



HOWEY

Political Report

V 11, No 15 *Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics*

Thursday, Dec. 2, 2004

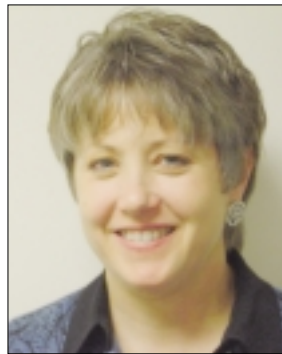
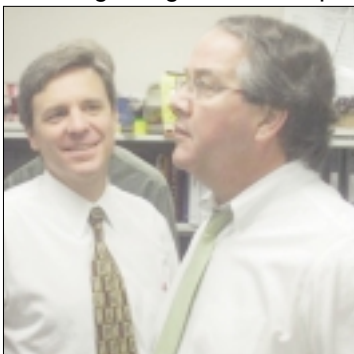
DST could be first big test

Daniels' 'A Team' coming from Lilly-Lugar sphere of influence

By BRIAN A. HOWEY in Indianapolis

The new power centers are beginning to take shape under Indiana Inc. CEO Mitch Daniels, who happens to be governor-elect.

Ice Miller power attorney Harry Gonso will be the new chief of staff, aided by Ellen Whitt of the My Man Mitch campaign staff. Charles Schalloil is the new budget director, and Debra Minott will head administration. These are first-tier people whose early appointments express the administration's early emphasis on financial and ethic matters. They have Rose



Harry Gonso, center with State Sen. Murray Clark, will be Mitch Daniels' special counsel and chief of staff. Ellen Whitt, a former Lugar aide, will be deputy chief of staff.

Bowl credentials and come from the stately and lucrative warrens of Eli Lilly and Richard Lugar spheres of influence. They reflect the kind of new Republican talent that will begin populating state government, not unlike the Bart Petersons and Bill Moreaus who were the early movers, shakers and enforcers under Gov. Evan Bayh, the last party transitional governor. They were the "A team," the best and the brightest under a party with pent up goals and fury, and against which subsequent generations of leaders will be judged when the inevitable changes come before the first re-elect, afterward, and when the administration finds its twilight.

"Like Pat Miller, Chuck Schalliol, and others to come, Deb is a top talent who has never before served in public life," Daniels said of Minott, a Lilly veteran who was also an executive at Essex Wire in Fort Wayne. "From the beginning we've said that we would bring a new crew with unprecedented abilities and a fresh outlook, and you are seeing that start to take shape."

Gov. Joe Kernan is helping the Daniels transition team pave the way for the



"It's time for the legislature and administration to start acting like statesmen."

— John A. Hillenbrand Jr., co-chair of the Indiana Government Efficiency Commission

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.

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Subscriptions:
\$350 annually HPR via e-mail;
\$550 annually HPR & HPR Daily Wire.
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"new crew," seeking the resignations of 146 people appointed by the governor and lieutenant governor by the Jan. 10 inaugural.

Democrats were fretting on several fronts. Some believe the forced resignations shouldn't have come at the hands of Gov. Kernan. They noted that the out-going Gov. Bob Orr secured merit positions at the end of the watershed year 1988. And there was concern that some positions, like an open judgeship in Lake County, would be filled by the Republican governor (*the seat will not be vacant until February, after Kernan's term*). They worry that a Gov. Daniels will eliminate the personal license plate money funds that could keep the state party from thirsting to death as it enters the political desert. And, of course, they are SOL.

On Monday, more than 30 "due diligence" teams fanned out across state government to take a reading on the various finances and ethics. The rumblings are similar to other transitions, be it Orr-to-Bayh or Goldsmith-to-Peterson: that big surprises loom under the bureaucratic loam. They are to report back by Dec. 10 on "conditions, problems and opportunities" after doing their due diligence on the scandal-plagued FSSA and BMV, as well as other agencies, including the departments of revenue, corrections and environmental management (*Associated Press*). "I think the principal objective of these reports is to identify the largest problems, to help inform the people we will appoint about the nature of their new duties and the challenges they're going to face," Daniels explained shortly after the election.

"Task number one will be figuring out how bad is it really," Schallioli said in an *Indianapolis Star* interview, referring to the state's financial condition. "It should be a wild ride."

The transition between Gov. Kernan and Gov.-elect Daniels appears to be harmonious, though Kernan's awarding \$13 million in new pay raises was counter to Daniels' election week request that all such activity cease.

A legislative package

Daniels said he and Lt. Gov.-elect Becky Skillman of Bedford are sifting through the initiatives to put together a legislative package (*Louisville Courier-Journal*). Skillman, who will be charged with shepherding the ideas through the House and Senate, said the bills likely will be separated into an education package, an economic package and so forth. LSA is currently drawing up bills. The *Courier-Journal* reported, "So far, Daniels and Skillman have confirmed only scant specifics. Daniels will push for: statewide daylight-saving time; ISTEP testing in the spring; replacing the Department of Commerce with a board of directors that will oversee a quasi-governmental organization for economic development.

The DST bully pulpit

The DST bill is a true sticky wicket. It has been argued in the legislature for almost half a century. Former House Speaker John Gregg used to say there were "three things my constituents are against: Communism, regional government and daylight-saving time." It has devoured political neophytes, most recently businessman Scott Jones.

