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# The Howey Political Report

The weekly briefing  
on Indiana politics

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## Congress and the crime bill

### Is it just pounds of pork, or ounces of prevention?

Soooo-ey!

All indications are that by week's end, President Clinton will get his man...er...crime bill.

While Republicans decried the "pork" provisions in the bill - many of which were present when the House version passed in April - word on Capitol Hill Tuesday was that the Clinton administration was desperate for this victory. Committee chairmanships possessed by wayward Democrats were being threatened.

"They'll get their bill," predicted Pat Hinton, press aide to U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer. "They're playing hardball."

It was a quick reversal to the stunning rejection of President Clinton's crime bill on Aug. 11. It subsequently energized three Indiana congressional campaigns and brought White House air against a Democrat.

An indignant Bill Clinton told the nation and a stunned Democratic leadership following a 225-210 loss over a procedural rule, "Last night, 225 members of Congress joined with the NRA and the Republican congressional leadership under enormous political pressure, felt their political security was more important than their personal security." The shaming of Congress had begun.

By Monday, Clinton was using his bully pulpit to get eight Democrats to switch over. He appeared at a church Sunday where he made an emotional plea, and then welcomed relatives of murder victims to the White House Monday. Capitol Hill sources were saying two Democrats were switching back and it was only a matter of time to get six others. The bait was a rumored \$425 million in spending cuts and watered down assault weapons language. Republicans want more social program cuts and a deletion of the gun ban.

Indiana Republicans and one influential Democrat - U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton - complained that the most expensive crime bill in U.S. history was ladden with "pork" or "social programs," even though similar versions of the bill with many of the same social programs had attracted substantial GOP support in the past.

Said Kenneth J. Cooper of the *Washington Post*, "If the \$30

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### Quote Of The Week:

"Facing defeat of Biblical proportions...Democrats are attempting to scare independent voters into line by pushing the canard that the Republican Party has been taken over by a religious jihad...."

- GOP Chairman Allan B. Hubbard

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## From page 1

billion legislation reeks of 'pork' as Republicans charge, they didn't wake up and smell the bacon frying until recently."

Republican pollster Frank Luntz keyed the effort to turn the crime bill most Americans want into a perception of a Great Society handout. He dubbed it the "Social Worker's Employment Bill" or the "Midnight Basketball Bill."

A poll Luntz conducted in early August revealed that 57 percent favored "stronger punishment" compared to 38 percent who wanted "social programs."

The most conspicuous opponent was Hamilton, who is comfortably ahead in his race for re-election. Hamilton voted against the crime bill for three reasons, said press aid Chris Mehl.

"He thought the financing was soft. There were a lot of promises but there is no definite funding," Mehl said.

"He had problems with the gun ban. He supported the Brady bill, but he wanted to see this gun ban taken on a separate vote. The House could have voted on them separately."

Mehl said that Hamilton felt that a number of the "social program" aspects of the bill "shouldn't have been hidden in the crime bill."

Said Mehl, "We're hopeful they can go back to conference, strike out a lot of these provisions and bring it back with votes to spare."

Mehl said that Vice President Gore tried to lobby Hamilton to vote for the bill, but the Democrat told Gore he had already promised a number of 8th CD constituents he would vote against it. Atty. Gen. Janet Reno also tried to lobby Hamilton, but, Mehl said, "They played phone tag."

Clinton's defeat immediately energized at least two of Indiana's four most competitive congressional campaigns

U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer, R-Monticello, said he voted against the bill "with the intention of sending it back to the conference committee."

"America wants a tough crime bill and an end to the social programs that just don't work. The legislation was out of balance with what the people of North Central Indiana wanted."

His Democratic opponent, Howard County Sheriff J.D. Beatty, leveled scathing criticism at Buyer. "This is typical behavior for Buyer," Beatty complained. "He claims at home that he is tough on crime, but when it comes time to step up to the plate with a great opportunity to fight crime with real solutions like those in this bill, he strikes out."

