Democratic Titanic in the eye of a storm

700 gather to contemplate uncertainties

HPR Forecast: The question that was repeatedly asked of HPR at the Indiana Democratic Editorial Association last weekend was, "So what's your prediction? What's going to happen?" The answer inevitably was always the same. It is going to be a tumultuous, potentially calamitous month. The political climate 30 days from now will likely be completely different than it is today.

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

FRENCH LICK - As I wandered through the midst of Indiana Democrats this past weekend - and many are good friends, by the way - I kept hearing pop singer Robert Plant's voice in my mind, singing, "Ship of Fools."

These people, of course, are not fools any more or less than the rest of us are, and I was among them. But they will face some incredible twists of fate and fortune. My characters for this drama and stream of consciousness are people like Evan Bayh, Gail Riecken, Pam Carter, Doug Leatherbury, Lee Hamilton, Joe Andrew, Frank O'Bannon and Joe Kernan - the creme de la creme of a new machine - a Democratic Machine - that is about to take a U.S. Senate seat. It dismantled the Bulen-Durnil juggernaut on the Republican side that ruled for 20 years. It is now poised to not only seize a Senate seat, but could pick up a U.S. House seat in the Bloody 8th, and perhaps retain the governor's chair for a considerable length of time. Maybe.

With the economy purring, a Global Strategies survey for Indiana Senate candidates said 65 percent of Hoosiers felt the state was headed in the right direction. Some 77 percent approved of Evan Bayh and 72 percent of O'Bannon. When I raised my hand to ask about any trends in Indiana House races, apparently Mike Harmless and/or Robin Winston gave the "don't answer" sign behind my back -

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"QUOTE" OF THE WEEK

"Now I want to tell you: If something comes out, that you read about, that you think Danny shouldn't have done, I will own up to it. I won't lie about it. I will tell the truth...." - U.S. Rep. Dan Burton, to the Indianapolis Star, on a coming Vanity Fair article
Democrats, from page 1

I could feel the wind from all the flapping. But I wasn't mad, hell they let me into the place to begin with.

The Indiana Democratic Editorial Association convention at the French Lick Springs Resort is a tasty political treat, swaddled in golf, pony rides, mud-baths, massages and lymph drains. Last weekend would be different than the rest. In 1994, I felt the first hints of what would be desperation just a few weeks hence. This August 1998 weekend began even more conspicuously with CNN reports as I was about to leave for French Lick: the lunatic Yeltsin was insisting in yet another incoherent speech that he was staying in power for two more years. President Clinton was heading to Moscow to meet with a Lunatic.

Wall Street had just dropped 8 percent. The President had attacked terrorist bases in Afghanistan and Sudan, and may have accidentally bombed a pharmaceutical factory. The first thing everyone said when they heard about it in the newsroom, was "Wag The Dog" - either as a question or an observation based on a recent Hollywood movie.

It came on the heels of what this administration will always be remembered for - the first modern presidential sex scandal that has provided us with a perjured president who, in a pissed-off speech to the American people, failed to say "I'm sorry."

Defend Clinton, or shut up

Indiana Democrats found themselves in a position of either having to defend the President, or remain uncomfortably mute. I wasn't sure what I'd find with the Democrats in French Lick. Do I dare tell that joke about Ross Perot finally figuring out where that giant sucking sound was coming from in Washington?

At the registration table, I mingled with Democratic journalists. I quickly felt very comfortable. The Big Lewinsky jokes were filling the air. There was incredulous talk of the President's alleged cigar tryst with Monica while Yassir Arafat waited in the Rose Garden. While not publicly, some of the big named Democrats were cracking Monica jokes in private.

The mood of all Democrats was all over the map - everything from denial, to hope, to resignation that bad times were ahead. There
was Bloomington Mayor John Fernandez, who was calling for Clinton's resignation. "He f---d an intern," Fernandez said. If a mayor did that, he'd be run out of town on a rail.

And there was the statesman....