But Daniels will use his political skills honed from the office of Mayor Lugar to the Reagan White House to RV1 in using the gubernatorial lectern -- the bully pulpit -- to take a surface controversy and sell it to the people using logic and reason. Gov. Orr did it in 1987 with A-Plus. Gov. Bowen did it in 1973 with property tax reform. Those were complex and controversial issues that were risky political enterprises. Gov. Bayh never attempted such a bold initiative, with the most controversial in his terms being riverboat gambling, which came about as a budget compromise. His other big initiatives such as the 21st Century Scholars and excise tax cuts were not political hard sells. Gov. O'Bannon presided over the 2002 tax restructuring, but he acted as a "facilitator" in passing what was largely a legislative-driven bill. While Lt. Gov. Kernan got the ball rolling on that historic project, it was Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst and President Bob Garton who put the finishing touches on the bill.

Some new taxes

Daniels is also entering uncharted territory in recent times on taxes. It's been a political mantra -- no new taxes -- since 1988 when President George H.W. Bush uttered those words, raised taxes and lost in 1992. That has been a position embraced by Govs. Bayh, O'Bannon and Kernan.

But the chickens are coming home.

"The Daniels administration is going to move at a pace that has not been seen in awhile," said Mark Lawrance, the state chamber's vice president for corporate development, in the *Lafayette Journal & Courier*. "It's going to be a time of great change for us." Lawrance said one of two highly unlikely scenarios would have to be enacted to prevent tax increases from being implemented: The state's economy must grow by 12 percent annually during the next two years, or total state spending must be cut by 9 percent per year. "The reality is, there are going to be some major tax increases or revenue enhancements," he said.

House Democrats see taxes as their 2006 election balm. What they may not understand is that Hoosiers are ready for change and reform. Daniels has had a rapt dialogue with them. And the Hoosier people aren't stupid. Give the people the facts, and they'll oversee the right decisions. ❖



The 'Freight Train of Change' Is Already Leaving the Station

"A freight train of change is coming. From the Red Dog Saloon in Montgomery and Sparky's Dog House in Mount Summit. From Susie's Pub in Dale, Tony's Place in Valpo, and Jan Williams' Tap Room in Bainbridge. From all the single moms, senior citizens, teachers, farmers, workers and students we've been visiting in every corner of our state. The message is 'change is coming, reform is coming, a great comeback of home and better government is coming to Indiana and it's coming this year.'"

- Mitch Daniels
Indiana Republican Convention

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana government was recently called a "bewildering array" of bureaus and backwaters by the Indiana Government Efficiency Commission.

On Wednesday, the same day the commission's chairman called for Indiana's leaders to "start acting like statesmen," the City-County Unification Committee in Evansville released its first preliminary report. And HPR Publisher Brian A. Howey, keynoting the Indiana Association of County Commissioners, said, "I can safely predict that the changes between 2000 and 2099 will be quantumly greater than those we partially witnessed from 1900 to 1999. I would challenge you, the county commissioners of Indiana, to assume a position on that vanguard of change, and not be an obstacle in its inevitable path."

Later this month, the Indiana Supreme Court is expected to hear oral arguments in a lawsuit that ultimately could render hundreds of state laws unconstitutional. The suit, initiated by backers of a small airport, argues that the Fort Wayne-Allen County Airport Authority is illegal because it was created by special legislation. The ruling could affect more than 500 laws affecting specific communities or counties. "There's a lot of potential repercussions to a decision that would render these laws unconstitutional," state Senate Majority Leader David Long, R-Fort Wayne, told the *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*. "If they (the justices) were to strike this law down, it threatens a significant number of laws in the code."

In essence, the way Indiana governs itself is simply a mess. Or as former Congressman Andy Jacobs said when Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson kicked off his "Indianapolis Works" consolidation proposals, it has become "a buildup of ear wax."

On Wednesday, the House Ways and Means Committee heard six hours of testimony from the Government Efficiency Commission. "There are going to be some very hard choices," said Commission Co-Chair John A. Hillenbrand Jr. of Batesville. "It's time for the legislature and administration to start acting like statesmen."

The *Indianapolis Star* described the commission's preliminary report of Indiana government as a "quagmire."

"I hope the legislature and executive branch will take what we recommend seriously and will act upon it," said Steve Baranyk, chairman of the bipartisan commission's General Government Subcommittee. Baranyk, a private management consultant from Carmel, said the problems go beyond a single party or a single administration (*Indianapolis Star*). "It's happened over many, many decades."

House Speaker Brian Bosma called the commission's task "overwhelming" and promised to study the proposals. Ways & Means Chairman Jeff Espich down played the notion that this was a sneak preview for what the Daniels administration might be cooking up. "Whether all of these ideas will make it into bills this year, it's too early to say, though some of these things are intended to save money," Espich said (*Post-Tribune*). "People don't necessarily like change, but I believe that shaking government up with some changes is appropriate" (*Louisville Courier-Journal*).

At Evansville, legislation to merge the city with Vanderburgh County will likely make its way to the Indiana General Assembly in 2006, and if it passes would face a voter referendum that fall, according to the *Evansville Courier & Press*.

