

The Howey Political Report



The *Howey Political Report* is published by NewsLink Inc. Founded in 1994, *The Howey Political Report* is an independent, non-partisan newsletter analyzing the political process in Indiana.

Brian A. Howey, publisher

Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington writer

Jack E. Howey, editor

The Howey Political Report Office: 317-254-1533
PO Box 40265 Fax: 317-968-0487
Indianapolis, IN 46240-0265 Mobile: 317-506-0883

brianhowey@howeypolitics.com
www.howeypolitics.com

Washington office: 202-775-3242;
Business Office: 317-254-0535.

**Subscriptions: \$350 annually via e-mail;
\$550 annually including the HPR Daily
Wire. Call 317-254-1533 or 254-0535.**

© 2004, *The Howey Political Report*. All rights reserved. Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, in whole or in part, is a violation of federal law and is **strictly prohibited** without consent of the publisher.

“QUOTE” OF THE WEEK

“Van Bokkelen happens to have zero tolerance for public corruption and may be remembered as the man who brought Lake County to its knees.”

- Post-Tribune Columnist Rich James

How deep is that ‘wrong track’ rut?

Assessing Statehouse vulnerabilities

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY** in Indianapolis

The week that candidates across Indiana began filing for offices from the county level to Congress, and, of course, the Indiana General Assembly, came the *Indianapolis Star-WTHR Hoosier Poll*.

As the *Star’s* Mary Beth Schneider reported, “The state’s 150 legislators earn particularly low marks for creating jobs, improving public schools and helping the state’s poor and elderly. The poll found that 77 percent of those surveyed gave the General Assembly a poor or just fair grade at creating jobs; only 17 percent thought legislators were doing at least a good job in this area. Overall, the legislature’s approval rating is 41 percent.”

That same poll showed Gov. Joe Kernan leading Republican Mitch Daniels by a 49-36 margin (*See Horse Race on page 6 for more analysis*). While Democrats were buoyed by Kernan’s 13 point lead, the fact that he was under 50 percent was troubling for an incumbent governor coming off a well-received State of the State address (the final day of the polling of 704 “Indiana residents”) and the emotional surge of taking the reins from the late Gov. Frank O’Bannon last Sept. 13.

Even more revealing was that 48 percent believe Indiana is “on the wrong track,” 40 percent think it is “headed in the right direction,” and 12 percent don’t know. As *Indianapolis Eye* columnist Cam Carter observed, “This should send shivers up the spine of the Kernan camp, for it is the basis for voter discontent that is most often expressed at the ballot box by a vote against the incumbent. It is a potential tailwind for Daniels and, in the context of more

INSIDE FEATURES

Ticker: Kerry surging past Dean	p. 2
HPR Interview: Lt. Gov. Davis	p. 4
Horse Race: Another Borst foe	p. 7
Columnists: James, Colwell	p. 8
Perhaps: Geography speeches	p. 9

Covering 10 years of Indiana politics

TICKER

T A P E

KERRY TAKES 10 POINT LEAD OVER DEAN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE: Although Howard Dean continued to lead John Kerry in some New Hampshire tracking polls, by margins ranging from one point to five points, all now within the polls' margin of error, Kerry has taken the lead in several others, including the *Boston Globe*, Suffolk University and Zogby surveys. Separately, Kerry had a ten point lead in a non-tracking poll by the *Boston Herald* and RKM. Kerry had 31 percent, followed by Dean at 21, Wesley Clark at 16, U.S. Sen. John Edwards and U.S. Sen. Joe Lieberman at 4 percent.

KERNAN HEADING TO TERRE HAUTE: Gov. Joe Kernan will visit a Terre Haute elementary school tomorrow to outline plans for his Early Learning Trust initiative, which is currently being considered by the Indiana General Assembly. As proposed in his first State of the State address, Kernan's innovative plan would fund full-day kindergarten for an additional 20,000 students beginning this fall, and then extend voluntary full-day kindergarten throughout the state by 2007. The Early Learning Trust also calls for expanding pre-kindergarten programs, as well as provides resources to parents as a

than a decade and a half of Democrat control of the governor's office, reason for Republicans to be cautiously optimistic about November."

The expectation here is that the Kernan-Daniels race will probably finish within the margin of error, or to put it in Hoosier basketball parlance: a barnburner. Daniels will begin addressing the 13-point gap today with a biography TV ad running in all markets but Chicago and Cincinnati, attempting to define himself before Kernan tries to do it for him (*See Horse Race, page 6*). And it's not that Kernan would be in a good position to do so now. The worst possible tactic for the governor would be to commence with a series of attack ads trying to define Daniels, particularly when he needs Senate Republicans to help him pass his legislative agenda.