Lee Hamilton

In 1994, Rep. Lee Hamilton hit IDEA attendees with a stream of consciousness that was personal, emotional and prophetic. Hamilton seemed to be composing the speech as he went, occasionally stopping to collect his thoughts, while his voice would say, "Oh, my...." He called for the Democrats to stand behind their president, for catastrophe awaited if they didn't. He felt a wall between himself and the people. He came within 7,000 votes of defeat that year, and his opponent believed that at one point on Election Night, he thought he had lost (Hamilton denies this). In 1998, Lee Hamilton got up and told the faithful that it was time to "raise a little hell." It could have been a bookend speech to his '94 classic; instead, Hamilton reserved judgment and defended the status quo.

He acknowledged that "this is going to be a campaign when virtually nobody shows up," and then lambasted House Speaker Newt Gingrich for saying that nothing but a continuing resolution bill was to be passed this fall. He said the Republicans were trying to "raise one hot issue after another to energize their conservative base."

Hamilton asked the party, "Who do you trust to overhaul the Social Security system? The Republicans want a great big tax cut for the wealthy. We want to save Social Security first."

Lee Hamilton defended President Clinton's record: 100,000 new cops, a low crime rate, a balanced budget with a $63 billion surplus. "It is our program that got the country to this remarkable level of prosperity." And while Republicans rant and rail about the Great Society, "they haven't repealed one law of it."

The congressman said he got the "strangest feeling" when he saw his name missing from his primary ballot. "I went up and down and I couldn't find my name. I almost wrote my name in." Then he recalled 1964 - the year he was elected to Congress along with LBJ and Roger Branigan - "the largest Democratic sweep in my lifetime...."

"All I ask is that you do the same for me in 1998," Hamilton said as he finished this stem-winder. He then walked off the stage and strode purposely through the tables and hundreds of Democrats and went straight through the doors, disappearing into history.

Joe Andrew

He is the Tom Wolfe of Indiana politics, but this is no Electric Kool-Aid Acid test for the dapper author-attorney-chairman and, perhaps, some day, a new Clark Clifford (or Ron Brown) for Washington's power circles. Andrew is a Hoosier who can write his ticket. He has been instrumental in tapping into bigtime money for Indiana Democrats. Who would have ever thought Frank O'Bannon could come close to matching Stephen Goldsmith for dollars in '96? Andrew now had Indiana Democrats raising more money per capita than any other state party - including New York and California.

Andrew surveyed the auditorium. "In 1994, there was nobody here;" he said. In 1998, some 713 Democrats had registered. He made them laugh, whipping out index cards detailing "101 ways you can tell you're a Republican."

There was No. 93, "You don't believe Ken Starr has subpoena envy...."

In announcing 8th CD candidate Gail Riecken, Andrew said of her opponent, U.S. Rep. John Hostettler, "This is a man who thinks the 2nd Amendment covers nuclear weapons." As for Republican Jean Leising in the 9th CD, Andrew said, "Can you imagine Jean Leising replacing Lee Hamilton? That's when the huns are at the gate; the barbarians are going to win."

Earlier in the day, he told one group of Ds that Clinton will talk his way out of the mess. "If Bill Clinton just keeps talking and getting out in front of the voters, he'll be OK," one Democrat heard him say.

Publicly, Andrew stated, "This is going to be a great year for Democrats. We are organized and energized." Indeed, they are both.

Andrew acknowledged, "There is a little

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U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer told the
Philadelphia Inquirer that a small but growing group of Democrats are considering censure as an option for punishing President Clinton. "It would be a symbolic statement that Congress is sending to the President," Roemer said he has been "floating the idea."

U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar told the Indianapolis Star that the turmoil in Russia could leave to a "serious recession" in the U.S. Lugar had just returned from two weeks of travel from nations adjacent to Russia. "The fact is that events in Russia have already impacted upon the net worth of tens of millions of American - significantly," said Lugar. "Those Americans who have common stocks in the form of 401K or pension plans or in their own accounts are worth less, and by hundreds of billions, than they were last week."

