



### Party control key for winning governors

Rep. Pence raises historic \$5 million behind united GOP as Gregg struggles with splintered Dems

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - There was a vast difference in the way Mike Pence and John Gregg kicked off their gubernatorial campaigns.

Pence's June rally in Columbus drew several thousand supporters from across the Republican Party spectrum, and there was a catered fried chicken box lunch, a dozen or so tables where supporters could sign up to volunteer, get a T-shirt, or pick up a ballot qualifying petition.

Gregg's kickoff came in November at a quiet Sandborn park shelter in his hometown. There were a couple hundred people - many friends, neighbors, teachers and local elected officials - coffee and doughnuts.

Both candidates talked emotionally about their families.



But the separation that many Democrats had feared about the size and scope of the Gregg campaign are beginning to be realized with the release of the candidates' financial figures.

Pence reported a record \$5.012 million raised from

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### Daniels' bow to Sen. Lugar

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

CARMEL - Gov. Mitch Daniels offered up an emphatic endorsement of his mentor - U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar - before about 300 Republicans Wednesday night, calling him the "most significant public official in the last century in our state, quite possibly the greatest senator ever to serve from our state."



**"We will not let the Republicans press a crown of thorns upon the brow of working families in Indiana."**

**- State Rep. Terry Goodin**



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Sen. Lugar and Gov. Daniels pose with GOP mayors, including 23-year-old Frankfort Mayor Chris McBarnes (second from left) and Connersville Mayor Leonard Urban, who won by 14 votes in early January. Leonard hailed Lugar for his help on the Carbon Motors project. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

The remarks came as Lugar is fending off a Tea Party fueled challenge by Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock, who has earned kind words from Daniels in the past, even giving him a rare mention in his recent book, "Keeping the Republic."

But Daniels left no doubt who it is he will support in the May 8 primary. "Public service practiced by Dick Lugar is truly a noble quality," Daniels said at the Monon Center rally. "I've said before, here we have the entire package: intelligence, a commitment to the public interest of all, not a party, not a segment of society, not a base, the interests of all. His comments tonight I thought underscored so clearly why Dick Lugar is a man of the future. Seeing things that others aren't able to see, having insights about what is facing this country, and the constructive ways forward that are just invisible to those of us with lesser talents."

Prior to Daniels remarks, Lugar reminded his supporters that he had pressed President Obama on the Keystone Pipeline, which the president rejected earlier in the day. Lugar said the pipeline would have created 20,000 jobs - including new jobs at 12

Indiana companies - while providing "an independence in our oil supply."

"People say, again and again, it's jobs," Lugar continued. "Don't you guys get it? Well, we do get it." Lugar and House Republicans included the pipeline in the payroll tax compromise, forcing Obama to make a decision within 60 days.

Daniels called the timing of his endorsement a "coincidence," and observed of Lugar, "He's right now, this evening, on the spear point of the biggest jobs issue. It's not coincidental that on this date, he has forced the president's hand. The president has made a colossal mistake. It's a terrible disservice to tens of thousands of Americans who could have been employed. I believe he's made a colossal mistake and a miscalculation in the politics of this year."

"While we're on the subject of coincidences," Daniels continued, "it is certainly true that the preoccupation of our fellow citizens ... is the restoration of economic opportunity, upward mobility, fortification of the middle class, which is always characterized in America and democracy. The senator reminded us, this is a dangerous world. It won't leave us alone to solve



our economic problems in isolation." The governor noted that he had just come from the second of four Indiana National Guard funerals due to a road side bomb in Afghanistan on Jan. 6.

"There are not a handful of Americans alive who understand the sources of the danger, the things that might be done to protect Americans better than our senator," Daniels said. "He is a national asset. It's not just that Indiana cannot afford to relinquish. America can't afford it either. How often we hear it said these days, 'where are the statesmen? Where are those people in a polarized often toxic, highly personal, bitterly partisan world, where are those people who might bring folks together to achieve the kind of big changes this nation needs?' There aren't more than a handful of those, either. This is one person who is respected and trusted. He's an asset that America needs and Indiana should be so proud that Indiana continues to provide."

Daniels concluded by saying, "Yes, I am enthusiastic. You know how much we owe to the past efforts of this man, you know that is not the reason we're here. It's how much we having riding on his continued service and how

much more of a brighter future we will have when he is secured in another term in the U.S. Senate."

Lugar told the crowd that he is "excited about the campaign. I'm optimistic about the campaign, but never confident." The senator said his campaign launched television ads this past week "and will continue to be on TV for the rest of the campaign." He noted that 507 volunteers had made 7,200 calls from the campaign phone banks on Tuesday, and 585,000 calls since last summer.

But the most important part of the Daniels' endorsement Wednesday evening was the video production crew on hand, recording every word the most popular Indiana governor in a generation had to say about his mentor. Those remarks will certainly be relayed to hundreds of thousands of Hoosier voters in the months to come.

This past week, Lugar reported \$750,000 raised and \$4 million cash on hand for his 4th quarter FEC report. It contrasted with Mourdock, who has yet to release his money totals, and countered a statewide Lugar TV buy in the Indianapolis, South Bend, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne and Louisville media markets with a tiny \$2,500 cable buy during Monday night's Republican presidential debate. ❖

## **Pence-Gregg**, from page 1

last May 5 to Dec. 31, and had a whopping \$3.698 million cash on hand. Gregg reported a modest \$1.7 million raised - only about \$1 million more than he reported raising last summer - and has \$1.2 million cash on hand.

An apt comparison comes with Gov. Mitch Daniels' fledgling campaign in December 2003, when his team reported \$4.71 million. And that came during a period when David McIntosh, Murray Clark, Luke Kenley and Eric Miller were still in the race and raising funds.

"The overwhelming support from Hoosiers who are committed to Mike's vision for building an even better Indiana is very exciting," said Kyle Robertson, campaign manager. "These financial resources combined with our grassroots organization will put us in a position to be extremely competitive during this election year."

The Pence campaign says it has 4,030 donors from within Indiana, 5,337 new donors, 3,457 who gave \$100 or less, and the campaign raised \$2 million in November and December, traditionally weak money

months due to the holidays.

The Gregg campaign received 1,385 individual contributions under \$100 and 98% of all individual contributions are from Indiana residents.

"I'm so appreciative of the many working men and women who donated to our campaign," said Gregg. "I know every one of them could have spent that money someplace else. The everyday Hoosier has a place in this campaign, and I'm proud of that."



**John Gregg talks with former legislator John Frenz at his campaign kickoff in Sandborn last November. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)**



As for his total, Gregg told the Indianapolis Star, "If you're a sitting member of probably the most unpopular elected body in the United States, you'd need more money to get people to vote for you. You've got to get the stink off of you, It's going to take a lot of cash to scrub that congressional whiff off of him."

### High burn rates

What surprised some observers was the burn rate: \$1.4 million for Pence and \$500,000 for Gregg. With a week of statewide TV costing \$600,000, it would take \$5 million to run a weekly TV campaign from August through the Nov. 6 election. The problem is more acute for Gregg now that the UAW's region office consolidated with Ohio and headquartered in Toledo while Mo Davidson has retired. That will have a huge impact on Gregg's fundraising.

There are deeper reasons for the disparity between the two campaigns that officially kicked off exploratory committees within several weeks of each other last spring.

