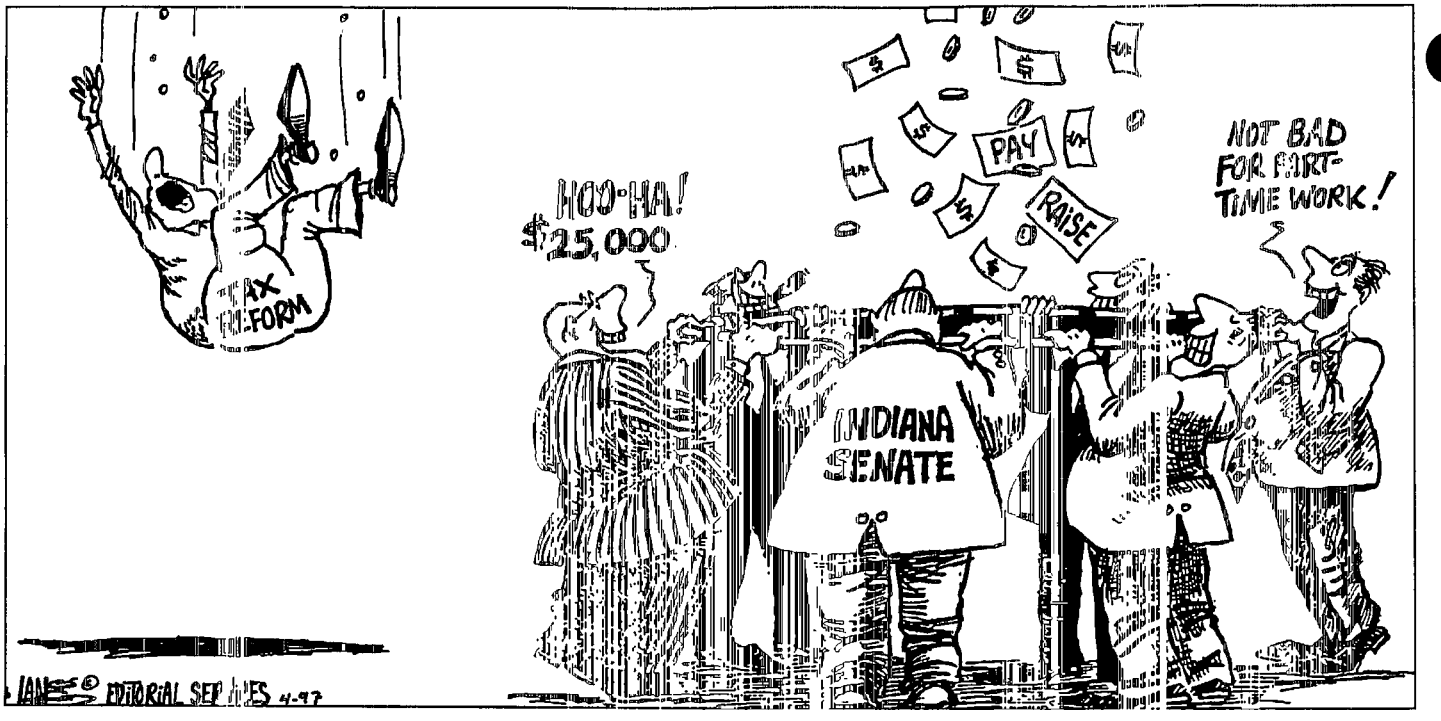
The Bayhsmith truce was a subterranean story in Indianapolis. Those outside the Bayh and Goldsmith circles in their respective parties always found the arrangement odd. Some Democrats felt that Bayh could have helped whittle down Goldsmith's stature well before the 1996 election.