In the World According to Jerry Bales published in the Behind Closed Doors column in the Indianapolis Star, the vanquished Bloomington Republican predicted Rep. Tim Brown of Crawfordsville will defeat Paul Mannweller for the top GOP position in the House, Rep. Brent Steele of Bedford will replace Rep. Brian Bosma, and as HPR reported last week, Rep. Jim Buck will topple Jeff Linder. It was an storm - a hurricane - and it isn't Bonnie, it's Monica." One Democrat nearby commented, "There could be a Bonnie, too."

Andrew urged the partisans to be upbeat despite the Big Lewinsky when the news media comes calling. "Is this going to hurt us? They're going to look to your tone of voice, your emotional level, or whether we're worried."

Joe Kernan

If there was a Democrat who hit the Big Lewinsky head-on, it was Lt. Gov. Kernan. He acknowledged President Clinton had "gone too far."

"We've all had some feelings over the last few weeks and the past seven months," Kernan said as the hushed audience leaned into his speech. "Some of us are angry, disappointed, ashamed, bitter, sad. For all of us, one or more of these emotions have come together."

But there is still "business to conduct," Kernan said, even if it is in Moscow and the critics think it's a mistake. "To hell with the pundits," Kernan said.

Doug Leatherbury

He is the Clerk of the Courts nominee who stole the show. Leatherbury has been coming to IDEA conventions since, he says, the 1880s. One year, Leatherbury said, he didn't even reserve a hotel room, "I just ended up in one." He then launched into a hilarious "one man makes a difference" story, beginning at John Hillenbrand's Jawaca Farms retreat in 1997. Serving on a media panel, Mary Beth Schneider of the Indianapolis Star/News stated at one point that the clerk of the courts race was "irrelevant."

"I just smiled," Leatherbury drawled, and after an anecdote involving Grandpa and Minnie Pearl ("they're gone now and we miss them") Leatherbury made a case for the office he seeks. It is "right in the middle of the legislative, executive and judicial branches," said Leatherbury, "and we all know that one man can make a difference."

Gail Riecken, Baron Hill

The two best hopes for the Democratic machine to pick up and maintain Congressional seats are Hill and Riecken. Neither of them publicly talked much about the Clintonian scandals.

Said Riecken of her opponent - Rep. Hostettler - "We have come to call this congressman, 'Congressman No!' She added, "What we need is someone to tell us yes."

Hill is a candidate who has a flair for putting things into historical perspective. Men, he said, couldn't govern themselves "until America came along." He quoted Aristotle and the young boy, who asked, "What do I have to do to acquire wisdom?" Aristotle pushed the boy's head under water and kept him there until the boy nearly drowned. When the boy was brought up, Aristotle asked him what he needed. "Air."

Hill recalled working for House Democrats and then-Speaker Michael K. Phillips in 1994. "Democrats weren't going to the polls, and we got slaughtered," Hill said.

The "air" for Democrats is their base going to the polls. "When I look at the polls today, I see we're going to win. But I'm very concerned about voter turnout. Things are going too well," Hill said.

Hill told another story of a priest and a rabbi going into a fight. The priest crossed himself. The rabbi asked, "What does that mean?" The priest replied, "It doesn't mean anything if you don't know how to fight."

Pam Carter

On the night President Clinton gave his "inappropriate relationship" speech, the former attorney general and current vice chair of the Indiana Democrats ended up on WIBC radio defending the president, expressing her disappointment in him, and urging the country to move on.

In her speech to Democrats, she articulated the notion of moving on and what will happen to the party if it doesn't; if it gets caught up in the Clintonian scandal and that depresses turnout. She told a story of finding a homeless woman on a Washington D.C. sidewalk who begged her for a quarter.

"What on earth ... what confluence of events happened to led her to ask for a quarter?" said Carter, one of the most fiery of speakers in the Indiana Democratic stable. This night,
Carter spoke quietly and pondered. "What level of despair would make a quarter matter in her life?"