What about the legislature

As for the legislature, that 41 percent approval rating is not surprising or an anomaly. "Historically voters in Indiana have not had a high regard for the legislature and don't follow its actions," said TeleResearch pollster Jeff Lewis. "Legislators know that. They figured that out a long time ago."

The poll doesn't necessarily spell imminent danger for legislators. "The poll did not ask if these low marks would cause voters not to vote for incumbents," Lewis observed. "The system is designed to protect incumbents."

That doesn't mean the 125 legislators up for re-election will be cruising to easy victory. Remember that more than 30 incumbent mayors were tossed out of office in the May and November 2003 elections. Voters were so intent on searching for new leadership that they elected a half dozen female mayors at small towns in Southwestern Indiana.

Asked if a building wave of discontent could provoke a blood-letting in the Indiana General Assembly, Lewis responded, "Very definitely. The one aspect that is so volatile right now is that

on balance people hold the legislature responsible for the property tax system changes. That could translate into big changes this fall, particularly if Daniels can make an effective argument for change. Right now a substantial number of voters are mad at the legislature and it will be interesting to see if they stay mad."

Will they stay mad?

They might. On Tuesday, the *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette's* Niki Kelly reported that "Despite the passage of one bill Tuesday, the outlook for any meaningful property tax relief this session appears dim."

The *Journal Gazette* quoted State Rep. Win Moses, in House Democratic leadership until demoted by Speaker B. Patrick Bauer, as saying, "I think we are going to end up holding this stuff for further study, which is probably where it should be."

The *Journal Gazette* story continued, "Bauer said there is no sense in calling the bills for a vote until he knows there will be bipartisan support. But it doesn't appear Bauer even has the votes of his own caucus. Moses said he told the leadership he would not vote for the bills. 'We can't tell where these shifts will help and where they will hurt,' he said. Without Moses, the Democrats would only have 50 votes, assuming Republicans continue to hold fast against the proposals.

That could produce the headline that Bauer and legislators such as State Rep. David Orentlicher fear most: sine die with a property tax status quo in place. That headline presumably won't come until March 14. In the meantime, it will be fascinating to see the caliber of candidates that file for the legislature by the noon Feb. 20 deadline. That may be the first tangible assessment point as to how deep that "wrong track" rut really is. ❖

Continued on page 3

Corruption lid-lifters on the way

The corruption investigations on two fronts are quickly moving into new territory. Attorney General Steve Carter and Lake County Prosecutor Bernard Carter were to announce this afternoon the merging of their vote fraud and corruption probes with that of Northern District Attorney Joseph Van Bokkelen. Steve Carter's press release talked of "an announcement of the magnitude of this decision and what it means for moving forward." It provoked a series of rumors

that East Chicago Mayor Bob Pastrick may be the next big target.

Downstate, Marion County Prosecutor Carl Brizzi was asked by the *Indianapolis Eye* if his probes would reach leadership levels of BMV and FSSA. He responded, "I don't think so with the BMV." As for FSSA, Brizzi wouldn't say how far up the ladder that probe will go. Nor could he say how long the investigations would take. ❖

Lt. Gov. Davis seeks a new model for government

INDIANAPOLIS - A week after Gov. Joe Kernan told Hoosiers he was putting Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis in charge of government restructuring, HPR Publisher Brian Howey was invited to meet with her in a mutual brain-picking session.

Here is the interview Howey conducted with Lt. Gov. Davis at the end of the 40-minute session.

HPR: Gov. Kernan has charged you with doing more than kicking tires and looking under the hood, but perhaps designing a new government structure for a 21st Century Indiana. How did this mission evolve?

Davis: There have been a number of discussions about how we would make improvements in state government. I tend to use a system model approach, which is, here we are as a state government of 76 state agencies and we have a number of different customers and a series of results that we are trying to achieve. I wonder often how we would organize ourselves if we were focused on achieving results on behalf of our customers. What would that structure look like? I think in developing legislation, we tend to layer on new approaches, new programs on top of what we have done before. So our structures often reflect regulation and advocacy

groups instead of legislating, and here are the results and here are the results we want to achieve. The conversation about results passes and what gets legislated is the structure, a commission or an agency to do thus and thus. Then we're left with those structures in place that need their own care and feeding. An organization is perfectly designed to produce what it produces. But is that, in fact, what we want to create the maximum results. I first came into state government in 1989. Evan Bayh was really aggressive in cost reduction.