The truce between the mayor of Indianapolis and the gover-

continued on page 2

INSIDE FEATURES

- **Play of the Week: O'Bannon's shrewd move page 2**
- **Horse Race: Gauging the legislature, brains page 3**
- **HPR Interview: Remarks by Dr. Frank Luntz pages 4-5**
- **Columnists: Wieland, Howey, Schneider page 6**
- **Perhaps We Wander: Mike Bailey revisited page 7**



TICKER TAPE

PLAY OF THE WEEK: Gov. Frank O'Bannon. In what is truly the shrewdest and potentially disastrous move of his young administration, O'Bannon calls in the legislative special section without a deal! Early Thursday evening it looked like a collossal mistake with a legislature adrift and bickering. By late Thursday, a budget acceptable to O'Bannon was produced. And now he gets to watch Indiana House Republicans fight an epic Millionaire Sports Team Owners v. Little Guy with House Democrats when they reconvene on May 27.

■ ■ ■

How did House Speaker Paul Mannweiler react to the "out-foxing?" He told the Associated

Continued on page 3

Truce, from page 1

nor of Indiana has been broken. Bayh is a private citizen. Goldsmith is the stung loser as Bayh's successor last year and is already trying to position himself for a third try at statewide office in 2000. That puts him on a collision course with Gov. O'Bannon and, thus, the dynamic has significantly changed on both ends of Market Street.

In April, Goldsmith lobbed the first shot when he accused the O'Bannon administration of wasting money with the Pep Inc. welfare program. O'Bannon retaliated after the regular session of the Indiana General Assembly ended by vetoing the Marion County innkeeper tax that Goldsmith sought for expansion of the RCA Dome and the Indiana Convention Center. The returned volley seems to have caught Goldsmith off-guard

As we've reported before, the O'Bannon veto was not only an attempt at leverage over Indianapolis House Republicans who were holding up the biennial budget, but also a slap at Goldsmith. It was the Republican who charged during the campaign that O'Bannon had never met a tax he didn't hike. In essence, the O'Bannon veto might have been the first volley in a potential 2000 rematch.

The relationship between the mayor of Indianapolis and the governor has not often been a volatile one in modern Indiana politics. Mayor Richard Lugar sparred with Gov. Otis Bowen over the Unigov legislation, to the point where Lugar publicized Bowen's phone number in an attempt to turn the masses into a huge lobbying effort. But that was the only significant bump in their relationship.

Mayor William Hudnut always maintained congenial relationships with Govs. Bowen and Robert Orr. In the past 20 years, Hoosiers were used to seeing their governor and the mayor exulting over economic victories like luring the Colts to the dome or the United Airlines maintenance facility to the airport.

The Bayh-Goldsmith dynamic was the first in modern times where the two most conspicuous offices in a media market that reaches 45 percent of the state were split between the two parties. So the irony is that the Bayhsmith Truce lasted so long and went so smoothly, particularly when partisans on both sides felt that both men could have gained some political advantage by competing.

The O'Bannon-Goldsmith confrontation may simply signal a more traditional dynamic between not only potential rivals, but between the two parties that will continually seek advantages on defending and seizing the governorship.

Political fallout from legislature undetectible

HORSE RACE

TRENDLINE: If a legislative body committed to making outrageous fools of itself states something, but nobody else around the state is paying any attention, was there actually a sound?

■ ■ ■

■ **The 110th Indiana General Assembly:** This is a political report, not a gauge of intelligence, so Horse Race can't jump to any instantaneous conclusions about the fallout from the three-ring circus on Market Street. We do know this, however:. House Republicans and Democrats deserve each other..

And after reading press coverage around the state, one thought comes to mind: Hoosiers and those who report the news to them are readily willing to believe the worst when it comes to the Indiana General Assembly.

Think about it. This session has included months of little action, the slap on the wrists from the House Ethics Committee of State Rep. Charlie Brown, totally weak (and unconstitutional) campaign finance reform, the indictment of former Ways and Means Chairman Sam Turpin, an overtime period to get the budget done, and then the Democratic "double-cross" (or "out-foxing," according to Speaker John Gregg) on workmen's compensation. There is nothing there to inspire any real confidence.