While Pence has a primary challenger in self-funder Jim Wallace - who reported \$1 million and says he is capable of spending \$2 million before the May 8 primary - the perception is that the GOP is a united party. A greater obstacle to Pence would have been Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman, who opted out of the race more than a year ago.

Some observers believe that Gov. Daniels helped clear the way for Pence so that the five-term congressman would leave the presidential race that Daniels appeared to be slowly building up for at the time. Conventional wisdom was that the presidential field was not big enough for both Hoosiers.

And while the Democratic decks were essentially cleared for John Gregg and U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly's U.S. Senate run early last Spring, the Indiana Democratic Party is hardly united. That became evident when Gregg tried to replace state Chairman Dan Parker in December with a former aide, Tim Jeffers. The Democratic Central Committee rebuked Gregg, signaling that the "days of someone telling us who to vote for are over," according to one district chairman.

### Making more cats

Gregg was forced to appear before the Central



**John Gregg at French Lick last August when the Democratic Party appeared to be united. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)**

Committee and advocate a rescinding of Parker's resignation. Parker then barely survived a vote, leaving both men crippled.

Gregg explained that mess in his typically humorous style, saying, "When you hear the cats in the alley fighting and all, what they're really doing is making more cats. Well, when you hear Democrats fighting, what we're really doing is making more Democrats."

That's a good spin, but what is becoming apparent is that Democrats don't seem to be on the same page. The Central Committee showdown has alienated Lake County Chairman Tom McDermott Jr. and Marion County Chairman Ed Treacy. There have been rumors of recruitment of another gubernatorial candidate.

The bruising fight in the Central Committee had some fearful Democrats remembering a move that essentially paved the way for White House Budget Director Daniels to return to Indiana in 2003 and seek the governorship. It was the creation of a "Phoenix Group" - a parallel organization that would eventually supplant the entrenched Central Committee. But without the big financiers in this - the post-Bren Simon finance era of the Indiana Democratic Party - and without Woody Myers, Steve Crane and Ann Stack involved, a parallel group would lack teeth.

In fact, if you look at the last three successful gubernatorial runs - Evan Bayh, Frank O'Bannon and Mitch Daniels - all three candidates were able to align the party interests to their own.

Bayh had managed his father's final U.S. Senate run in 1980, with Sen. Birch Bayh losing to U.S. Rep. Dan Quayle. He attended law school at the University of Virginia, then returned to Indiana in the fall of 1984, campaigning on behalf of State Sen. Wayne Townsend's unsuccessful gubernatorial run. The younger Bayh's presence set off an air of inevitability, winning the 1986 secretary of state's race against Rob Bowen, and setting himself up as a front-runner for the 1988 governor's race. Bayh was able to make peace with O'Bannon in the late winter of 1988, joining forces for a dream ticket (though O'Bannon was still on the May 1988 primary ballot). In the process, Bayh had lined up enough Central Committee support that it became an extension of what would be a historic campaign. The party in 1988 ran the traditional GOTV efforts, while Bayh strapped on fundraising jets and was able to give the Democratic ticket an air war like none other in its history. And after winning in 1988, Gov. Bayh was the towering figure over the Central Committee, installing allies such as Ann DeLaney and Joe Hogsett as chairs.

And after two terms, there was no question that Lt. Gov. O'Bannon, with his burgeoning portfolio at Commerce, was the heir apparent. There was a seamless dovetailing from the Bayh governorship into the O'Bannon candidacy



that ended with his 1996 upset of Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith. The '96 campaign found O'Bannon facing a scenario similar to Gregg today: a massive dollar underdog.

The O'Bannon campaign pioneered the coordinated campaign between state party, the gubernatorial and other campaigns. "We have to figure out how to catch up and maximize our funds," said Robin Winston, who worked on the O'Bannon campaign before becoming chair of the Indiana Democratic Party.

In Chris Matthews' book "Jack Kennedy: Elusive Hero," John F. Kennedy broke new territory in his 1946

Congressional campaign, essentially forming his own political organization outside of the state. "Kennedy was starting to create what Tip O'Neill called the 'Kennedy Party' one separate from the regular Democratic organizations. He was making it happen by asking citizens who'd never been involved before to come on board." And there was also "womanpower," which JFK described to O'Neill as the "untapped resource."

Between 1948 and 1952, JFK traveled Massachusetts, hitting the small towns most candidates never visited. It was a prelude to his 1952 upset victory of U.S. Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. Again, a statewide organization was created parallel to the Democratic Party. Kennedy "teas" took place in hundreds of towns. Kennedy "secretaries" were selected in each community. "Kennedy had gotten traction from his early start in places off the standard grid for Democrats."

It was a strategy that Mitch Daniels would use with extreme effectiveness in 2003-04 in Indiana.

## The Phoenix Group

The Daniels' scenario was more complicated.

Mike McDaniel had been Indiana Republican chairman for five years. There was some resistance to his continuation as chair when U.S. Rep. David McIntosh was drafted by a wide array of Republicans and members of the Indiana General Assembly. McIntosh's team prodded at the McDaniel party in 1999 and ultimately failed to dislodge it. While O'Bannon was perceived as potentially vulnerable for reelection, a booming economy, a strong reelection campaign under the tutelage of Tom New and Robin Winston - and some campaign mistakes by McIntosh - helped



Mitch Daniels at his campaign kickoff at Hinkle Fieldhouse on the Butler University campus in 2003. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

O'Bannon win a second term by 14%.

In May 2001, State Rep. Robert Behning challenged McDaniel. "We need better backroom functions and a more succinct vision. My problem is not with Mike McDaniel," Behning said. "My true goal is to change the direction of the state committee."

"Outside of the state committee, nobody's particularly happy," said one former officeholder. "They view the state committee as in a mode to vote for self-preservation."

Behning told HPR he had "between 10 and 12 votes," but Howey Politics' count indicated McDaniel should easily get the 10 votes needed to win. "I'm pretty confident I've got the votes," McDaniel said. "The stuff he says we need to be doing we're already doing."

Taking note of all this was Mitch

Daniels, who in December 2000 was selected to be President George W. Bush's budget director.

On Aug. 14, 2001, the Republican Phoenix Group – the creation of Bob Grand, Jim Kittle Jr., Randall Tobias and Fred Klipsch – broke out into daylight at an event at Klipsch Audio Technologies headquarters. They essentially formed what would be that parallel organization. The money muscle made it so that the Phoenix Group couldn't be ignored.

Kittle and other Republican financiers had grown frustrated over what they saw as a four-year cycle of "reinventing the wheel" when it comes to statewide races. "It seems like we start from scratch every time," Kittle said. And there had been growing frustration over high-level campaigns run by John Mutz, Stephen Goldsmith, David McIntosh and Sue Anne Gilroy where a lack of money hadn't been a problem. What had hamstrung Indiana Republicans had been top-flight competition, poor strategy and execution, and a lack of competitive technology.

Kittle downplayed the "takeover" aspects of Phoenix and the GOP at the time, but acknowledged the party's technology problems with lists and vowed to surpass the Indiana Democrats. TPG's headquarters at the Klipsch headquarters looked like a state party headquarters – not unlike the Democratic digs at One North Capitol – with an array of fundraisers, computer technicians and aspects of the "coordinated campaigns" the Democrats had run. There were signs from statewide, congressional and Marion County campaigns adorning the walls. There was also room available to house an additional major statewide campaign.

