



Daniels, Democratic warhorses paint two very different pictures of Kernan *Contrasts were jarring Tuesday on Indiana's economy*

By BRIAN A. HOWEY in Indianapolis

Never were the contrasts so jarring as they were on Tuesday in a classic "glass half empty/half full" showdown between Hoosier Republicans and Democrats.

At 9 a.m. in the alley outside his near eastside Indianapolis headquarters, Mitch Daniels showed reporters a website - www.indianaplans.org/growth.htm - that was titled "Break Away Growth" with goals to "ensure that by Jan. 1, 2005, Indiana will have the fastest growing economy in the Midwest."

Daniels said that Indiana Economic Development Council - headed by Gov. Kernan and Lt. Gov. Kathy Davis - reported the failure of each of the Break Away goals. "While directly responsible for the state's economy, Gov. Kernan designed this report card and flunked each subject," said Daniels. "Not only did this administration fail to deliver on any of its goals for improvement, Indiana's performance declined in each economic category."

In per capita income, Indiana ranked 29th in 1999 and had fallen to 35th in 2003. In purchasing power, Indiana ranked 29th in the nation by the Bureau of Economic Analysis and had fallen to 33rd in 2000. On poverty, Indiana had fallen from 5th lowest in the nation to 9th. On productivity, Indiana ranked 29th in 1999 and had fallen to 31st. On high skill jobs, Indiana lost 29,000 jobs, and had fallen from third in the Midwest to fifth out of six.

"There's no need for us to criticize their record when by their own self-selected measures failure is total," Daniels said. "Indiana has sunk on every parameter. We are losing ground and we are not keeping up with other states."

"Mitch Daniels can't defend his record as a corporate executive or as the federal budget director, so again he goes on the attack," said Kernan campaign manager



Mitch Daniels surveys the Department of Commerce "report card" with WISH-TV's Jim Shella on Tuesday. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)



"Over the next two weeks, federal prosecutors promise to lay out the wriggling innards of East Chicago's Democratic machine."

— *Post-Tribune* reporter Steve Walsh, on the Sidewalk 6 Trial now underway

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Bernie Toon. “The Break Away Growth goals are long-term measures set in 1999 that Indiana is aiming to meet by 2016. It’s part of Joe Kernan’s vision for Indiana’s future. And he and Kathy Davis have a plan to get there.” Asked by reporters on whether the Sept. 11 attacks had damaged Indiana’s manufacturing economy, Daniels noted that the recession ended that year and that 9/11 “was first felt by the financial sector.”

The Daniels campaign acknowledged the 2016 date, but the campaign reiterated its central point: that the state is trending away from the goals on every point of the report card.



The pantheon of Indiana Democrats on Tuesday included (from left) Birch Bayh, Judy O’Bannon, John Hillenbrand, John Gregg, Lee Hamilton, Baron Hill, Bart Peterson and Julia Carson. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Pantheon of Democrats

About two miles away and an hour later, Indiana Democrats gathered to paint a completely different picture. Standing in the basement of the Evan Bayh Emerging Technology Center on the canal stood Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson, U.S. Reps. Baron Hill, Pete Visclosky and Julia Carson, former First Lady Judy O’Bannon, and old warhorses Birch Bayh, Lee Hamilton, Wayne Townsend, John Hillenbrand, John Gregg and Ann DeLaney.

“We are here to send the message that Indiana is on the right track,” said Peterson. “We are here at the Emerging Technology Center for a reason. It is the epicenter of the life sciences. The jobs of the future are right here and coming with the assistance of the Kernan-Davis team.” Peterson listed topics such as the *Site Selection Magazine* ranking Indiana No. 1 in new facilities, as well as being in the “top quarter of all states for a business friendly climate.”



Former Reps. Lee Hamilton and Andy Jacobs chat (top), as do U.S. Reps. Julia Carson and Pete Visclosky. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)

But most of the testimony was about Kernan’s character. “Joe Kernan has a pretty firm grasp on the art of understanding Hoosiers and governing to their wishes,” Hamilton said. “He tries to figure out

Indiana’s needs and then works to get results. That fits the Hoosier temperament. It’s easier to rip things apart and give a rip-snorting speech than to bring people together.”

Hamilton added that in Southern Indiana, “integrity” is the No. 1 attribute for a public servant. “You cannot know Joe Kernan for five minutes or 50 years and not know he is a man of integrity. Joe Kernan will work for them because he is Hoosier to the core.”

Former Sen. Birch Bayh recounted his family’s pioneering history to Shirkieville and its contributions to education. He recounted his own 1959 initiative to consolidate schools as speaker of the House. “But Joe Kernan is the first governor to partially fund full day kindergarten,” Bayh said. “If it isn’t broke, don’t fix it.”

Bayh noted that SAT scores are up, Indiana leads the nation in school curriculum and quoted Abraham Lincoln as saying it “takes a mule only a few minutes to kick a shed down, and it takes many men to rebuild it.” He added, “Joe Kernan is an education governor if you ever saw one.”

Judy O’Bannon said, “It is so wonderful to stand here with all these folks in this building on this site.” If it weren’t for them, she said, “This building wouldn’t be here. Look outside the door. There is housing on the canal. People jogging. It is a beautiful structure and it is community.”

A full partner

Mrs. O’Bannon recounted how she and then Lt. Gov. Frank O’Bannon sat in the living room to discuss who would be the running mate in 1996. They both wrote a name on a piece of paper. “We both wrote Joe Kernan,” she said. “He came in as a full partner.”

Rep. Visclosky said Kernan “has the profound ability to make sure every Hoosier has the best chance of getting a good-paying job.” He noted that Kernan had helped attain \$24.9 million in funding for the Indiana National Guard at



Gary Airport and was a true friend of the steel industry where "he's taken a very productive approach."

Marion County Sheriff Frank Anderson called Kernan "my public safety partner" and added, "From the skies of Vietnam to the streets and alleys of South Bend, to the State of Indiana, Joe Kernan is where he's most needed. Joe Kernan is making changes that matter."

Peterson said the "Right Track Team" would be spending the next three weeks fanning out across Indiana to push the Kernan-Davis team.