HPR INTERVIEW

We had a recession in the early '90s and he was absolutely not going to raise taxes and so throughout my time in state government, we've been looking at how to do more with less. And now I think the opportunity is to look across those agencies, at the results we're trying to achieve and how we should organize ourselves to achieve those.

HPR: When you talk about adding layers, it brings to mind Gov. Orr's 1987 A-Plus education reforms that added money to reduce class size to the upper teens or low 20s. That money is still there, but when my two sons went to Fox Hill Elementary School several years ago, the class sizes were 27, 28, 29 students. So

TICKER T A P E

child's first teacher in the areas of family literacy and reading.

TOWNSHIPS UNDER FIRE IN LEGISLATURE: The General Assembly is considering a series of bills that would dramatically alter or eliminate township government, and a new study might give lawmakers added ammunition (Indianapolis Star).

Townships receive most of their money from property taxes and distribute aid to the poor, oversee firefighting, assess home values and are often considered the most accessible to citizens. The study by the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, expected to be released next month, finds that Marion County's nine townships spent \$1.94 in administrative costs for every \$1 that was distributed to the poor. "The bottom line is, we've got to get better than this," said Stan Pinegar, director of taxation for the Indiana Chamber, which supports several of the bills under consideration in the General Assembly. "It's the beginning of the way we change government," said state Rep. Bob Kuzman, D-Crown Point, whose bill would eliminate townships by 2005 and hand their responsibilities over to county government. "I'm looking at what is the best way to make gov-

continued on page 4

TICKER

T A P E

ernment efficient." Another bill, sponsored by state Sen. David Ford, R-Hartford City, would give counties the power to force townships to merge.

SENATE PANEL KILLS GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION BILL: Allen County's hopes for a drastically altered governmental structure were dealt a severe blow Wednesday when a Senate panel failed to pass legislation giving local authority for a possible merger or consolidation. Area officials who attended the Statehouse hearing were visibly disappointed at the 5-5 tie vote that killed Senate Bill 225 (Niki Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Both Democrats and Republicans voted against the legislation. "We'll have to regroup," said Allen County Councilman Darren Vogt, R-3rd. "We cannot sit idly by and wait for the state legislature to approve." While Sen. David Long's preferred bill died, the committee did pass a secondary measure establishing a legislative study commission that would examine local government structure. Long, R-Fort Wayne, said Wednesday the fight is not over because he hopes to amend that backup bill. The new language might satisfy some concerns by committee members that the originally proposed measure is too wide because it would

continued on page 5

that's an old line of funding no longer doing what it's supposed to be doing. Would that be a good example of the scope of the problem?

Davis: Yes. And the Family & Social Services Administration was created in order to coordinate the many services available to vulnerable citizens. When I was budget director and first took a look at the FSSA budget, it had line after line after line of funding sources. So essentially the way the human service legislation process has worked, is that there is an advocacy group that works on behalf of a particular group of people with a common affliction and problem, and they gain resources in order to help this limited group of people through their issues. We've got a series of those within FSSA that while the purpose of providing human services is to give people support so they can become more self-reliant, the federal legislation which provides funding streams for these people as if they are fundamentally different essentially creates a system that excludes people, or wants to make sure the wrong person doesn't get the money. So FSSA was created in order to work through that. I think we're still trying to figure out how we can create a model for service delivery that meets the many federal requirements of every separate dollar, but really enables a person who needs some kind of personal assistance, some child care, some job training, and some transportation in order to become self-reliant, and make it easy to get those services so they can really make a go of it.

HPR: For the last two years, I've been asking such questions as, do we really need townships? Do we really need 92 counties? How are you going to wrap your hands around those issues? Or will you even be looking at those types of questions?

Davis: I think I want to start with an approach that doesn't directly go after any layer of government, because that kind of gets people

HPR: On their heels?

Davis: It gets people nervous. But I do think, for example, we have multiple layers of government involved in working with businesses when a business wants to locate or expand. Building requirements, environmental requirements at many layers of government. One of the things we will do is a pilot in assembling all of the organizations within government that create requirements on businesses and ask them to work as a group so we can present the needs from a business that wants to locate or expand one time, and in doing

"Certainly the responsibilities of government need to change as the world around us changes. There's no reason not to keep up."

so, look at what this process would take? How should we be structured and have the people who would be affected by change involved in seeing a more coordinated process would be successful on behalf of all, from a business to the community?