But by December, McDaniel decided to step down and while Kittle emerged as the financier's choice, he was left to battle for the chair against 5th CD Chair John



Earnest after Clerk of Courts John Okeson and 6th CD Chair Jean Ann Harcourt dropped out. But Kittle was no slam dunk. "There are concerns that he has no precinct level experience," observed former Chairman Rex Early. "If being rich was the most important criterion, then Steve Hilbert would be chairman."

Kittle developed a "Blueprint 2002" plan and campaigned on it. "The Blueprint lays out his vision," said Larry MacIntyre of the Phoenix Group. "He is calling for a lot more activity from the state committee. He believes they should be much more involved in governor and legislative campaigns."

Kittle defeated Earnest for the chair in January 2002, and by early February OMB Director Mitch Daniels emerged as a potential gubernatorial candidate. Howey Politics reported on Feb. 14, 2002, under the headline: Daniels tantalizes victory starved GOP; He'd 'walk on coals' for Kittle: OMB Director Mitch Daniels tantalized those attending the Indiana Republican Congress of Counties last weekend. The deadpanning Daniels set the crowd up, saying, "I don't intend to be a candidate for governor ... of New York." Those in attendance told Howey Politics that Daniels spoke about the War on Terror, the new morality in the White House, and then a homeward view of Indiana, which Daniels deems to be at a decisive economic and, ultimately, cultural crossroads. The speech sent the GOP rumor mill in full bore. Several county chairs told HPR that Daniels "sounded like a candidate."

Kittle explained, "All sorts of people came up to me after he spoke and said I should recruit Mitch. What I'm doing is creating a political party that will be strong enough to help great candidates when they become available. We want to recruit best of class candidates. But there was no clear signal that Mitch has changed his position."

Daniels said he never "left" Indiana. "I never say I 'came back' because I never left ... the only home I owned was here, the family was here, and I commuted as much as the work permitted, 33 trips in 2001 and something less than that after 9/11. Our youngest was starting senior year in 2003 and I first decided to be here for that. Then came the question of what to do vocationally."



Indiana GOP Chairman Jim Kittle (left) with Mitch Daniels as David McIntosh pulled out of the 2004 gubernatorial race. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

As for whether he would have run for governor without Phoenix, Daniels said, "It would have depended, I guess, on the degree of recruitment and who did it. Bill Oesterle, for instance, would still have been agitating, I'm pretty sure, in the absence of Phoenix. But Kittle and people he instigated were a big part of it. So unless those appeals had happened spontaneously, maybe not. I was in no position, time-wise or even legally, to lift an exploratory finger on my own."

### Who recruited who?

The reality isn't so much Kittle recruiting Daniels, but the opposite.

Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb, visiting Washington before McDaniels' resignation, paid a visit to Daniels at OMB with Vincennes Mayor Terry Mooney during the Phoenix Group's emergence. Holcomb, then on the staff of U.S. Rep. John Hostettler, had drawn up an position paper on the state of Indiana Republicans and what he felt needed to be done. Holcomb said Daniels accepted the paper and begged off a lengthy visit, saying he had another commitment. Holcomb returned to his hotel room, and turned on C-SPAN only to see Daniels calmly fending off a barrage of questions from U.S. Sen. Trent Lott. Holcomb figured Daniels had little interest in his thoughts about the Indiana GOP, that is until the following morning. That's when Daniels called him, asking a number of questions, and then soon offering him a political job, a precursor to what would become a full-fledged gubernatorial campaign in 2003.

The lesson is quite clear: had the Republican financiers not taken over the Indiana GOP, Daniels would probably not have returned to seek the governorship. The party on the same page was a prerequisite Daniels needed for what has become the most emphatically powerful party since the Bulen-Durnil heyday a generation ago.

That GOP juggernaut core is there for Pence, who is building off it in historic fashion. It's much too late for Gregg to do the same.❖



## Expect legislature to grind to a halt until after the Super Bowl

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Toupee, or not to pay? That is the question pervading the Indiana General Assembly today as Right to Work is poised to eclipse just about everything, perhaps even the NFL Super Bowl.

All but four House Democrats stayed away from the chamber this morning, meaning that the 36 other caucus members are facing a \$5,000 loss of pay this week.

Several of the Democrats showing up for work - State Reps. Ed DeLaney and Peggy Welch - are facing intense reelection battles.

Another who is walking - State Rep. Kreg Battles - is trailing by double digits to State Rep. Bruce Borders, according to internal polling in HD45, HPI has learned.

Bosma appeared to have 55 votes for passage of Right to Work on Tuesday before the Democrats bolted for a second time this session despite a detente that had been negotiated late last week.

But swirling around the Right to Work controversy is the notion HPI expressed when Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President David Long announced it would be the GOP's No. 1 issue: So many other important bills will die because of it.

The Indianapolis mass transit legislation is on life support. Criminal sentencing reform is dead. While there has been movement in the Senate on Sen. Connie Lawson's local government reforms, nobody is predicting certain passage.

With legislators poised to leave the Capital city on Jan. 31 to make way for Super Bowl visitors, virtually no one is expecting anything to get done in the House until after the Feb. 5 Super Bowl, leaving just six weeks to get the session completed.

Bosma and Long had hoped to have Right to Work wrapped up quickly. House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer appears intent on creating a worldwide audience for the labor battle that is now simmering through a second consecutive winter.

With union members chanting "Occupy the Super

Bowl," there was rampant speculation that picket lines could be established around one of the biggest sporting events of the year.

"We are seriously considering if we can't get the respect that we deserve down at the Statehouse then, yeah, there's a very good possibility," Bauer said of involving the Super Bowl. The NFL Players union has already aligned with House Democrats.

But it would be an astounding development if players on the two teams would sacrifice a Super Bowl appearance in defense of Indiana's labor status.

AFL-CIO spokesman Jeff Harris said its "focus is on



House Democrats caucused under the Statehouse rotunda on Wednesday.

defeating 'right to work' on the floor. However, we do know the national spotlight will be turning to Indianapolis. It's an opportunity to highlight how inhospitable Indiana is becoming for working men and women," he said.

House Speaker Brian Bosma called it "unfortunate" if the Super Bowl gets dragged into this dispute.

Democrats attempted to contest the legality of the \$1,000 a day fines that Bosma began imposing on Monday.

Attorney General Greg Zoeller asked the court to deny the restraining order. He says, "The legislative process is often compared to 'making sausage,' and courts should stay out while the blades are moving." ❖



## 11th Commandment evades a bloodied Mitt

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - At this writing, the ol' vulture Mitt Romney has a seven-vote delegate lead, 18-11, over Rick Santorum in the Republican presidential race despite his strong showing in Iowa, where the Des Moines Register is reporting this morning that Rick Santorum won, and his win in New Hampshire.



And when you look at the polls in South Carolina, Romney has a Real Clear Politics composite poll lead of 10.3%. In Florida, it's 17.2%. Romney remains the clear front-runner in South Carolina, but the intensity of Newt Gingrich's support places him within striking

distance going into Saturday's Republican primary. A POLITICO poll of likely voters shows the former Massachusetts governor atop the GOP field with 37 percent and the former House speaker at 30 percent. Texas Congressman Ron Paul trails with 11 percent, followed by former Pennsylvania Sen. Rick Santorum at 10 percent and Texas Gov. Rick Perry, who barely registers at 4 percent. Just 8 percent remain undecided.