"By voting no on a procedural motion he has denied the opportunity for Congress to simply discuss anti-crime legislation. This crime bill, which Steve Buyer's vote directly prevented from coming to the floor of the House for debate, contains funding for 2,200 new Indiana cops, \$207 million for Indiana law enforcement, \$48 million for new jails in Indiana and \$83 million for crime prevention programs.

"With all of this direct assistance to Indiana, you must question whose interest Steve Buyer was representing. It certainly wasn't the interest of his constituents here in Kokomo."

Jim Bonham, Beatty's campaign manager, pointed out that Buyer didn't smell the bacon until August. "A lot of the programs Buyer was complaining about were in there in April, including the assault weapons ban," Bonham charged. "A lot of the social programs were there in April. In fact, they were included by Sen. (Bob) Dole. Sometime between April and August, they became pork."

Hinton, however, said that Buyer voted against the rule more for what had been removed from the bill. Gone, he said, was funding for most of the 100,000 police officers. A minimum sentencing provision was stricken from the conference committee report and a retroactive appeal for mandatory sentencing for drug offenders would have put 10,000 drug offenders on the street as soon as it went through," Hinton said.

In the 7th CD, U.S. Rep. John Myers voted against the bill, saying, "I'm deeply concerned that the current legislation greases the revolving prison door by reducing minimum sentences for drug criminals, weakens the sexual predator provisions and cuts more than 1,000 federal law enforcement personnel."

Like Buyer, Myers said the bill funds only 20,000 of the 100,000 police officers.

Democrat Michael Harmless criticized Myers for voting against the rule that would "even let Congress debate the bill." The Greencastle mayor added, "Myers apparently doesn't believe crime is a serious enough issue to debate in Congress."

Secretary of State Joe Hogsett said in Anderson Saturday that he would have voted against the crime bill had he been in Congress. His problem with the bill? It has to do with the automatic weapons ban.

"I just don't make the distinction just because a weapon has an exotic mechanism," Hogsett said. "Just because it has an exotic mechanism, it's still semi-automatic."

Hogsett added, "I do hope it passes next week. I think it would be a shame. Everyone is in universal agreement that we need more police on the street."

Hogsett's opponent, Republican David McIntosh, complained about "back door" House procedures used to load up on social programs that lead to tax hikes. "I have concluded that the only way to change the system is to dislodge the House Democratic leadership, which has become arrogant after 30 years of one-party control," McIntosh said. The \$33 million crime bill evolved gradually to this procedural defeat. The House passed a \$28 million version on April 21. Republicans at that time had balked at proposed changes in death row appeals. Those provisions were deleted and the bill passed with \$6.6 billion for prevention programs.

The House conference committee raised the prevention program aspects to \$7 billion, compared to a

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## The Horse Race

US. SENATE	STATUS	COMMENTS
Jontz (D) v. Lugar (R)	Safe R	Coming to an upper chamber near you: GOP dwaddles on Clinton-Mitchell. Jontz should be trying to portray the incumbent as a gridlocking obstructionist. Also, how do we get to Evansville?
2ND CD Hogsett (D) v. McIntosh (R)	Toss Up	McIntosh goal is to turn Hogsett into Clintonite, but Hogsett isn't acting like one, except for his jogging. Plus, Joe will have \$750,000 to say it ain't so. Any Quayle sightings in Muncie?
4TH CD Long (D) v. Souder (R)	Leaning D	Souder seems mum on crime bill. Might have something to do with Long's rural crime funding which could play well in gang-troubled Kendallville and Bluffton.
5TH CD Beatty (D) v. Buyer (R)	Leaning R	Sheriff Beatty takes offensive over Buyer's vote v. crime bill rule. Look for unscientific polling of cops and prosecutors to make some hay. Buyer has problems with freed druggies.
7th CD Harmless (D) v. Myers (R)	Leaning R	Myers has spectacular week in the press - two glowing editorials and a front page <i>Star</i> story on bringing home the university bacon. First shift in your weekly Horse Race, from Toss Up.
8TH CD McCloskey (D) v. Hostettler (R)	Leaning D	Hostettler camp seems more confident over fundraising. Waiting to pounce on McCloskey when health care debate kicks up.
9TH CD Hamilton (D) v. Leising (R)	Safe D	Hot rumor! Clinton buses headed to Rising Sun to...campaign for Leising! Just kidding, but White House stung by incumbent's crime bill rule defection. So much for Foggy Bottom.