Basically, it consolidates just the executive and legislative branches of government, then leaves it to the new government to decide such controversial issues as whether to combine the sheriff and police departments, or the city and township fire departments (*Courier & Press*). "It would allow the Metro Council to organize an efficient form of government as they deem appropriate, within certain parameters of state law," said committee Chairman John Dunn.

As for the Indiana County Commissioners, the more than 200 in attendance were generally receptive to the idea that change is coming. They complained about dealing with unfunded state and federal mandates and a "pass the buck" mentality in the General Assembly.

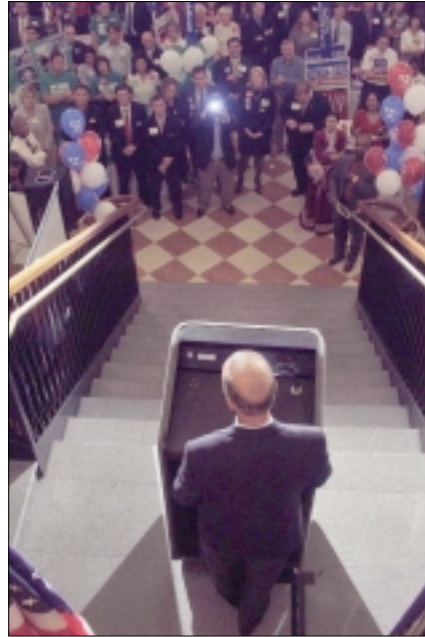
Calling for a Constitutional Convention, Howey asked them, "Someone name me a business or industry that hasn't structurally reinvented itself since 1851. Can anyone do it?"

There was dead silence.

Except for that freight train beginning to chug out of the station. ❖



The Governor's Race *In Photos*



www.howeypolitics.com
Photo Gallery

HPR's Brian A. Howey took a little Kodak DX3700 just about everywhere he went on the campaign trail. Over the last two years of 11 candidacies, four debates, the funerals of two governors, he took hundreds of photos. In the HPR Online Photo Gallery, you will find a comprehensive written and 86-photo record of the most compelling political chapter in Hoosier history ... the 2004 Governor's Race.



HOWEY *Political Report Online*



Dramatic changes in store for 2005 HPR 50 Most Influential list

INDIANAPOLIS - Since the *HPR 50 Most Influential* list first appeared in 1999, we've invited our readers to weigh in. This year, with the first inter-party Statehouse transition in 16 years, the 50 Most Influential list will undergo its most dramatic changes.

Statehouse Democrats are largely out of power. The loss of Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst will mean profound changes in who has hallway clout at the legislature. New power centers will come with Ways & Means Chairman Jeff Espich and new Senate leaders David Long and James Merritt.

The HPR 50 Most Influential list not only reflects clout, but also the times. Because 2005 will not be an election year, you can expect some of the party chairs to drop off the list, while influential budget legislators and lobbyists will rise.

There will also be budget showdowns and war in

Washington, so expect people such as Sens. Bayh and Lugar and 9/11 Commissioners Lee Hamilton and Tim Roemer to carry real weight.

Indiana Democrats will be looking for new leadership, so we'll be cognizant of who to keep an eye on as the party looks to recover in 2006 and beyond.

Looking back on the 2004 list, we once again displayed an uncanny read on the Indiana political environment. We were dead on with the implications of the Borst race, where not only the power was altered, but key issues (i.e. health benefits for legislators) played out in other races. Van Bokkelen's and Shepard's inclusion forecast the huge implications in East Chicago and Lake County.

We want reader participation in this process. E-mail HPR Publisher Brian A. Howey with your observations, suggestions or compile an entire list. Send those e-mails to brianhowey@howeypolitics.com. Howey and HPR Washington correspondent Mark Schoeff Jr. will mull things over and produce the 2005 list in our Jan. 6 edition.

2004 HPR 50 Most Influential List

1. Gov. Joe Kernan
2. Mitch Daniels
3. State Sen. Larry Borst
4. District Attorney Joseph Van Bokkelen
5. U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh
6. U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar
7. Republican Chairman Jim Kittle Jr.
8. Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson
9. Prosecutor Carl Brizzi
10. U.S. Rep. Mike Pence
11. Senate President Pro Tempore Robert D. Garton
12. House Speaker B. Patrick Bauer
13. Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis
14. House Minority Leader Brian Bosma
15. Ways and Means Chairman William Crawford
16. Chief Justice Randall Shepard
17. Democratic Chairman Joe Hogsett
18. Bernie Toon
19. Bill Oesterle
20. Fort Wayne Mayor Graham

- Richard
21. Kevin and Margaret Kellems
22. Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel
23. U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola
24. U.S. Rep. Julia Carson
25. Pat Kiely
26. Kevin Brinegar
27. Terry Thurman
28. U.S. Rep. John Hostettler
29. U.S. Rep. Baron Hill
30. U.S. Rep. Dan Burton
31. U.S. Rep. Mark Souder
32. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
33. State Rep. David Orentlicher
34. Gary Mayor Scott King
35. Bob Grand
36. U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer
37. Tim Roemer
38. Marty Morris
39. First Lady Maggie Kernan
40. Tom Sugar
41. Secretary of State Todd Rokita
42. Shaw Friedman
43. Supt. Suellen Reed
44. Marion County Democratic