The workmen's compensation fiasco that blew the lid off last week's special session was another example of payback time. Democrats insist it was only fair since Republicans sprang prevailing wage reforms on them in 1995.

The problem with this kind of logic is that should the Republicans regain control of the House in 1998, there almost assuredly will be another stunt pulled that will have Democrats outraged and forlorn.

The bottom line to all of this is we don't see any clear political advantage emerging from this session. Perhaps one will if, say, one entire caucus is transported to the Statehouse in limousines. Then the other caucus can cry, "Limos for Influence."

It isn't as messy sounding as the Republican rallying cry of 1994 against welfare mothers - "Limos for diapers" - but it smells about the same.

■ ■ ■

■ **Republican U.S. Senate:** All three "Republican Candidates: The Next Generation" were out in Washington seeking support from the National Republican Senatorial Committee. The committee is not in the business of telling people they can't run, so don't look for a winnowed field stemming from those visits.

HPR did learn that 4th CD county chairs and their vices voted unanimously - 16-0 - not to endorse Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke last week. That's one more perception problem for Helmke. The old rule of thumb goes, if those who know you best don't get on board, you're not going anywhere.

Now, Horse Race has certainly been wrong before (we had the field clearing when Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy left the field), but we clearly think that at least two of these candidates "Gartonized": i.e., they won't be able to raise much money to continue. That's what happened to State Sen. Robert Garton in the 1996 gubernatorial race. And he was smart enough to get out of the race before making a total fool of himself.

TICKER TAPE

Press, "I think a number of Republicans around the state have gone home in disgust."

Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith met with Gov. Frank O'Bannon late last Thursday night to discuss the impasse involving a new Pacers arena and the Indiana Convention Center renovation. The South Bend Tribune's Susan Dillman reported, "Goldsmith, on emerging from a near-midnight meeting with O'Bannon, cautioned that if the Indianapolis measures fail, the whole state loses money." Dillman added that the "clash pits not only Democrats v. Republicans, but the House of Representatives vs. the state Senate; labor unions vs. management; out-state legislators vs. Indianapolis legislators, and those who like ... Goldsmith and those who don't."

Doug Sword of the Evansville Courier reported that "Gov. Frank O'Bannon's plan to spend $945 million on new roads in Indiana is far more ambitious in the northern half of the state than the state's southern quarter." He noted an "important distinction" is that northern Indiana projects are more likely to be slated during the first two years of the four-year plan. The second two years have only $4 million allocated. "While 72 percent of the dollars needed for north-

continued on page 5

Republican pollster Frank Luntz pops some GOP bubbles at Hudson

HPR INTERVIEW

" One of the reasons Americans are feeling more positive is because Bill Clinton is making them feel more positive. Let's face it: He's a great communicator. An awesome communicator. He feels your pain...."
- Frank Luntz

INDIANAPOLIS - Frank Luntz was the man - the pollster - behind the wildly successful Contract With America in 1994 that helped deliver the first Republican Congress in 40 years.

It was a watershed event in Indiana, with the GOP picking up three congressional seats based on the vision of Newt Gingrich.

Appearing in Indianapolis last Monday to unveil his State of the American Dream with the Hudson Institute, Luntz popped several bubbles of the notions of the Republican right. No, he said, there was no revolution in 1994. Democrats just stayed home as Republicans had done in 1974. And he warned Republicans to lay off President Clinton, for it is he who has America "feeling good about itself again."

Here are some excerpted comments from America's preeminent pollster, Frank Luntz discussing "The American Dream":

There is no Canadian Dream

"We are the only country with this. There is no Canadian Dream. There is no Italian Dream. There is no Russian Dream. In fact, the Russian Dream and the Chinese Dream is to come to America and then to live the American Dream. It is the idea that your parents will have it better than your grandparents and you have it better than them and your kids are supposed to have it better than you."

