



Restive frosh aim at Senate leaders

Conservatives seek primary challenges to leadership as they await 'Gov. Pence' and dual super majorities

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - A potential leadership challenge is beginning to take shape in the Indiana Senate, informed and reliable sources are telling Howey Politics Indiana.

The opening stage of the fight is occurring with a series of 2012 primary challenges to the so-called "female caucus" that helped bring Senate President Pro Tempore David Long to power following the defeat of his predecessor, Robert D. Garton, in 2006. But the female caucus is weakening with the exit of Teresa Lubbers to the Higher Education Commission and now State Sen. Beverly Gard, who was poised to face a challenge from former Ultimate Fighting Championship veteran Chris Lytle.

HPI has learned that the Senate's



Senate President David Long with Minority Leader Vi Simpson. Pictured lower left is State Sen. Jim Banks. (HPI Photo)

Republican conservative caucus, led by State Sen. Jim Banks, is recruiting challengers to Senate Majority Leader Connie Lawson. State Rep. David Yarde is challenging State Sen. Sue Glick, who earned an emphatic endorsement from

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Thomas poised for Senate bid

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Bob Thomas is preparing to enter the Republican U.S. Senate race, saying that a final decision will come by Jan. 2.

But the auto dealer told Howey Politics Indiana on Wednesday, "I would say it will be a yes, based on everything I know."

The probable Thomas entry will create a three-way primary among U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar and



"I am literally wandering Indiana."

- Dave Crooks, just prior to winning the endorsement of Vanderburgh County Democrats before Saturday's caucus



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Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock, who has been endorsed by some Indiana Tea Party groups along with two major national ones, but has failed to raise the kind of money needed to run a viable statewide challenge.

"It all starts with Dick Lugar," Thomas said of his pending campaign. "Thirty-six years is enough. We've done some testing. I think Lugar is a little more than vulnerable. I believe people from Indiana are looking for a new face. It's not just sending a different person, but a different type of person. We need someone who understands Main Street, not Wall Street."

Thomas said that when Lugar entered the Senate during the Cold War in 1976 "he was pre-eminent and perfect for his times." But today, "all the issues are domestic and economic. We need someone who understands the economy and Main Street."

Thomas, earned an MBA from Harvard University, has had auto dealerships in Fort Wayne since 1980 and also owns Capital City Ford in Indianapolis. He recently sold dealerships in Alabama and West Virginia. In 2010, he was intent on entering the U.S. Senate race to challenge U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh after U.S. Rep. Mike Pence opted out of that challenge. Just as he was gearing up a campaign, Dan Coats entered the race, and then Bayh dropped out. So Thomas shifted gears and challenged U.S. Rep. Mark Souder in the 3rd CD.

In a bitterly fought race, Thomas lost to Souder, 38,441 to 27,068, while Phil Troyer took 12,851 votes and Greg Dickman had 2,127 votes. "If that had gone two more weeks, we'd have won," Thomas said. "With a seven-week primary, we had no troops. We got his numbers under 50 percent, but we didn't have time

to get my numbers over his. Mark had his troops on the ground and got his vote out."

Thomas said that Souder, who writes a column for Howey Politics Indiana, "ran a one-issue campaign: 'He's not one of us.' But I was there selling cars in Fort Wayne and he was in Washington. I assumed people would understand that I had run an auto dealership for years there. Had we countered, we would have won. This will be a different campaign. This will be a positive campaign."

Thomas said that Congress "doesn't understand what they're doing to the economy. They don't understand what government regulations are doing. They didn't understand during the bank meltdown in 2008. They don't know what businesses need to expand. Unless someone goes to Washington who understands this,



we'll have the same mess. We all know that the greatest generator of jobs is Main Street."

As for Mourdock, Thomas characterized him as just another "career politician," noting that the treasurer has run for office

11 times since 1988. Mourdock lost Congressional races in 1988, 1990 and 1992 in the 8th CD. "I can't say anything bad about Richard Mourdock, but people are going to give a local businessman more of a look than another career politician. Richard's major claim to fame is he's not Lugar," Thomas said.

Conventional wisdom

has been that a multi-candidate race will allow Lugar to win the primary. Thomas disagrees. "This is not about Dick Lugar. I'm not a career politician. I've never served in office. I've been a businessman for 30 years in Fort Wayne. During our tests, when we asked what voters think about a local businessman, it lit up. If there are two alternatives to Lugar and one is good,



it can swing my way.”

In 1998, Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke won a three-way Republican U.S. Senate primary with 35%, a shade over the 34% polled by attorney John Price, while Peter Rusthoven polled 31%. “They didn’t think I could win this one,” Helmke said after the primary. “The Sunday talk shows had me coming in third. People get tired of full-time campaigns.”

Thomas largely self-funded his challenge to Souder with FEC reports indicating that he either contributed or lent his campaign close to \$590,000. Asked if he would be in that mode this time out, Thomas said, “Oh, absolutely not.” He said he will spend the rest of this year lining up financial support, estimating that he will plan for a \$2 million to \$3 million primary campaign, “though I think it can be done for less.” He said that his delay in making a definitive declaration is more about touching base with potential financial backers and “dotting i’s and crossing t’s.”

When HPI first reported that Thomas was considering a run, Souder posted on his Facebook page: “I am hardly a neutral source on this, and I didn’t like the stuff he did, but he ran a pretty effective campaign given that he had zero local support. He is an incredibly bright man and has conservative business instincts.” Souder summed up Thomas as “not an ideal candidate, but he would be a

tough competitor.” Souder added, “It was amazing to me that people didn’t catch on to the ‘Bob Thomas for Indiana’ slogan with the drawing of the state” and the fact that Thomas was originally interested in challenging Bayh in 2010.

The danger for Lugar is that a Thomas candidacy is likely to be far more potent financially than Mourdock’s anemic showing thus far.

Mourdock has under-performed in his candidacy, raising only \$904,084 (including a \$105,000 loan from himself) and reported only \$291,640 cash-on-hand at the Sept. 30 FEC reporting deadline. Key Mourdock supporters are telling HPI that the campaign is essentially being run by amateurs. One chairman who endorsed Mourdock described the campaign as “dead in the water.”

In contrast, the FEC filings show that Lugar has raised \$2.72 million this cycle and has \$3.8 million cash on hand. The Thomas entry will likely muddle the 527 support that Mourdock was counting on from the Tea Party Express and FreedomWorks, both of which have endorsed the treasurer, but have not committed much funding to date. Another group, Club for Growth, has not endorsed Mourdock but ran TV ads against Lugar and commissioned a poll. Without the 527 support, Mourdock doesn’t appear to have enough funding to do “swing vote” damage. ❖

Indiana Senate, from page 1

Long earlier this week.

State Sen. Pat Miller was targeted by the group until former State Rep. Jon Elrod opted not to run. Additionally, sources tell HPI that former Indiana Republican Chairman Rex Early is recruiting a primary challenger against Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley.

Sources tell HPI that the restive conservatives – Sens. Banks, Scott Schneider, Carlin Yoder, Travis Holdman, Mike Delph, Mike Young, and possibly John Waterman and Jean Leising – are banding together to push what would have been unheard of in the Garton era: primary challenges to sitting members. One source told HPI that it is a “movement” patterned after a similar move to the right in Congress that was championed by U.S. Sen. Jim DeMint of South Carolina during the Tea Party

year of 2010. A Tea Party challenge to U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar from Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock may have only heightened the fervor for “regime change.”

One former legislator tells HPI, “Things have changed immeasurably” since the past two Republican waves that brought an influx of young conservatives to the Indiana Senate. The conservatives have been traveling to Tea Party and other events across the state well outside of their Senate districts. “Brian and David have their hands full,” one source said of Long and House Speaker Brian C. Bosma.

After the female caucus helped bring Long to power, the good ol’ boys club of the Bob Garton, Larry Borst and Joe Harrison era gave way to an unprecedented influx of female senators into leadership posts.

As if the Daniels era hasn’t been enough of an onslaught against the Indiana Democratic Party – with its defeat of a Democratic governor, the end of collective bargaining for state employees, the crackdown on the Lake County Democratic machine, the establishment of a statewide



Senate President Long with Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley, who tried a leadership challenge of his own more than a decade ago. (HPI Photo)



voter file, a 60-member GOP majority in the Indiana House, revolutionary teacher accountability standards, and the encroachment on abortion rights – now the pending Right to Work legislation could neuter one of the last pillars of gubernatorial funding.