- Chairman Ed Treacy
45. St. Joseph County Chairman Butch Morgan
46. State Rep. Mike Murphy
47. Allen County Republican Chairman Steve Shine
48. House Majority Leader Russ Stilwell
49. Steve Patterson and Michael Puente
50. Lee Hamilton
- Honorable Mention**
- Treasurer Tim Berry
- Brian Burdick
- Lake County Prosecutor Bernard Carter
- Attorney General Steve Carter
- Steve Chancellor
- State Sen. Murray Clark
- Deborah Daniels
- Lake County Sheriff Roy Dominguez
- Mary Downes
- Rex Early
- State Rep. Jeff Espich
- State Sen. David Ford





2004 Indiana Election Exit Polling

PRESIDENT

Bush, R	1,474,475	60%
Kerry, D	969,011	39%
Badnarik, L	18,058	1%

GOVERNOR

Daniels, R	1,302,907	53%
Kernan, D	1,113,879	46%
Gividen, L	31,694	1%

2004 CNN Exit Polling Governor

Kernan Daniels

Vote by Gender

Male (48%)	43%	57%
Female (52%)	48%	50%

Vote by Race and Gender

White Men (45%)	39%	60%
White Women (44%)	42%	56%
Non-White Men (4%)	-	-
Non-White Women (7%)	88%	12%

Vote by Race

White (89%)	41%	58%
African-American (7%)	93%	7%
Latino (3%)	-	-
Asian (1%)	-	-

Vote by Age

18-29 (14%)	50%	49%
30-44 (32%)	39%	60%
45-59 (30%)	46%	51%
60 and over (23%)	50%	48%

Vote by Party ID

Democrat (32%)	85%	13%
Republican (44%)	9%	90%
Independent (22%)	58%	38%

Vote for President

Kerry (39%)	89%	10%
Bush (60%)	17%	83%

Vote by Religion

Protestant (70%)	39%	60%
Catholic (18%)	53%	47%
Other (5%)	-	-
None (7%)	56%	36%

White Evangelical/Born Again

Yes (28%)	17%	82%
No (72%)	56%	43%

Vote by Ideology

Liberal (14%)	78%	18%
Moderate (44%)	59%	39%
Conservative (42%)	19%	81%

Vote by Income

Under \$15,000 (6%)	-	-
\$15-30,000 (14%)	53%	43%
\$30-50,000 (23%)	48%	50%
\$50-75,000 (25%)	47%	52%
\$75-100,000 (15%)	36%	62%
\$100-150,000 (10%)	38%	62%
\$150-200,000 (4%)	-	-
\$200,000 or more (3%)	-	-

Most Important Issue

Moral Values (24%)	20%	78%
Terrorism (19%)	25%	73%
Economy/Jobs (18%)	66%	33%
Iraq (15%)	69%	31%
Taxes (6%)	-	-
Health Care (4%)	-	-
Education (3%)	-	-

Most Important Quality

Strong leader (24%)	27%	73%
Will Bring Change (20%)	84%	12%
Clear Issues Stand (14%)	32%	68%
Religious Faith (11%)	16%	84%
Honest/Trust (11%)	30%	70%
Cares About People (8%)	59%	37%
Intelligent (6%)	-	-

Vote by Region

Marion County (13%)	52%	45%
Southern Indiana (24%)	46%	51%
Northwest Indiana (16%)	60%	40%
Northern Indiana (29%)	37%	62%
East Central Indiana (17%)	40%	60%

INDIANA VOTE RECORDS

INDIANA PRESIDENTIAL

2004		
GW Bush, R	1,474,475	60%
Kerry, D	969,011	39%
Badnarik, L	18,058	1%

1972

Nixon, R	1,405,154	66%
McGovern, D	708,568	33%

INDIANA GOVERNOR

1992		
E. Bayh, D	1,382,151	62%
Pearson, R	822,853	37%

1980

Orr, R	1,257,383	58%
Hillenbrand, D	913,116	42%

U.S. SENATE

2004		
E. Bayh, D	1,488,782	62%
Scott, R	903,913	37%
Barger, L	27,344	1%

1988

Lugar, R	1,430,525	68%
Wickes, D	668,778	31%

CONGRESSIONAL

2004 5TH CD		
Burton, R	228,349	72%
Carr, D	82,637	26%
Hodgin, L	7,008	2%

2000 6TH CD

Burton, R	194,771	
Griesey, D	72,821	
Hauptmann, L	8,874	



2004 Bulen Symposium

Kerry and McAuliffe blunders brought about 'surprising' election

By GERRY C. LaFOLLETTE
The Howey Political Report

INDIANAPOLIS - For those who appreciate politics in all its infinite variations, the sixth Bulen Symposium on American Politics was a feast for the season.

Headling the Nov. 22 program at the University Place Conference Center at IUPUI were:

Clarence Page, syndicated columnist for the *Chicago Tribune* and television panelist.

Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

Charles R. Black Jr., veteran Republican consultant who worked on the campaigns of Ronald W. Reagan and George H. W. Bush.