The most depressing research

"We believe as Americans not only should we have it each generation doing better, that it's a right and not just a privilege. Our kids will have it better than we. When we first did this study in 1994, it was one of the most depressing pieces of research I've ever done because Americans thought they were falling behind. It was the first year in recorded American history that a majority of Americans felt their kids would have it worse than they would. It had never happened before."

Negative attitudes and the GOP

"These negative attitudes actually brought forth the Republican majority. If people hadn't been so angry and so despondent about their present and their future, the Republicans would not have had a majority. We would have had very different committee chairmen and a very different Speaker of the House."

People are feeling better

"Here we are in 1997 with a Republican Congress and a Democratic president and Americans are actually feeling better about their government."

Clinton feels your pain

"This may bother a lot of Republicans in the audience, but one of the reasons Americans are feeling more positive is because Bill Clinton is making them feel more positive. He made a strategic decision in mid-1995 that instead of talking about how bad things were to take the other side. Start talking about how good things were. And let's face it: he's a great communicator. An awesome communicator. He feels your pain. And he feels that guy's pain."

Subterranean equivocation

"Remember about four years ago on MTV when he stood before those young people and a young woman who was maybe 17 asked him, "Mr. President, briefs or boxers?" And do you remember what his actual response was to that question? "Usually boxers." On underwear the guy equivocates. You compare that to Bob Dole. Here is Bill Clinton talking about an angry government is a big government. Bob Dole is supposed to be the advocate of small government, but he could not communicate it. The fact is the man was so old it took him an hour and a half to watch "60 Minutes."

Government is the core

"Government is the inherent core of the

American dream. And it's not just deToqueville who found we identify ourselves by government, it is something we still hold today. It's how we actually relate to ourselves as Americans. Those of you who are at least age 50 know this because they came from that generation. Those of you who are probably in your 40s haven't done that or don't do that because of Watergate, because of the Arab oil embargo, because of the Vietnam War. Because of the economic failure, military failure and political failure. We don't feel the same way under age 40. Those of you under 40 have seen America fail. Those over 50 have always seen America succeed."

The child threat

"Any child left behind is not only a loss to society but a threat to society."

The used car salesman

"The fact is the government official is the second least trusted occupation in America. Only a used car salesman has less credibility now than a member of Congress."

Democrats and less government

"The federal government has become too large. Even a majority of Democrats believe that government has become too large. More Democrats are satisfied with the current political system and more Democrats are content with politics in America than Republicans. And that makes sense because the public still perceives, even with the Republicans in control of Congress and even with the Speaker so public in 1995 and 1996 about running the government, the public still perceives the Democratic Party as the natural party of government and the Republican Party is the party on the outs."

Unabomber 25, Gingrich 22

"In fact, Newt Gingrich has a 22 percent favorable rating right now, which makes him 3 percent less popular than the Unabomber. He's not a very well liked individual. That's because the public doesn't want extremism. The American people don't want a revolution. The American people did not see 1994 as a revolution. Truth be known, they voted as much against the Democratic Party than they did for the Republican Party. They wanted change. They wanted fundamental change. But they did not want to completely upset the applecart. They wanted to send a message to Bill Clinton and they wanted to send a message that they wanted the power, the control and the responsibility sent back home to states and communities."

The revolutionary cringe

"We had revolutions in the 1700s, in 1812 and the Civil War in 1861 through 65. The fact is that every time Republicans speak of a revolution today and speak that way of 1994 they make people cringe. They don't necessarily expect the status quo, but they don't want to change it that much."

You have to believe

"You have to believe in government if you believe in the American dream. It is imperative that both Republicans and Democrats do what they can to improve the public's attitudes towards government. One of the things Americans told us repeatedly was that they believe in government. So Republicans got that a little bit wrong. But they believe that government should only do the things that it can do well. It should not do things that other sectors can do better."

A Democratic majority party?

With this kind of data, I can see Bill Clinton truly refashioning the Democratic Party so that it continues to hold the majority of the country. The Democratic Party right now is broader than the Republican Party."

But...what if?