Kernan sees 'right track'

While the Democratic pantheon was describing Indiana as being on the right track, so was Gov. Kernan. But he used a Daniels ally - Health - Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson - to help refute a recent GOP criticism that Indiana had been adding to its welfare roles. Kernan said that Indiana had received a \$10.3 million high-performance bonus from the federal government for its successful efforts to move welfare recipients into jobs and the increase in the rate of children living in married households. "Indiana's bonus award is based on receiving a top ranking in the job entry rate and the rate of increase in children living in married couple households," said Secretary Thompson in a letter to Gov. Joe Kernan.

"This award shows Indiana is continuing on the right track and remains a national leader when it comes to helping people become self-sufficient," Kernan said.

IPALCO fades

The key strategy point is that the Kernan-Davis campaign spent about 3,000 points on its IPALCO attack ads, which appear to have run its course, though the UAW and the ubiquitous Fair Business Alliance are still hammering away on

One more debate

How about a debate commission?

NEW ALBANY - There will be one more gubernatorial debate, at 6:30 p.m. Sunday night at Indiana University Southeast.

Both the Kernan and Daniels campaign originally agreed to a two-way affair. But the Libertarians threw a fit and protested at Monument Circle on Tuesday before both sides relented.

"It's criminal," said Libertarian Kenn Gividen, who is polling no more than 3 percent in any of the published polls thus far. "The voters of Indiana have asked us to be on the ballot. For 12 straight years, the voters have placed us on the ballot equal with the entrenched parties. It is not the right of Gov. Kernan, Daniels or Indiana University to exclude us."

The problem Indiana Libertarians refuse to acknowledge is that the party is

still trapped in a fringe existence. It has made virtually no headway in its polling and has no chance of winning. It elected a city councilman in Greenfield, who was thrown out of office the next election. In Marion County, the party backed Rev. Greg Dixon for the City-County Council, the same minister who refused to pay property taxes.

Many observers of the first debate at Franklin College felt that Gividen muddled the proceedings, keeping a sharper contrast from being drawn between Gov. Kernan and Daniels. Gividen repeated himself, particularly on his rebuttals, to the point where many of the reporters present stopped taking notes. If anything, the first debate underscored the need for something The *Howey Political Report* advocated more than two years ago: an Indiana Debate Commission.

It could be formed by the chairs of the three political parties, academics, the news media, and organizations such as the League of Women Voters. It could develop a plan well before the next election and would be one of the first orders of business of any campaign ... to accept the debate guidelines. ❖



Daniels, Gividen and Kernan at Franklin College on Sept. 28. (HPR Photo)

the issue. When it ended, a South Bend Tribune poll had Daniels leading Kernan 46-43 percent. Gov. Kernan is now talking jobs and health care. Daniels is talking jobs, economic development and child support recovery. The Daniels campaign spent between 1,000 and 1,500 points in counter ads. And it produced a letter last Friday from the late-Gov. Frank O'Bannon to IPALCO CEO John Hodowal praising the deal. "Given what I know about the AES record as a corporate citizen, I am confident that this merger will enhance IPALCO's exemplary record of commitment to Hoosier customers," O'Bannon said in the Sept. 28, 2000 letter. The Kernan campaign quickly refuted its significance, saying the governor didn't read everything sent out in his name

But the significance of the letter is this: if Daniels campaign feels any more pressure over the IPALCO issue, you can bet O'Bannon's letter will resurface in a TV ad. ❖



Indiana 2004 Statewides

Governor 2004: Republican: Mitch Daniels. Democrat: Gov. Joe Kernan. Libertarian: Kenn Gividen. **1996 Results:** O'Bannon (D) 1,075,342, Goldsmith (R) 997,505, Dillon (L) 35,261. **2000 Results:** O'Bannon (D) 1,230,345, McIntosh (R) 906,492, Horning (L) 38,686. **2004 Forecast:** We believe the governor's race has reached another pivot point. Our sense is that Kernan-Davis effectively used the IPALCO issue to get back in the game during the last three weeks of September, but realized it wasn't going to deliver a victory. A South Bend Tribune/WSBT-TV poll (602 likely voters, Oct. 10-12, +/-4) had Daniels leading Kernan 46-43. Add in the fact that Daniels has a lower unfavorable opinion score than Kernan, the fact that Bush is doing well in Indiana and the state's general Republican leaning and there is "no question that Daniels is up in this race," said pollster Del Ali said. "People like Kernan," Ali said. "They just like Daniels better." Next Monday, we will publish the HPR/TeleResearch poll on the gubernatorial and presidential races. The Kernan campaign appears to have pulled the IPALCO ad around the same time Daniels produced the letter from the late Gov. Frank O'Bannon to IPALCO CEO John Hodowal praising the deal. That has a Daniels response ad written all over it. "Does Gov. Kernan think Gov. O'Bannon used 'terribly bad judgment'?" Bill Oesterle said, using the words that Kernan has thrown at Daniels (*Indianapolis Star*). "That's the main question." Now both campaigns have returned to jobs, economic development, health care and child support. We still expect Kernan-Davis to try and use Daniels record at OMB (half trillion dollar deficits) to try and make him bleed, but the campaign also believes that the prescription drug issue can be exploited. Kernan marshalled the Old Guard Democrats - Birch Bayh, Lee Hamilton, Wayne Townsend - and after a Tuesday press conference in Indianapolis, this group was bused up to ... Gary. That tells us that these old warhorses were being used to shore up the Lake County Democratic base. Meanwhile, Daniels was campaigning this week in Democratic areas - Michigan City, Gary, and Anderson. The Daniels campaign said there was no strategy at play in that geography. But think back to this time in 2000, when David McIntosh was still trying to retrieve his base, talking about his support for the 2nd Amendment during his debates with Gov. O'Bannon. While the *Indianapolis Star*/WTHR poll suggested Daniels was losing 20 percent of the GOP vote, we're not seeing him rework-