Carl Cameron, chief political correspondent for Fox News.

The event honors the memory of L. Keith Bulen, GOP organization man who in 1967 took a gamble and backed a young Indianapolis School Board member, Richard G. Lugar, in the GOP primary for mayor of Indianapolis.

In 1976, Bulen and Black worked here on behalf of Reagan and in 1980 Bulen was in charge of 17 Eastern states that helped put Reagan in the White House.

Bush's African-American inroads

If one word could summarize Page's remarks it would be "surprise." First was "the emergence of moral values," said Page, who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1989. Another was the "blogosphere, the internet and web page" all creating a "democratizing effect."

Third was "the remarkable percentage of African-Americans" who voted for President George W. Bush, said Page, who was one of the first of his race to work for the *Chicago Tribune*. He listed the 2000 versus the 2004 results from six key states: Ohio up from 8 to 16 percent; Pennsylvania from 7 to 16 percent; Florida from 7 to 13 percent; Georgia from 7 to 12 percent; North Carolina from 9 to 14 percent; and Texas from 5 to 16 percent.

"Young blacks are looking for new answers and language," Page said. "It's the difference between just opposing programs versus offering alternatives."

Page noted Karl Rove's "flooding the zone" in 2002 get-out-the-vote efforts and "in 2004 it was fabulous."

Gans, who probably knows more about American vot-

ing habits than anyone except Michael Barone, was still wondering how the Democrats could have lost an election in the light of right track, wrong track polls, Bush's approval rating around 50 percent, jobs and the economy, and the war in Iraq.

Democrats 'stood for nothing'

He waded right in, calling "Terry McAuliffe the worst Democratic chairman ever."

One problem was "further front-loading" the primaries so that voters in two states, Iowa and New Hampshire, picked the winner.

There was no chance to evaluate John Kerry. Gans said that the Boston convention site gained the party nothing while the New York City site "was appropriate for the Republicans."

Gans said Democrats learned nothing from Rove's two previous voter turnout plans "with centralized voter registration" and pre-election day and Election Day organization.

Both Gans and Black noted that the DNC "farmed out" those plans to non-profit groups who often paid workers. The GOP relied on volunteers who more than likely knew the people on whose doors they were knocking or calling on the telephone.

"Kerry was always better than the reality," Gans said. He was "exceptionally verbose, cerebral, non-emotional."

Among his shortcomings were the "inability to get the marbles out of his mouth on Iraq: he voted for it and against it." Rove said that was the "gift that kept on giving."

Another was "the convention around one theme: a war hero," said Gans. "There was nothing on what he would do if elected." Ultimately, it opened Kerry up for the attack on his Vietnam service and for what he said and did after he came home to the anti-war movement.

Former President Clinton "was not an asset," Gans explained. "In every state he went in, Kerry lost ground except in Pennsylvania." Clinton's problems were "moral ambiguity"



Sen. Kerry and President Bush



and he "never got more than 49 percent of the vote."

Gans said the Democratic Party "stood for nothing" and has become "identity oriented" and a "party of the polls."

Gans estimated the official count for the election will show "120 million to 121 million voters," which is up 15 to 16 million. There were "nine million more Republican votes and 5.5 million more Democrat votes." In percentage terms, the turnout will be around 60 percent, the highest since 1968 with 61.9 percent.

GOP's return to grassroots

Black recalled working with Bulen in the 1976 Indiana primary against President Gerald R. Ford. Reagan's Hoosier victory "was his first in a non-Southern state" and if he had not won here, "There would have been no 1980 because he would have been damaged goods."

Black mentioned the internet; the "balance of coverage with that and Fox pulling the Big Three (networks) to do more honest work;" the proliferation of advertising" and the work of "independent groups" which has resulted in the "loss of control of advertising. There was no accountability for George Soros."

Most important to Black was the "return to grassroots volunteers. We had been trending away from this." That is an observation Bulen would certainly have agreed with.

Cameron, who has covered the national scene for several years, recalled the Democratic Leadership Council met in Indianapolis in 2001. One of the themes was "Guns, God and Gays." In the 2004 election, Cameron said the party "had not heeded" the warning to deal with those issues.

Cameron said that "Kerry had originally sought a deferment" to travel to Europe, "but enlisted when that was denied." It was Howard Dean who first called Kerry a "flip-flopper," which stuck through the entire campaign. He said that Ken Mehlman carried out the GOP's ground game that adapted the "Amway system" on voter ID and turnout "using consumer habits, not demographics."

Another Kerry mistake was having "no comment" on the 9/11 Commission Report after it came out. "Wind surfing on vacation didn't help," Cameron said.

On television, Bush's ads were generally more positive and effective. Kerry's war hero theme left him open to attack. Cameron said that 75 percent of voters saw the swift boat ads and the Bush-Cheney's subsequent use of the wind surfing footage made it easy prey to say Kerry "shifts with the wind." ❖

Editor's Note: *LaFollette was a reporter for the Indianapolis Times from 1958 to 1965 and the Indianapolis News from 1965 to 1988. He was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in 1970-71.*

Bush's 'perfect majority' win

By Larry J. Sabato
The Howey Political Report

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. - What an election! Whether you liked or disliked the outcome, surely you must agree that this contest will be remembered by history. We have not seen such intensity since 1968, and not coincidentally, the turnout of eligible adult Americans appears to have been larger in 2004 than any presidential year since...1968.