HPR: Will you be looking at whether we should be electing people who make public policy, as opposed to those such as auditors, surveyors, treasurers who fill more bureaucratic functions? For instance, should we be electing a county coroner, as opposed to hiring a county medical examiner as something like 40 other states are doing?

Davis: What we'll do is start with the results of customers in the 76 different state agencies and ask them to be very, very specific in what they are doing, for whom, and what they are trying to achieve, and who they are working with, whether it is local or federal agencies. We'll see where that takes us as we take a look at how we would do our work that creates better results.

HPR: Logistically, how will you perform this study? Will there be a staff task force? Will you go to the academic and research community?

Davis: We'll have a few different pieces going on. Internally, we'll gather

data from state agencies and representatives of the state agencies to work with that. We have talked with President Jischke at Purdue as to whether students who are interested in this kind of work for credit would be available to our staff. In a pilot, what we want would be the economic development representatives and regulatory representatives participating with us. We're not forming a commission, but we're going to have a few efforts going with a few different groups, whether we are looking at state government or looking at specific pilots in local areas.

HPR: You talk about looking at all agencies dealing with economic development. Would that include counties, cities and towns?

Davis: Yes. And federal government -- IDEM and EPA --and where there are differences in expectations there. One of the complaints we get most often is that we set requirements on a business and then change them midway through the process. People want to do the right thing but they can't tolerate setting out to do the right thing and then have the rules change on them.

HPR: Some reporters will start a story or an investigation with a thesis and try to prove it. Others, such as myself, will often seek to disprove it. How would you describe yourself?

Davis: I'm looking for a model by which government does business on behalf of its customers and then coming up with an organization that makes that model work.

HPR: Does that model come from a corporate culture or is there anything like this going on in another state, such as Alabama, which is also pondering government restructuring?

Davis: There are a number of states that have looked at a number of performance plans. I expect universities will be a very good source for us in understanding what other states are doing. I don't think I've gotten as far as you have in

thinking through what the political process would be for making change. I first want to come up with the data for what the delivery systems might look like if it is optimal and create a vision for that, and then as a next step figure out how, politically, we make this change. But hopefully including people in the development of that model we can get some buy-in as we go along.

HPR: Indiana's constitution was written in 1851. Society couldn't be more compellingly different than it is now when you consider transportation, industry, communication

Davis: Common school funds.

HPR: Right. Bill Styring told me there were two pages out of the 1,100 in the 1851 Constitutional Convention that even dealt with the subject of education. It was an after-thought. There isn't a business or corporation left that is operating on a 19th Century business model.

Davis: I just haven't gotten that far. But I think it's a very good point you raise. Certainly the responsibilities of government need to change as the world around us changes and as citizens and businesses need different things from us. There's no reason not to keep up.

HPR: How long will you be on this path and how will you interact with Gov. Kernan throughout this process?

Davis: We're going to get started right away. We'll use the fact that state agencies will be compiling budgets and we'll use that as a way of gathering data. We're starting to get some volunteers who will be involved in some of the local pilots. We will be active immediately and the work will be ongoing.

HPR: What should the average Hoosier citizen expect?

Davis: We will come up with things to do as we go along and we will do them. We will do anything we can do without legislation as we discover an improvement. And then I would expect legislation to be proposed for the 2005 General Assembly. ❖

TICKER T A P E

allow about 15 counties to seek governmental reorganization on their own. Long is considering ways to narrow the legislation to a few counties, such as Allen and Vanderburgh, while not violating rules against special legislation. The Evansville Chamber of Commerce also supported the bill because the city has already undertaken an advisory commission on the issue. Eventually, though, Evansville will need the legislature to approve any changes or allow a local referendum.

HALL'S TEACHING LICENSE REVOKED: State officials have revoked Katie Hall's teaching license, bringing an immediate end to her 36-year teaching career (Post-Tribune). After a two-hour hearing Wednesday, the Indiana Professional Standards Board voted to revoke Hall's license, as a result of her felony conviction on charges of public corruption leveled against her while she was Gary city clerk. In spite of that conviction, Hall told the board "my conscience is clear" and that she doesn't believe she did anything wrong or anything that would have an impact on her teaching. As of today, Gary school officials said they would have a substitute teacher for the government classes Hall taught at Martin Luther King

continued on page 6

TICKER
T A P E

2004 Racing Form
Indiana 2004 Gubernatorial

Academy. Indiana Superintendent of Public Instruction Suellen Reed asked the board to revoke Hall's license, given the immorality and misconduct associated with Hall's felony conviction.