When Gov. Daniels ended collective bargaining for state employees on his second day in office in 2005, AFSCME membership declined by 90%. Democratic sources tell HPI that Right to Work legislation could cause union membership to decline well over 50%, potentially severing a huge source of campaign funding for Democratic candidates.

What Indiana Democrats are now staring at is a scenario in 2012 with an unpopular African-American president, 10 open House seats that could pave the way for Republicans to have super majorities in both General Assembly chambers, and the most conservative governor in modern history with the possible – many believe probable – ascension of U.S. Rep. Mike Pence. House Democrats are seeing longtime members retire, such as Reps. Dale Grubb, William Crawford, and this week, John Day, following the 2010 bloodbath that saw the party go from 51 to 40 seats. The Senate is a different story, with a 37-13 super majority for the GOP.

If such a scenario comes true in January 2013, the full width and breadth of a conservative, pro-life, pro-business amalgamation of one party could send legislation flying through the General Assembly with speed unseen in modern times. A precursor to such a scenario is one where there are no longer enough Democrats to conquer. As new and previously unimaginable power dimensions present themselves, the focus turns to power grabs that now appear to be taking shape in the Super Majority Indiana Senate.

In January 2010, WTHR-TV reported on the formation of the “Conservative Caucus” that included Sen. Jim Buck, Waterman, Yoder, Young, Schneider, Holdman, and Leising, along with Greg Walker (who upset Garton in the 2006 Republican primary) Brent Waltz (who upset longtime Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst in the 2004 GOP primary) and now U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman.

The conservative Hoosier Pundit blog noted at that time, “They issued a news release that says their first order

of business was the passage of a resolution in support of Senate President Pro Tem David Long, who is not a member of the conservative caucus. Look for the caucus to be a voting block in the next leadership election, however, with candidates of its own.”

Bosma and House leadership, faced with an influx of freshmen and sophomore members, began dispersing more senior caucus members through the seating chart several sessions ago. The rationale was to avoid confusion when it came to votes. But a number of observers saw it as leadership keeping tabs on younger, restive members.

Waltz told HPI that if the twin super majority chambers emerge after 2012, “When there are no Democrats to beat up, we beat up each other.”

Last July, Americans for Tax Reform announced that Banks will chair the Taxpayer Protection Caucus in the Indiana Senate. To join the caucus, a legislator must have signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge, thereby putting their commitment to constituents and state residents to “oppose and vote against any and all efforts to increase taxes” in writing.

With the addition of Sen. Banks, there are now 39 Taxpayer Protection Caucuses in 31 states. Every state (with the exception of unicameral Nebraska) will soon have both a Senate and House caucus consisting of all pledge signers in the legislature.

“Jim Banks is a true fiscal conservative and will serve as an essential proponent for Indiana taxpayers in this leadership role,” said Joshua Culling, Indiana state affairs manager for Americans for Tax Reform. “We couldn’t be happier that Sen. Banks has agreed to chair the Indiana Senate Taxpayer Protection Caucus as an advocate of lower taxes and limited government policies that will help Indiana families and businesses through private sector-led job creation and economic growth.”

When it came to the 2012 election cycle, one of the first targets was Sen. Gard, who announced in October that she would retire after Chris Lytle, a former Ultimate Fighting Championship competitor from New Palestine and an Indianapolis firefighter, announced he would challenge

her.

In a post on the conservative Hoosier Access blog by Josh Gillespie on Aug. 29, he noted that “Gard, who was



Sen. Beverly Gard retired and won't face Chris Lytle in a primary next May.



first elected to the State Senate in 1988, has been viewed by many as becoming more moderate in the last few years. More than 150 people were there to celebrate Chris' life in the UFC and all of them cheered him on as he announced his run. Rumors had been swirling around Hancock County that Lytle ... might be jumping into politics. Many have supported the move and offered differing opinions on which seat to run for, but in the end, his sights were set on the State Senate. The move has, obviously, ruffled some feathers as Hancock County Republicans gear up for another intense primary season."

Gillespie is an aide to U.S. Rep. Dan Burton.

The Glick scenario is different, since she won a caucus after Stutzman went to Congress in 2010 and is now facing voters for the first time. "This new Senate district represents my old House of Representatives district," Yarde said. "I made a promise to those people to be a strong voice for them. I am not ready to abandon and quit on them. It'll be challenging, but that's good. The people will have an option."

Glick won an emphatic endorsement from Long. "In her brief time as a state senator, Sue has proven to be a true leader and a strong conservative – and a valuable addition to the Republican caucus," said Long. "Her first session as a member of the General Assembly was one of the most contentious and difficult we've seen in years, yet Sen. Glick proved to be a tough and capable legislator and handled herself as if she was a veteran. I'm very pleased she has decided to run for a full term. She has my complete support."

In looking at current Senate membership, our estimate is that Long and his leadership team have 19 solid votes if a leadership fight erupts: Sens. Allen Paul, Johnny Nugent, Tom Wyss, Vaneta Becker, Richard Bray, Phil Boots, Ed Charbonneau, Ron Grooms, Randy Head, Brandt Hersman, Glick, Kenley, Dennis Kruse, Sue Landske, Lawson, Jim Merritt, Ryan Mishler, Joe Zakas and Miller.

There are the 11 Conservative Caucus members, though Sen. Brent Waltz described himself as "undecided." He sees as potential undecideds Sens. Jim Tomes, Jim Smith, Brent Steele and Doug Eckerty. With this math, you now understand the thinking of ambitious conservatives in drumming up primary challenges to Gard, Glick, Kenley and Lawson.

Some observers say there is "no grandiose plan," but that might change if conservatives emerge against

Lawson and Kenley. Waltz noted, "I don't think it's as organized or established as one might think. The problem is when you try to do something like this, there's a propensity to go a bridge too far."

In 2002, then-State Sen. J. Murray Clark led a rebellion against Garton and failed. Kenley had attempted one a few years earlier. Clark's tactic was to try and make the case through the caucus, and not the primary.

In the Aug. 15, 2002, edition of Howey Politics, Clark explained, "I was contacted by some people and I've contacted others internally to take the temperature of my colleagues as to whether or not there should be a change in leadership. I think most people believe we must take up a higher profile for Republican leadership in this state in setting a long-range vision to what this state should look like in 20 or 30 years. I agree with that. I don't question whether our leadership is good people, but whether they are the right leadership to move us forward. That's the issue here. I think it's a healthy discussion to have among Senate Republicans. The Senate has gotten comfortable in its approach to government and governance and sometimes it's helpful to have a discussion of change to talk about whether things can be done in a different and better way."

By Oct. 10, 2002, the rebellion had petered out. Howey Politics reported that Senate observers believed that Clark had

repeated the mistake of Kenley: Both got commitments from most reform-minded senators first before wooing others who might have had an open mind but were not within the challengers' prime constituencies. In both cases, Garton got wind of the insurrection and was able to tamp it down "with a mixture of retribution and ... sweetness." One observer told Howey Politics he witnessed two recalcitrant senators headed to Garton's Ivy Tech office. "They were going to kiss the ring," he said.

Asked what the beef with David Long is, Waltz said, "I don't think there should be. What has Long not done for the conservatives?" He cited the property tax caps, the Planned Parenthood defunding, education reforms and immigration bills that passed through the upper chamber. In the Garton/Borst era, things likely would not have happened so fast.

"It's more about power than philosophy," Waltz observed. "Theirs is a logical calculation or extension."

That is, with a Gov. Pence and two super majorities, the allure to young, ambitious conservatives is achieving the full thrust of their agenda ... in the future. ❖



President Long with Majority Leader Connie Lawson. (HPI Photo)



CJ Roberts about to define his connotation

By **DAVE KITCHELL**

LOGANSPOUR - When we hear references such as "The Reagan Administration" or "The Gingrich House," the pure definition of government takes on specific meanings.

Like it or not, and sometimes through no fault of the people in charge, those references take on specific connotations.

With the upcoming consideration of the Affordable Care Act and its constitutionality, Indiana's U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Roberts is about to define the connotation of what could be a long tenure on the court.