She noted a "vast cashem" of America. She said, "In 1994, we almost lost everything. That woman may have had hope, may have had deliverance if the Democrats had won.

"Voter turnout must be accomplished," she said, asking, "Can we do that?"

**Evan Bayh**

He is the anointed one. In the worst of the worst debacles that Indiana Democrats may be facing, the economy would slip so badly (like the 512 point loss on the Dow the day after the convention ended) that it would cause President Clinton’s job approval ratings to plunge. A scathing report from Kenneth Starr that listed kinky perversions in office would bring on a rout that could rank among 1994 and 1974 as tidal waves that punished a particular party. If Bill and Hillary Clinton decide to fight to the last man -- even after elder Democrats like Hamilton, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and John Glenn visit the White House and tell him it’s time to go -- Evan Bayh would be the last man standing. Indiana Democrats are hoping that Starr’s report will be so sleazy itself that it will rob the political "air" for impeachment.

Bayh is the embodiment of the Indiana Democratic Machine. He engineered its rise, beating back a legacy (Rob Bowen) and crushed its coqs of the Bulen/Durnil GOP Machine by toppling John Mutz. Bayh resisted national forces that year -- 1988 -- when Hoosier favorite son Dan Quayle was on the national ticket. He provided a platform that helped pave O'Bannon's succession to power. When Bayh runs, he brings in three to six new Indiana House seats with him. As far back as 1984, he has consistently articulated what would be the party’s adopted theme of "fiscal conservatism" with a human face that it prompted NUVO Newsweekly’s Harrison Ullman to declare in his column that he has "lost the Democratic Party; all I can find are Republicans." Bayh brags about Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel calling him the "best Republican governor" Indiana has had. He runs his TV ads without the word "Democrat," prompting Joe Andrew to do his

101 ways to tell whether you’re a Republican.

Bayh gave his standard stump speech Saturday night: largest budget surpluses and tax cuts; 350,000 new jobs; more school funding. Everybody in the room had heard that speech before. It was not tailored for them, instead it was a repetition of marching orders. He did not acknowledge the President. He quoted Harry Truman.

The 700 Democrats enthusiastically applauded Evan Bayh. Even though he has ruled with Republican credentials; even though many of them have carried the water for Evan, he is still theirs. He is still the party's best hope. During his speech, Evan Bayh did not loosen up. He did later, when Attorney General Jeff Modisett took to the dais and said he always learned something at French Lick:

**Modisett:** "Ten years ago, I learned Evan Bayh sang country music songs."

**Bayh:** "Not very well."

**Modisett:** "I didn't say very well."

When Evan let his guard down -- when Evan got his groove back -- the crowd lapped it up. An hour later, at the annual Smoke Filled Room (held this year on the environmentally-safer outdoor patio) Bayh loosened up and joined the crowd in telling saucy stories.

If Evan Bayh could incorporate some of that spontaneity into his stump speech and show folks how he deals with real life situations - as Clinton and Reagan have done so well - he will be on the road to the White House. In 1998, however, he could be the last man standing.

**Frank and Judy O'Bannon**

The worst case scenario has Indiana Democrats getting drubbed; the road thrown in their machine. The two mitigating reasons for hope are the First Couple. Bayh will likely go to Washington and he will become national property. The O'Bannons have taken the IDEA that drew 284 people in the nightmare year of 1994 and brought 713 to French Lick this weekend in what was tantamount to a ship - a Titanic - in the eye of a hurricane.

They sang into the wee hours, with Mary Lou Conrad at the piano. The spirit was infectious. It wouldn't be there without Frank and Judy O'Bannon.}

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Indiana Racing Form

Dempsey, Waterman getting real challenges

Yes, yes, I know they're flapping around in the back of the stall, telling the pollsters not to answer the this horse's question. But the ol' glue fodder did pick up the fact that only 37 percent of people in a Global Strategies Group poll favored the Republican tax plan. Sixty-three percent approved of the Democratic position. Hmmm, maybe that's why Garton and Mannweller are shifting position on property tax reform.