REPUBLICANS RAIL AGAINST KERNAN TOBACCO SETTLEMENT PLAN: Republicans cast doubt yesterday on Gov. Joe Kernan's request for authority to sell off Indiana's future tobacco settlement payments for a lump sum of up to \$1.3 billion (Associated Press). Rep. Jeff Espich of Uniondale, the fiscal leader for House Republicans, called it "instant gratification for getting our hands on the bucks." Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst, R-Greenwood, said Indiana would receive about 40 cents now for every \$1 it gave up in future payments. "Selling off our assets is a pretty poor way of doing business," he said.

KING, DALEY LASH OUT OF GUN LAWSUIT BAN: Gary Mayor Scott King on Wednesday called on Congress to reject legislation that would ban local governments from suing the gun industry over the sale of firearms that land in the hands of criminals. King, with Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, lashed out at a House-approved measure that is before the Senate,

Governor 2004: Republican: Mitch Daniels, Eric Miller, Petersburg Mayor Randy Harris, Bob Parker. **Democrat:** Gov. Joe Kernan. **1996 Results:** O'Bannon (D) 1,075,342, Goldsmith (R) 997,505, Dillon (L) 35,261. **2000 Results:** O'Bannon (D) 1,230,345, McIntosh (R) 906,492, Horning (L) 38,686. **2004 Forecast:** Daniels begins running the first TV ads of the 2004 campaign today. The bio ads come after the *Indianapolis Star*-WTHR poll showed Gov. Kernan with a 49-36 percent lead. Daniels says in the ad, "I've never run for office before but I always thought if I ever did I would do things a little differently. I think that the idea of spending all our time on the road is a way to say to people that in Indiana's comeback everybody matters, and we're not going to write off one town or one person. If there was a place in this state where people thought that we had all the jobs we need, our kids are getting the very best education they can possibly get, I would have found it by now. And our RV out there has been to places nobody has been in a long time. The people who have been in power for so long aren't bad people -- I know they aren't hard hearted. I just think they have been in Indianapolis so long that they have lost touch with the severity of our problems, and I know they lost sight of our potential for greatness. And I just think it's one of those moments in our state's history that calls for a fresh start and a new crew of people who want to aim higher, and who believe in their hearts that Indiana deserves a lot better." In his Indianapolis Eye column, Cam Carter observed, "Daniels is as yet undefined to the Hoosier public and already receives significant support as a relative unknown. Further, as he is undefined, it would be wise for his campaign to ensure that it is they, rather than the Kernan camp, that defines him and his candidacy, lest his unfavorables solidify or grow." Obviously, the Daniels campaign agrees and is moving quickly to define the candidate. Carter's astute analysis continues, "At first glance, it looks like these two titans are beginning 2004 in rough parity where campaign cash is concerned, but a look behind the numbers is where you find more interesting trends. Advantage: Kernan. Kernan raised his \$2.5 million in about 50 days with significant help from the now-defunct Joe Andrew campaign (\$185,000) and Andrew's former running mate, Dem doyen Bren Simon, who gave Kernan \$255,000 after unceremoniously kicking the other Joe to the curb. These two inordinately large contributions skew the governor's tally a bit, but the incumbent Democrat is still raising cash at a clip of about \$40,000 a day. Impressive, but perhaps predictable given the Democrats' 16 years of gubernatorial control, as well as the power to let or rescind state contracts and thereby raise oodles of "Benjamins" from vendors and supplicants. Daniels, on the other hand, raised nearly \$5 million in about 180 days, a clip of slightly more than \$26,000 per day. His largest single contribution was less than that of Kernan's -- \$112,500 from a political action committee in northeast Indiana. In addition to reporting on the money race, the *Star* published a poll so as to be able to report on the horse race, as well. The result: Kernan 49 percent vs. Daniels 36 percent, with 11 percent undecided and 4 percent either fed up already or needing to get away from the phone and tend to their kids when the pollster called. Here, too, you have to look beyond the numbers. Advantage: Daniels (slightly). First observation: Kernan, the incumbent, is under 50 percent. This is always viewed as good news for any opponent. An opening for Daniels, but one that his campaign and Republicans must capitalize upon. The poll also revealed that most folks have a favorable opinion of Gov. Kernan (57 percent), but this viewpoint is soft (33 percent, a plurality, responded "mostly" favorable) and more than a quarter of those polled had not yet formed an opinion after his four months in office. Daniels was viewed favorably by 30 percent, unfavorably by 23 percent, but nearly half of those polled (47 percent) were unsure about him or had not yet formed an opinion. Kernan was taking some heat from the Indiana Republican Party over the S&P downgrade, which the GOP says occurred because of Kernan's decision to fund full-day kindergarten with teacher pension trust funds. "The proposed use of these monies is not a driver of the current rating action,"