What makes this one case a defining moment is that many on both sides of the aisle are calling on Justices Clarence Thomas and Elena Kagen to recuse themselves from considering the case. In Thomas' instance in particular, it makes sense. Thomas appeared at a prominent event where the Affordable Care Act was opposed,

and the event's sponsor has clearly defined its position against it.

Roberts' worst gaffe so far as Chief Justice since he was appointed by former President George W. Bush is that he couldn't remember President Obama's name when he swore him into office. The mistake was so well known that Roberts and Obama restaged a private swearing-in ceremony so that anyone who ever questioned the legality of the presidency would have no doubts that Obama was indeed sworn into office.

The scales of justice at any level below the Supreme Court are supposedly balanced by a blind woman who weighs evidence fairly. But Supreme Court justices have the same responsibility that lower court judges do if there appears to be a conflict of interest: they step aside. There is one thing we can say about the justice system in this country: We may not always get justice right, but we always have another attorney to represent someone or another judge to hear a case.

In the case of the Affordable Care Act, there are clear political overtones. There are nine justices on the Supreme Court, and even without one from each party, an odd number of justices can clearly decide this issue without tainting the outcome because of perceived bias.



The Supreme Court sets the standards of judicial fairness for this country, and Roberts sets the standard for the highest judges. What action he can take, if any, to encourage Thomas and perhaps Kagen to sit this one out, has to be taken. If not, Thomas and Roberts both will be reviled if they strike down the Affordable Care Act.

More to the point, striking down the constitutionality of requiring Americans to have insurance may also have ramifications with other laws. Most motorists in this country are required to have auto insurance. If the Affordable Care Act is overturned, expect the constitutionality of auto insurance to be challenged, too.

Meanwhile, back at the Affordable Care Act, if the verdict is anything but unanimous and if it is 5-4 or 4-3 if Thomas and Kagen recuse themselves, Roberts' name will be forever linked to an historic case that could well define the health care debate in this country for the next 100 years.

While we likely will never hear Roberts explain any conversations he has had with Thomas or Kagen about the case – unless memoirs are released after his death – we likely can say this case will define him as much as *Bush v. Gore* defined William Rehnquist or *Roe v. Wade* defined their predecessors.

Roberts, a Long Beach, Ind., native, joined the court with an impeccable reputation, but maintaining it under these circumstances could pose his most difficult challenge in what could be a multi-decade tenure on the nation's highest court. ❖

Kitcheff is an award-winning columnist who is teaching journalism at Logansport HS.

Shepard to play role in successor

INDIANAPOLIS - Chief Justice Randall Shepard's retirement opens up the second vacancy in as many years on the Indiana Supreme Court. But this opening is anything but routine (*Indianapolis Star*). Gov. Mitch Daniels will appoint a new justice to take Shepard's place, based on three finalists submitted by a nominating commission after an extensive interview process. The same commission then will choose the first new chief justice in 25 years from among the court's justices -- without a direct say from Daniels, who appoints just three of the seven commission members. Shepard, set to retire in March, will have a voice in selecting his successor on the court since he's chairman of the Judicial Nominating Commission. ❖



Indiana Congressional races poised to kick off

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Between Saturday and the election filing deadline on Feb. 17, the Indiana Congressional fields will take shape. Don't be surprised if there are big changes coming.

One of the most intriguing is whether U.S. Rep. Dan Burton will make it all the way to the May primary post. We are hearing sources say that Burton appears dispirited and hints at health problems within the family. He is being out-raised by a smaller challenger field. And he appears to be unfamiliar with key players in his new Congressional district where he lost three counties in the old northern tier that gave him the slender margin needed to out-distance Luke Messer in 2010.

Messer is now in the 6th CD and is the frontrunner there in a growing GOP primary field. But in his void in the new 5th CD are former federal District Attorney Susan Brooks and former congressman David McIntosh, both of whom have out-raised Burton this cycle. The 5th CD promises to be the most compelling primary story in Indiana and may signal the end of the career for the dean of Indiana's Congressional delegation.

Of the two "competitive" Congressional district, the 8th CD finds the Democratic field preparing to consolidate on Saturday at Vincennes University where the party will gather and endorse either former legislator Dave Crooks or Patrick Scates, the former district director for congressman Brad Ellsworth. Scates, Crooks and Warrick County Democratic Chairman Terry White met on Dec. 6 in the Boonville office of 8th CD Chairman Anthony Long and pushed for the caucus. Crooks won a key endorsement from Vanderburgh County Democrats Wednesday evening.

Here's a roundup of Indiana Congressional races:



1ST CD: Safe rematch for Visclosky

Republican: Mark Leyva, Jeff Phelps. **Democrat:** U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky. **2010 Results:** Visclosky (D) 99,387, Leyva (R) 65,558, Morris (L) 4,762. **2012 Outlook:** Visclosky has raised \$250,706 this cycle according to his Sept. 30 FEC report and has \$536,033 cash on hand, compared to \$475 for Leyva, his perennial opponent. Game over. Visclosky returns. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Visclosky

2ND CD: Big bucks for Walorski

Republican: Jackie Walorski. **Democrat:** Brendan Mullen, Andrew Straw, Mitch Feikes. **2010 Results:** Donnelly (D) 91,341, Walorski (R) 88,803, Vogel (L) 9,447. **2012 Outlook:** Walorski has a huge money lead, reporting \$428,776 on her Sept. 30 FEC report and \$333,360 cash on hand. Mullen, a West Point graduate and Army veteran, raised \$162,6564 and reported \$110,390 cash-on-hand. Straw reported \$13,153. Walorski is looking very strong in this race, one she expected was the second half of a two-cycle process, though she almost knocked off Joe Donnelly in the 2010 Tea Party. **Horse Race Primary Status:** Safe Walorski, Safe Mullen

3rd CD: No match for Marlin

Republican: U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman. **Democrat:** None. **2010 Results:** Stutzman 116,140, Hayhurst (D) 61,267, Wise (L) 7,631. **2012 Outlook:** Stutzman reported \$273,768 on his Sept. 30 FEC report and has \$102,698 cash-on-hand. Former State Rep. Randy Borrer has joined the Stutzman finance team. No Democrat has surfaced and Stutzman is expected to win a second term. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Stutzman

4th CD: Cruising Air Rokita

Republican: U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita. **Democrat:** Open. **2010 Results:** Rokita 138,732, Sanders (D) 53,167, Duncan (L) 10,423. **2012 Outlook:** Rokita reported \$474,688 on his Sept. 30 FEC report and has \$576,978 cash-on-hand. He isn't expected to face a primary challenge or a credible general election opponent in this overwhelmingly Republican district. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Rokita



U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita with Jackie Walorski when she filed in 2010 and he was secretary of state.



5th CD: Will Danny make the post?

Republican: U.S. Rep. Dan Burton, Susan Brooks, David McIntosh, John McGoff. **Democrat:** State Rep. Scott Reske, Tony Long. **2010 Primary Results:** Burton 32,769, Messer 30,502, McGoff 20,679, Murphy 9,805, McVey 9,372, Lyons 3,964, Adcock, Ann B. 3,352. **2010**

General Results: Burton 146,899, Crawford (D) 60,024, Reid (L) 18,266, Trueblood (I) 11,218.