Democratic ceiling breakers - 1984 gubernatorial nominee Wayne Townsend - surrounded by Ann DeLaney (right), the first female LG candidate and former gubernatorial candidate Vi Simpson, gather at the Emerging Technology Center. After the Indianapolis appearance, they took a bus up to Gary to boost the Kernan-Davis ticket in Lake County. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)

ing places like Elkhart, Warsaw, and Fort Wayne. Oesterle said Daniels would report raising \$14.7 million since getting into the race in June 2003. Kernan's campaign reported Wednesday that it has raised \$13.5 million this cycle, and that as of Oct. 8 it has \$2,036,720 cash on hand. Combined, the two have raised more than \$28 million. The Kernan campaign reported receiving more than 9,500 contributions since the governor entered the race last November. Since the first of the year, the campaign has received 7,679 contributions, 81 percent of which were from individuals, 7 percent from corporations, 4 percent from political action committees, and 7 percent from labor organizations and other groups. This means that Kernan-Davis will not lack funds to deliver its final message to voters. Watch for the budget deficits to play a key role in the New Albany debate on Sunday. The subject didn't come up during the Franklin College debate and thus, as our friend Randy Tobias would say, has become a huge moose on the table. Kernan and Daniels have offered a few proposals here and there that would save small or undetermined amounts of money, but nothing has come close to covering the \$800 million needed to bridge Indiana's structural deficit (Niki Kelly, *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*). In other words, for Indiana to continue paying for programs at the same pace as in the past two years the state must find \$800 million in new revenue or cuts. And that doesn't count the \$700 million Indiana owes to schools and local units of government from a delayed payment. "It's going to take everyone at the table, and it's going to take a commitment to do what is right for Hoosiers," Kernan said. "I know that some in the legislature feel that a tax increase is inevitable. I'm not willing to say that and think we owe it to Hoosiers to explore other options first."



Daniels also says a tax increase is a "last resort." But that's about all the political foes agree on. "Given the state's fiscal condition, at this time, it would be difficult to consider any option off-limits," Daniels said. "I do believe, however, that state employee retirement funds should not be raided, and we should reduce our reliance on funding government services through transfers from dedicated funds." Almost lost in the debate is a discussion about public schools, on which the state spends about \$5 billion a year (*Louisville Courier-Journal*). In an interview last week, Daniels said the state must stop making education decisions based on money. He called it "senseless" to discuss whether Indiana spends enough on public schools. "It's always a warning sign when people talk about dollars before they talk about results and kids," Daniels said. And our last word: While it looks as if Daniels is in the best position going into the home-stretch, should there be a domestic terror attack - an event that would allow the Kernan-Davis team to show off its crisis management skills - all bets are off. **Status:** *Tossup.*



Attorney General 2004: Republican: Attorney Gen. Steve Carter. Democrat: Joseph Hogsett. **2000 Results:** Carter (R) 1,077,951, Freeman-Wilson (D) 978,713, Harshey (L) 45,490. **2004 Forecast:** Hogsett began running TV ads. They begin by identifying Hogsett as a "top aide to Sen. Evan Bayh." Hogsett said he wants to "take over control of Indiana sex offender list" and promises to crack down on methamphetamine and gangs **Status:** *Likely Carter.*

Superintendent of Public Instruction: Republican:

Supt. Suellen Reed. Democrat: Susan Williams.

2000 Results: Reed (R) 1,181,678, McCullum (D) 814,658, Goldstein (L) 81,722. **2004 Forecast:**

Twelve years shepherding the state's educational improvement and policy makes for a difficult political challenge. Perhaps that's why Republican Suellen Reed's opponents for superintendent of public instruction are barely even running campaigns (Niki Kelly, *Fort*



Supt. Reed with Daniels after he endorsed her last winter. (HPR Photo)

Wayne Journal Gazette). Democrat Susan Williams' whole platform has been to promise that she will resign if elected. She hasn't issued a single news release, has attended few events and has no advertising campaign of statewide note. Meanwhile, Libertarian Joe Hauptmann has been busy teaching his high school students the essentials of physics. That leaves Reed - who is seeking her fourth term in the position - as the prohibitive favorite. **Status:** *SAFE REED.*

Indiana 2004 Congressional

U.S. Senate: Republican: Marvin Scott. Democrat: U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh. Libertarian: Albert Barger. **1992 Results:** Coats (R) 1,267,972, Hogsett (D) 900,148. **1998 Results:** Bayh (D) 1,012,244, Helmke (R) 552,732. **2004 Forecast:** Bayh leads Scott 63 to 27 percent in the latest South Bend Tribune/WSBT poll. Bayh called on the Department of Defense to ensure that all of our troops have the armored vehicles and equipment they need while fighting the war on terror. "Our brave men and women fighting overseas should never be without the equipment they need while they are fighting the war on terror," Sen. Bayh said. "Once again, the Pentagon is short of the vehicle that our troops consider a number-one priority. These shortfalls and delays are unacceptable." **Status:** *Safe Bayh.*

Congressional District 2: Republican: U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola. Democrat: Joe Donnelly. **Geography:** South Bend, Michigan City, Mishawaka, Elkhart, Kokomo, Plymouth, Logansport, LaPorte, St. Joseph, Starke, Marshall, Pulaski, Fulton, Cass, Carroll and parts of Howard, Porter, Elkhart and White counties. **Media Market:** South Bend-Elkhart, Indianapolis, Lafayette, Chicago. **People:** Urban/rural 73/27%; median income \$40,381; Poverty 9.5%; Race 84% white, 8% black; 5 Hispanic; Blue/white collar: 34/50%. **2000 Presidential:** Bush 53%, Gore 44%; Cook Partisan Voting Index: R+5; **2002 Result:** Chocola 95,081 (50%), Long Thompson 86,253 (46%); **2004 Forecast:** A South Bend Tribune/WSBT-TV poll, taken by Research 2000 between Friday and Sunday, showed Chocola with a 16-point, 54 percent to 38 percent lead over Donnelly. That's a three-point improvement for Chocola over the 53 percent to 40 percent lead recorded by Chocola in a poll taken in late September. The survey queried a total of 400 likely voters, with a margin of error of 5 percent. "Obviously, it's very positive," Chocola said of the poll. Differences between the candidates in the 2nd District congressional race were plainly laid out Sunday as Chocola and Donnelly went on record on such issues as prescription drugs, veterans benefits and the war in Iraq (*South Bend Tribune*). Chocola and Donnelly were interviewed in separate half-hour segments by veteran political

interviewed in separate half-hour segments by veteran political



writer Jack Colwell on his "Politically Speaking" television show on WNIT-TV. Donnelly said both he and Chocola want to win the war now that the United States has invaded, but noted that it was Osama bin Laden who was responsible for the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. Donnelly said he favors the plan to hold free elections in Iraq in January, but noted that some areas of the country are held by insurgents and will not be able to participate. The biggest mistake the administration made, Donnelly said, was not to have a plan in place for winning the peace. "The State Department let us down," he said. Chocola, who visited Iraq a little over a year ago, said he saw some "amazing things" there and noted that Iraq has been transformed from a brutal dictatorship to a nation whose prime minister thanks the United States. Fifteen of Iraq's 18 provinces are stable, Chocola said, and more progress is being made every day. "We have made great strides," he said. He acknowledged that mistakes have been made, but said he believes it is better to engage this nation's opponents there than here and that the efforts by U.S. troops have made Americans safer at home. **Status: SAFE CHOCOLA**