HPR Notes: What Frank Luntz didn't cover in this "feel good" message to Democrats via the Hudson Institute briefing is what happens if President Clinton or the First Lady face indictment or impeachment? His scenarios for the Democratic majority go into the dustbin of history. Americans won't likely feel good about a presidential impeachment.

TICKER TAPE

ern Indiana projects appear in the first two years of O'Bannon's Crossroads 2000 proposal, only 17 percent of projects south of U.S. 50 are projected to start that soon," Sword explained. He quoted State Sen. Greg Server saying, "There's always a disparity, but that's shocking, rather than surprising." State Rep. Vaneta Becker commented, "That's ridiculous." Both Becker and Server hail from Evansville.

Teams of reporters from around the state are pouring through records with anything that has to do with American Consulting Engineers. Two ACE executives, James Wurster and Rick Conner were indicted along with former State Rep. Sam Turpin. Doug Sword of the Evansville Courier reported that ACE was one of seven firms to win "significant contracts" on the Interstate 69 segment from Indianapolis to Evansville. INDOT's stance is that ACE executives are innocent until proven guilty and won't intervene with the contracts. "We hope the progress on I-69 is not caught up in this," said Curt Smith, chief of staff for U.S. Rep. John Hostettler.

There are now four casinos operating on the Lake Michigan coastline, including the new Mardi Gras Casino in

continued on page 6

TICKER TAPE

East Chicago. But people are having trouble getting there. "The traffic is so terrible," said East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick (Rich James, Gary Post-Tribune). The Region is undergoingr extensive highway reconstruction.

The guilty verdict in the triple murder case involving John M. Stephenson is good news for the Warrick County Republican Party (Mike Chambers, Evansville Courier). The case could have a major impact on Prosecutor Todd Corne, who squared off in the case against the man he defeated in 1994, Anthony Long. "Certainly Mr. Corne has an advantage by winning this," said Democratic Chairman Darvin Stilwell Added Democrat John Burley Scales, Corne's victory "is making Todd's bones politically and legally." Republican County Commissioner Jack Pike - a Warrick County resident since 1947 - said he couldn't remember the last time the GOP controlled the commissioners or other major offices. Today, Republicans have a one-seat majority on the county council and hold the coronor, assessor and circuit judgship. Stilwell is expecting Warrick Republicans to target the sheriff's office next. "The demographics of Warrick County are changing and we have to be cognizant

continued on page 7

COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

Phil Wieland, *Munster Times* - It's fine for me to tell the voters to vote out the rascals who are responsible for Lake County's property tax woes, as I did in a recent column, but one anonymous reader wanted more. Names. "Please, please, please print the names of all the 'significant' politicians who were involved in this 'tax calculation mistake' so I can bring the list with me into the voting booth and not have to rely on my memory when I vote them out of office. You needn't include O'Bannon. I'll remember him."

Brian Howey, *HPR* - Republicans have persistently tried to pop the epic Clinton bubble since 1994 with backfiring results. Having said all of that, why are we now on the brink of a historic threshold? The reason is that President Clinton and the First Lady are surrounded by expanding investigations and potential indictments ranging from the foggiest bad deeds stemming from their Arkansas Whitewater deal (with the supposed coverup far worse than the original infractions), and, perhaps, the future bombshells that Chinese agents of espionage were sleeping in the Lincoln Bedroom and sipping coffee downstairs. Americans elected Bill Clinton despite character defects involving womanizing and agonizing wanderings about the political spectrum. He now connects with us as successfully as President Reagan did. I don't know about you, but one of the more enjoyable evenings I could imagine would be to shoot the bull with Bill Clinton down on Greg Norman's Florida patio. Clinton is holding the ladle from which we sip the cool spring waters that quench our anxieties. The looming indictments, allegations and constitutional showdowns may be, as Franklin Roosevelt might put it, the final steady hand that holds the dagger. It will be fascinating to see how we all weather the hurtling boulder that may be headed for the placid pond of America today.