2012 Outlook: The challenger field for Burton is condensed but potent, varying from the seven-man affair in 2010 when he barely defeated Luke Messer, winning less than 30% of the vote. Former congressman and 2000 Republican gubernatorial nominee McIntosh opted for the 5th, as opposed to taking on Messer in the new 6th CD. But former District Attorney Susan Brooks also entered and she lead the field by reporting \$341,127 on her Sept. 30 FEC report, compared to \$322,628 for McIntosh, \$269,472 for Burton, and \$172,316 for McGoff. Burton had \$323,096 cash-on-hand, compared to \$302,261 for Brooks, \$296,554



U.S. Rep. Dan Burton is facing an extremely tough reelection scenario in 2012.

for McIntosh and \$133,145 for McGoff. Brooks has the endorsements of Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman and former state senator and GOP chairman Murray Clark and her campaign includes Kevin Ober and Dollyne Pettingill Sherman. McIntosh has the backing of former GOP chairman Jim Kittle Jr., and GOP National Committeeman Fred Klipsch. This race is

going to be a dogfight down to the wire. Burton is extremely vulnerable and no longer has the brash swagger that was his trademark. There are rumors his wife is having health problems and that could prompt him to leave the race. If Burton bails out, look for either Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold or State Auditor Tim Berry to hop in the race. Brooks and McIntosh will be extremely well funded and the political map tips in their favor. Burton lost three of his good counties in the north to redistricting. Even though Burton and McIntosh previously represented Madison County, McIntosh has the upper hand there. The county chairman's wife is McIntosh's county

2012 State Presidential Polls

	Date	Gingrich	Romney	Paul	Cain	Perry	Santorum	Bachmann	Huntsman	Spread
Iowa										
RCP Average	11/27 - 12/6	29	16.7	16.7	9	8.9	5.1	8.6	2.0	Gingrich+12.3
CNN/Time	11/29 - 12/6	33	20	17	--	9	5	7	1	Gingrich +13
ABC/WPost	12-06 - 12-06	33	18	18	8	11	7	8	4	Gingrich +15
DM Register	11/27 - 11/30	25	16	18	8	6	6	8	2	Gingrich +7
NBC/Marist	11/27 - 11/29	26	18	17	9	9	5	3	1	Gingrich + 8
Insider Advan.	11/28 - 11/28	28	12	10	13	10	7	3	--	Gingrich +15
New Hampshire										
RCP Average	11/18 - 12/6	22.8	35.8	14.5	--	2.8	1.5	3.0	9	Romney +13
CNN/Time	11/29 - 12/6	26	35	17	--	2	2	3	8	Romney +9
NBC/Marist	11/28 - 11/30	23	39	16	2	3	1	3	9	Romney +16
Rasmussen	11/28 - 11/28	24	34	14	5	2	1	2	11	Romney +10
Polling Co.	11/18 - 11/21	18	35	11	8	4	2	4	8	Romney +17
South Carolina										
RCP Average	11/28 - 12/6	37.5	18.3	5.5	12.3	6.8	2.5	4.8	1.7	Gingrich +19.2
Winthrop	11/27 - 12/4	38	22	4	7	9	3	5	1	Gingrich +16
Insider Advan.	11/28 - 11/28	38	15	7	13	4	2	5	--	Gingrich +23
Polling Co.	11/18 - 11/21	31	16	5	17	6	1	5	3	Gingrich +14



coordinator. Brooks is utilizing a strategy of going after the female vote. She has done a very good job of organizing key women in the district. Brooks' biggest liability may be her husband, David, who is mostly unknown in the northern part of the district, but sources say has real enemies in Hamilton and Marion counties. Hamilton County will be the key battleground in this race, and some power centers there perceive Brooks as a "RINO." Whoever wins Hamilton County will win the election. **Horse Race Primary Status:** Tossup

6th CD: Messer the frontrunner

Republican: Luke Messer, Don Bates Jr., Travis Hankins, Andrew Phipps, John Hatter. **Democrat:** Bradley Bookout, Wayne Boling, James Crone. **2010 Results:** Pence 126,027, Welsh (D) 56,647, Thompson (L) 6,635. **2010 Outlook:** Messer has a big money lead, reporting \$321,189 on the Sept. 30 FEC report, while Bates reported \$73,866 and Hankins reported \$80,000. Phipps recently entered the race. Messer appears to be a big favorite. In his 2000 race against Pence, he carried Wayne County and represented Shelby and Decatur counties while serving in the Indiana House. He recently picked up the endorsements of nearly every Republican official and chair in Shelby County. The new 6th is overwhelmingly Republican and should stay with the party. Bookout reported just \$6,665 on his FEC report and Crone reported \$17,130. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Messer.

7th CD: Carson favored

Democrat: U.S. Rep. Andre Carson. **Republican:** J.D. Minear, Southport Police Chief Steve Davis, Wayne Harmon. **2010 Results:** Carson (D) 86,011, Scott (R) 55,213, Wilson (L) 4,815. **2012 Outlook:** Carson reported \$248,841 on his Sept. 30 FEC report. Harmon reported \$311. Minear and Davis are recent entries. Davis told the Indianapolis Star he's running against "violent hate speech" that has gridlocked Washington. He points to comments Carson made over the summer that tea party lawmakers want to see blacks "hanging on a tree." Carson's remarks sparked a firestorm among conservative news outlets. At the time he said he would not apologize for the remarks. Davis has twice run unsuccessfully for Marion County sheriff. Minear is a mortgage broker and is affiliated with the Tea Party movement. He tells IndyPolitics.Org that the new 7th is much more competitive since includes all of Perry, Franklin and Decatur Townships and less of Washington, Lawrence and Pike. He also says

he would return the country to "constitutional" government. **Republican Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup

8th CD: Crooks will win on Saturday

Republican: U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon. **Democrat:** Dave Crooks, Patrick Scates. **2010 Results:** Bucshon (R) 116,759, VanHaaften (D) 76,265, Cunningham (L) 10240. **2012 Outlook:** Crooks was endorsed Wednesday night of the Vanderburgh County Democrats by a 24-21 vote. "I am literally wandering Indiana," Crooks told HPI as he cruised between campaign events on Tuesday. A week before, Crooks, Scates and Warrick County Democratic Chairman

Terry White ended up in the office of 8th CD Chairman Anthony Long and pressed the Demo chair to schedule a slating caucus. "It really was orchestrated by the candidates," Crooks said. "All three of us sat down in Anthony Long's office and we came up with our plan. This was nothing that was being forced by anyone on the candidates. We're trying to win the race. I have the most to lose. We've got a lot of institutional support. I finally made up my mind that this was in my

best interest if I wanted to win in November. If I spent 12 months to win a primary just to beat a Democrat, it seems like we're going to weaken our efforts to beat Bucshon. I would end up after the primary broke and would have to raise three times the money in half the time." That caucus takes place at Vincennes University on Saturday. "If I haven't convinced 38 people to support me, then we'll let Patrick do it." Crooks was endorsed by State Sen. Lindel Hume, who had been backing White, and by State Reps. Kreg Battles and Clyde Kersey. Crooks points to his home county of Daviess as a place that hasn't elected a Democrat to a county office in two decades, but he carried in regularly when he was a state representative. Scates has been campaigning with former congressman Brad Ellsworth, after jumping into the race late. Ellsworth was there to boost Scates in Evansville before the Democrats Wednesday



Dave Crooks talks with John Gregg campaign manager Rebecca Percy in Sandborn in November. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



evening. "For me, that's huge," Crooks said of the endorsement. "I feel real good about that." White bowed out on Monday after loaning his campaign \$200,000, raised just \$44,000 and spending more than that. White and Crooks huddled Tuesday afternoon, though White was not expected to endorse anyone. He has decided to challenge State Sen. Vaneta Becker. Crooks reported \$217,724 on his Sept. 30 FEC report, including \$50,000 of his own money. Scates has not made an FEC filing. Bucshon reported \$409,536 and had \$319,000 cash-on-hand as opposed to \$108,262 for Crooks. The Rothenberg Political Report rates the 8th CD as one of two competitive districts in the state for the November election. Bucshon lost several northern counties during the redistricting earlier this year. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Crooks.

9th CD: Young money gun

Republican: U.S. Rep. Todd Young. Democrat: Ret. Brig. Gen. Jonathan George, Robert Winningham. **2010 Results:** Young (R) 118,040, Hill (D) 95,353. Knott (L) 12,070, Lucas (I) 69. **2012 Outlook:** Young reported \$570,538 on his Sept. 30 FEC report and has been a prolific fundraiser after winning a tight three-way primary in May 2010, defeating former congressman Mike Sodrel and Travis Hankins. Hankins is now in the 6th CD. Young mowed through nearly \$500,000 in that primary battle, and then reloaded to defeat Hill by 14 percent. Winningham, 50, is a former community development aide to U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton when he served in Congress. "I am running because I think I can make a difference," said Winningham. He pledged to make job creation a top priority if elected, and touted his experience in the economic development field. Winningham most recently served as executive director and CEO of the Allen Economic Development Corp. in Allen, Texas. He moved to Texas following his work for Hamilton in 1998 to be close to his aging parents, who have since died, Winningham said. After the passing of his father earlier this year, Winningham said "it was time to come home" as he stepped down from his position in Allen Oct. 14. Winningham said the Allen EDC created more than 5,000 jobs in five years while he was at the helm. "We were able to create jobs in large part because we offered a highly skilled workforce," Winningham said. George served as a U.S. Air Force officer for more than 30 years. After retiring earlier this year, he returned to his family farm just outside Bedford. General George says he is running to return southern Indiana to what it used to be when Lee Hamilton represented the area in Congress. "I see a real need to help solve the problems that have racked southern Indiana such as lack of jobs, a poor economy, a lot of social metrics that show a sign of deterioration," he says. "Since the mid 90s there is a marked decrease in the quality of life in southern Indiana, and I think the people deserve better

representation in Washington D.C. to help straighten that out." George sounded a familiar theme, saying job creation and the economy are top priorities, but adding the district needs better representation in Washington. **Horse Race Democratic Primary Status:** Tossup

* * *

Governor: Wallace presser today

Republican gubernatorial candidate Jim Wallace has scheduled a press conference for 2 p.m. today in Statehouse Room 101 to announce his "Ground Up" economic and legislative plan.