Congressional District 7: Republican: Andy Horning. Democrat: U.S. Rep. Julia Carson. Libertarian: Barry Campbell. **Geography:** Indianapolis. **Media Market:** Indianapolis. **People:** Urban 99.7%; median income \$36,522; poverty 13.5%; race white 63, black 29.4%, Hispanic 4.4%, Asian 1.3%; blue/white collar 26/58%; **2000 Presidential:** Gore 55%, Bush 43%; Cook Partisan Voting Index: D+6. **2002 Results:** Carson 77,478 (53%), McVey 64,379 (44%). **2002 Money:** Carson \$1.099m, McVey \$1.15m. **2004 Forecast:** "I am standing before you because I am a product of quality health care," said Carson during her opening statement in her Sunday debate with Horning and Campbell on WISH-TV. Carson had open-heart surgery before she took office, and other health problems have kept her from some of her congressional duties. The sharpest exchange among the candidates came over Carson's health and congressional attendance. Horning claimed that Carson had the worst attendance record in the House. "If it's health, we need to know," Horning said, adding a claim that Carson missed some votes because she was in the Virgin Islands. Carson denied missing any votes for that kind of trip. Of her health, she said: "If there was any time I felt like I was unable physically to serve the 7th District, I would resign my office. I have no intentions of resigning my office." **Status: Safe Carson**

Congressional District 8: Republican: U.S. Rep. John Hostettler. Democrat: Jon Jennings. Green Party: Clark

Gabriel Field. **Geography:** Evansville, Terre Haute, Greencastle; Posey, Vanderburgh, Warrick, Gibson, Pike, Martin, Daviess, Knox, Sullivan, Greene, Owen, Clay, Vigo, Vermillion, Parke, Putnam, Warren and part of Fountain counties. Media Market: Evansville, Terre Haute, Indianapolis. Lafayette. **People:** Urban/rural 58/42%; median income \$36,732; poverty 10.7%; race white 93.7%, black 3.7%, Hispanic .9%; blue/white collar: 32/52%. **2000 Presidential:** Bush 56%, Gore 42%; Cook Partisan Voting Index: R+8. **2002 Results:** Hostettler 98,952 (51%), Hartke 88,763 (46%), **2004 Forecast:** Roll Call reports the NRCC "began airing an ad last week that paints Democrat Jon Jennings as a newcomer to Indiana who doesn't share the same Hoosier values with residents of the 8th district. Jennings has been touted as a top-tier challenger to Hostettler. The ad notes that Jennings lived in Boston for more than 10 years and just registered to vote in Indiana last year. In response to the ad, Jennings' campaign released a statement reiterating that he was in fact born and raised in Indiana and that he, like Indiana native and NBA superstar Larry Bird, went to Boston because he had the opportunity to work for the Celtics basketball team. **Status: Tossup.**



U.S. Rep. Baron Hill chats with 9/11 Commissioner Lee Hamilton. The two will campaign together in the 9th CD on Thursday. The two were in Indianapolis on Tuesday. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Congressional District 9: Republican: Mike Sodrel. Democrat: U.S. Rep. Baron Hill. **Media Market:** Evansville, Indianapolis, Louisville, Dayton, Cincinnati. **People:** urban/rural 52/48%, median income \$39,011; race white 94%, 2.3% black, 1.5% Hispanic; blue/white collar: 34/50%; **2000 Presidential:** Bush 56%, Gore 42%; Cook Partisan Voting Index: R+8. **2002 Results:** Hill 96,654 (51%), Sodrel 87,169 (46%). **2002 Money:** Hill \$1.144m, Sodrel \$1.62m. **2004 Forecast:** Hill told HPR on Tuesday that the NRCC is dropping \$2 million into his race with TV ads running against him in Indianapolis, Louisville and Evansville. The ads take Hill to task over a series of votes against ending the marriage penalty and inheritance taxes. The ad says that Hill doesn't believe



his "voting record should be the issue. He can run, but we can't afford him." Hill has responded with ads explaining that he and his family still live in Seymour. Another, showing him walking through a neighborhood in blue jeans with kids playing around him has Hill explaining he voted against the tax cuts for the wealthy. Hill told HPR on Tuesday, "They're also doing the phone calls," reporting that one had been received at his home. "I walked into my house and my dog started growling," Hill joked. Former Congressman Lee Hamilton will campaign with Hill all day Thursday. Hill and Sodrel agreed in principle yesterday to a televised debate. Viewers in all but a few corners of the 9th CD should be able to watch the hour-long event at 7 p.m. EDT (6 p.m. EST) on Oct. 20 (*Louisville Courier-Journal*). It will be held at WTIU-TV in Bloomington and shown live on WTIU and Louisville's WAVE-TV. **Status:** *Leans Hill*

Indiana 2004 Legislative

House District 26: Republican: Tippecanoe County Councilwoman Connie Basham. **Democrat:** Joe Micon. **Geography:** Lafayette, West Lafayette, Tippecanoe County. **2002 Results:** Scholer 5,630, Micon 4,731. **2004 Forecast:** The National Rifle Association has endorsed Micon. While they differed on all-day kindergarten, environmental protection and health care resources, all agreed that balancing the state budget and keeping and creating jobs in Greater Lafayette should be the focus of legislation (*Lafayette Journal & Courier*). "We have been bitten by a nasty, old tick, and it's time to eradicate the tick and heal ourselves and bring our budget back into line," said Basham. "We cannot spend more than we're realistically expecting to bring in. That's going to be my focus first of all." Micon, agreed, citing his experience balancing budgets for both the Lafayette Urban Ministry and Warren County Council. "One of the things I have come to learn through all that budget balancing is the importance of setting priorities," Micon said. **Status:** *Tossup.*