We'll soon have an announcement about *ARMAGEDDON: The Bush-Kerry Contest* (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005). A terrific cast of first-rate academics, journalists, and political observers has joined forces to produce the analysis for this forthcoming volume. At the appropriate time, we'll send you the details so you can order a copy, should you be so inclined.

We will save our analysis for that venue, but don't forget several points:

1. The Perfect Majority Theorem: The "perfect majority" is 51 percent, exactly what George W. Bush received. Why is it perfect? Super-majorities such as those



Dr. Larry Sabato (center) with HPR's Mark Schoeff Jr. (left) and Brian A. Howey on Sept. 30. (HPR Photo)

received by LBJ (1964), Nixon (1972), and Reagan (1984) inevitably deteriorate over time because of internal stresses and contradictory demands that cannot be satisfied. By contrast, a 51 percent majority is easier to maintain, makes governing easier, and increases a party's chances of winning the next election. It may seem counterintuitive, but the theorem holds in practice under most conditions.

2. Mobilization in a democracy begets counter-mobilization. The 2004 election now becomes Exhibit A in



proving this time-tested axiom. Both the Republicans and Democrats sensed that 2004 would be a competitive year with high stakes, and they separately went to work to register new voters and get new and old voters to the polls. Reports of success by one party fed intensified efforts by the other party, and on it went for a year or more. The result was higher turnout and enhanced interest in the election--through no overarching advantage for either party from this aspect of campaigning.

3. Bush as Truman. Our regular readers are no doubt sick of our comparisons to 1948, but of all the 20th Century presidential elections, we would insist that 1948 is the closest to 2004. In both cases, an incumbent who fell behind for a good bit of the election year threw himself into the campaign, and the "regular guy" incumbent managed to convince a skeptical public, by a few percentage points, that his course was superior to a sometimes aloof challenger's. All the other incumbents who fell behind in the election year in

the modern era have lost re-election. Truman and Bush are the only members of a very special presidential club.

Keep in mind that 2006 represents the sixth year of the George W. Bush presidency, and as such, there just might be a "sixth year itch," where voters turn to the out-of-power party in surprising numbers. In recent times Dwight Eisenhower (1958), JFK/LBJ (1966), Nixon/Ford (1974), and Ronald Reagan (1986) experienced the dreaded itch. But it isn't a mandate of politics. Bill Clinton avoided it entirely in 1998, thanks to a Democratic lift provided by GOP impeachment efforts. (Of course, Clinton had his sixth year itch in the second year, 1994.) ❖

Editor's Note: *Dr. Sabato is founder and director of the University of Virginia's Center on Politics. He keynoted the HPR Forum Series on Oct. 1 that was sponsored by BoseTreacy Associates, DLZ, John Frick & Associates, Thrive3 and TechPoint.*

The Hoosier Condition:

The five-legged frog of hoops

INDIANAPOLIS - They say the health of frogs is a way to monitor the condition of our natural environment. In Indiana, one way to measure the health of our society is with the game we grew up to love ... basketball. It defines us in so many ways, as witnessed in the just concluded Mitch Daniels gubernatorial campaign which used the Milan Miracle and Hinkle Fieldhouse as on-going themes of "aiming higher" and refusing to win by "compromising a core principle."



Unfortunately, like unisex frogs with five legs in genetically altering streams, the state of our beloved game here in the Age of Crystal Meth is in a state of atrophy. This generation of Hoosiers has degraded the game across the spectrum.

On Friday Nov. 19, I was watching the Pacers-Pistons game with a friend at the Bourbon Street Distillery near the Statehouse. With about a minute to go and the visiting Pacers leading the defending NBA champs by 15 points, I made a comment about what a great game it had been. Within minutes, we watched the game completely spiral out of control with Piston players jabbing their challengers' throats,

fans pelting Pacer players with beer and debris; and Pacer players storming and wilding into the stands with fists flying.

They wear "Indiana" across their chests and their uniforms use our state colors. But the actions of Ron Artest, Jermaine O'Neal, Stephen Jackson and even uncle Reggie

Miller were reprehensible. And while it doesn't seem fair that the Piston players like the instigating Ben Wallace got off with much lighter penalties, I can't really blame the NBA for its suspensions of the Pacers involved.

This is a team where a number of "kids" never went to college. They signed multi-million-dollar contracts while teenagers. This trend has degraded both the college and professional leagues. NBA teams are now babysitting immature players while paying them millions. With the by-passed talent, the college game has suffered.

I was a loyal Indiana University fan for more than three decades. But when I took my two sons to their first Big Ten game when IU traveled up to Evanston, they witnessed Coach Bobby Knight scream at the Northwestern band and then engage in a shoving match with the Wildcat's coach after the game.

It was a total turnoff. Living 10 minutes from Hinkle Fieldhouse, we began following Butler University basketball shortly thereafter. The tickets were cheaper, the Bulldog play-





ers were in it for the game and not NBA glory, and Hinkle Fieldhouse --home of the true (and Hollywood) "Hoosier" legends -- is the kind of venerable stage for the true ideals of the game. This is an important decision because while I still watch IU basketball occasionally, I don't go to the games anymore and they aren't selling out like they did in the 1970s and '80s. Others, obviously, feel the same way.