HORSE RACE

the S&P report said, quoted in the governor's press release. Republicans noted that the S&P report said, "Gov. Joseph Kernan has also recently proposed suspension of roughly \$30 million of annual lottery and gaming revenue contributions to the stabilization fund, utilizing these monies to help fund an early childhood learning initiative. The proposed use of these monies is not a driver of the current rating action. While the use of stabilization reserves and potential suspension of contributions into the fund does not signal abandonment of the state's policy of addressing its pension liability, it does shift the burden of funding to future budgets, and contributes to a structural budgetary imbalance that will approximate \$1 billion by fiscal year-end 2005." **Lt. Governor Kathy Davis got off to a strong start on the fundraising front.** Davis, who has never before run for elected office, filed her end-of-the-year finance report this week, disclosing that she had raised \$135,597.18. **Republican Primary Status:** *Likely Daniels*; **General Status:** *Tossup*.

Indiana 2004 Congressional

U.S. Senate: Republican: Marvin Scott, Dwight Wilkerson. **Democrat:** U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh. **1992 Results:** Coats (R) 1,267,972, Hogsett (D) 900,148. **1998 Results:** Bayh (D) 1,012,244, Helmke (R) 552,732. **2004 Forecast:** Bayh responded to President Bush's State of the State address Tuesday by saying, "Congress should work with the President to keep the economy moving forward, continue to spur investment, and most importantly, protect the jobs we have while working to create even more." **Status:** *Solid D*.

Congressional District 2: Republican: U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola, Tony Zirkle. **Democrat:** Joe Donnelly. **Geography:** South Bend, Michigan City, Mishawaka, Elkhart, Kokomo, Plymouth, Logansport; LaPorte, St. Joseph, Starke, Marshall, Pulaski, Fulton, Cass, Carroll and parts of Howard, Porter, Elkhart and White counties. **Media Market:** South Bend-Elkhart, Indianapolis, Lafayette, Chicago. **People:** Urban/rural 73/27%; median income \$40,381; Poverty 9.5%; Race 84% white, 8% black; 5 Hispanic; Blue/white collar: 34/50%. **2000 Presidential:** Bush 53%, Gore 44%; **Cook Partisan Voting Index:** R+5; **2002 Result:** Chocola 95,081 (50%), Long Thompson 86,253 (46%); **2002 Money:** Chocola \$1.69m, Long Thompson \$1.535m. **2004 Outlook:** Nicholas Tyszka has relented and given Donnelly the "JoeDonnelly.com" website rights after the Horse described Tyszka as the "gnat of Indiana politics." **Status:** *Leans Chocola*.

Indiana 2004 Legislative

Senate District 36: Republican: Sen. Larry Borst, Johnson County Council President Brent Waltz. **Democrat:** Terry Rice. **1996 Results:** Borst (R) 26,593, Satterthwaite (L) 2,035. **2000 Results:** Borst 24,621, Reno (D) 12,095, Williamson (L) 1,061. **2004 Forecast:** Terry Rice of the ISTA enters this race as a Democrat. He and Borst have a history of mixing it up on education issues in Perry Township. The entry of Senate President Garton in demanding that Perkins Nichols Media abandon the Waltz campaign was revealing. Several Senate sources tell Horse Race that Garton is petrified by the thought of Waltz defeating Borst. Should that occur, it would be a huge undermining of the Senate Dinosaur leadership and would commence an unraveling of the Garton-Borst-Harrison troika. Garton's efforts on behalf of his caucus nemesis Borst is also revealing in how he might behave should there be a "Gov. Daniels." In that scenario, a good deal of that Senate power would have to shift to the new governor. The prevailing thought is that such a power transfer might not be a graceful, coordinated thing. **Primary Status:** *Tossup*.