House District 33: Republican: Bill Davis. **Democrat:** State Rep. Ron Liggett. **2002 Results:** Liggett (D) 9,143, Thornburg (R) 6,895. **2004 Forecast:** Property taxes and jobs dominated the debate Tuesday between Liggett, D-Redkey, and Davis (*Muncie Star Press*). "We have to get Indiana back on track with fresh ideas and sound fiscal policies that will create jobs, lower taxes and lower regulations for business and industry," said Davis, a Portland businessman. Liggett said Gov. Kernan's Energize Indiana plan had created jobs, eliminated the business inventory tax and put Indiana on the map as good place to do business. Art Hall, who retired from Indiana Bridge, listened to the hour-long event and thought the debate was a draw. "Property taxes are a big issue," said Hall. Liggett reminded Davis that House Democrats and Senate Republicans spent in a "bi-partisan fashion" and the

spending went to cities and towns to rebuild their infrastructures and to seniors and veterans for exemptions on their homes. "We spent it on the taxpayers, and we are proud of that record," Liggett said. Liggett reminded the crowd that 25,000 workers came to Indianapolis in 1995, when Republican lawmakers wanted to abolish common construction wages. When common construction wages were not used on the Randolph County center for Family Opportunity, Liggett said, "The county did not benefit, workers did not benefit and the contractor put money in his pocket." **Status:** *Leans D*

House District 46: Republican: Jeff Lee. **Democrat:** Vern Tincher. **2002 Results:** LaPlante (R) 8,079, Tincher (D) 7,275. **2004 Forecast:** A delay in certifying Rep. Brooks LaPlante as the Republican candidate in the race for HD 46 is "administrative obstructionism" and is denying voters a voice. Republicans charged Wednesday. "What we have seen



in these recent days is unparalleled obstructionism by the Democratic Party, the surrogates for Vern Tincher, in House District 46," said James Bopp Jr., attorney for the Indiana Republican Party (Howard Greninger, *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*). Tincher

is the Democrat candidate in District 46. Bopp on Tuesday requested a hearing before the Indiana Election Commission to resolve the candidacy issue. No hearing had been set as of Wednesday. Terry Burns, spokesman for the Indiana Democrat Party, responded: "I think Mr. Bopp's allegations are way off base. This whole debacle in District 46 was caused by Republicans trying everything they could to circumvent state elections laws and disenfranchise voters in the 46th District." The state Democrat Party, Burns said, still considers Jeff Lee, a minister and former Terre Haute police officer, as the legitimate Republican candidate for the Nov. 2 election. LaPlante on Wednesday asked Tincher to encourage Democrats to drop the issue. "I think we took the high road and I think that is typical of the way Republicans would view something like this. At the end of the day, what matters is the fact that the voters get a chance to express themselves," LaPlante said. "They get to say who it is they want to represent them in the Legislature. That is not happening now in House District 46." Tincher said he did not see much of a comparison between districts 32 and 46. District 32 is predominantly Republican and not a competitive district, he said. "I'm not a party to the lawsuit, or any of the challenges, that's the Democratic Party, so I'm not in a position to tell them to drop the challenges, he said. Tincher said he has been out campaigning. He anticipates running against LaPlante." "We are out doing door to door and meeting the voters, and adver-



tising the same as Mr. LaPlante is now doing, and I assume the challenges will be resolved eventually and he will be on the ballot," Tincher said. **Status:** *LIKELY D.*

House District 63: Republican: Martin County Commissioner Paul McFeaters. Democrat: Rep. David Crooks. **2002 Results:** Crooks 10,984. **2004 Forecast:** McFeaters said he's been going door to door since March and has hand-written more than 1,000 notes to constituents (*Evansville Courier & Press*). In his campaign, he's focusing on core conservative issues, stressing his endorsement from the Indiana Right to Life and gun issues. Early last session, Crooks said he was considering carrying a bill to block hunting near schools after an incident in his district. Students heard gunshots while in class. But pressure from gun owners and hunters made Crooks reconsider, and he never offered the legislation. Asked about the issue now, Crooks said he wouldn't bring it up again, saying he's listened to the concerns that were raised by opponents. And he touts his NRA rating as a "solidly pro-gun candidate." McFeaters has an identical rating. But McFeaters is hoping to capitalize on what he sees as a mistake. "The fact that my opponent would even consider such a thing is the height of stupidity and an arrogant attempt to go for gun control through a back door," he said. "That proposal suggests that Hoosier hunters are nothing but a bunch of reckless rednecks who can't be trusted to know where to shoot." **Status:** *LIKELY D.*

House District 64: Republican: Troy Woodruff. Democrat: State Rep. John Frenz. **2002 Results:** Frenz 10,516, Davis (R) 8,774. **2004 Forecast:** During a debate Frenz said police could only arrest individuals having more than one methamphetamine precursor. The new legislation changed that, allowing police to arrest those having just the one ingredient. Frenz and Woodruff agreed that methamphetamine is a difficult and growing problem. Knox County led the state with the number of meth labs busted by police, Frenz said. Gibson County is second. Woodruff proposed expanding D.A.R.E. or similar anti-drug training to middle and high school students, and said that there should be consequences for those who make, use or distribute the drug. "Treatment, yes, we need for those using it to get treatment," Woodruff said. "But we also need to hand down punishment, too. We have to do all we can to stem the tide." **Status:** *LEANS D.*

Special Municipal Election

East Chicago Mayoral Democratic Primary: Mayor Robert Pastrick, George Pabey, Lonnie Randolph. **2004 Forecast:** State oversight of the East Chicago special election may still be a few days away, as the state Election Commission waits for a signed order (Steve Walsh, *Post-*



