THE HOWEY POLITICAL REPORT

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Brian A. Howey
editor and publisher

The Howey Political Report
PO Box 20877
Indianapolis, IN 46220

Office: 317-254-1533
Fax: 317-254-2405
bhowey@nuvo.net

brian.howey@gte.net

Washington office: 202-775-3242

Daytime number: 317-254-2400, Ext. 273

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"QUOTE" OF THE WEEK

'He created the atmosphere for people to split their tickets from the start...."

- Dan Parker of the House Democratic caucus on the Impact of Senator-elect Evan Bayh in the Nov. 3 election.

Inside the stunning '98 Indiana election

And how it will shape the future

By BRIAN A. HOWEY *in Indianapolis*
and MARK SCHOEFF Jr. *in Washington*

These events that happened a long time ago seemed, as isolated events, insignificant and even progressive. But when viewed through the prism of the 1998 elections, they provide some answers to the stunning events of Nov. 3.

Back in 1992, a young former prosecutor named Stephen Goldsmith became the Republican mayor of Indianapolis and immediately launched an urban revolution he called "competitive government" and "privatization." In the months and years ahead, he cleared Indianapolis city hall of bureaucrats and deadwood employees.

Five years later - in early 1997 - Gov. Frank O'Bannon, former Gov. Evan Bayh and State Democratic Chairman Joe Andrew made a decision to invest in Prevail software.

Then came January 1998, when an embarrassed President Clinton stepped into the U.S. House of Representatives to give his State of the Union speech under the breaking pall of the Monica Lewinsky scandal. His most visible and enthusiastic supporters were the Congressional Black Caucus.

And just a week prior, Republican State Rep. Bob Behning introduced House Concurrent Resolution 10 - a resolution advocating allowing states to opt out of the federal Social Security program. It never made it to the floor for a vote, but sowed the seeds for a bookend maneuver nearly five months later, when House Concurrent Resolution 94 sponsored by Democratic State Rep. Ed Mahern came to a vote on the House floor and State Rep. Karen Burkhardt of Kokomo voted against it.

How do these events explain the curious and fascinating events of Nov. 3?

They converge to explain the tapestry of the Indiana political environment now and for the next two years.

Goldsmith takes power

When Goldsmith sacked the mid-level bureaucracy that had accumulated during the Republican Lugar and Hudnut administrations, he essentially disembowled one of the most prolific and successful political machines of mod-

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Indiana Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel tells HPR he plans to serve through his term that runs until 2001. "I'll be here through 2001," McDaniel said, "I'm disappointed and angry about the outcome, but satisfied with the effort." Last week was a brutal week for McDaniel, who said he was stunned at the loss of the Indiana House and then saw the Republican National Convention awarded to Philadelphia. By last Friday, there was an outpouring of e-mail in Republican political circles lauding the effort McDaniel put in to landing the convention. There were also rumblings in some quarters of the party that the time and money could have been used to secure

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ern Midwest history. It was responsible for 20 years of GOP dominance that was finally broken by Evan Bayh in 1988.

Since then, the beleaguered Marion County GOP has compiled an excruciating record of failure. Goldsmith was reelected in 1995 with only 58 percent of the vote against a feeble Democratic opponent. A year later, in one of the most stunning Hoosier political events in the 20th Century, Goldsmith lost his home county by 18,800 votes to Frank O'Bannon in the gubernatorial race. Then came 1998. Popular Sheriff Jack Cottey wins with the same 58 percent against two underfunded opponents. Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy carries the county with a mere 52 percent.

What is happening?

Several GOP operatives watched in envy as the unions and trade associations along with an alliance of black ministers turned out the Democratic vote. As we reported last week, a combination of the pinpointing Prevail software system and cadres of GOTV teams turned out the African-American vote in Center Township. In 1994, some 109,000 people voted in the 10th CD. In 1996, it declined to 98,000. But this year, an astounding 122,000 voted in the 10th CD. Voting totals were down in the outlying townships, but preliminary figures show they came out in Center Township.

Meanwhile in Washington Township - one of the most Republican areas of the state - the GOP slate for township offices were eking out 800-vote victories.

"It is pretty tough when you don't have a strong party and you're fighting two built-in organizations," said State Rep. Mike Young, campaign manager for 10th CD Republican Gary Hofmeister. "The unions and the pastors pull people out. We don't get that."

Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel agreed. "The difference is the unions have the ability to provide manpower to do what is needed to be done and to follow through. There were union people checking the books every two or three hours and then dragging people out. We didn't have that."