But the Newt surge could be tempered tonight when his ex-wife, Marianne, will tell ABC News that Gingrich wanted an "open marriage.:"

So while Romney is just baby steps on his way to the 1,143 delegates needed for the GOP nomination, by the end of this month he'll essentially have it locked up. Romney probably won't have the nomination in the bag by the Indiana primary May 8, but it's hard to envision Santorum or Newt Gingrich having the money and campaigns to be waging realistic primary war.

The New York Times observed of the Super PACs brought to you by Jim Bopp & Associates: "As a result, Mr. Romney's remaining opponents have little incentive to drop out, knowing that their



A frame from Newt Gingrich's assault film "King of Bain" will almost certainly resurface this fall, courtesy of the Obama campaign.

support from Super PACs and Internet contributions from grass-roots supporters can keep them in the race long after they would have remained viable in earlier eras, potentially draining money and delegates away from Mr. Romney even as he lurches toward the nomination."

That changed somewhat today with Perry's withdrawal from the race this morning and an endorsement for Gingrich.

This means that the war drums will continue to beat. So the real question today isn't whether Romney will be the nominee. It's whether he'll be a prim and proper nominee full of pep and vigor and a head of steam, or whether he'll look more like a Black & Blue division nominee after playing Republican politics the way Dick Butkus and Ray Nitschke used to battle each other with the Chicago Bears and the Green Bay Packers. There were torso bruises, bloody lips, ruptured spleens and lacerated kidneys.

The fowl mentioned in the lead paragraph isn't a sentiment from a liberal writer. It's a description Republican Texas Gov. Rick Perry used to define Romney (i.e., as in "vulture capitalist"). A few days later, asked to retreat,

### South Carolina Republican Presidential Primary

2008 South Carolina Primary on January 19, 2008 | 2008 GOP South Carolina Final RCP Average

Polling Data									
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Romney	Gingrich	Paul	Santorum	Perry	Spread
<b>RCP Average</b>	<b>1/13 - 1/18</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>26.0</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>Romney +7.6</b>
Insider Advantage	1/18 - 1/18	718 LV	3.6	29	32	15	11	3	Gingrich +3
Politico/Tarrance (R)	1/17 - 1/18	600 LV	4.1	37	30	11	10	4	Romney +7
NBC News/Marist	1/16 - 1/17	684 LV	3.8	34	24	16	14	4	Romney +10
CNN/Time	1/13 - 1/17	505 LV	4.5	33	23	13	16	6	Romney +10
Rasmussen Reports	1/16 - 1/16	750 LV	4.0	35	21	16	16	5	Romney +14

See All South Carolina Republican Presidential Primary Polling Data





Perry didn't, saying, "We're trying to lure more venture capitalists into my home state every day but the idea that you get private equity companies to come in and, you know, take companies apart so they can make quick profits and then people lose their jobs, I don't think that's what America's looking for. I hope that's not what the Republican Party's about."

There is the Newt Gingrich Super PAC and its 27-minute film "King of Bain" that asserts "nothing mattered but greed. This film is about one such raider, Mitt Romney, and his firm." He was there to "reap massive rewards for him and his investors."

Chris Chocola, Club for Growth president and former Indiana congressman, is upset with the attacks. "They take a few facts and snippets of information that they distort, they take out of context, and then they raise the conclusion that it's all like this, that free-market capitalism is nothing more than a bunch of looting rich guys that get rich at the expense of others," Chocola said.

David Axelrod and David Plouffe have to believe they've hit the audio/video motherlode, with Republicans carrying the picks and shovels. Ronald Reagan's "11th Commandment" doesn't exist anymore in the Big Tent.

The other revelations such as Romney acknowledging he pays a 15% tax rate and that he is resisting the release of his tax returns could be equally big problems. Politico's Reid Epstein observed, "For Mitt Romney, the choice is stark. He can stop equivocating and cough up the tax returns that his rival Republicans and reporters are clamoring for. Or he can make an audacious effort to reverse a precedent that has been in place for more than four decades."

Little wonder that Ambassador Jon Huntsman dropped out this week, citing the "toxic tone" of the GOP campaign. "This race has degenerated into an onslaught of negative and personal attacks not worthy of the American people and not worthy of this critical time in American history," Huntsman said at a Monday news conference.

While inevitability swaddles Romney, the glow of victory flickers with goons stirring in the brush.

The reference points come from the front row seats Hoosiers had in March, April and May 2008 when Hillary Clinton ferociously battled Barack Obama on Hoosier soil. The two Democrats sparred over a gas tax holiday.

## Florida Republican Presidential Primary

2008 Florida Primary on January 19, 2008 | 2008 GOP Florida Final RCP Average

Polling Data									
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Romney	Gingrich	Santorum	Paul	Perry	Spread
<b>RCP Average</b>	1/4 - 1/17	—	—	<b>40.5</b>	<b>22.0</b>	<b>15.0</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>Romney +18.5</b>
CNN/Time	1/13 - 1/17	391 LV	5.0	43	18	19	9	2	Romney +24
PPP (D)	1/14 - 1/16	572 LV	4.1	41	26	11	10	4	Romney +15
Sunshine State News/VSS	1/11 - 1/14	1266 LV	2.8	46	20	12	9	3	Romney +26
Rasmussen Reports	1/11 - 1/11	750 LV	4.0	41	19	15	9	2	Romney +22
SurveyUSA	1/8 - 1/8	500 LV	4.5	36	25	17	7	--	Romney +11
Quinnipiac	1/4 - 1/8	560 LV	4.1	36	24	16	10	5	Romney +12

See All Florida Republican Presidential Primary Polling Data

Clinton wondered if a President Obama would be ready for that "3 a.m. phone call." They mixed it up over the export of defense firms like Magnetek from Valparaiso to China. There was the subplot of the Rev. Jeremiah Wright. But none of the bombast from the Indiana primary - before and after - came back to haunt nominee Obama in the fall.

For Romney, the nightmare scenario is that attacks against him will be waged by fellow Republicans, and paid for by Obama For America.

John Hammond III, a Romney backer and 7th CD Republican chairman, views the Reaganesque sin a couple of ways. First, all of the subterfuge came out early. Romney has plenty of time to figure a response. But as for the impact, Hammond and other Romney Republicans we've talked to don't have the answer to the question, "How bad will this hurt the Republican nominee?"

The danger for the GOP is the slivers of support that could be cleaved away from Romney. There's 1 or 2% or so who won't vote for a Mormon. Another 1 or 2% of the Tea Party can't envision voting for a moderate millionaire whose "Romneycare" was a forerunner to "Obamacare." And then there are the Republicans like Gingrich and Perry who have waged holy war and have been drugged by the Kool-Aid they stirred and drank.

It's an ugly, ugly scene inside this Big Tent.

Perhaps Cheri Daniels and the girls were right.