Mayor Pastrick

Tribune). After a three-hour meeting Friday, the commission voted unanimously on a detailed order to monitor the Oct. 26 mayoral primary, as ordered by Special Judge Steven King. The board agreed to send at least one Democrat and one Republican to Lake County, almost immediately, to monitor the absentee voting process, already under way. The two Democrats want to sign the order personally, rather than authorize the staff to use their stamps, a common practice, said Christy Robertson, Democratic co-director of the evenly divided bipartisan board. She said she planned on Tuesday to send the order to the vice chairman, Anthony Long, by overnight mail now that the commission has a copy signed by the Republicans. "I believe that Anthony Long felt this order was so important that he wanted to sign the original," Robertson said. Secretary of State Todd Rokita offered to pay the cost to hire the temporary staff. Gov. Joe Kernan's office acknowledged a letter from Pabey, who asked for a state police presence for the primary (Walsh, *Post-Tribune*). A three-page letter sent by the Pabey camp Monday points to vandalism of cars with Pabey-for-mayor bumper stickers and the trashing of Pabey signs over the weekend. "We not only cannot expect assistance from the police to stop the vandalism and expected harassment," read the letter to the governor, signed by Pabey's attorneys Fernandez and Nathaniel Ruff. The governor is looking at the request, according to Jonathan Swain, his press secretary. The price tag on the Oct. 26 repeat of East Chicago's 2003 Democratic mayoral primary is \$144,111, the Lake County Council learned Tuesday (*Times of Northwest Indiana*). Over the next two weeks, federal prosecutors promise to lay out the wriggling innards of East Chicago's Democratic machine (Steve Walsh, *Post-Tribune*). More and more of those who previously supported Pastrick appear to be switching sides to support challenger George Pabey. Most notable to switch sides has been Lake County Sheriff Rogelio "Roy" Dominguez, who said last month he is supporting Pabey because "it is time for a change in the city." Others who previously supported Pastrick were found last week attending a Pabey fund-raiser. Among them were Lake County Surveyor George Van Til; state Sen. Frank Mrvan, D-Hammond; East Chicago City Clerk Mary Morris Leonard; and North Township Advisory Board member Frank Mrvan Jr. Despite the torrent of negative headlines, political insiders aren't counting Pastrick out. He still controls the East Chicago Central Committee. He is expected to have ample funds to run a direct-mail campaign in the final three weeks. **Status:** *LIKELY PABEY* ❖



The politics of fear

"The only thing we have to fear is... fear itself" - President Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 4, 1933

"But yes, I'm worried. I'm worried. I'm worried about our country. And all I can tell you is every day I know that there's people working overtime, doing the very best they can. And the reason I'm worried is because there's a vicious enemy that has an ideology of hate." - President George W. Bush, Oct. 8, 2004, second presidential debate

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

I was struck by the second quote above, particularly when it is contrasted with the first, uttered more than seven decades ago when America faced terrifying problems, both at home and abroad.

The politics of fear was really brought home by filmmaker Michael Moore, and not in "Fahrenheit 911." It was a central point in his popular movie "Bowling for Columbine."

American commerce and politics has become a culture of fear. There are things to fear everywhere you look, from the blemishes on your face, to the acid reflux in your gut, the veins on your legs, to ... Sen. John Kerry.

The jarring moment for me in the 2004 debate sequence was the Bush quote. He repeated "I'm worried" three times consecutively; four times in all. It was a sharp contrast to President Reagan, who won the American people over in 1980 by expressing opportunity. "My optimism comes not just from my strong faith in God, but also my strong and enduring faith in man," Reagan explained in 1991.

Columnist Joseph Sobran once told author Dinesh D'Souza, "If Reagan led a life of conspicuous religious fervor, there might be some plausibility in the idea that he was bent on enforcing conformity. But his personal style, with its mix of conventional piety and relaxed practice is reassuring, even endearing. It makes him like most Americans. He respects certain norms, even when he does not live up to them. He would rather appear to be a sinner, than abolish the idea of

sin."

The contrast with Bush is vast. Bush is the first American president to essentially be the titular head of the evangelical Christian movement. Asked about homosexuality (another Bush bogeyman likely to resurface in the final weeks of this campaign), President Reagan quoted Mrs. Patrick Campbell from the trial of Oscar Wilde: "I have no objection to anyone's sex life as long as they don't practice it in the street and frighten the horses."

Reagan was successful in establishing a rapport with the American people based on a profound trust, affection and intimacy with them. Reagan did that by writing a speech and envisioning people he knew in his hometown of Dixon, Ill. Author Richard Reeves would observe, "He did not sound like a politician, which made him a great politician."

The world President Bush is presenting is one where danger lurks, where enemies are stirring from outside and within. He is "worried" whereas the great presidential communicators - FDR, Reagan and President Clinton - eased those fears. This election is being played out against the threat of a domestic terror attack, to the point where U.S. Sen. Mark Dayton is abandoning his Capitol Hill office until after the election. Bush has consistently made the case that "we are safer," while contradicting that with the speak of paranoia.

FDR, facing re-election in 1940 with the Nazis having overrun most of Europe, counseled, "Let us have done with both fears and illusions." In January 1941, he went before Congress to seek Lend-Lease (then the most expansive presidential discretionary authority) and spoke of the "four essential freedoms" - freedom of speech, of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear." He would go on to defeat Hoosier Wendell Willkie by a 449 to 82 Electoral College landslide.

In the final debate at Tempe, AZ., last night, Bush was more optimistic, particularly in his closing remarks. But it was the least watched debate of the 2004 sequence and three network snap polls said Kerry had won. If Bush loses this election in three weeks, look for one of the reasons to be the culture of fear that alienated the 2 to 6 percent undecideds. Fear sells products, but it may not win elections. ❖

04 Bush-Kerry

Election Presidential Polls

Rasmussen Tracking, Oct. 11-13

Bush 48, Kerry 46

Washington Post, Oct. 11-13, +/-3

Kerry 49, Bush 48, Nader 1

Zogby America, Oct. 11-13, +/- 2.9

Bush 46, Kerry 45, Nader 1

ABC News Tracking, Oct. 10-12, +/-3

Bush 48, Kerry 48, Nader 1

Indiana: South Bend Tribune/WSBT, Oct. 10-12, +/-4

Bush 53, Kerry 40

Do you think the situation in Iraq was worth going to war for?

Yes 47%, No 44%, Not Sure 9%

Rasmussen Tracking (Indiana)(Sept. 16-29)

Bush 53, Kerry 40

TeleResearch (Vigo County, Ind.)