Why?

Because the Republican patronage is gone. The bureaucrats Goldsmith sacked don't bother to get out the vote. Unions can reward their activists, so they turn out the vote. There are no rewards for

Republican partisans in Indianapolis. "Every election, as the parties deteriorate, we see a falloff from the falloff," Young said.

The grand irony is that Goldsmith has to figure out how to stoke up the Republican base next year if he decides to run for re-election. It wouldn't be astounding - now that the Republican National Convention is gone - that Goldsmith would forgo a run into the teeth of an invigorated state Democratic organization that can turn out its partisans.

Joe Andrew

In the first sequences of the Evan Bayh-Ann DeLaney-Joe Hogsett era of the Indiana Democratic Party, the mantra was to raise a lot of money, then bomb the hell out of the Republicans with the air war.

"Joe Andrew restored the ground-war," said Mike Harmless, the outgoing executive director of the party. "We've spent the last two years redeveloping everything you need to wage the total campaign."

Getting out the vote in a low-turnout midterm election proved to be decisive for Baron Hill in the 9th CD. "At the end of the day, we had the people on the ground," said Hill's campaign manger, Luke Clippinger. "When you energize your base and get people to the polls, you win." Hill had more than 1,000 people on the streets of the district going door to door and making more than 100,000 phone calls in the last 10 days.

Andrew added something else - energy and audacity. In one weekend in 1997, Andrew spoke to Democrats in Evanville, Merrillville, Angola and Batesville - literally the four corners of Indiana. Democrats saw him as Hurricane Andrew. He called Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy a witch. Then he apologized to Hoosier witches for calling Gilroy a witch. Indiana Republicans are incensed. "That's not a very classy thing to do," said Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel.

But Andrew doesn't care. He was not stepping lightly on Election Night. When WIBC's Eric Berman asked Andrew and McDaniel to hang on during a commercial, Andrew blurted out, "Hey, I'm in a celebration!"

The African-Americans

Many of the telling figures aren't in yet, but the ones that are tell a tale of an African-American voting base both nationally and here in Indiana that turned out to vote. Their leaders in Congress were the first to defend and stand by President Clinton. The *New York Times* reported that the African-American vote jumped dramatically in Michigan, Illinois, Georgia, the Carolinas and Maryland.

It was up by perhaps 20,000 people in Indianapolis's Center Township. In Fort Wayne's 80th District, Democrat Rep. Ben GiaQuinta won by 2,526 votes this year, compared to a seven-vote loss in 1994 - representing a 17 percent increase for Democrats and a 32 percent decline for Republicans. In Richmond, Democrat Rep. Dick Bodiker won by an astounding 2,205 votes, compared to a 55-vote victory in 1994, which was a 14 percent increase for Democrats and a 16 percent decline for Republicans. In Muncie, Democratic Rep. Tiny Adams trounced Republican James Vanleer by 2,714 votes, compared to the Democrats losing by 969 votes in '94 - a 9 percent boost for Democrats and a 36 percent falloff for the GOP. In Indianapolis, Republican Rep. Candy Marendt won by 2,301 votes in 1994, but lost by 1,554 votes this year to Jeb Bardon - an astounding 50 percent increase for Democrats and a 14 percent decline for Republicans. All of those were expected to be close races this year. Granted there was an 8 to 10 percent Democratic suppression in 1994, but this year Democrats made 15 to 20 percent gains.

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victories. They also maintain that McDaniel hasn't "won the big one."

One of the reasons McDaniel hasn't had the huge victory has been crowded Republican primaries for the top offices. In both the 1996 gubernatorial race and the 1998 U.S. Senate race, McDaniel warned that hotly contested primaries would hurt the nominee on the money front. That has been partly true. Stephen Goldsmith raised enough money in '96. "I begged our people not to have a three-way race for the Senate because we wouldn't have any money," McDaniel said of the '98 Senate race. "You can't keep someone running for office. But if we don't learn from that lesson, then we're putting ourselves at risk again." McDaniel said he thought "that it is possible" that only one Republican would emerge as the 2000 gubernatorial nominee.