### 5th CD: Kokomo forum

The four Republican Party candidates seeking to unseat incumbent Dan Burton all agreed the nation needs a simpler tax code and changes to encourage economic growth in the country (de la Bastide, Kokomo Tribune). As was the case in 2010, Burton is facing numerous challengers in the Republican Party primary in the 5th Congressional District. Challengers Susan Brooks, Jack Lugar, John McGoff and David McIntosh answered questions Saturday at the Century Club breakfast at Elite Banquet and Conference Center. Craig Dunn, party chairman, expressed disappointment that Burton decided not to participate. The four



participating candidates said they would support some form of a flat tax as a means to simplify the tax code. McIntosh said he would support a flat tax proposal, but would maintain the mortgage and charitable donation deductions. He said the flat tax should be in the range of 18 to 20 percent and he would eliminate the planned 2013 tax increase. Brooks said 43 to 49 cents of every dollar earned goes to pay taxes. "We need a simpler system," she said. "We have a complex tax system. The wealthy companies can afford to pay lawyers and accountants to find loopholes in the tax code." Brooks called for a broader tax base and incentives to reward investments and savings. Lugar said he supports a flat tax and is investigating the "fair tax." He said he is concerned about taxing purchases, which might make some forego those purchases. McGoff said former presidential candidate Herman Cain started the discussion on tax reform. "We need to think about a different way of taxation," McGoff said. "I would support a simple flat tax. We would have a lot of unemployed accountants, but people would have more money to spend."

### **6th CD: February debate set**

The first in a series of pre-primary Republican Congressional candidates' debates in the 6th CD will take place Saturday, Feb. 11, as the program for the Henry County Lincoln Day Dinner. The venue will be the Raintree Center, 3803 S. St. Rd. 3, New Castle.

### **9th CD: DCCC not targeting Young**

When the DCCC released their list of 54 targeted Congressional Districts for 2012, Indiana's 9th District wasn't one of them. This is the first time in recent memory that either party has conceded that the district isn't in play, and the first time in more than 50 years that Democrats seem ready to pass it up. Given the makeup of the new district and strong fundraising by Young, it isn't necessarily surprising. But for Hoosier politicians used to seeing competitive 9th District races, this is the first visible evidence of the effects of redistricting.

### **SD3: Washington to challenge Rogers**

Darren Washington is set to announce his Democratic run against incumbent Sen. Earline Rogers. Washington is an at-large member of the Gary School Board and serves as the board's president. He also is a chief deputy at the Lake County Recorder's office. "I will support a legislative agenda that will equally promote economic growth in Hobart, Lake Station, Gary, Merrillville, Crown Point and New Chicago," Washington said in a statement issued last Friday. "We must work together to introduce and support legislation that will strengthen public safety in our communities and support equality in education." Washington

said he will work to encourage job growth and support unions as well. "Right to Work legislation is not necessary and not the solution," he said. Washington also is pushing for increased education funding. "The governor has cut the public education budget by \$300 million and now has the opportunity to help Hoosiers return to work by refunding school district's their portion of the \$320 million that was recently found," he said. Washington has a bachelor's degree in political science from Millikin University in Decatur, Ill., and a masters of public affairs degree from Indiana University Northwest. Prior to his work at the county, he worked in real estate investment as a shopping mall area manager for Simon Property Group. Rogers is seeking her sixth term in office and has served in the state legislature since 1984.

### **SD37: Sen. Bray to retire**

State Sen. Richard Bray (R-Martinsville) announced he will not seek reelection for Senate District 37. Bray, a lifelong Hoosier and military veteran, has served in the Indiana Senate since 1992 (Howey Politics Indiana). Commenting on the timing of his retirement, Bray said, "Under the leadership of my Senate colleagues, our caucus has done an incredible amount of good for Hoosiers across Indiana and I am honored to call them friends."

### **SD50: White files**

Warrick County Democratic Chairman Terry White on Tuesday filed for election to the state Senate District 50 seat now held by Republican Vaneta Becker (Evansville Courier & Press). The district covers portions of Vanderburgh and Warrick counties, including part of Evansville. Becker has held it since 2005. White said he understood that it wouldn't be easy to unseat Becker, whose political career also includes more than 20 years as a state representative. But he said that he believes she has been in office too long to be effective. He also noted that as a result of the 2010 census, the redistricting of legislative lines shifted the district's political make up from predominantly Republican to what is now almost evenly divided.

### **HD69: Cheatham to retire**

State Rep. Dave Cheatham (D-North Vernon) has announced that he will not seek reelection for a 4th consecutive term in HD69. Although earlier considering another run for office, Cheatham changed his mind citing the contentious political atmosphere as influencing his decision not to run. Having served from 1984-1992 and from 2006 to the present, he is now in the middle of his 7th term. "I have always wanted people in the district to know that there was someone in government who cared about them," he said. ❖



## Brooks has a built in network in the 5th CD

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - A month after al Qaeda attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Susan Brooks became Indiana's U.S. Attorney for the Southern District. Thus began the process of "connecting the dots" when it came to national security in the heartland. New agencies such as Homeland Security and the Transportation Security Administration would arise in Washington and Indianapolis. In coordinating the new reality, Brooks began working with sheriffs, police and fire chiefs, mayors and EMS officials in 62 counties, including Marion, Hamilton, Boone, Madison, Howard and Tipton, in what is now the 5th CD. She served on Gov. O'Bannon's and then Gov. Kernan's Counter Terrorism Security Council.

"We brought in state agencies because suddenly the Department of Agriculture needed to learn something about terrorism," she said. "Suddenly, the National Guard was involved if we had an incident."

She called that experience "good collaborative work" in what she called the Indiana security "fusion center" now run by Indiana State Police. "So now Fort Wayne and Indianapolis do share more," she said of crime information. That wasn't the case in 1997 when Indianapolis had to relearn the hard lessons as Fort Wayne had to do five years earlier when crack cocaine infested the city.

After six years as Federal DA, Brooks became a vice president for Workforce Development (as well as general counsel) with Ivy Tech. In this role, she worked with a network of mayors, school superintendents, employers, students, and many adults. Three of the 14 Ivy Tech regions are within the 5th CD.

"I helped run a division of the college to help the unemployed and the under-employed develop new skills to get back into the workforce," Brooks explained. "I've been walking into work every day with unemployed Hoosiers and adults our ages who have the courage to go back to school. Some of them have degrees. What I have learned from them and the companies we work with, I am very much hoping that with the experience of working with private sector companies, the government and the unemployed,

the voters will say, 'She understands.'"

The Brooks resume is impressive when applied to the 5th CD race, where she is one of four challengers to U.S. Rep. Dan Burton, perhaps the most vulnerable Member, certainly in the primary sequence. Brooks has already been endorsed by Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman and former Indiana Republican Chairman J. Murray Clark, who serves as her campaign chairman. Considering the political reach of the law enforcement, city and county governments and education, Brooks finds an array of contacts and people who know how she operates.

Thus, her 5th CD candidacy cannot be overlooked. In her third quarter FEC report, Brooks reported more than \$320,000 – more than Burton – and on par with former Congressman David McIntosh. With John McGoff and Jack Lugar also in the race, the challenger field isn't as wide as it was in 2010, when Burton found cover in a crowded field. Burton barely escaped a seven-person challenger field with a mere 29% of the vote. Now Burton finds 25% of his district new after the 2011 reapportionment, and his strongholds of Miami, Wabash and Huntington counties jettisoned. The 5th CD primary could easily become a three or four candidate race with the incumbent a distinct underdog.