SD8: Sen. Arnold will run again

State Sen. Jim Arnold, D-LaPorte, announced Wednesday he is running next year for a second full term in the Indiana Senate (NWI Times). "I am announcing now, before the next legislative session, so that for the duration of session my focus can be on serving the people of District 8, rather than on re-election speculation," said Arnold, who has never missed a vote while serving in the Senate. The former LaPorte County Sheriff was chosen in 2007 to finish the term of the late state Sen. Anita Bowser, D-Michigan City. Arnold was elected in his own right in 2008. "There is still plenty of work to do to make Indiana a better place for all of us," he said. Arnold is chairman of the Senate Democratic Caucus and the top Democrat on three Senate committees: Appointments and Claims; Homeland Security, Transportation and Veteran Affairs; and Public Policy.

HD92: Rider announces

Republican Brad Rider has announced his candidacy for HD92. It is the seat expected to be vacated by State Rep. Phil Hinkle who had been pressured to resign after an alleged sex scandal. "Our team is so excited to bring a new conservative voice to the Statehouse. We are looking forward to getting out and meeting the hard working Hoosiers in district 92 over the next few months. I believe the people on the Westside of Indianapolis deserve a strong conservative representative in the State House that will reflect their values and bring better jobs to our state." Rider is a U.S. Army veteran and is serving on the Drug Free Marion County Board of Directors. He is the former President and CEO of United Package Liquors and currently serves as their Vice President. As President and CEO of United Package Liquors, Rider knows what it takes to run a small business and create jobs in the private sector.





More thoughts about Newt

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - Several themes concerning Newt Gingrich, which I have serious doubts about, are currently circulating.

1.) Because Gingrich has been around a long time, his negatives are well known and thus they won't penetrate.

a.) Newt didn't serve long as House Speaker (four years). Dennis Hastert is the longest serving Republican Speaker in history, not Gingrich.



b.) Being known by those who closely follow politics is not the same as being known by the general public (even primary and caucus voters aren't all political junkies).

c.) Some of the negatives are relatively new (e.g. Tiffany line of credit, Freddie Mac lobbyist, health care mandate inconsistency, Pelosi global warming video) which might dramatically expand previous negatives.

d.) Knowing negatives and seeing them put together in ads is astoundingly different. The Ron Paul 60-second ad and longer video that has gone viral put them together in ways that the public has not seen.

e.) Which raises this point: Newt has run in one very Republican district in Georgia, not before larger clusters of voters. While abused in the national media and vilified in ways few Americans are ever subject to, he in fact hasn't faced a divided electorate in a campaign yet. To the degree he did in Georgia, Newt divided an arch-Republican district into a smaller margin which is not evidence that he can survive negatives, especially among swing voters.

2.) Saying that Gingrich has a better chance of survival because of more past scrutiny than Cain, Perry or Bachman have had, is not the same as saying Newt can survive it. The others for the most part were nationally unknown with no previous national examination. They lasted but a few weeks on top. Newt has already outlasted them, but that is not the point.

3.) Gingrich surviving through even the first round as the Republican leader for the nomination is not the same as surviving as the ultimate nominee.

a.) As Speaker, Newt wowed most for the first 100 hundred days. But sustaining his momentum has always been difficult for him. Usually his lack of discipline collapses him.

b.) This year's primary schedule has several anomalies: the early primaries are moved up; some key

early states lost large chunks of delegates for violating previously agreed upon dates, resulting in a big gap in the middle during which voters can have second thoughts; delegates in more states are now proportional; more candidates are likely to stay in longer and are gathering delegates partly because more people don't like the main choices; and lastly, historically there is a degree of "buyer's remorse" that sets in during the late primaries (Reagan/Ford and Carter/Kennedy being prime examples, but there are many).

4.) Many conservatives were not familiar with Newt's more moderate history prior to 1994 (more accurately, prior to his forming the Conservative Opportunity Society) and no Republicans really wanted to point it out. That is no longer true.

5.) Newt reverted back to more moderate positions after being ousted as Speaker, even attacking conservatives. Then Newt changed again when deciding to run for President. Until now, Romney has been judged the flip-flopper, but that could change.

a.) Ironically, Newt's biggest ally could be the liberal press. The vitriol directed at him makes conservatives assume that liberals fear his ideas more than they fear Romney's. This factor elected Nixon multiple times. I must confess that it also influences me. Can anybody that the liberal media hates so much not be good? The liberal media was more divided on Communist Russia than they are on Newt.

6.) Gingrich's personal life has not exactly been a model. Most know that already, but has it really been tested?

a.) Liberals tried to destroy him with a story that he asked for a divorce from his first wife while she was in the hospital dying. First off, she didn't die. Secondly, as his daughter pointed out, they already had decided they were getting divorced.

b.) A recent article quoting several "unnamed" Republicans had a chilling comment. Can Newt survive an ad by his second wife Marianne? She has been relatively quiet but has emerged as not exactly a big fan of the "new" Newt. In fact, she scoffed at the idea that he had changed at all. Not everything has been aired yet.

7.) Newt is facing a devastating charge, highlighted in the Ron Paul videos, that he has never faced before: changing his ideas for money. And it comes at a time when lobbying is not seen as the key to enter Heaven's door by most voters.

a.) Romney is charged with flip-flopping to try to defeat Senator Ted Kennedy and then to win as governor of Massachusetts.

b.) Newt is charged with flip-flopping for political reasons (running for Congress, running for Speaker, and running for President) and more uniquely, with flip-flopping for money. It is unclear that the nuance will



catch on, but it is potentially explosive, especially in a fall campaign to swing voters.

This question may be the one on which the future direction of our country hinges: Has Newt really changed? Did a real spiritual conversion add patience, some humility and enough discipline that he can survive tough times?

Thus far, results are mixed. Newt was down and out, survived all his staff leaving, and has come roaring back. However, one might probe why all his staff left and question his gloating about coming back after they left. Newt has unexpectedly been a calming influence in the debates. How he reacts to the heat coming his way now will

give us lots of insight. Anger and whining? Or the forced smiles of Romney and Obama?

Gingrich was forced to stop using the music from the movie "Rudy" but the question really is, did he learn anything from the movie? Father Cavanaugh tells Rudy: "Son, in thirty-five years pf religious study, I've come up with only two hard, incontrovertible facts; there is a God, and, I'm not Him."

Has Newt learned that? ❖

Souder is a former Republican member of Congress.

Retail trade: December's big sport

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - Ah, December when the sweet sounds of retail trade are in the air. Christmas music accompanies the electronic beep of the code scanner. Listen; can you hear the gentle whisper of credit cards being withdrawn and replaced in wallets and purses? Over there is the soft whistle of the sticker-shocked while in another corner is the roar of a bull-shopper snagging a bargain.



Retail trade in Indiana accounts for about 11 percent of the jobs, but less than 7 percent of the wages paid. (Data are for the fourth quarter of 2010.) This difference occurs because the average weekly wage for Hoosier retail workers is \$468 or 58 percent of the \$803 average earned by workers in all industries. That difference results from the fact that retail employees

work fewer hours than the average worker, and such jobs are often filled by people who need or want part-time employment.

To be clear, retail trade involves stores that sell goods such as electronics, furniture, groceries or beverages that you take home. They range from automobile dealerships to gasoline stations and convenience stores. Retail trade does not include fast food or other restaurants which are categorized as Accommodations and Food Services.

Most of the December shopping orgy involves material goods rather than services (such as air travel, entertainment, or dental surgery). Retail activity is the final link (other than recycling) in the long chain of economic activity beginning with design, manufacturing, transportation and warehousing. All this effort ends up carefully wrapped and

under the traditional tree.