Bush 48, Kerry 47



Sautter, Buyer eye recounts

Democrats Prepare for Election Disputes

By MARK SCHOEFF Jr.

WASHINGTON--If the tie between President Bush and Sen. John Kerry in current polls translates into a tie at the ballot box on Nov. 2, Democrats want to avoid a repeat of the 2000 Florida recount. A Hoosier veteran of disputed elections is helping them.

Chris Sautter, a Washington political consultant and former Bloomington attorney, will be stationed at Kerry campaign headquarters on election night to monitor states where voting results are questioned. Sautter said that Democrats plan to have teams of attorneys ready for deployment to swing states where a winner cannot be declared. The party will hold a recount strategy meeting on Thursday in Washington.

"Democrats are making an organized effort that will put them in a stronger position to handle any kind of recount situation that may arise," Sautter said in an HPR interview. Sautter was a leader of the 2000 Florida recount. Bush won the state by a little more than 500 votes after a favorable ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Democrats are better prepared for recounts because they've formed teams that can be dispatched to multiple states simultaneously, have built relationships with law firms in swing states, and have started their preparations earlier, said Sautter. These steps would help the party contest more than one state and enable it to overcome inherent GOP advantages when state government is led by Republicans, as was the case in Florida four years ago. "We had a hard time getting top Florida law firms to work with us," because of the influence of Gov. Jeb Bush said Sautter.

Democrats are gearing up because they fear that Republicans will try to suppress the vote. "The chatter indicates that the Republicans are going to be aggressive in challenging voters in swing states," said Sautter, who entered politics in 1984 to help the late Rep. Frank McCloskey in his recount against Republican Rick McIntyre. McCloskey was eventually declared the winner by a four-vote margin. "Republicans are obsessed by the idea that there's going to be voter fraud."

Buyer Says Democrats Want to Settle Scores

An HPR phone call to the Republican National Committee for comment was not returned. But a GOP congressman who went to Florida to help his party in the 2000 recount says he is concerned about Democratic efforts to establish recount teams. "That should frighten people who are seeking a fair election," said U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer. "It all goes back to challenging the legitimacy of the Bush presiden-

cy. I'll surmise that is why Democrats are forming these teams." Democrats are convinced that the Florida vote was flawed, said Buyer, who is an attorney. "All of that is a false premise," he said. He criticized Democrats for their Florida approach. "They were doing anything they could do that was outside the foul lines to further their goal, which was to win the presidency at all costs. The way I put it is that they were cheating their way to fairness."

Democrats charge that the Republicans may cheat by keeping voters away from the polls. "Democrats benefit by greater turnouts and Republicans tend not to benefit," said Sautter. "Past election battles put Republicans on the side of trying to disqualify votes and Democrats on the side of trying to expand votes." Buyer said he has not been involved in any



Chris Sautter with East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick last August. (HPR Photo)

discussions or meetings about GOP plans to challenge voter eligibility. But he said that it is imperative to ensure that people who step into the voting booth are U.S. citizens, residents of their precincts, have no felony records and have not voted in another jurisdiction. "The definition of a fair election is that the Constitution is upheld," Buyer said. "One person, one vote."

Odds Against Florida Redux; Indiana Prepared

A dispute over the integrity of the election requires that several stars align. Both Sautter and Buyer doubt that there will be a Florida redux in 2004. "What you have to have is a recount situation and the overall race dependent on the outcome of those states," said Sautter, who has participated in recounts in Oregon, Washington and Wisconsin. "The odds are against it." Buyer said, "I would be very surprised if we have a repeat of Florida."

Buyer's and Sautter's home state has been cited as a model of recount rectitude. Indiana appears to be prepared again. A recount in the state senate primary contest between Republican Sen. Larry Borst and victorious challenger Brent Waltz proceeded smoothly. State recount rules were updated as recently as July 6. "We're a progressive state in revising the code as needed," said Kate Shepherd, spokeswoman for Secretary of State Todd Rokita. "These guidelines were adopted by the General Assembly and are clearly outlined in state law. There's nothing left to discretion. They have stood the test of time." Indiana recount law can be found at www.in.gov/sos/elections/voters/recount.html

Voting technology varies in each county. Shepherd said that touch screens are used in 43, optical scans in 31, punch cards in 17, and one uses a lever. ❖



Ken Bode, Indianapolis Star - The first question in Tuesday night's vice presidential debate was about mistakes made in Iraq. Vice President Dick Cheney was utterly unrepentant. Three times he said, with added emphasis, we did everything in Iraq exactly right. Everything. Exactly right. The reason Cheney got that question is that L. Paul Bremer, America's former administrator in Iraq, is now traveling around the country making speeches and promoting an upcoming book. What Bremer has been saying about the administration's poor planning before the invasion landed him on the front page of newspapers on the day of the debate. The first of Bremer's speeches was at DePauw University in mid-September in Greencastle. Another was in West Virginia to an audience of insurance executives. At both, Bremer said the U.S. did not have enough troops in Iraq, that he repeatedly asked President Bush for more and was turned down. In most of his remarks at two public sessions, he expressed support for what the administration did in Iraq. There was no evidence that Saddam had anything to do with 9/11, says Bremer, but regime change was necessary: "The intelligence community was very clear. It happens they were wrong, but they did report WMDs." Because he caused so much trouble with the few remarks already published, it might be useful to report some of the other things Bremer said at DePauw. With insufficient troops on the ground, we failed to close the borders, even failed to guard weapons stockpiles. We still have inadequate security in Iraq, he said, and the coalition transferred authority to the incoming Iraqi government early because we believed the insurgents would use the announced date to trigger violence. Though Bremer did not say so, we now know that another catastrophic mistake was the decision to disband the Iraqi army. That decision was made in Washington and forced on Bremer. Overnight it produced the trained, armed insurgency we now see every day. Asked how long America will have to keep military forces in Iraq, Bremer replied that it is impossible to tell. But he referenced Japan, Germany and the Philippines where we still have deployments 50 years after World War II. "If Iraq descends into a civil war, it will become a regional war quickly," he predicted. "Your generation is challenged for a long term and difficult struggle," he told the students.