Mary Beth Schneider, *Indianapolis Star* - No sooner had the budget passed than (State Rep. Ron) Liggett was at the microphone, putting his pet labor issues on the table. On a bill to help fund a new Indiana Pacers arenea, Liggett offered an amendment to improve worker's compensation benefits. Blind-sided Republicans shouted betrayal, called Democrats liars and left the floor Indiana has its budget. But help for the Pacers arena, expansion of the convention center and efforts to keep the Colts in Indianapolis are now held hostage by labor issues. Democrats don't care. If we're going to build a pleasure palace for tall millionaires, we ought to be able to help the workers who will be hurt building the place, they say. Republicans bleating like innocent lambs, act shocked that Democrats pulled a fast one. Democrats are strutting as if they just pulled off the most clever political pay-back. Give me a break. There are no innocent victims in this story and no heroes. What we have is an escalation of the "gotcha" legislative tactic that have become commonplace.

David Broder, *Washington Post* - In most political quarters, the idea that Dan Quayle could be the Republican candidate for president in 2000 is likely to draw derisive laughter. But it is no joking matter to the young men and women in the second-floor offices of Quayle's political operation, Campaign America., who already are working to make that improbability happen. Let me point out four facts that suggest that they may not be crazy. As the likely Republican field now stands, Quayle will be the only contender who has held national office, the only one who has been through two national campaigns, the westernmost candidate and very possibly the youngest one. Quayle regularly attends small Republican gatherings in California, building a network of potential supporters and contributors. His Campaign America operation numbers not only veterans of his vice presidential staff, like John McConnell and Craig Whitney, but John Peschong, whose resume includes a stint as executive director of the California Republican Party.

PERHAPS... WE WANDER

By Brian Howey

Michael Bailey vows to win; he'll certainly create a stir

GEORGETOWN - The politician is a handsome young man. He has a beautiful blonde wife. His kids are cute as buttons.

But I'm not talking about Evan Bayh. I'm talking about Michael Bailey.

"Oh, thaaaat guy!" is a common response from the mainstreamers on the Indiana political spectrum. Michael Bailey is back and he told HPR, "We intend to win the primary and the general election."

Bailey ran one of the most conspicuous campaigns in modern Indiana history. He upset Charlie Loos, a man who had the endorsement of every 9th CD county chairman back in 1992. Then Bailey unveiled what his campaign called "the most shocking pro-life television commercials ever." Included were photos of aborted fetuses "taken from a dumpster behind an abortion clinic."

Bailey is back because he is one of three Republicans seeking the 9th CD nomination for the seat being vacated by U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton. He is gearing up for a campaign that will have to be taken seriously because he runs in such an unconventional style that has worked before. His campaign is already putting out a 302-page paperback book titled "Christian Politics Rocking America."

It is also dispersing a Federal Communication Law Journal article by Bailey titled "Censorship By Media Elites Will Ultimately Threaten The Republic."

And there is a one-sheet "wish list" for the Bailey for Life for Congress '98 committee. "If you can provide any of (these) things on our wish list, we would be grateful!" the list declares. On it are "the newest, fastest computer we can get," a good new or used copy machine, "the use of a van or car for campaign use only" as well as "volunteers to help pass out 500,000 flyers before election."

In his book, Bailey recounts the April 6, 1992, press release announcing the intent of running his shocking TV ads. Nothing happened. "To be honest, I fully expected a barrage of calls and media interviews the second they received that release. A week went by with total silence ... not one call."

It was *Louisville Courier Journal* reporter David Goetz who broke the story and set off a firestorm of protest, with several Indianapolis and Louisville TV stations refusing to run the ad. In the Federal Communications Law Journal article, Bailey recounted how he was denied "reasonable access" that supposedly guaranteed free speech. "For the government to muzzle my voice is both unconstitutional and un-American," Bailey declared, "but that is exactly what is happening right now. Certain media elites in Louisville and Indianapolis have decided that the reasonable access law protecting federal candidates is no longer serving their best interests and, therefore, they have arrogantly defied the law."