House District 86: Republican: Andy Miller, Mort Large. **Democrat:** State Rep. David Orentlicher. **2002 Results:** Orentlicher 9,909, Atterholt (R) 9,872. **2004 Forecast:** Miller notes that Large has not received the huge number of endorsements as the latter is suggesting. He circulated an e-mail this week noting that unsuccessful council candidate Peter Pizarro is supporting the Miller candidacy. **Primary Status:** *Leans Large*. ❖

TICKER T A P E

arguing it would effectively dismiss lawsuits the cities have filed against some gun manufacturers in state courts (Post-Tribune). Both mayors said at a news conference during a U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting that their lawsuits were far from frivolous and relied on evidence gathered by local police. King said the alarming number of shooting deaths was enough to justify the lawsuits. He said 85 percent of the 68 murders that occurred last year in his city of about 110,000 people involved guns. "If that number of people in the city of Gary died as a result of any other product you could name, we would be up in arms now," King said. "Action must be taken to protect people from this obviously, obviously dangerous product."

VAN HAAFTEN'S FIRST BILL PASSES HOUSE: Newcomer Rep. Trent Van Haaften got his first bill through committee Wednesday with a unanimous "yes" vote and a round of applause from fellow lawmakers (Evansville Courier & Press). The Mount Vernon Democrat is carrying House Bill 1245, which would change the penalty for neglect of a dependent that results in death to a class A felony. Currently state law forces prosecutors to either try people for neglect of a dependent, a class B felony,

TICKER T A P E

or to try them for murder, which requires proving that someone intended to kill the dependent. "Basically this fills a gap in our laws," Van Haaften said.

FORT WAYNE MAYORAL RACE COST \$1.8 MILLION: For \$1.8 million, you could nearly pay for the ladder truck and four custom pumps the Fort Wayne Fire Department plans to buy this year, you could finance a utility infielder for the Chicago Cubs, or you could buy every man, woman and child in Fort Wayne an \$8 lunch (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Or you could pit Graham Richard against Linda Buskirk for mayor of Fort Wayne. There was never a question the 2003 mayoral campaign would set a record for money spent, only by how much: Richard and Buskirk had already raised a combined \$1.4 million by Oct. 10, eclipsing the \$1.3 million raised in 1999 by Richard, Buskirk and Buskirk's Republican primary opponent Joe Squadrito. Still, the \$1.8 million spent on the campaign for the \$101,460-a-year job is sobering. According to documents filed with the Allen County election board Wednesday, Buskirk spent \$714,767 on her unsuccessful campaign, and Richard spent \$1,100,125 on his successful one.

SLOTS BILL PASSES WAYS & MEANS: Slot-like pull-tab machines passed another

COLUMNISTS ON INDIANA

Rich James, *Post-Tribune* - (District Attorney Joseph) Van Bokkelen happens to have zero tolerance for public corruption and may be remembered as the man who brought Lake County to its knees. Yet, the political overtones are huge, particularly with what surfaced this week. Word leaked that county Prosecutor Bernard Carter's grand jury investigation into vote fraud and other public corruption, in conjunction with Attorney General Steve Carter, was merging its effort with Van Bokkelen, who has more resources and nothing to lose politically. It'll be laid out next week. In many respects, Lake County Democrats got snookered, but they may not have been able to help it. After all, Steve Carter and Van Bokkelen, Republicans, have the numbers over Bernard Carter, a Democrat. And shifting the focus to Van Bokkelen's office takes the political heat off Bernard Carter, who had vowed to get to the bottom of vote fraud but would be tiptoeing through political land mines in the process. So, Van Bokkelen will announce the merger. There will be a second announcement in Indianapolis by Steve Carter, which will be more about politics than fighting corruption. The Indy news conference will be designed to tell all of central Indiana that Republicans are getting tough on those crooked Democrats in Lake County. All that political pablum won't be to benefit Bush, who will carry Indiana easily. Instead, it will be for Mitch Daniels, the GOP candidate for governor, and the Republican effort to win control of the Indiana House this fall. Meanwhile, Van Bokkelen may find his own Rudy Bart and eventually gut the Lake County Democratic Party. The honest Democrats will hail the exorcism, flip the lights back on and keep winning local elections. Maybe. ❖