The speculation of what U.S. Rep. David McIntosh will do in 2000 is rampant. McIntosh was in the thick of talk about possibly running for House speaker even before Newt Gingrich's stunning announcement last Friday. By Saturday, McIntosh was backing Bill Archer, who then declined to run. Then he backed his old friend, Chris Cox. But Cox announced on

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Monday's Good Morning America Show on ABC that he was giving way to Bob Livingston. By Monday afternoon, McIntosh was backing Livingston and had not declared for any of the other party positions. McIntosh still has clout as head of the Conservative Action Team, but he may not have the seat at the leadership table that he enjoyed almost as soon as he got to Capitol Hill. Best guess at this point is that McIntosh will see where he stands after the dust settles in Washington, assess Gov. Frank O'Bannon for his strengths and weaknesses and then make a decision to run sometime this summer. It would appear McIntosh would have to make a decision by then in order to determine whether he would be raising money for 2000 under federal or state guidelines.

Democrats have told Alan Julian of the Evansville Courier that U.S. Rep. John Hostettler will likely be targeted for defeat in the 2000 elections. Potential names already bubbling up include State Reps. Russ Stilwell and Brian Hasler, State Rep. -Elect Peggy Welch, Bloomington Mayor John Fernandez, and '98 nominee Gail Riecken.

Former Vice President Dan Quayle was sharply critical of the Repubican message leading into the Nov. 3 elec-

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Part of the Democratic strategy can be traced to the African-American embrace of President Clinton. Part of it can be traced to the Prevail software, which allowed President Clinton, First Lady Hillary Clinton, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and Gov. Frank O'Bannon (along with former Rep. Hurly Goodall in Muncie on behalf of Adams) place tens of thousands of automated calls to Democratic and independent voters in those legislative districts in the final week of the campaign.

"The size of Adams' and Bodiker's wins completely shocked me," said Dan Parker of the House Democratic caucus. HPR was shocked, too.

Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel said African-Americans in Marion County "voted at presidential year levels."

Christian Coalition

The night before the election, CNN's John King reported on the Indiana Christian Coalitions activities. His report showed offices full of mail and voter fliers going out, and phone banks churning out GOTV. The impression was that Gary Hofmeister was going to use it to offset the unions and African-American pastors. ICC's Jim Quinn had touted the 1.5 million fliers distributed in Indiana.

"A voter guide creates great interest among the electorate," Quinn said.

Interest, but not necessarily turnout. "They don't have an organization," said Hofmeister campaign manager Mike Young. "They put out fliers and make basic contact. But they don't get people out to the polls."

Quinn was not much kinder and gentler with House Republicans. "The Republicans did not provide a rationale for people to vote for them. They didn't have a defining issue. Republicans could have defined themselves."

What about property tax reform?

Not good enough, said Quinn. "How about reforming Indiana divorce laws. How about creating pornography-free libraries for juveniles. Indiana is one of the only states without a prohibition on adoptions by homosexuals."

But didn't the so-called "cultural war" and the moralistic positioning over the Monica Lewinsky affair hurt Republicans?

Quinn responds: "They've gotten their clocks cleaned two elections in a row. Maybe they'll figure it out."

Social Security card

Republicans had attended a conference in Washington and were armed with resolutions to present to their various legislatures to get recorded votes that could be used against Democrats. That's what Behning and the GOP tried to do in January 1998. Democrat Ed Mahern saved his Social Security resolution for the final minutes of that session. Word spread quickly through the hallways of a Democratic trick. But appointed Rep. Karen Burkhardt voted against it.

When the issue surfaced in HD30 this fall, it prompted House Minority Leader Paul Mannweiler to go to Kokomo and stump for Burkhardt, insisting to voters there that it was a federal issue. But Democrat Ron Herrell pointed out that while Burkhardt had voted "no," Mannweiler had voted "yes." Again, the Democratic base and independents heard about Burkhardt's no vote. She lost the race by 191 votes.

The 'Technology Gap?'

Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel groused mildly about the so-called "technology gap" HPR first reported on last week.

Former Chairman Gordon Durnil told HPR that Indiana Republicans used predecessor software to Prevail from 1978 through 1988 at a cost of $600,000 to $800,000 per election cycle. "It saved Lugar in 1982," said Durnil. "When I left, the computer program, including more

than 40,000 regular contributors, was scrapped."

But it wasn't as if McDaniel had nothing. Republicans began using a program called GeoVoter in 1996, which can print out detailed walking and phone lists and labels. McDaniel said that the bugs of the program appeared to have been worked out this cycle. "It was not a technology gap," McDaniel insisted. "I think the difference was the volume of volunteer support from the unions."

What about Marendt's complaints of ancient run and phone lists? "I've got to go back and check on that," said McDaniel, who intends to serve to 2001.

What about the Marion County organization? "I'm sure John Sweezy is over there evaluating his situation," McDaniel said. "We're going to look at that."