McIntosh sees it that way, telling HPI last week that his internal polling shows Burton with his core 29% support. That he and Brooks will almost certainly pass the half million dollar mark in their next FEC report means that both will offer voters a potent option to the aging Burton. And with that kind of money, both Brooks and McIntosh will almost certainly achieve the kind of name ID necessary to wage a competitive race.

Brooks broke into municipal government under Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith in 1998 as deputy mayor and was handed the public safety portfolio after the crack cocaine catastrophe resulted in skyrocketing homicide rates in Marion County.

With Brooks actively seeking the 5th CD and doing more listening than talking, she is finding a Republican base increasingly frustrated "with how little is being done in Congress," she said. "What I am seeing is a frustration in the ineffectiveness of Congress. The approval rating is 9%. It's horribly bad. They are frustrated by how little is getting done and how things don't seem to be getting better. Her campaign themes are job creation, solving the national debt problems, education and national security.

"We have to create a better environment for job creators. There is an uncertain environment for the job creators I'm talking to. That's why they are not expanding the number of jobs. We need a strong defense. We have to get back to balanced budgets. The debt we are leaving to our kids is not fair to them." ❖





## Right to work, Bain Capital and job creation

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - Voters repeatedly say that the number one issue is the economy, usually stressing job creation. The Obama Administration has again demonstrated, through both stimulus programs that didn't stimulate and Fed manipulation that doesn't manipulate, that the Federal Government has limited ability to create jobs but a significant power to make job creation difficult.

If you step back a moment, we are actually having a national brawl over the fundamental strategies about how jobs are created. The most unfortunate part is that the general public appears to be nearly economically illiterate, and thus can easily be manipulated. Let's look at a few explosive issues being debated simultaneously.



**1. Should Indiana return to being a Right to Work state?** The Democrats debate the issue more on fairness, distribution of company income and how much labor should receive. Republicans argue that more flexibility would result in more jobs. You can't use Right to Work

states data and just claim that their experience will repeat itself here unless, for example, you are also moving mountains, beaches and a lot of sun. Wages are mostly a factor of the productivity of labor and the demand for the product (if you don't understand that, get out of the debate). They may or may not go down or up regardless of whether Right to Work Passes. For businesses, the flexibility issues related to maximizing productivity are the core issue and like it or not, Right to Work likely would result in job expansion because it provides the flexibility that more and more domestic and international companies demand. Labor is correct that Right to Work likely would reduce union membership (at least as a percentage of the workforce, which is occurring anyway) and that management flexibility may mean less security and stability for labor.

**2. This brings us to the Bain Capital debate,** in which Newt Gingrich is demonstrating that he does indeed have more lives. Capitalism of course requires capital: it's the premise. Companies that are losing money can't invest in new equipment or training. As they sink, they consume their vital capital trying to survive. Investors with capital then examine the company to determine the risk/gain ratio of using their funds in a "rescue attempt." Some companies cannot be rescued. The people lose their

livelihoods, and are particularly resentful if the assets are sold off or moved to another company where they can be utilized more effectively. This is apparently what happened in the Marion, Ind., case in the Gingrich film. Part of the reason America and capitalism work is that we constantly reinvent ourselves and our economy. Every Hoosier in politics should read American Steel. It happened in Indiana (it's about the Nucor plant in Crawfordsville) and features the men led by Keith Busse, who later founded Steel Dynamics. Our old steel industry was dead, but hadn't made it to the coroner yet. First they went to Right to Work states like Alabama and then out of America at an accelerating rate. Mini-mills saved the vital steel industry for America. Bain Capital played an important role in the growth of SDI. There are tragic human stories in every shutdown. But if you really want job growth, not just a campaign slogan, you must have constant reinvention and that requires companies like Bain Capital.

**3. To become more efficient and productive also requires improved education.** Greenville-Spartanburg, South Carolina didn't just out-compete us because of Right to Work. They have also integrated their education system better with their manufacturing and industrial sector. Former Purdue President Martin Jischke was the most aggressive at promoting this in Indiana, but a whole group of presidents of private universities in Indiana have moved into the vacuum to help train and prepare our workforce. But still some people fail to understand market economics. One career program I visited as congressman had well over 100 kids in the photography class but only 21 of 28 slots filled in CAD-CAM. Indiana won't win any competition for economic growth this way, though we may produce lots of people to take pictures of new plants being built elsewhere. Then there is the student loan bubble that is about to burst. I served on the Higher Education Subcommittee in Congress most of my 16 years. The last Democrat crusade for direct lending and expansion of student loans was astoundingly inept. We now have some one trillion dollars out, with default rates soaring, and – unknown to most – a Democrat provision that does loan forgiveness down the road. It encouraged irresponsible lending and borrowing. Fortunately the Federal Government has lots of money.

**4. Or not.** Which brings us to the next debt limit extension vote which may arrive soon, hopefully after the Republican Presidential nomination is sealed so it doesn't become an irresponsible litmus test by those who have no clue about economics. The government has spent the money. The Republicans didn't successfully stop the Democrats from spending the money, or even reducing it. So you don't default out of spite, unless you don't really care about jobs and the economy. Hissy fits are not a substitute for the hard work of convincing the American people that some sacrifice is going to be needed or the future sacrifices will



be catastrophic.

**5. Which comes back to entitlements, also the greatest problem at the state and local levels.**

Wisconsin and Ohio have governors who assaulted the problem, without enough sales pitch. Congress tried to tackle it, at least House Budget Chairman Paul Ryan did, but most were afraid – like the Democrats with ObamaCare – to come home in open forums and debate it. Whine all you want about government waste but here’s the truth: entitlement program expenditures exceed the entire federal revenue! When you fix that, then discuss not raising the

debt limit.

Funny thing is: all across this nation, in various forms, we are in fact debating future economic growth and the economy. But we seldom see the interconnections. Will those who create jobs have affordable capital, flexibility and a qualified workforce to create jobs in increasingly competitive world economy, or will we choose no change and steady decline? ❖

**Souder is a former Republican member of Congress from Indiana.**

## An easy solution to unemployment

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - In case you did not notice, the major problem in the economy is weakness in the construction industry. Although recovery has taken place in most sectors, construction, particularly residential construction, continues in the doldrums.



To put a statistical face on this, the dollar value of residential construction peaked at \$620 billion in 2006. In the next four years, it tumbled by 60 percent to \$249 billion. Non-residential construction, however, did not peak until 2008 (\$710 billion) but fell suddenly to \$555 billion in 2010.

If you pause to think about it, it makes plenty of sense. Fewer new homes mean fewer retail stores and fewer new commercial buildings be-

cause we build new homes in places that do not have many retail and commercial building to begin with. We want our housing to be away from all the traffic and bustle that swirls about business districts. But retailers and others who serve us look for new roof-tops to find new dollars.

**The people who build** new homes are quick to tell us that we need to get the economy moving again by once more building massive numbers of new homes. Others tell us there are too many new homes sitting vacant in too many markets to justify building more new homes. “We have to work down the inventory,” they say.

With such a heavy inventory of unsold new homes, lenders are reluctant to lend to developers unless they have signed contracts for those unbuilt homes. Few buyers of new homes are willing to sign such contracts because they can easily buy new homes that are already built.