**TRENDLINE: Crime bill is just a warm-up for the big show - health care reform. Too early to rule out "Comeback Kid" Clinton. Key question: does the prez have nine lives?**

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## From pag 2

Senate version that provided \$3.8 billion aimed at prevention programs, such as midnight basketball leagues.

In the procedural defeated version of the crime bill, funding for midnight basketball leagues was reduced from \$50 million to \$40 million.

But Myers pointed out that the \$40 million for midnight basketball would only go to communities with a 2 percent or more HIV infection rate.

Proponents of midnight basketball say that idle kids often turn to crime. But cities such as Fort Wayne and Evansville have attempted to amend curfew laws this year to send kids home earlier.

Rev. Tema Jordan of Fort Wayne's Greater Progressive Baptist Church is critical of the midnight basketball league concept.

"I can't go along with a program that turns kids out on the streets during the early morning hours," said Jordan, whose teen-age son was shot in the head last November at the Old Fort YMCA.

Or as Chris Wilson of the McIntosh campaign put it, "Do you have kids? Would you want them out playing basketball at midnight?"

Allen County Sheriff Joe Squadrito was critical of the legislation. "Throwing dollars at the problem doesn't solve it," he told Susan Fernandez of the *News-Sentinel*. He said that 100,000 new police officers would arrest an estimated 30,000 people.

"Where the hell are you going to put 'em all?" Squadrito asked. The Republican sheriff said that instead of throwing money at the problem, "The entire judicial system has to be revamped. It should begin with the Justice Department."

## Columnists on Indiana

**Kathleen Schuckel**, *Indianapolis News* - "The RCA Dome represents greed in our city. And how business rules. Not community needs. (Mayor Stephen Goldsmith) didn't set up any commission or task force on this one. No public meetings at neighborhood centers. Just a giveaway of the Hoosier name for \$10 million over 10 years. This from a man who may want to lead Hoosiers as governor?"

**Mike Dooley**, *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel* - "Some reporters we know in Indianapolis aren't exactly crazy about the deal Mayor Stephen Goldsmith struck with RCA....In fact, they're considering staging a boycott of the new moniker. Rather than refer to the home of the Indianapolis Colts by its new name, they're planning to use the term "the indoor football stadium on South Capitol Avenue formerly known as the Hoosier Dome."

**Bill Moor**, *South Bend Tribune* - An Indiana landmark and sports facility now becomes a billboard for big business. What must gall Indianapolis residents even more is that RCA recently moved its headquarters out of their city to the suburb, leaving behind a \$750,000 gap in taxes each year. It seems that RCA is doing it solely for name recognition and not for any philanthropic motivations."

**Dan Carpenter**, *Indianapolis Starr* - He notes that Thomson's move to Carmel will cost Indianapolis \$400,000 a year in property taxes, \$350,000 in local option taxes and millions more in sales and excise taxes. Thomson has also shipped out 2,000 Indiana jobs to Mexico since 1980. "Financed by Indianapolis people for the pleasure of the entire state, notably our suburbs, it is a multi-million tribute to an arrogant football team owner who is honored for his philanthropy. Henceforth, it will serve as a monument to yet another font of false generosity, whose fortune the people of Indianapolis also built...The only meaningful issue is why we're going so cheap."

**Chris Katterjohn**, *Indianapolis Business Journal* - "...not even the RCA Hoosier Dome, just the RCA Dome. Well, that's a big pill to swallow, and let me tell you why...We watched as a crowd of 500 went to the ceremonial unveiling of the new name for this community facility. The Hoosier Dome, we thought it a little hokey, but came to appreciate the choice...Ouch."

**Jim McNeile**, *Elkhart Truth* - "Local places of brand names that leaders might consider plums for corporate sponsorship: NoDoz Public Library, LaChoy Rice Field, Maiden Form Upper St. Joe Boatlift, Sergeant's Shipshewana Flea Market, Jockey Police Briefing Room,

Mad Magazine Indiana License Branch...."