In our status report, Toss-Up means the race is within a statistical margin of error or we're on to something; Leans is just outside the margin of error and up to, say, 9 percent; Likely is about 10 to 15 points and a good gut feeling, and Solid means watch out for a landslide.

Indiana Legislative Races

Senate District 1: R Primary: Sen. Sandy Dempsey. D Primary: Hammond Councilman Frank Mrvan. Geography: Lake County. HPR General Forecast: Dempsey v. Mrvan. 1994 Results: Mrvan 13,114, Dempsey 13,060. 1998 Forecast: Blink at those 1994 election results and you'd think Frank Mrvan would be a state senator and not a city councilman from Hammond. But this was one of the most controversial elections in Senate history. After a lengthy recount, the Senate voted down party lines to seat the pro-choice Dempsey over the pro-life Democrat. Adding to the controversy was Dempsey's erratic behavior during the early part of her term. All indications are that this race will go down to the wire. With Gov. Frank O'Bannon pouring highway money into Lake County and visiting often, we believe Mrvan has a real shot at retaking this Senate seat. Status: TOSS-UP.

Senate District 39: R Primary: Sen. John Waterman. D Primary: Rod Hasler. Geography: Sullivan, Greene, Owen and Monroe counties. 1994 Results: Waterman 17,846, Doll 17,365. 1998 Forecast: Waterman clearly benefited from the '94 Republican landslide with a 500-vote win over Democrat Morrie Doll. The former Sullivan County sheriff is a proven vote-getter who will be tough to unseat. But Democrats have the perfect counter, Rod Hasler, cousin of State Rep. Brian Hasler. Waterman has been controversial, bucking the GOP on prevailing wage and insurance reform and that might help him in this old mining district. This past week, Waterman became involved in a controversy surrounding an shooting range that used to be on IU property. That kind of issue will serve him well with the Republican right. He is also sponsored legislation this year aimed against the Kinsey Sex Institute at Indiana University. That could be a mighty interesting backdrop when placed in the context of President Clinton's sex problems in Washington. If that kind of national dynamic emerges, Waterman will probably survive. Without it, Democrats believe they have a real shot at retaking this seat. Status: TOSS-UP.

House District 60: Republican: Jeff Ellington. Democrat: Peggy Welch. Geography: Bloomington, Bloomfield, Lawrence, Greene and Monroe counties. 1994 Results: Bales 11,825, Anderson 5,210. 1996 Results: Bales 15,743, Germann (L) 1,931. 1998 Forecast: This is by far the most active legislative race in the state, with skirmishes breaking out all over the place on an array of campaign and social issues. Ellington is complaining about a Democratic push poll, saying it violates a League of Women Voters clean campaign pledge Welch had just signed. But Welch said the survey was "done to help me develop my campaign strategy" (Steve Hinnefield, Bloomington Herald-Times). She refused to release the results. "Quite honestly, I'm surprised. On Monday she signs a fair campaign pledge. On Tuesday she does a push poll," Ellington said. But Democratic Rep. Mark Kruzan said the survey's harshest question was whether Welch was a "puppet of the Democratic Party." Welch said that while she will not campaign negatively or accept those tactics on her behalf, she will "ask the hard questions" to contrast her positions with Ellington. Meanwhile, the Indiana DNR has dropped an investigation of Ellington's business and whether it violated state floodway regulations. Said the DNR, "We just don't have the staff to worry about dotting every I and crossing every T" (Herald-Times).
Ellington denies that he organized a meeting to gain political support for the Sycamore Valley Gun Club's reinstatement of a shooting range on Indiana University property. About 160 people turned out at Pic-A-Chic Farms last weekend to discuss the issue with legislators. Several legislators are vowing to cut funding for IU in retaliation (see Ticker Tape). Democrats said that it was "clearly a political event for Jeff's campaign." Kruzan added, "it's good politics for him." The Bloomington Independent reported that 13 people protested against Judge David Welch - his candidate's husband - after he set bond for a man charged with sexual battery. The newspaper said the bond "was consistent with similar Class D felonies." Status: Leans R.