HPR buys the fact that there isn't a technology gap between the two parties. In essence, the decisions of Govs. O'Bannon, Bayh and Joe Andrew positioned the Democrats to catch up. And then they executed the whole thing much better, as the Marendt-Bardon race revealed.

Bad Republican year?

Not so fast, McDaniel insisted. "We won all four statehouse races. We won six out of 10 Congressional races."

What about Sue Anne Gilroy getting only 55 percent?

"Only 55 percent!" McDaniel interrupted. "When the Democrats get that, it's called a landslide!

What about Cheryl Little winning 21 counties over Gilroy?

"I would argue Sue Anne carried 71 counties!" McDaniel responded. "For her to win 71 counties in the face of the Bayh wave that went on and all the national trends - that's impressive."

Added Kevin Shaw Kellems, who did Gilroy's media, "Anyone who withstood four gusts of wind in her face - the national trend, Evan Bayh, O'Bannon's purchase of air time along with the local Democratic turnout - and do as well as she did is really a significant achievement. In another year that could have easily been a 60 percent victory." She also led the Statehouse ticket sweep into office.

tion. Quayle said there were things the Republicans could have done. "One, in that budget agreement where you put tactics ahead of ideology, that was a big mistake. Clearly, we need leadership. We need leadership that is going to rally the Republican Party, that's going to get back on message, and that is tax cuts, especially for the middle class" (CNN).

HPR asked Indiana Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel who he thought the front-runner presidential candidate was with Indiana voters. He said that Texas Gov. George W. Bush "is clearly the front-runner in this thing. The bad news for him is he's the front-runner so early." As for Dan Quayle and his standing with Indiana Republicans, McDaniel said, "There are no guarantees for that since he moved to Arizona."

NUVO Newsweekly reported that it only takes 25 taxpayers to trigger a financial audit of the City of Indianapolis by the Indiana State Board of Accounts. Indianapolis is the only city or town in the state that is not subjected to annual audits by SBA. Indianapolis City-County Council Democrats have complained that the Goldsmith administration cannot explain what happened to a budget line item for preventive mainte-

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nance for Indy Parks. Mayor Stephen Goldsmith's spokeswoman, Kate Healey, said the city has been honored for its handling of the finances. She said the last time SBA scrutinized city finances was in the early 1990s. Goldsmith took office in January 1992.

Democratic 5th CD nominee David Steele said he will consider a rematch against U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer. "It was an honor to run, and I loved every minute of it, but it's too early to tell right now. My wife and I need some time to recover. If I do run, it will be because I believe we can win. I don't get into token opposition."

Allen County Republicans celebrated what Chairman Steve Shine called a good election cycle. He was most pleased with the defeat of Wayne Township Trustee Tom Essex, the Democrat who ran against Mayor Paul Helmke in 1995.

Delaware County Democratic Chairman Phil Nichols appears to be under fire. The Muncie Star Press reported that when Nichols was elected in 1989, "Democrats dominated local government." But it reported Republicans occupy almost all of the county offices, including majorities on the county council and commissioners, as well as mayor of Muncie since

Evan Bayh

HPR had long reported that every time Evan Bayh ran on the ticket, House Democrats picked up between three and six seats.

Dan Parker of the House Democratic caucus was in awe of Evan Bayh after this election. "He is part of the reason we won," Parker said. "He created the atmosphere for people to split tickets from the start."

Evan Bayh pumped in more than $500,000 in GOTV. Evan Bayh's name appeared on yard signs with Democratic legislators. Evan Bayh carried 90 out of 92 counties. Not a single Indiana House incumbent lost - for the first time in anyone's memory. Evan Bayh won with 63 percent of the vote. Evan Bayh personified this election for an Indiana Democratic Party - the only such one in the Midwest to hold the governorship for the entire '90s.

Trans-generational

What does the 53-47 hold on the Indiana House really mean? While it gives Gov. Frank O'Bannon a boost going into the crucial '99 legislative session, it also gives the Democrats a huge leg up on redistricting in 2001. At first glance, Republicans retaking the Indiana House in 2000 will be an awesome endeavor with long odds. And if they don't?

"I think it's much more likely that John Gregg is going to help create a trans-generational majority in the Indiana House," said the Christian Coalition's Jim Quinn. "That, to me, is the big story."

Negative advertising

Don't try to discern cosmic significance from the most competitive Hoosier congressional races this fall.