**Nancy Nall**, *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel* - "If Chem Waste offered \$10.5 million, would it now be the Chemical Waste Management Dome? I hate this trend. Although I'm not above it. As soon as a well-known electronics firm ponies up a few mil, I'll change my name to Nancy Sony."

**Peter L. Blum**, *Gary Post-Tribune* - "Politicians who like to say that good government makes for good politics are operating under the premise that the results matter but that taking credit for them when they are good or casting blame when they are bad is paramount. In Indiana state politics, where Republicans have turned their control of one house of the General Assembly into the closest thing we have to opposition government, the credit/blame game has been in full swing since Democrat Evan Bayh ascended to the office of governor in 1988. That once smooth operation that was the hallmark of the Republican Party's domination of the Statehouse has been forgotten and replaced by the rule of rancor."

**John Krull**, *Indianapolis News* - "Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to call to order this meeting of the Society of Paranoid Delusionals. Mr. Chairman! Mr. Chairman! The chair recognizes Rep. Dan Burton, R-Ind. Mr. Chairman I would like to present a report on my investigation into the murder of the Clintons' good friend, Vincent Foster. Murder, Mr. Burton? Yes, murder. I have proof - proof - that Vincent Foster's death could not have been a suicide! Stop screeching, Rep. Burton...One question Rep. Burton, why do you think so many responsible people refuse to take your investigation seriously? The answer is simple, Mr. Chairman. Those people are crazy."

**Sylvia Smith**, *Journal-Gazette* - There are no minced words in Mark Souder's press release: He flat out says that Rep. Jill Long voted to "exempt Congress from the Family Medical Leave Act. Long is equally emphatic: "That's false. I have no idea why that statement would have been made. That is not correct." So who's right? They both are in a political shorthand, sound bite sort of way. But...they're also both imprecise. Smith explains that Long voted no on an amendment that would allow congressional employees to sue their employers - members of Congress - if they lost their jobs under the Family and Medical Leave Act, with Long maintaining the amendment was an attempt to kill the bill. Souder contends that unless and until Congress has to obey the very same work-life regulations...it's just not true that Law X or Regulation Z applies to Congress as well as private business."





## Joe Hogsett: Indiana's latest happy warrior

ANDERSON — It was one of those still Saturday morning moments where a handful of volunteers stood around, bleary-eyed, with cups of coffee, awaiting the arrival of the main event.

In a split second, the door to the Madison County Democratic headquarters blasted open, and a slender figure burst forth.

"Door-to-door!" proclaimed Joe Hogsett with a wide grin.

Hogsett for Congress campaign manager Cindy Lanane turned to Frank Kantner, a volunteer. "Frank, are you fast?"

"Yes."

"Because Joe's fast."

Speed becomes a factor when volunteers and journalists join the Joe Hogsett precinct hustle. When I expressed a desire to shadow Hogsett, press aide John Koenig said more than once, "I hope you can keep up with him."

Hogsett already had taken in a pancake breakfast in Farmland, then a 5k race in Mooreland (where he finished fourth, first in his age group). His day would include a run — literally — through two north Anderson precincts, the Anderson Black Expo parade, the Mooreland parade, another precinct gallop in Muncie, a festival in Gaston and a reception in Alexandria. Hogsett had arisen in Rushville around 4 a.m. in order to be in Farmland at 7. His day would not end until 9 that night.

In Anderson, a team of 11 blue-shirted volunteers headed to two quiet middle-class residential areas north of the Eisenhower Bridge. They had plotted routes prior to the departure of three cars, with Dave Tierney of the UAW going through the precinct list. "Stop there," Tierney had instructed the Frank Kantners of the world. "He's a good Democrat; he fixes lawn mowers."

Hogsett wore wearing running shoes with the word "Beast" stamped on the sides. He was in shorts and a plaid short-sleeve shirt, one of three he brought along this sultry day.