Jack Colwell, *South Bend Tribune* - Indiana Gov. Joe Kernan's first State of the State address was a success. He wants to deliver four more. To do so, to be the governor delivering the annual address for four more years, Kernan must convince Hoosiers, in a rough political campaign, that his optimistic view of Indiana's future is more accurate and appealing than is the critical view to be hammered at by the Republican challenger for governor. Kernan set the optimistic tone in his address, saying Indiana has weathered the national economic downturn better than most other states -- no layoff of state troopers, no cuts in education, no huge bond issues amassing future debt -- and now is poised for better times, thanks to "one of the best work forces in the world" and economic development incentives he helped to put in place. "We are open for business," Kernan said. "Indiana is in a state of progress." But he used the one bit of humor in his speech to stress again his optimistic approach: "To paraphrase the great baseball philosopher Sparky Anderson, I don't dwell on the past. There's no future in it." Mitch Daniels, the leading contender for the Republican nomination for governor, hit at that line. "I wouldn't (dwell on the past) either if I had a seven-year responsibility for jobs and one of the worst economic records in America," said Daniels. Indiana Republican Chairman Jim Kittle, who has taken the role of Kernan's harshest partisan critic, scoffed at what he deemed phony optimism. "He's painting blue skies everywhere, and they're not there," said Kittle. ❖

PERHAPS... WE WANDER

By Brian Howey

Geography lessons from Bush and Dean

Never in the history of America have two geography recitations had a greater impact on who could be the next president of the United States.

Monday night in Des Moines, former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, having just finished third and 20 points behind U.S. Sen. John Kerry in the Iowa caucuses, launched a campaign wind-up that has turned into a nightmare.

"Not only are we going to New Hampshire, we're going to South Carolina and Oklahoma and Arizona and North Dakota and New Mexico, and we're going to California and Texas and New York and we're going to South Dakota and Oregon and Washington and Michigan. And then we're going to Washington, D.C. To take back the White House. YEAHHHH!!!"

It was that 'YEAHHHH!!!' that has been heard again and again, from coast to coast like a sound loop. Democratic strategist Donna Brazil called it "that awful animal sound" on CNN Thursday morning. It has become to the once front-running Howard Dean his very own Ed Muskie flatbed truck.

"Did you see Howard Dean ranting and raving?" asked David Letterman. "Here's a little tip, Howard: cut back on the Red Bull." Jay Leno observed, "I'm not an expert in politics, but I think it's a bad sign when your speech ends with your aides shooting you with a tranquilizer gun."

Dean tried to explain, "I was rallying a group of 3,500 kids who'd come to Iowa to work for me and were waving American flags. It was a pretty emotional, pretty terrific scene." And pretty damaging. It could cost Dean the Democratic presidential nomination.

"It crystallized a lot of the con-

cerns voters in Iowa had as well as voters in New Hampshire had about Dean's potential temperament as a president," said Andrew Smith, a political scientist and pollster at the University of New Hampshire (Will Lester, *Associated Press*). "My sense is that this will go down with Edmund Muskie supposedly crying in front of the *Union Leader* and Bob Dole telling George Bush to 'stop lying about my record.'" Or a new twist on Ross Perot's "giant sucking sound."

Now, fast forward 24 hours to President Bush's State of the Union address. "Some critics have said our duties in Iraq must be internationalized," Bush said. "This particular criticism is hard to explain to our partners in Britain, Australia, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Italy, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Romania, the Netherlands -- (applause) -- Norway, El Salvador, and the 17 other countries that have committed troops to Iraq. (Applause.) As we debate at home, we must never ignore the vital contributions of our international partners, or dismiss their sacrifices."

There couldn't have been a greater contrast in pitch, tenor or style.

"He appears really confident and at ease. It is really different from his public speaking in the earlier part of his administration," said Anderson University assistant Prof. Michael Frank (Melanie D. Hayes, *Anderson Herald-Bulletin*). "He's more confident and comfortable. I don't detect him being belligerent or angry."

This contrast may very well drive the upcoming Democratic primaries in New Hampshire, South Carolina and Arizona. Many Democrats want a nominee who could conceivably defeat Bush if the right circumstances come about.

The echoes from Monday and Tuesday may have doomed Howard Dean. ❖

TICKER TAPE

legislative hurdle as the House Ways and Means Committee voted 17-10 Wednesday to send the proposal to the full House for consideration (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). House Bill 1188 would allow 1,500 devices in each of the off-track betting parlors in Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. The state's two horse tracks - Hoosier Park in Madison County and Indiana Downs in Shelby County - would also get 1,000 machines each. Even if the bill passes the House, its future in the Senate is uncertain. But the key figure is the \$67 million that would be distributed to cities, towns and counties. "I think that many folks would be fed up with the public policy of more gambling if not for the enticement of local dollars," said Rep. Jeff Espich, the Republicans' fiscal leader in the House, who voted against the legislation. "I absolutely have reservations," Senate President Pro Tem Robert Garton, R-Columbus, said Wednesday. "We're not talking pull-tabs. We're kidding ourselves. We're talking slot machines."

❖