“What is to be done to put all those carpenters,

plumbers, electricians, and other craft people back to work?” The answer is apparent, but virtually nothing of significant magnitude is being done.

Carpenters, plumbers, electricians and others are needed to rehabilitate existing housing all over America, particularly in our older cities. The boom in new housing during the past decade gave us grotesque extensions of urban sprawl. Now we have an opportunity to make our old cities, including many old suburbs, more livable.

**A reduction in urban sprawl** reduces energy demands by homeowners. Rehabilitation reduces energy demands for heating and cooling. Repopulating our cities reduces the need for new schools and for extensions of our utilities into farming country. Repopulation of our cities will increase the demand for rehabilitation of our existing and decaying retail and commercial areas.

In short, all across the nation the demand for construction workers will rise and a major segment of unemployment will be reduced.

“But where is the money to come from for this major effort?” There is no shortage of money. Hundreds of billions of dollars are sitting idle in the balance sheets of banks and corporations. With low interest rates and uncertainty about the economy, those dollars are not invested in building the nation.

If the federal government issued 10-year bonds that offered higher interest rates, firms would be encouraged to buy those bonds and provide the money for rehabilitating our housing stock. “But where would the government get the money to repay those bonds?”

**The answer is clear.** Future federal budgets would not require as much money for extending and widening our roads, for sewers and schools, for hospitals and other institution needed to accommodate increased urban sprawl. Those savings could be used to repay the rehab bonds.

By not building new homes, our country can reduce unemployment, make our cities more livable, and, perhaps, restore some civility to our society. ❖

**Marcus is an independent economist.**



## ‘Pious baloney’ and good/bad Newt

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - Newt Gingrich, who is familiar with the product, accused Mitt Romney of offering “pious baloney” as they debated in New Hampshire.

Newt was right. Also wrong. Very wrong in some of his characteristic rhetorical savagery. And New Hampshire presidential primary voters focused on “Bad Newt” rather than “Good Newt” in relegating him to basically a fourth-place tie, way behind the winner, Romney.



Gingrich was right in saying it was “pious baloney” for Romney to claim that he is more nonpolitician businessman than career politician.

But it’s wrong to think, as so many voters seem to believe, that nonpolitician is a better prerequisite than political experience for a president.

“You have been running consistently for years and years and years,” Gingrich said, looking directly at Romney. “Just level with the American people.

“You’ve been running for at least since the 1990s.”

Gingrich was referring to Romney’s 1994 Senate candidacy, his election as governor of Massachusetts and quests for the Republican presidential nomination. Romney has had his eyes on the White House since his father ran for president in 1968. He took his father’s advice to make money before going into politics because it’s scary “if you have to win an election to pay a mortgage.”

**Romney’s governmental** experience as chief executive in Massachusetts and all the political knowledge from his long quest for the presidency make him more likely to be a successful president than does his business experience and “baloney” about the business side giving him some magic formula for creating jobs. Political and governmental experience, especially in Washington, is valuable for a new president. Once elected, the president is in Washington, the ultimate insider, who must deal with Washington to get anything done. The Founding Fathers, with checks and balances, made it so.

The danger of not knowing how to deal with Washington is apparent with President Obama. He believed he could bring change. He thought that speaking softly and carrying no stick would curtail partisanship and lead to bipartisan cooperation rather than stalemate.

If Obama had at least completed a full term in the

Senate, perhaps he would have known better.

He would have understood that congressional Republicans wanted to defeat him, not cooperate with him, and that he would have to fight back Washington-insider style to earn their respect, not turn the other cheek and appear weak and unable to lead.

A perfect example was Jimmy Carter. He was governor of Georgia, but didn’t know Washington. He brought along Georgians who didn’t know a thing about dealing with Congress and the vast federal administrative branch.

**Carter was intelligent, honest, hardworking** and with high religious and moral values. My Aunt Ruth had all those characteristics.

And she also should not have been president.

If Carter had had more Washington experience and listened more to Washington insiders rather than Georgian outsiders, he might have been successful.

President George W. Bush went to Washington seeking to be “a uniter, not a divider.” We know how that worked out. It wasn’t because he didn’t listen to Washington insiders, but that he listened to the wrong insiders.

If business experience were the best qualifier for president, Donald Trump might have done better. To say nothing of Herman Cain.

They zoomed in the polls just because they had business success and weren’t Washington insiders. They plummeted when focus came on what else they had.

It’s not that business experience is of no value for a president, although running a company is far different than trying to run a country.

And the kind of business matters. That’s why Romney’s role with Bain Capital has been pounced on by his Republican nomination rivals. Did it show he was a job producer or eliminator?

**Either way, it’s less important** in evaluating his presidential potential than are those political and governmental experiences.

If Romney goes on to be elected president, he will be better suited for the job because of all of his political experience and the governmental experience as governor.

If Obama goes on to be reelected president, he will be better suited for the job in the second term because of all his political and governmental experience in the first term. Baloney, pious or not, doesn’t much matter.



**Colwell has covered politics for five decades for the South Bend Tribune.**



**Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press:** O! say can you seriously? Each year, no matter how heavy the General Assembly's lifting, some of Indiana's legislators manage to remind us that there's a lighter side to lawmaking. The National Anthem. Organized prayer in public schools. Spray tanning. Novelty lighters. Stuff of that nature — it all fits in the category. One of the first such bills to actually get a hearing, in the Senate's education committee, was the National Anthem bill by Sen. Vaneta Becker, R-Evansville — that is, sing it right, or else risk a \$25 fine if a police officer is there to see it. Becker said she was contacted by a Vietnam War veteran who wanted to make sure that symbols of the nation for which he fought were respected. "Couldn't you also argue that they fought for our First Amendment rights, including freedom of speech?" asked Sen. Carlin Yoder, R-Middlebury. Given how seriously the bill is likely to be treated by the House, Yoder's next question was probably every bit as important: What about the Jimi Hendrix version? Under the proposed law, would the legendary guitarist have faced a fine? Becker said she wasn't sure. But harking back more than two decades, she did know this: "Roseann Barr really butchered the song and really made it a joke." At least Becker admitted that if she sang the national anthem, "You might want to get a policeman in here, too." The list of oddball bills lawmakers have introduced goes much further than Becker's. Sen. Jim Tomes, R-Wadesville, authored a measure that would let public schools set aside time at the beginning of each day for students to recite the Lord's prayer. He offered it despite knowing that it'd be such a blatant violation of the U.S. Constitution that courts would strike it down immediately if it passed — which it won't, because a committee will never hear it. Still, Tomes said, he wanted to start a conversation. I won't poke fun at him for that. But it is worth noting that filing bills isn't without cost. The state pays the Legislative Services Agency, the General Assembly's nonpartisan research department, to write and file these measures. ❖

**Doug Ross, NWI Times:** Right-to-work legislation is ostensibly about allowing Hoosiers to have the union represent them without having to pay for it. But not paying the cost of representation weakens the union, so this is really an assault on organized labor. The Republican majority is trying to push this legislation through by the end of January. By getting the right-to-work victory before Super Bowl visitors arrive in Indianapolis, there's nothing for union leaders to protest. If they continue to protest after the legislation is passed, they could look like a bunch of whiners. That's why the House Democrats have used their caucuses to block progress on this legislation. Even if they can't stop it on their own, the reasoning goes, they could make

Indiana Republicans look back in the eyes of the world during the intense media blitz for the Super Bowl. But that could backfire on the Democrats in an election year. They could be seen as petty obstructionists and anti-Hoosier for portraying Indiana in a bad light. ❖

**David Brooks, New York Times:** Successful presidents tend to be emotionally secure. They have none of the social resentments and desperate needs that plagued men like Richard Nixon. Instead they were raised, often in an aristocratic family, with a sense that they were the natural leaders of the nation. They were infused, often at an elite prep school, with a sense of obligation and responsibility to perform public service. Whether it is a George Washington, a Franklin or Theodore Roosevelt or a John F. Kennedy, this sort of president enters the White House with ease and confidence, is relatively unscathed by the criticism of the crowd, is able to separate the mask he must wear for public display from the real honest self he knows himself to be. This sense of emotional security can also be found in great military leaders, like Dwight Eisenhower, and in serenely successful movie stars, like Ronald Reagan. Second, great presidents tend to have superb political judgment.