Thomas Howey with Butler Coach Lickliter at Hinkle Fieldhouse. (HPR Photo)

Throughout bygone Indiana, the high school game was literally a cornerstone of our local societies. I spent countless Friday and Saturday nights at Peru's Tig-Arena as a kid, where a huge banner hung from the rafters that read, "For when the great scorer comes to write against your name, it's not whether you won or lost, it's how you played the game."

But the high school game has been degraded with class basketball. It used to be something special in America -- one tournament for all -- just like the competition we face in a global economy. But the notion of championships for several instead of one became the norm. I couldn't tell you who won the Class AA or Class AAAA titles a year or two ago, but I can remember the great little schools from Argos, Cloverdale, Loogootee and Whitko who made it to the Final Four in decades gone by, or when smaller city teams from Plymouth, Connersville or Bedford won it all. And my teenage sons

show no interest in going to the high school game.

By just about every benchmark -- steep declines in attendance, revenue, tournament TV viewership -- class basketball has been a complete bust. Yet it endures like the pimply creatures that now populate the professional game.

Professional.

When I think of that term, I think of Indianapolis Colts such as Peyton Manning, Marvin Harrison and Edgerrin James. Or the rest of us working stiffs. These are people who would never dream of missing a game or a shift due to suspension.

With the Indiana Pacers, there have been so many players suspended -- Reggie Miller and Ron Artest most frequently -- and the management that includes Larry Bird and Donnie Walsh has never laid down the notion that this is totally unacceptable.

They are like the Indiana University Board of Trustees that became enablers with Bobby Knight, to the point where he embarrassed the school and state so thoroughly and repeatedly that he had to be fired.

I found refuge in the Butler Bulldogs and the Pacers, who in Game Six of the 1998 semi-finals played the greatest game on Hoosier soil against Michael Jordan and the champion Chicago Bulls. It's still a thrill to think of Reggie Miller careening off Jordan and then hitting the shot at the buzzer.

But this, too, has been degraded by millionaire men-children who have lost a total grasp of the notion of honorable competition.

I feel the same way today that I did about Major League Baseball when the players went on strike in August of 1994. I stopped going. I stopped watching. For years.

Screw 'em.

I'm going back to Hinkle Fieldhouse to watch the Bulldogs take on the Sycamores or Cardinals or Purple Aces.

And, dear Hoosiers, I have to tell you that up and down the foodchain, our beloved game has been degraded. It is in atrophy. It's a frog with five legs. ❖





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Sylvia Smith, *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* - What agility! What flexibility! Our Republicans in the House were nimbleness itself last week when they decided to rise above partisanship and allow someone who is indicted keep his hand on the tiller of the House. The partisanship they sought to overcome was— get this— a state grand jury. The braniac behind this said it “takes the power away from any partisan crackpot district attorney” who might dare to indict a powerful Republican as a way of generating headlines. Changing the rules was the first order of business in the lame-duck congressional session. The R’s were worried that Rep. Tom DeLay might get tripped up in the no-indicted-leaders rule. DeLay is the No. 2 Republican in the House. Let’s be very clear. DeLay is not under indictment. But there are omens. A Texas grand jury looking into political corruption indicted three of DeLay’s associates and eight corporations in an investigation of alleged illegal corporate contributions to a political action committee associated with DeLay. So the Republicans met privately to hash this out. The good news is that it took four hours, wasn’t unanimous, some lawmakers said the idea stinks, and they modified the initial proposal, which was to exempt lawmakers who are indicted on state charges (presumably because the motives of federal prosecutors are pure). “It sends all the wrong signals,” said Rep. Zach Wamp of Tennessee, who entered Congress in 1995 along with Rep Mark Souder. Souder supported the rules change because he thinks the investigation into DeLay is politically motivated. “The intent of our original rule was good, but in reality once you start getting prosecutors who play games, it doesn’t work,” he said. “I believe the indictments (if they are issued) are harassment techniques, and this guy doesn’t have a legal leg to stand on.” Souder said no indicted business executive would be forced to step aside, so the no-indicted-leader rule really “puts Tom DeLay and other politicians in a different standard. It’s guilty until proven innocent, and for political motives you can be alleged to be guilty... This becomes a way that any self-appointed prosecutor in the country can take out the leadership of the other party. Both sides will start to do it.” ❖