The cars split off into the precinct, not unlike a litter of tiny kittens, which, when released, head off in every direction. Hogsett's car, driven by Tim Joyce, stops. "OK, where are we? Which way?"

To follow the feline analogy, Hogsett is "Tigger," the bouncy character from Disney's "Winnie the Pooh." He emerges from the car, and gallops door-to-door.

"Hi, I'm Joe Hogsett. I'm running for the Congress," says Hogsett to a young woman who has answered her door.

He's not running for Congress, but *The Congress*.

"Give me a look and give me a thought in November," he says.

"I know who you are," the woman responds, "I know your face."

For Lanane, a veteran of many Democratic campaigns since she was a kid growing up in Anderson, Hogsett is a dream candidate. "Joe is a very energetic campaigner," Lanane understates. "He's running a very field-intensive campaign." In her book, personal contact can make a huge difference.

"I love running in a congressional district," Hogsett explains. "I couldn't do this running for secretary of state or the Senate."

Hogsett races through the block, greeting folks. "I'm from Rushville...." His entourage is passing out literature. If anyone expresses an interest in talking to the candidate, it's relayed to Hogsett and he seeks out the address.

Prior to departure, Kantner asks, "What if everyone wants to talk to Joe?"

"Well, they usually don't," says Lanane. "A lot won't be home."

True enough, but a half a dozen want to chat.

One is a guy named Brian Shelton, who invites Hogsett into his home; offers him a Coke. "It's not often I get an opportunity to talk to a congressional candidate," Shelton says, producing a list of questions.

Hogsett knows he has the Black Expo parade in a few minutes, but he listens as Shelton asks about universal health coverage (Hogsett opposes), weapons ban (ditto), and GATT. "I see a one world government developing with the world bank and the world court," Shelton says.

"I support GATT," Hogsett says. "It will open up markets for our products that are not currently open. I don't think you need to worry about the U.S. playing any more than a leadership role in addressing freedom, democratic and market reforms."

As time ticks, Shelton asks Hogsett if he's read the book "Operation Vampire Killer 2000." No, the candidate says and that prompts Shelton to search his archives until he finds a soft-bound copy.

"Actually, this is pretty interesting," said Hogsett, who had been preparing to study theology, after thumbing through the copy. "That's good millennialist literature."

After leaving Shelton's home, Hogsett explains, "Sometimes it's easy to dismiss someone as a kookball, but I think it's part of our role to see where they're coming from and listen."

The time spent did Hogsett little good for his campaign. Shelton later called Democratic headquarters to say he would vote against Hogsett over his GATT stance.

Hogsett gallops again. "Warren!" he shouts upon seeing former lobbyist Warren Spang. "Wanting to talk about a new tire shredder. I have in mind asking Lawler

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## Happy warrior (continued)

and Frank O'Bannon to throw a tirade in the hopper," Spangl explains, "and, of course, I'll have to include David McIntosh."

Hogsett nods and bades farewell. "Good to see you fit and sassy, Warren."

There's another talk with GM worker Phil Harrington and his wife, Tara, on health care and abortion. Tim Joyce merges, glancing at his watch. It's time for the Black Expo Parade.

It's amazing how the Hogsett volunteers all have seemed to simultaneously turn up for their rides. Have they ever left someone behind?

"Oh, yeah!" Hogsett says, smiling.

The Anderson Black Expo parade is lengthy — at least three miles long — and the crowd is sparse. There's a convertible for the candidate to ride in, but he shuns it. Hogsett gallops forth crisscrossing the street, shaking every extended hand.

Kantner fetches him water and Lanane smiles and says, "Now do you see how I've lost 8 pounds?"

For three-quarters of the parade, Hogsett stays behind the police escort, and well ahead of McIntosh. As the parade takes its last of four turns, Hogsett finally bursts beyond the cops on bikes. He outruns the parade, with Joyce in dress shoes by his side, while Lanane fetches the parade banner.

There's a precinct to walk in Middletown; no sense in slowing down now.

## The Humor Mill

One of the oddest political stories seen recently by Larry McShane of the Associated Press appeared in the Aug. 12 edition of the *Indianapolis News*. It was about Americans dreaming of Bill Clinton.