Many have called 1998 a status quo election. True to that evaluation, the vanquished political warriors in the 8th, 9th and 10th Congressional Districts don't cite underlying national trends or overwhelming ideological sentiment as the reason for their demise. They point to timeless factors: negative advertising and strong get-out-the vote efforts by their opponents.

"My opponent was very effective in using negative campaigning," said Republican Jean Leising, who was defeated by Democrat Baron Hill, 50.7 percent to 48 percent, in the national bellwether race to fill retiring Democratic Rep. Lee Hamilton's seat in CD 9. "It's a shame to think that voters have to be frightened to be energized, but perhaps that's true."

Leising said Hill mischaracterized her position on Social Security with a television ad that said in part, "Leising supports a risky Wall Street scheme to privatize your Social Security." In the spot, she is pictured with outgoing House Speaker Newt Gingrich. "For either of us to blame the other for the unfunded liability of the (Social Security) trust fund is unfair. It was a tactic to scare seniors," said Leising, who didn't rule out running in 2000.

Hill's campaign denied that it had distorted Leising's Social Security positions. Luke Clippinger, Hill's campaign manager, said that Leising supports using part of the budget surplus for tax cuts, which would effectively raid the Social Security Trust Fund. She also favors partially privatizing Social Security and investing funds in the stock market, which Hill opposes.

"For Jean, negative campaigning is when you report what she says," Clippinger said. "It is embarrassing for her because it's not in the mainstream of what people in the ninth district want."

Riecken cites 'lies'

Next door in Bloody 8th, Democrat Gail Riecken accused her opponent, the victorious Republican incumbent Rep. John Hostettler, of unleashing attacks that sank her candidacy. "It was a success

story of their negative ads," she said. "When people lie about you, it's hard to stay on track."

Riecken cited inflammatory radio spots, post cards and mailers that focused on abortion, gun control, taxes, homosexual rights and Evansville City Council pay raises. Riecken, who serves on the Evansville council, lost to Hostettler, 52-46. "Our campaign was not able to get enough of our message out," Riecken said. "When people get anxious, it's more comfortable to go back with those who are in (office)."

Hostettler aggressive

Republicans dismissed Riecken's assessment of the Hostettler campaign. "The key for John Hostettler is that he knew early on that he was a target. He ran aggressively from the get-go," said Mike Donohue, a spokesman for the National Republican Congressional Committee.

"He doesn't trim his sails. He states his positions clearly. As long as he has the stomach to run hard, he can retain the support of voters in the 8th District."

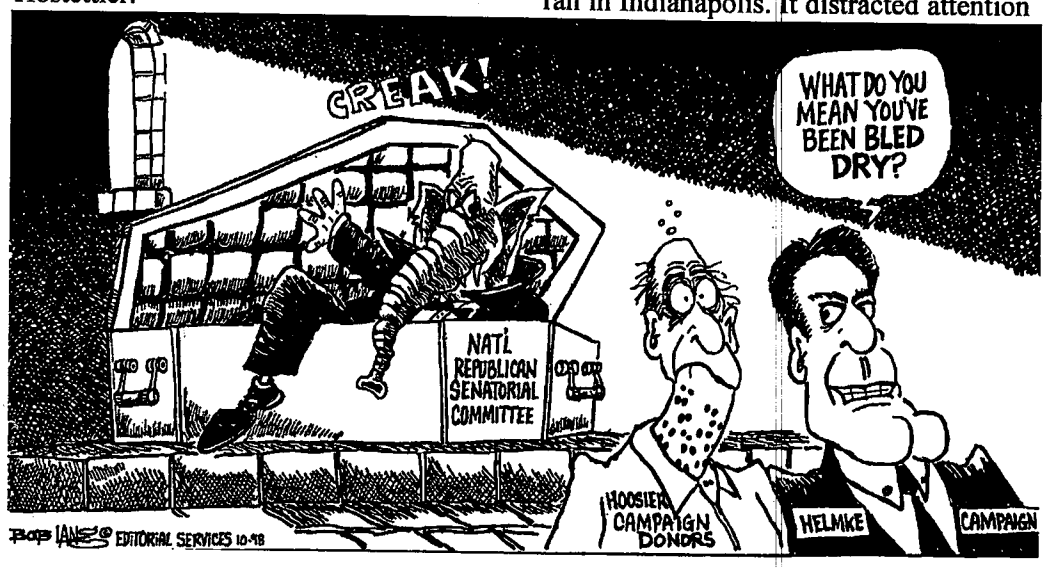
Riecken's claim of being overwhelmed by Republican money didn't sit well with Donohue. "For her to be whining about lack of resources is disingenuous," he said. Riecken drew national attention for raising more money than Hostettler.