Indiana Congressional Races

U.S. Senate: Republican: Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke. Democrat: Evan Bayh. 1992 Results: Coats 1,267,972, Hogsett 900,148. 1998 Forecast: Democrats are chiding Horse Race for not putting this one in the "Solid" category. We want to be conservative like everyone else in this race and see how Big Lewinsky & the Starr Report plays out. If Saturday Night Bill is cast as a lounge lizard president with no character or morals, this race could tighten up. But as we said right after the primary, Helmke needed to be within shouting distance of Bayh - under 15 percent - by Labor Day and all indications are Bayh still has a landslide-caliber lead. WPTA-TV poll (833 respondents, 55 percent registered, +/- 3.3) in the 4th CD had Bayh leading Helmke 51-27 percent. In Fort Wayne, Bayh was leading the mayor 50-31 percent. Remember, this was taken after Helmke had run TV ads in the Fort Wayne market. A Global Strategies Poll had Bayh's approval rating at 77 percent. That same poll had Bayh leading Helmke among women voters 56-27 percent. Helmke appears to be getting some traction with his statewide bus tour, including decent TV coverage in Indianapolis on Monday. Campaign believes Helmke is great at retail politics and he will inevitably get decent coverage in smaller newspapers across the state. But this should have happened in May or June when the good press could have helped with fundraising, not September when the air war kicks in and Bayh will wildly outspend him. Status: Likely D.


Brian A. Howey
GOP makes taxes the 1998 mantra

By ERIK HROMADKA

INDIANAPOLIS - Want a tax cut? Vote Republican. That new bumper sticker said it all as Indiana Republicans flexed their organizational muscle Wednesday during a carefully scripted Statehouse rally to announce their agenda for the 1998 elections.

The Pokagon Indians have purchased 135 acres of land near North Liberty in St. Joseph County (South Bend Tribune). It is also considering the purchase of an adjacent 900-acre parcel.

Clutching blue binders of talking points that were marked "confidential" and warned against "sharing with the media," the state's top Republicans crammed into their caucus room to brief print reporters (no TV cameras allowed) on their proposal for Indiana's largest tax cut.

Sen. Bob Garton and Rep. Paul Mannweiler and state Chairman Mike McDaniel outlined a Republican message that focused on a $1 billion property tax cut in 1999 that would not include new or increased taxes and would continue in future budgets. The estimated $2 billion surplus should provide enough for both an immediate tax cut and a rainy day fund while the economy is strong enough to leave that tax cut in place for future years, they said. Better educational opportunities and safer communities were also part of the message.

However, it was the number of Republicans carrying a unified message that may be more significant than the particulars of lower taxes. Budget and finance committee members including Sens. Larry Borst and Steve Johnson, and Rep. Jeff Espich, Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy, ticket candidates Tim Berry, Connie Nass and Brian Bishop and U.S. Rep. David McIntosh attended.

Asked if Republicans agreeing on a tax cut was really news, McDaniel said his conversations with officials in Illinois and Texas suggest that such a unified approach is unique.

Espich took a partisan shot at Democratic Rep. Win Moses, whom he quoted as saying Democratic candidates will have to speak on taxes for themselves individually. "I'd be embarrassed to say that," Espich chuckled.

Following the briefing, the Republicans gathered on the capitol's south steps for a photo op where Garton told the cameras, "The buses are in the background and the Republican Party is ready to roll."

From there the Republicans split up into groups heading for buses and airports to blanket the state with their message for the traditional Labor Day kickoff to the elections.

"I think it's going to be even better than 1994," said McIntosh. "This is going to be a clean sweep."