Publishing house art director Julia Anderson-Miller once dreamed that Bill Clinton had given her a relaxing neck massage. She decided to see if others had dreams of the president. They had. A sampling:

☞ "We fell in love and had great sex. He was married to Hillary and I was single. Al Gore yelled at me and told me I was a home wrecker."

☞ "I dreamed Bill made me a ham sandwich from a beautiful sugar-cured whole ham. ...nice spicy mustard, real vine-ripened tomato and green lettuce. He handed it to me on a china plate and said, 'That'll be \$116 please.'"

☞ "I fell asleep and when I awoke, I noticed I had been stabbed repeatedly. I called my gram. I told her I had been stabbed and she said to me, 'I warned you about him, and I asked, 'Who?' She replied, 'Bill Clinton. He's been going around stabbing people who have relatives in Arkansas.'"

### Wendellisms:

Q. Who will get to see the doctor first under universal health care?

A. The 175 congressmen whose arms were wrenched when President Clinton convinced them to vote for it.  
- Wendell Trogdon, *Indianapolis News*

## Meanderings and musings

Golden Rule's J. Patrick Rooney is floating trial balloons with an eye on a 1996 Republican gubernatorial run....

Fund-raisers coming up in the 8th CD: For Republican John Hostettler, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats will be in Evansville on Sept. 15, and Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith will do fundraisers in Evansville and Bloomington on Oct. 21. U.S. Rep. David Bonior, D-Mich., will do a fundraiser for U.S. Rep. Frank McCloskey on Oct. 22 in Evansville. "We still have 25 more fundraisers on the books," said Hostettler campaign manager Rob Krieg. "The money is rolling in. But we know if we raise \$500,000, he (McCloskey) will raise \$750,000...."

David McIntosh's 2nd CD campaign will be gearing up for a big Labor Day weekend tour to kickoff the fall campaign....

Big story in Kokomo: a newsletter has named Kokomo as one of 105 communities that might get an abortion clinic should health care reforms include provisions for abortions. The *Kokomo Tribune* quotes James Wagoner of the National Abortion and Reproductive Action League as saying, "Our opponents are grasping at straws...."

Former Vice President Dan Quayle will host a

charity golf outing Aug. 22 at Lebanon's Ulen Country Club. Each golfer will pay between \$175 to \$1,000 and includes at least one hole of golf with the expense....

More than 400,000 Illinois residents signed petitions to get a term limits question on the ballot. But four members of the Illinois Supreme Court knocked the question off the ballot....

Former *Journal-Gazette* business reporter Rob Ziegler has moved from Morris Wooden campaign to the Hostettler camp....

Look for a David Letterman-Bobby Rahal entry into the 1995 Indy 500. Will the deal go down at Jag's in Centerville?

### RECOMMENDED BOOKS

Joe Hogsett - *"The Culture of Disbelief,"* Stephen Carter, how "Godtalk" is being pressured from the public square.

Joe Hogsett - *"Operation Vampire Killer 2000."*  
Kevin Shaw Kellems: *"Demosclerosis,"* by Jonathan Rauch, a look at the role of lobbyists and special interests in democracy.

Richard Lugar: *"Congress's Permanent Minority: Republicans in the U.S. House"* by William Connelly and John Pitney.



Senate Watch

Jontz and th I-69 xtention: which way is the "wrong way?"

On Aug. 5 in Evansville, U.S. Senate candidate Jim Jontz came out in favor of the I-69 extension, although Jim Beck of the Evansville Courier said the Democrat appeared "a little fuzzy" on his support.

"I hav not endorsed...any specific route because

I have been looking at what alternatives could achiev the goal of an Evansvill to Indy highway with minirnal cost and a minimal environmental concern."

But in Bloomington on Aug. 4, Jontz appeared to be against the extention. In an Aug. 5 Herald-Times story by Chris Long, Jontz said, "Looking at this situation, I don't see any reason to build a new highway from h re to there when you have Ind. 37 and Ind. 58. And I think you've got some real problems with the forests and other environmental factors."

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