Non-store retailers used to include mail order catalogue distributors. Today the Internet is the modern version of this 19th century innovation. If you can buy it in a store, then you can probably buy it on-line. In addition, thousands of used or out-of-date items can be found on the Internet, but not in a store.

In a massive error, the federal government decided that Internet sales should not be subject to state and local retail sales taxes. The argument then was the newness of the Internet plus the desire to encourage this new technology and the competition it would encourage. As with most infant industry protection, the baby grew up but the exemption from taxation remained. Every time someone suggests that on-line business activity should not be subsidized, the former-infant bawls and whines that it is only toddling and needs further special treatment.

Some activists believe that a sales tax is more moral than an income or property tax. They like to call this the FAIR tax. At the root of this movement is the belief that consumption is an evil manifestation of the devil's influence. Unfortunately, the sales tax is no more fair or unfair than any other tax.

Earned income, the rewards that come from employment, some people believe should not be taxed because it is a blessing bestowed by the Supreme Being in recognition of a person's contribution to society. Then there are those who look upon dividends, interest and capital gains as nature's untouchable gift for wise investors. Property taxes are unjust burdens; all fees are bullying by government. Nothing is fair to many except the rules of the unconstrained market place.

Thus, while you wait in line for access to a cashier this month, contemplate how the goodies got to you, where they will go, and how to fund the government services we want but are unwilling to support. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an independent economist, speaker, and writer formerly with IU's Kelley School of Business.



Time for HPI Power 50

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - What a year 2011 was. It set the stage for what will be a historic 2012, the so-called "rubber match" year between President Obama, his Democrats, and Republicans like Mike Pence who hope to overturn the federal health reform mandates while restoring the economy.

As we've done every year since 1999, Howey Politics Indiana is asking its readers to help weigh in and choose who will likely shape this year's events, who will star on the headlines and newscasts, and who will add (or detract) in the public policy and political arenas.

The 2011 list was a budget year, the long session of the Indiana General Assembly, there were congressional showdowns and we had city elections. It was dominated in legislators, congressional members, mayors and municipal challengers. The state was ravaged by the Great Recession with its jobless rate hovering between 8.5 and 9%. Normally we publish the Power 50 list in the first edition of the year. We waited until the Feb. 7 edition last year for two reasons: to calculate the political plans of Pence, who flirted with a presidential bid before deciding to run for governor, and Evan Bayh, who considered a return to gubernatorial politics. This year, we return the list to early January - it will be published on Thursday, Jan. 5.

Old mayors will drop off the list, new ones arrive, and we are in the twilight of the Daniels administration, with established players like Pence and John Gregg preparing to battle it out for the office on the Statehouse second floor. We will see an intense U.S. Senate race, both in the Republican primary and in the general election. And there will be the candidates' political operatives who will help shape the events of the coming year.

The Power 50 is designed to spotlight those who will play major roles in the coming year, as opposed to simply those with a prominent or hefty resumes.

HPI readers historically have participated in two ways: nominating specific people, or compiling their own lists. We will seriously consider all who weigh in, and you can help determine who has the clout, the imposing points of view, and who will be the movers and shakers. Please send us your lists or nominations to: bhowey2@gmail.com by Dec. 31.

To view other Howey Political Report/Howey Politics Indiana Power 50 lists, you can go to the Indiana Digital Archives and Howey publications also can be reviewed as an individual collection www.indianadigitalarchives.org/TitleInfo.aspx?TID=107 that is searchable by keyword, date and author.

2011 HPI Power 50

1. Gov. Mitch Daniels

2. U.S. Rep. Mike Pence
3. U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar
4. House Speaker Brian Bosma
5. Senate President David Long
6. U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly
7. Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard
8. Melina Kennedy
9. Sen. Sue Landske and Rep. Eric Koch
10. Supt. Tony Bennett
11. Ways & Means Chairman Jeff Espich
12. Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel
13. State Sen. Mike Delph and Treasurer Richard Mourdock
14. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry
15. State Sen. Luke Kenley
16. House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer
17. Marty Morris
18. U.S. Sen. Dan Coats
19. Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb
20. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
21. U.S. Rep. Dan Burton
22. U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman
23. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita
24. U.S. Rep. Todd Young
25. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon
26. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.
27. Budget Director Adam Horst
28. State Sen. Brandt Hershman
29. Attorney General Greg Zoeller
30. Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard
31. Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker
32. State Rep. Ed DeLaney
33. U.S. Rep. Andre Carson
34. Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman
35. Earl Goode
36. Betsy Burdick
37. Lawren Mills
38. State Reps. Chet Dobis and Steve Stemler
39. Marion County Democratic Chairman Ed Treacy
40. Evan Bayh
41. Chris Chocola
42. Senate Majority Leader Connie Lawson
43. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight
44. Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn
45. Chamber President Kevin Brinegar and IMA President Pat Kiely
46. ISTA President Nate Schellenberger and AFL-CIO Nancy Guyott
47. State Sen. Ed Charbonneau
48. John Gregg
49. Brad Ellsworth
50. Luke Messer ❖





Breakfast politics with the Congressional special

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - Donald the Democrat was ready with his one-liners, some blatantly stolen from Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert, as he waited for Ralph the Republican to arrive.

Almost every weekday morning, Donald and Ralph meet at the same breakfast place to sip coffee and argue politics.

Each enjoys irritating the other, all in fun, of course - sort of.

Ralph, armed with his own one-liners, some blatantly stolen from Rush Limbaugh or Sean Hannity, strolled up to their usual table.

D: Hi, Ralphie. Hey, looks like another of your presidential prospects is goin' down. Your pizza guy's been raisin' Cain. Hadda switch



from 9-9-9 to 9-1-1.

R: No problem for us. We've got lots of candidates. You're stuck with "the annointed one," Obama, the campaigner in chief.

D: You gotta admit, your Republican candidates keep self-destructin'. Rick Perry flopped because he can't debate, can't stay sober and . . . I can't remember the third reason.

R: What you gotta admit, Donnie, is that it's all over for Obama. Worst Gallup Poll rating for any president at this stage. Even his uppity wife gets booed by real Americans at NASCAR.

D: Well, he'd be doin' a lot better if your Republicans on that so-called Super Committee hadn't refused to do somethin' for the economy, like make the millionaires pay their share of taxes.

R: Ha! It was your Democrats on the committee not agreein' to anything unless we raised taxes. Raisin' taxes in the Obama recession makes no sense.

D: Protectin' the rich makes no sense. Won't help the economy.

R: Wagin' class warfare makes no sense. Let the successful people invest and create jobs. Spur the economy.

Just then, Susie, their usual waitress, came by with coffee.

S: Hey, guys. You gonna have breakfast this morning? Or just coffee and bagels and arguments?

D: Don't know. We gotta talk about how Obama

saved us from the Bush depression. Got any breakfast specials?

R: Yeah, we gotta talk about how Obama's stimulus package didn't work. Makin' things worse. I'll have the special if it's any good.

S: Well, despite the way me and the customers at the other tables put up with you guys hollerin' every morning, I'll get you a special.

D: OK. Special for me, too. Now Ralphie, tell me why the right-wing Republicans in Congress won't approve a jobs bill? Just to keep unemployment high and blame it on Obama?

R: Not so, Donnie. Tell me why the left-wing Democrats in Congress and your socialist-leaning president won't do what's really needed. Less regulation of business. More oil drilling. Less government spendin'. Get government off our backs.

D: Less regulation? Let Wall Street do what it wants? Hey, 99 percent of us pay up at tax time and the wealthy 1 percent sends their money to the Cayman Islands.

R: Guess you think them Occupy Wall Street thugs got the answer. If we don't cut spendin' and borrowin', when we pay our taxes we might as well make out the check to China.

D: Guess you think them Tea Party thugs got the answer. If Bush paid for his wars we wouldn't be borrowin' so much from China.

R: You Democrats won't do anything about the longterm problems, like Medicare, like Social Security, 'cause you're beholden to the unions and the AARP.

D: You Republicans won't do anything about long-term problems with revenue to pay the bills 'cause you're beholden to that tax pledge guy.

Susie arrived with their breakfast specials.

S: Here you are, guys, breakfast specials designed just for you.

D: What the heck, two uncooked eggs still in the shells?