Jack Colwell, *South Bend Tribune* - Pundits, preachers, professors and political partisans have found deep meaning in an exit poll question in which 22 percent of respondents picked "moral values" as the one issue that "mattered most in deciding how you voted for president." Alas, shrieked some in their analysis, bigoted, religious zealots have taken over the country. God has led the nation to a higher moral ground, away from evil-doing liberals, proclaimed others amid shouts of joy. No, it was Karl Rove doing the leading, others analyzed, either praising or denouncing the strategy of the president's political guru as the deciding

factor in the election. Seldom has so much significance been attached so hastily to so few words -- just two, "moral values" --with so little to go on. First of all, are we convinced of the accuracy of these exit polls? You know. The ones that showed John Kerry had won. But the more serious flaw in the finding of deep meaning in what is now the most famous of all exit poll questions is that there was no precise (or even imprecise) definition of "moral values." Most Americans are seeking to support the values in which they believe as they cast their votes. They want to do the right thing, pick the right president to lead the nation in the right direction, whether that direction be to the political right, the political left or in a moderate centrist course. Could you imagine a voter saying, "I'm basing my vote on immoral values"? So, just what did voters mean when they picked "moral values" as their issue? We don't know. Did all 22 percent want to bash gays, promote war and take away civil rights? Of course not, even though some of those wailing in despair at the finding would have you believe so. Nor were they all providing a mandate for everything President Bush wants to do. "Moral values" can mean anything. ❖

Morton Marcus, *Syndicated* - Mr. Bush and his buddies want to "privatize" some portion of the Social Security system. This act would allow citizens to divert part of their Social Security payments to individual investment accounts. The program would be a major benefit for mutual fund management companies, investment advisors, and others who feed on the financial ignorance of the average person. Individuals with little understanding of the stock market would be putting their futures at risk for the dreamy economic ideology of the administration. The welfare of millions of Americans can not be put at risk because secure policy-wonks in Washington have an idea with which they wish to experiment. What does this recklessness mean for Indiana? In the short run, interest rates will rise. Monthly payments on credit cards will rise, housing expenditures and auto spending will be depressed. Hoosier manufacturers and their workers will suffer as consumers across the nation cut back on spending. Our local governments will spend more on financing debt and less on building roads, schools, and internet systems. In the long run, our people will be poorer, fleeced by an administration long out of office which will have done irreparable harm to millions of Hoosiers and tens of millions of Americans. As a state dominated by Republicans, as a state of conservative thought we should loudly protest this Bush-league initiative to cheat the American people. Social Security has problems, but they can be solved without denying citizens the security of a low-cost program for the benefit of all. Americans. ❖



Deborah Daniels, Ong going to Krieg DeVault

INDIANAPOLIS - An

Indianapolis law firm has hired two Hoosiers prominent in anti-terrorism to counsel clients in homeland security and crisis management. Deborah Daniels, an assistant U.S. attorney general, is returning to Krieg DeVault, the firm announced Tuesday (*Indianapolis Star*). Her job in Washington included helping local law enforcement agencies prepare for terrorist attacks. Daniels, 53, is the sister of Gov.-elect Mitch Daniels, who formerly was President Bush's budget director. Previously joining Krieg DeVault was Clifford Ong, 41, former director of homeland security for the Indiana Counter-Terrorism and Security Council. He was the governor's representative to the U.S.

Department of Homeland Security. The need to serve clients on security issues is underscored by the fact that 85 percent of the nation's infrastructure is in the private sector, according to the two attorneys. "They are in desperate need of securing that infrastructure," Daniels said.



Daniels keeps Umbarger at Indiana National Guard

INDIANAPOLIS - Governor-

elect Mitch Daniels announced that Major General R. Martin Umbarger agreed to continue his service as Adjutant General of the Indiana Army and Air National Guard during the Daniels Administration. "A review of Gen. Umbarger's performance and service record demonstrated to me that he possesses the qualities I think are important in this position - the General is a soldier's soldier and above politics," said Gov.-elect Daniels. "Additionally, at a time of active conflict and enormous stress for our citizen soldiers, continuity of leadership has great value."

Gov. Kernan selects Pike County judge

Gov. Joe Kernan today appointed Jeffrey L. Biesterveld of Petersburg as judge of the Pike Circuit Court. Biesterveld will take office Jan. 1, 2005, to succeed Lee Baker, who announced his Dec. 31 resignation in early August. Biesterveld has practiced law in Pike County for more than 20 years and served three terms as the county's prosecuting attorney. He also practiced for 16 years with Gray, Fleig and Biesterveld in Petersburg, and currently serves as a deputy prosecutor in Daviess and Martin counties. "I am pleased to appoint Jeff Biesterveld as judge in Pike County," Kernan said. "I heard from many Pike County residents who strongly supported Jeff's candidacy. He has the right combination of experience and community ties, and will be a very successful judge."

ISU considers same-sex benefits

TERRE HAUTE - Indiana State University could join other state colleges in offering health care benefits to same-sex domestic partners of employees. The proposal goes before the board of trustees on Friday, the *Terre Haute Tribune-Star* reported today. Indiana, Purdue and Ball State universities already provide the benefits.

Roemer gives intelligence reform bill 50/50 chance

SOUTH BEND - An important intelligence bill that could save American lives has stalled in Congress because of a "lack of political leadership on Capitol Hill," according to Sept. 11 commission member Tim Roemer (*South Bend Tribune*). "I think it's probably 50-50 at this point," Roemer said, evaluating the chances of passage of the measure. He said he hopes President Bush calls Congress into emergency session to vote on the bill, which would create a national security director and strengthen protections against another terrorist attack. Roemer, a former member of Congress from South Bend, said "every high-level Republican leader" supports the legislation, yet they can't get the bill passed. "This is a failure of political will to pass good legislation," Roemer said, adding that he blames both the White House and Congress for that failure.



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