Money wars

Organized labor spent $15 million in its nationwide get-out-the-vote effort. In 1996, unions invested $37 million in television issues advertising. On the political party front, Republicans raised $184.7 million in hard money compared to the Democrats' $106.9 million. In soft money, Republicans led $93.7 million to $78.8 million. Hard money can be spent to explicitly promote a candidate. Soft money can be used for issue ads, get-out-the-vote and other party building.

Whether the GOP invested its money wisely, however, is open to question. The NRCC ran $25 million in television issue advertising, some of which appeared in the Evansville, Louisville, Cincinnati and Indianapolis TV markets aimed at the 8th, 9th and 10th CDs and focused on education and taxes. As part of that effort, the national Republicans spent $10 million on last-minute ads that highlighted President Clinton's behavior and possible impeachment. The issue ads were uncoordinated, meaning that they were designed and run without input from the candidates, who could not be endorsed in the spots.

The recipients of this largess were not necessarily thrilled. "If we had veto power, we would have vetoed that one," Hofmeister campaign manager Mike Young said of the anti-Clinton ads that ran in Indianapolis. It distracted attention



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1992. Last Tuesday, the Democrats lost "what had been a party stronghold for a generation: the Center Township trustee." The newspaper quoted Ball State University Political Science Department Chairman Ray Scheele as saying, "What we're seeing in Delaware County is close to the collapse of the two-party system. The major problem the party has locally is the inability to sift out its own primaries. So many resources are wasted on primary fights that continue into the fall."

Indiana Democrats were buoyed by pickups of county commissioner seats in Morgan and Newton counties, as well as the election of the state's first African-American sheriff in Grant County.

Muncie Star Press Editor Larry Lough reacted to HPR's "Prevail" software coverage this way: "Brian Howey's column in Sunday's edition suggested that some jazzy new software enabled Democrats to employ an effective direct mail advertising campaign to target messages to specific constituents. That's a neat techno answer, but do you know anybody who reads that stuff? Former U.S. House Speaker Tip O'Neill once said something to the effect that "All politics is local." So

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you've got to believe Democrats just "out-localed" the Republicans."

U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar warned this week that Russian missiles still pose the greatest threat to U.S. security.

Next week's edition HPR will present unofficial election results from the Secretary of State's Elections Division for Indiana House and Senate, state and federal offices.
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from Hofmeister's attempts to criticize Carson's record on crime, taxes and education.

"If there would have been a way to coordinate, I would have had them spend their money in a different way," Leising said. She said the education ads targeted an issue, teacher testing, on which she has "never spoken out."

Hamilton saves Hill

In the CD 9 race, most polls showed that Leising held a lead right to the end. She benefitted from high name identification thanks to her previous three races in the district. *Roll Call's* Amy Walter said Hill pulled it out because he achieved an early fundraising advantage; developed a message that resonated better with voters; had a strong campaign operation and received a boost from the powerful performance of former Gov. Evan Bayh, who won his father's old Senate seat by defeating Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke.

But Hill trailed throughout the campaign, according to polls. His victory was "the second-biggest shock on election night," said Walter. "In a very tight race, doing all those little things can make the difference."

Of course, HPR had long identified Baron Hill's "ace in the hole," perhaps three aces - Lee Hamilton, Evan Bayh and Frank O'Bannon. "Lee Hamilton attached himself to the hip of Baron Hill in Clark and Floyd counties," said GOP Chairman Mike McDaniel. "Neil Newhouse had Jean Leising up by 9 points 10 days out. But in those last 10 days, they put a wake-up call to the union activists. And they took it. That's what got him by."

In the 8th CD, first-time candidate Riecken has nothing to be ashamed of in her loss. "Gail Riecken ran a very good campaign," Walter said. "Without a big (national) wave, it was hard to see Riecken pushing Hostettler over."

None of the losers has made a decision on whether to run again in 2000. Leising pointed to the turmoil that has engulfed House Republicans since the election and has led to Gingrich's demise. No one would have predicted that two weeks ago. Politics can turn on a dime.

But a quarter of a million dollars in a computer program doesn't hurt. ❖

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PO Box 20877
Indianapolis, IN
46220

Jack E. Howey 39
NewsLink, Inc.
2314 Calaveras Way
Indianapolis IN 46240-4714