S: Well, they couldn't agree in the kitchen on whether to use the Republican or the Democratic way to crack the eggs. So, you get 'em this way.

R: And the bacon's uncooked.

S: Right, they couldn't compromise in the kitchen on the temperature for the grill. So they turned it off. Nothin' gets cooked.

D: And the silverware's dirty. Hasn't even been washed.

S: Yep. Nobody could agree on what to wash first, knives, forks or spoons. Philosophical differences.

R: What do you call this stupid, inedible special?

S: It's the super congressional special. ❖

Colwell write for the South Bend Tribune.



Busting the myths of right to work

By **KEVIN BRINEGAR**

INDIANAPOLIS - Right-to-work is about creating jobs, economic growth and fairness. Arguments to the contrary are nothing more than a smoke screen and once that haze clears, the facts speak for themselves.

A right-to-work law simply protects employees from being forced to join and/or pay dues to a labor union as a condition of getting or keeping a job. That's it. A right-to-work law does not prohibit labor unions from existing or collective bargaining from occurring. Workers would still have the right to join or support a labor union, only it would be his or her decision to make. Such a freedom is what's expected in a democracy and what our country was built on.



Union leaders, however, complain of "free riders," and say that it's not fair for non-members to receive the same compensation and benefits as dues payers. Under the National Labor Relations Act unions are permitted to negotiate "members-only" contracts, but they seldom do. They much prefer including all employees and receiving the increased revenues that the forced dues system generates.

It should be pointed out that the Indiana Chamber and other trade organizations routinely advocate passage of legislation that benefits employers on the whole in the state, not just those who are our members. The difference: We don't force any Hoosier business to pay for our work. Those who value what we do join voluntarily.

Make no mistake, union bosses' concerns over right-to-work are clearly rooted in self-preservation, with some 194,000 Indiana workers forced to pay \$127 million in union dues (per unionstats.com).

All this makes for motivation for unions to muddy the factual waters when speaking about the issue.

Union bosses say right-to-work states have lower wages and resort to emotional tactics to scare citizens into believing it. The reality is that's completely false. A right-to-work law will result in wages equal to or higher than those states without right-to-work, when you make the standard cost-of-living adjustments for each state that should be used when factoring economic figures nationally.

Yet, the real difference-maker with right-to-work is the increased job creation, and that's something Indiana sorely needs at the moment. No one can dispute that. We have more than 250,000 people unemployed and many more at risk as employers deal with a still unstable econo-

my.

Between 1977 and 2008, right-to-work states enjoyed nearly double the job growth of non-right-to-work states. A right-to-work law would open the door to attracting more new and expanding companies and the thousands of jobs they bring. Site selection experts from across the country will tell anyone who will listen that up to half of the companies that hire them to find a good location won't consider non-right-to-work states for their business growth and expansion plans. So Indiana is automatically out of the running in far too many cases.

Other Midwestern states such as Michigan and Kentucky are now looking at passing right-to-work to gain a dramatic competitive advantage for jobs. We cannot afford to fall behind. Instead, Indiana must seize this golden opportunity to set itself apart and become the first state in the Great Lakes region to adopt right-to-work.

Unions contend they are on the people's side by trying to block right-to-work. The truth is various major statewide voter polls show that over two-thirds of Hoosier households support making Indiana the 23rd right-to-work state. If union leaders were truly thinking of the will of the people and not lining their coffers, they would support the majority view.

There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that passing a right-to-work law is the single most impactful action our state lawmakers can take to put more Hoosiers back to work. Going forward, the Indiana Chamber will work to help citizens and lawmakers realize that a vote for right-to-work is a vote for job creation and worker freedom. You can find additional information and how to contact your legislator regarding passage of right-to-work at www.more-hoosierjobs.com. ❖

Brinegar is president and CEO of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce.

AFL-CIO poll shows RTW negs

INDIANAPOLIS - Union leaders are touting a new poll they say shows that Hoosiers don't support a right-to-work law, which would free all workers from paying fees or dues to unions they don't join. But the results of the poll – conducted by the reputable Hart Research and Associates – will likely be controversial. That's because it tells respondents that experts say right-to-work would "result in many fewer Indiana workers having union representation" before it asks Hoosiers for their view on the issue. After respondents were told that right-to-work would result in less union representation, 38 percent said they favored its passage while 47 percent opposed. "With so many hardworking families struggling, this poll clearly shows that Hoosiers' patience for these divisive and partisan attacks has run out," said Indiana State AFL-CIO President Nancy Guyott. ❖



Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press: Indiana Democratic leaders seek to avoid primaries at all costs. The decision that the three candidates seeking the 8th District U.S. House seat decided to put the party's nomination in the hands of 38 county Democratic officials, rather than thousands of district Democratic voters, is the latest example. After the most recent election cycles, it is a pattern that has become undeniable. The no-primaries strategy started after 2008, after Jill Long Thompson and Jim Schellinger devoted a great deal of their energy and financial resources to hammering each other in a gubernatorial primary Long Thompson entered her general election campaign against the popular and well-funded Gov. Mitch Daniels so hobbled that there was no way to catch up. Since then, state chairman Dan Parker has worked hard to keep it from happening again. U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh did not announce that he would not seek re-election in 2010 until close enough to the filing deadline that Democrats got to nominate U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth for the job in a meeting of the party's 32-member state central committee, rather than in a primary. As for 2012, high-profile Democrats have occasionally detailed meetings and conversations orchestrated by the Indiana Democratic Party. The goal was to sort through the potential candidates for offices such as governor and U.S. Senate before anyone officially entered those races. Since one-man fields are what Democrats were shooting for, they've succeeded so far. Prospective candidates such as state Senate Minority Leader Vi Simpson, outgoing Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel, Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott and others have stayed out of the way. Meanwhile, former Indiana House Speaker John Gregg is the party's only candidate for governor, and U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly is the only Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate. Former state Rep. Dave Crooks, the Democrat who many party insiders expect to defeat former Ellsworth aide Patrick Scates and Warrick County Democratic Chairman Terry White in the party caucus Dec. 10, is certainly happy. He seems to be entering a process that favors him. The other candidates reside closer to the 8th District's population base of Evansville, while Crooks, of Washington, lives in its rural center. The county chairs from those rural areas, though, get votes with the same weight as the county chairs from Vanderburgh and Warrick counties. And the "smoke-filled room" optics are less than ideal. It leaves the party open to criticism like what the state's top Republican Party official offered Friday. "Disenfranchising voters, discouraging involvement and eliminating competition within their own party has become a way of doing business for Indiana Democrats," said Indiana Republican Party Chairman Eric Holcomb. "Rather than let voters pick who wins their nomination, Indiana Democrats have handed the decision-making process to a



small group of insiders. If there's anything we've learned from Barack Obama's failed economic policies it's when you pick winners and losers we all lose." It's a fair point, since the road to victory for Republicans like Daniels and U.S. Sen. Dan Coats has passed through the primary process. Democrats, though, prefer the scenic route around it. ❖

George Will, Washington Post: Republicans are more conservative than at any time since their 1980 dismay about another floundering president. They are more ideologically homogenous than ever in 156 years of competing for the presidency. They anticipated choosing between Mitt Romney, a conservative of convenience, and a conviction politician to his right. The choice, however, could be between Romney and the least conservative candidate, Newt Gingrich. Romney's main objection to contemporary Washington seems to be that he is not administering it.