Another book excerpt from Bailey points out, "Our campaign strategy, unfortunately, never included the help of the Republican Party. County chairmen for the Bailey for Life for Congress team came from the churches and county pro-life organizations. Little effort was made on our part to either exclude or include local Republicans. There is no doubt in my mind that we should have done a better job of building bridges with these local county Republican organizations."

That is vividly portrayed by Bailey in the GOP prism of then Indiana Chairman Rex Early. "Mike Bailey is just the kind of candidate who can beat Lee Hamilton," Early said in a July 20, 1992, press release. "Bailey had a surprising and explosive primary victory which will only be outdone by his victory over Lee Hamilton in the fall."

By Aug. 7, 1992, after Bailey had run a second flight of ads, Early wrote him, "I received a tape of your new ads, and I do have a concern. Even though your intent was not to offend the Jewish Community, I have real concerns that comparing the holocaust to abortion

TICKER TAPE

of that," Stilwell told the Courier.

U.S. Rep. Dan Burton told CNN that he expects "an accomodation" to be reached with the White House that would head off the need for a contempt citation. "We think we've reached somewhat of an accomodation," Burton told the Fox News Sunday TV show. Burton and his House Oversight Committee have been seeking documents relating to John Huang, James Riady and Webster Hubbell. "It appears as though the threat of a contempt citation has shaken loose some documents that otherwise might not have been given to us," Burton told Fox News.

CNN also reported that the National Democratic Committee's financial woes are mounting because donors are reluctant to contribute in the face of the many investigations. That will make it more difficult for the DNC to raise money for the 1998 mid-term elections. The Washington Post reported that the DNC is working to restructure $14.4 million in debt.

ABC News is also reporting that a Whitewater prosecutor told an appeals court in St. Louis that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton could be indicted. The

continued on page 8

TICKER TAPE

remark was attributed to Deputy Independent Council John Bates.

HPR CORRECTIONS: In the May 9 fax version of HPR, some subscribers read that Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke was pro-choice on the abortion issue. He has been pro-life since 1980. Also, a line was dropped from the "Perhaps We Wander" column. The final line should have read: "And to this day, I ponder, in journalistic fairness as well as typical human bias: What should I do about Danny?"

Perhaps, from page 7

will do exactly that."

In retrospect, Bailey wrote in his book, "The lack of official support and effort from the party never really bothered me. I knew many in the party were faithful to us."

So, as things stand now, an incredible 1998 primary is shaping up between Bailey, former Lugar aide Kevin Shaw Kellems, and former State Sen. Jean Leising. HPR and Washington analyst Stuart Rothenberg are handicapping the race in similar fashion. "While some argue a three-way GOP primary could benefit Bailey, since he might be liable to draw disproportionate number of the pro-life faithful in a small turnout, others disagree. They suggest Leising and Bailey will split the more conservative vote while Kellems stands poised to attract not only conservatives voters but the mainstream of the party rank and file, including supporters of Lugar and Dan Quayle."

While that might, indeed, come true, there is little doubt that Bailey will likely be the candidate grabbing the headlines and embroiling the race in controversy. How Kellems and Leising respond to Bailey will in large part determine who becomes the perceived "front runner."

There is a scenario that if neither Leising nor Kellems rises to the occasion, Bailey could win. It's already happened in the teeth of organized efforts to put the clamps on him. The reality of the situation is that 9th CD Republican chairmen have little clout. That was evident in the 1992 Bailey upset over Loos and the 1996 gubernatorial primary where Early received far more endorsements than Stephen Goldsmith.

Rothenberg makes a worthy observation that, "This was a GOP district before Hamilton came on the scene" three decades ago. It is very conservative. All of the candidates - even Democrat Baron Hill - are perceived as bonafide conservatives.

The 9th CD ultimately in November 1998 may very well be decided on personality rather than party or shock value.

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