David Rutter, Post-Tribune - Here's a list of unanswered questions designed to get your shorts in a tight twist. What if the same people who stole the last two East Chicago elections are the same people trying to steal this one? What if Lake County Prosecutor Bernard Carter — the embodiment

of the Alfred E. Newman "What, Me Worry?" trophy — has not had an eye transplant since the last vote. Fraud? What fraud? News to me. What if George Pabey's ascendancy as the presumed next mayor will not herald an age of enlightenment in East Chicago but merely more petty political larceny, just with different faces? While we're on the road to rhetorical questions, how about a more fundamental one? Who in Lake County Democratic politics (that's the only version that seems to count) will carry the torch for reform here? Who will announce that we must win local elections on Democratic Party principles or not at all? When will integrity — and not greased palms — be the basis for victory? Just asking. ❖

Jack Colwell, South Bend Tribune - Neither party at the national level is regarding (the 2nd CD) race as second to none or even among the top priorities for targeting. That doesn't mean it's over, although both parties nationally look at it as likely to go to Chocola. If Democrats thought Chocola had only a razor-thin margin, Donnelly would have had the resources to be on TV long before now. If Republicans thought Chocola was in real trouble, he would have been on with a blitz of TV spots similar in volume to 2002 and we would be awaiting the landing again of Air Force One.

Still, both Chocola and Donnelly know that the 2nd District is pretty much 50-50 in political flavor. So, Chocola can't take it for granted that he will win. He isn't. He is campaigning. This is the type of district where an upset can come when an incumbent just coasts and regards re-election as a formality. Donnelly, though he may have no air war -- no TV yet -- still has a chance to win with a ground war. If Democrats have been successful in voter registration efforts and have a superb get-out-the-vote organization, Donnelly still could have a shot at pulling an upset on Nov. 2.

Lesley Stedman Weidenbener, Louisville Courier-Journal - It would seem a natural that with just more than three weeks until the general election, I'd be writing today about the campaigns for governor. And that was my original plan. But I got distracted by a completely unrelated story that I could not resist writing about. So forgive me this indulgence, and I promise to get back to the governor's race next week. This week, I'm writing about marching bands. The Indiana State School Music Association has decided to try to restrict newspapers that are covering marching band competitions from printing the last names of the band members — either in photo captions or in stories. This makes me sad. ❖





Bush takes lead in bellwether Vigo County

TERRE HAUTE - Vigo County has voted for every presidential race winner since 1924. The last time Vigo County didn't support the winner was in 1920, the year native son Eugene Debs ran on the Socialist Party ticket. HPR's pollster, TeleResearch of Carmel, Ind., recently conducted three polls in September in Vigo County. Here are the results:

Survey No. 1

Kerry 47, Bush 45

Survey No. 2

Kerry 48, Bush 45

Survey No. 3

Bush 48, Kerry 47

To read about the entire TeleResearch/Bellwether County project, see www.teleresearchcorp.com.

GOP charges Kernan with blurring lines

INDIANAPOLIS - Republican legislators expressed concern regarding the potentially inappropriate use of state funds during this heated election season. "Hoosiers have probably noticed some conspicuous activity in the last 60 days," said State Sen. Tom Weatherwax. "In area after area, we have seen an increase in taxpayer dollars being used to sell a positive spin on the activities of this Administration. What concerns me is that much of this activity comes close to looking like this Administration is campaigning on taxpayer dollars. The line between the two is very blurry these days." The legislators pointed to a number of communications efforts and questionable expenditures in the final weeks of the gubernatorial campaign including the following: At the end of September, the Bureau of Motor Vehicles announced plans to send postcard reminders to all drivers when their licenses are about to expire. This will cost taxpayers roughly \$14,000 each month. This month, the State



Gov. Joe Kernan with campaign manager Bernie Toon. (HPR Photo)

mailed postcards to senior citizens across Indiana to notify them of a special one-day-registration push for HoosierRx at BMV branches statewide on Saturday, October 16th. While the program can support less than 8,000 new registrants, 100,000 seniors received the mailing. At a low cost estimate of 15 cents per mailer, the estimated total cost is at least \$15,000. According to a State report, Indiana's Department of Commerce is spending approximately \$7.5 million on marketing materials for the "Go Indiana" campaign. Jonathan Swain, a spokesman for Gov. Kernan said the criticism "is obviously politically motivated. He told HPR this morning that the post cards "didn't have Gov. Kernan's name on them." He said legislators had criticized Kernan for not enlisting more people into the Hoosier RX program. "There are now a number of legislators volunteering this weekend to sign people up," Swain said. He said Toon was paid for only one month during the transition and was terminated when he went over to the campaign. "These charges are absurd," Swain said.



Cheney to be in Indiana briefly

SOUTH BEND - Vice President Dick Cheney will make a brief stop today in Indiana on his way to campaign

stops in Michigan, an election battleground state. Daniels' running mate, state Sen. Becky Skillman, will greet Cheney at South Bend Regional Airport (*Indianapolis Star*). The Bush-Cheney campaign confirmed that the vice president would arrive in South Bend but said no Indiana campaign events are planned.

Opening arguments in East Chicago sidewalk trial

SOUTH BEND - Federal prosecutors painted a picture of East Chicago flowing gray with concrete in the weeks leading up to the 1999 election, as testimony in the concrete-for-votes trial got under way Tuesday. City Controller Edwardo Maldonado is on trial along with city councilmen Frank Kollintzas and Joe De La Cruz on charges that they defrauded the city out of \$24 million as part of an election year campaign bid, buying votes with concrete (Steve Walsh, *Post-Tribune*). The jury, seated in U.S. District Court, was shown photo after photo of newly paved driveways and back walkways in Kollintzas' 4th District, which made it appear that residents of the Indiana Harbor section of East Chicago had been awash in concrete before the May 1999 primary. That year, Mayor Robert Pastrick was locked in a close race with long-time rival Lake County County Democratic Chairman Stephen "Bob" Stiglich. "The defendants used city money to influence the outcome of the election," said Assistant U.S. Attorney Gary Bell. "They did it to keep themselves and the mayor in power."

Scott says debate talks with Bayh break off

INDIANAPOLIS - Republican Senate candidate Marvin Scott sent a press release out this morning saying negotiations for debates with U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh have broken off.