God has 10 commandments, Woodrow Wilson had 14 points, Heinz had 57 varieties, but Romney's economic platform has 59 planks — 56 more than necessary if you have low taxes, free trade and fewer regulatory burdens. Still, his conservatism-as-managerialism would be a marked improvement upon today's bewildered liberalism. Gingrich, however, embodies the vanity and rapacity that make modern Washington repulsive. And there is his anti-conservative confidence that he has a comprehensive explanation of, and plan to perfect, everything. ❖

Paul Begala, Newsweek: Every time I look at the economy I think President Obama can't win. And every time I look at the Republican field I think he can't lose. Let's face it: this is a weak field. A seemingly endless string of polls and debates have produced a series of frontrunners who, as LBJ said of the Republicans of his day, couldn't pour pee out of a boot if the instructions were on the heel. Beltway Republican strategists were content to benefit from the prairie fire of right-wing populism, so long as it scorched the Democrats. But now that it threatens to consume their beloved establishment, they may be powerless to stop it. They keep waiting for the kooks to calm down, sober up, and nominate Mitt Romney—whose idea of a Tea Party involves dainty watercress sandwiches on Beacon Hill, not radical revolutionaries in Boston Harbor. But what if the GOP primary system, which has been changed for this election cycle, continues to propel a right-wing insurgency? Process matters. Rules matter. And campaigns adapt to them. ❖



Shepard announces he's stepping down

INDIANAPOLIS — Tacked to the back of a closet door in Indiana Chief Justice Randall T. Shepard's office is the front page of a 1985 edition of the Evansville Press. "Shepard named justice," reads the top headline on the page. "Local attorneys show interest in succeeding Shepard," the next one said (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). He pulled that door open on Wednesday and laughed. Now, for the first time since he took the top spot on the state Supreme Court a quarter-century ago, Indiana will once again go about replacing Shepard. The man who has been Southwestern Indiana's most influential force in state government announced that he is retiring, effective in March 2012. Though he is not sure what, he said he will "try something else while I am still young enough to do it." After making his decision official, Shepard sat for a marathon round of interviews, during which he fought back tears only when discussing his hometown. "I owe the people of Evansville more than I could ever possibly repay. I try to make it clear that I understand that," he said. "I was mentored and guided and given wonderful opportunities, and I always take great joy when something good happens in Evansville." It's a connection to Southwestern Indiana that others say is unmistakable. "He never really left his hometown," said Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller. "He's been proud of his hometown and always reminds people that he's from Evansville." Shepard's elevation to chief justice came on the shoulders of two of the major forces in Vanderburgh County Republican politics: then-Evansville Mayor Russell



G. Lloyd, Sr., and then-Gov. Robert Orr. "Both gave me incredible opportunities," Shepard said. Before that term expired, Gov. Robert Orr — who had once represented Evansville in the state Senate — chose Shepard in 1985 to fill an Indiana Supreme Court vacancy created when Justice Donald H. Hunter resigned. Two years later, after then-Chief Justice Richard Givan stepped down, the Indiana Judicial Nominating Commission chose to elevate Shepard to chief justice. He officially filled that role on March 4, 1987. Both during and after the nominating process, Shepard faced accusations of drinking problems and marijuana use. He was accused of "personal social problems" by Justice Alfred J. Pivarnik, who had also been a candidate for the role of chief justice. In 2007, along with former Gov. Joe Kernan, he chaired a blue-ribbon panel that studied methods of local government reform and ended with 27 proposals — some of which have been enacted in law. In recent years, along with Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman and Zoeller, Shepard has led an effort to reduce the number of mortgage foreclosures that take place in Indiana, in part by training pro bono mediators and representatives for those who hope to stay in their homes.

FW Council aim at 3 commissioners

FORT WAYNE - While discussing how to make dealing with local government easier for businesses, City Councilman Tim Pape, D-5th, said there is one needed change the city can't make on its own: reducing the number of county commissioners from three to one. He said it makes no sense for a government to be run by three people, saying no company would have three CEOs. "It's not good governance," he said. He encouraged other council members to sup-

port state legislation mandating the change. The council in January 2010 signed a letter of support of legislation to eliminate two commissioners by 2015, but that change was never approved. Councilman Mitch Harper, R-4th, joked that Pape might never want to shop at Pep Boys then. The auto parts store is famous for its three historical owners: Manny, Moe and Jack. Harper was the only member of the council to not sign the 2010 letter.

National group pushes RTW

INDIANAPOLIS -- A national group of conservative lawmakers is teaming with Indiana Republicans to push for "right-to-work" legislation and an end to the state's inheritance tax (Associated Press). American Legislative Exchange Council Tax Policy Director Jonathan Williams said today the two issues are key measures that separate "rich states" from "poor states." Sens. Jim Banks of Columbia City and Jim Buck of Kokomo joined Williams during an appearance at the Statehouse. The "right-to-work" bill would ban employers from negotiating contracts with unions that require workers to pay union fees. Indiana's Republican House and Senate leaders said last month they will make passing the measure their top priority during the 2012 session. The Indiana AFL-CIO has questioned the validity of ALEC's assertions and notes that the group is largely funded by corporate donors.

Conrad says RTW rarely comes up

KOKOMO - Jeb Conrad, president and CEO of the Greater Kokomo Economic Development Alliance, said he has discussed Indiana's union laws "rarely, maybe once" with companies



that were looking at the area (Kokomo Tribune). Business leaders have mostly been concerned about work force availability and skills, operating costs, utilities and taxes. "It's really been a minimal issue," Conrad said about Indiana's union laws. He continued to say there may be companies that might conduct preliminary research and rule out Indiana. An Internet search engine can show within seconds that Indiana is non-right-to-work. "At the end of the day, it's bigger than just Kokomo and Howard County," he said. "From an [economic development] perspective, I want to know if we are well-positioned as a state, which according to all of the recognition that we've been given ... is [right-to-work] going to change that? We all want to be best, first." Conrad noted that recent recognition has shown Indiana's current policies are working. Area Development Magazine recently ranked Indiana fifth on its list of "Top States for Doing Business in 2011." Rich Boruff, president of United Auto Workers Local 685, Kokomo's largest union, said the ranking is evidence against right-to-work. "If we're the fifth-most lucrative state to attract manufacturing ... why are we messing with that?" he asked.

Zoeller, AG push robo call ban

WASHINGTON - Joined by counterparts from across the country, Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller on Wednesday called on Congress to oppose legislation that would allow for robocalls to cell phones. Zoeller says the "mobile informational call act of 2011" would force consumers to pay for the unwanted calls (Indiana Public Media). The federal legislation would amend the Communications Act of 1934 to allow third parties, such as debt collectors or other businesses, to place automated "informational" calls

to cell phones, impacting those who pay by the minute or have a limited number of minutes. Zoeller argues the bill would lead to an invasion of privacy. "Years ago when we got calls late at night or at dinner something trying to sell something. You multiply those by 10,000 a minute and I think it really poses a clear and present danger to our privacy," he says. Currently, federal law allows robocalls to be placed in case of an emergency and to people who have given their explicit consent to receive them. Under the proposed federal bill, businesses would be allowed to robocall any consumer who has provided their telephone number in the course of a transaction – regardless if a consumer asks not to be contacted.

Freeman-Wilson outlines plans

GARY - Gary Mayor-elect Karen Freeman-Wilson on Wednesday invited members of the Crown Point Rotary and others in Northwest Indiana to work with her to rebuild Gary, saying it is true that "as Gary goes, so goes the region (Post-Tribune). "As we look to rebuild our city, we will look for help from all of Northwest Indiana," she told the group at its luncheon meeting at Youche Country Club. Freeman-Wilson conceded that she has challenges ahead — including crime, high unemployment, a low tax base and a reputation for being corrupt — but there also are some positives. She pointed out the city is 30 miles from Chicago and in the midst of four interstate highways, three railroads, an airport and a waterfront "that's second to none." She said there is \$2.6 billion in planned development that will result in an additional \$7 million in assessed valuation for the city in the works, including U.S. Steel expansion, an intermodal yard, land-based casino and Canadian National rail yard. She

said her three priorities are to make the city clean physically and image-wise, to make it a city that works for its residents and to make it a safe city.

Pence takes aim at regulations

WASHINGTON - U.S. Rep. Mike Pence spoke on the House floor today in support of legislation that would help reduce the burden of increased regulation on small businesses. H.R. 10, the Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny Act of 2011 (REINS Act), would require that Congress approve any regulation that would have an annual economic impact of \$100 million or more. His statement follows: "With so many American families struggling, with so many Americans struggling to find work, and businesses struggling to hire unemployed Americans, it's time to rein in the federal government. "It's time to rein in the avalanche of red tape cascading out of Washington, D.C., and stifling our recovery. It's time to enact the Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny Act of 2011, the REINS Act."

Daniels announces bird habitat

INDIANAPOLIS - Land that once was a state prison farm in Pine Township soon will become a habitat for game birds. Gov. Mitch Daniels announced Wednesday that 1,250 acres at the former Indiana State Prison Farm is being transferred to the state's Department of Natural Resources to establish what will become the state's largest public game bird habitat area. IDNR spokesman Marty Benson said the state acquired the land in 1930 and that it was used to grow food for the Indiana Department of Correction.