In his essay on this subject, Isaiah Berlin defines political judgment as "a capacity for integrating a vast amalgam of constantly changing, multicolored, evanescent perpetually overlapping data." A president with political judgment has a subtle feel for the texture of his circumstance. He has a feel for where opportunities lie, what will go together and what will never go together. This implicit knowledge is developed slowly in people like Harry Truman or Lyndon Johnson who have spent decades as political insiders and who have a rich repertoire of experiences to draw on. It also comes from voracious social contact. It comes to leaders who have a compulsive desire to be around people and who can harvest from a million social encounters a sense of what people want and can deliver. Third, great leaders have often experienced crushing personal setbacks. This experience, whether it's Lincoln's depression or F.D.R.'s polio, not only gives them a sense of sympathy for those who are suffering, but a personal contact with frailty. They are resilient when things go wrong. They know how dependent they are on others, how prone they are to overconfidence. They are both modest, because they have felt weakness, and aggressive, because they know how hard it is to change anything. Finally, great leaders tend to have an instrumental mentality. They do not feel the office is about them. They are just God's temporary instrument in service of a larger cause. Lincoln felt he was God's instrument in preserving the union. F.D.R. felt he was an instrument to help the common man and defeat fascism. ❖





## Daniels will give Obama response

WASHINGTON - Gov. Mitch Daniels will deliver the Republican response to President Obama's State of the Union address next Tuesday, Speaker John Boehner's office and the Indiana Republican Party announced this morning.

## Jobless claims lowest since 2008

WASHINGTON - The number of people seeking unemployment benefits plummeted last week to 352,000, the fewest since April 2008. The decline added to evidence that the job market is strengthening (Associated Press). Weekly applications fell 50,000, the biggest drop in the seasonally adjusted figure in more than six years, the Labor Department said Thursday. The four-week average, which smooths out fluctuations, dropped to 379,000. That's the second-lowest such figure in more than three years.



## Hoosier GI laid to rest

MERRILLVILLE - Fifty-nine framed pictures of uniformed men and women line a wall inside First Baptist Church under the words Our Country At War (NWI Times). There used to be 60. But the picture of Sgt. Brian Leonhardt, which was flanked by pictures of his brothers Spc. Anthony Leonhardt, Sgt. Charles Leonhardt and Pfc. Randall Leonhardt, was removed. Now, a plaque honoring him will hang beside those of three other church

members — Pfc. Nathan Stahl, Pfc. Shane Penley and Pfc. Luis Perez — on a wall labeled American Heroes of First Baptist Church. All four died in military service. A funeral Wednesday morning at First Baptist Church, 473 Sibley St., celebrated Leonhardt's life. The 21-year-old Merrillville resident, a member of the 713th Engineer Company of the Indiana National Guard, died Jan. 6 while serving in Afghanistan. The main floor of the 7,500-seat auditorium was nearly at capacity with family, friends, church members and members of the Armed Forces. The funeral was streamed over the Internet so members of the 713th Engineer Company in Afghanistan could watch.

## Tempers flare at Charlie hearing

NOBLESVILLE - Fireworks flew in a Hamilton County courtroom as lawyers prepared for the Charlie White criminal trial (WISH-TV). White, Indiana's secretary of state, faces seven felony charges, including voter fraud, perjury and theft. His lead defense lawyer, Carl Brizzi, sees the upcoming criminal trial as an tough task. "Any time someone is charged by the state or federal government for a crime, it's an uphill battle," he said. "We talk about a legal presumption of innocence, but i don't think that really exists out in society." Charlie White's legal problems began when he decided to run for secretary of state in 2010. Democrats pointed out that White lived in a townhouse outside the district he represented on the Fishers Council — which is against state law. White resigned his council seat. At that time, the Town of Fishers released a statement that included this admission from White: "Because of my statewide campaign for secretary of state and recent marriage, I failed to realize that my new residence was outside my council district. Once

notified of the situation, I took immediate action to correct the issue." Wednesday in court, Brizzi vigorously argued for the opportunity to question a newspaper reporter who printed the quote — saying he wants to verify that it is accurate. The judge is set to rule on that motion next week.

## Changes coming in auto refund

INDIANAPOLIS - A panel of Indiana senators might act to raise how much the state has in savings before automatic tax refunds are sent to taxpayers (Associated Press). Republican Sen. Luke Kenley says the state should sock away more money before it begins sending automatic tax refunds to Hoosiers. The Senate Appropriations Committee planned to meet Thursday to consider the proposal. Lawmakers last year approved Gov. Mitch Daniels' plan to automatically send a portion of the state's savings back to taxpayers. Cash the state saves above 10 percent of its planned spending is split evenly between the tax refund and fund designed to pay down massive teacher pension liabilities.

## No vote on Becker's Anthem bill

INDIANAPOLIS - An Indiana legislator's proposal for a state law on how the national anthem should be performed won't get a vote this session (Associated Press). The proposal from Republican Sen. Vaneta Becker of Evansville would have required any performance of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in any public place performed in its entirety and without embellishment. She had earlier proposed a bill for the state education department to set standards for singing and





playing of the national anthem at public schools. The chairman of the state Senate's education committee withdrew the bill from consideration Wednesday without giving an explanation.

## **Delph deal on class basketball**

INDIANAPOLIS - State Sen. Mike Delph announced today that he was able to reach a compromise with the Indiana High School Athletic Association (IHSAA) on class basketball. "Because the IHSAA is willing to study the possibility of restoring single-class basketball in our state through an internal review and hold hearings statewide to give Hoosiers the opportunity to share their views on the issue, I have agreed to remove the language from my bill," Delph (R-Carmel) said. "I believe multi-class basketball takes away a unique part of our state's heritage and it's time we take a second look at returning to a single class tourney and let the public have its say." Delph's legislation would have restored single-class basketball by banning a school corporation from participating in an interscholastic athletics association if the boys or girls basketball teams are divided into classes.

## **Cosmetology bill picks up opposition**

MUNCIE -- The state board of cosmetology and barber examiners recently took disciplinary action against an Indianapolis barber convicted of intent to distribute cocaine, a Carroll County cosmetologist convicted of dealing in meth and a Brownsburg manicurist who cut a customer's heel (Muncie Star Press). If the state Legislature enacts House Bill 1006, Indiana law governing cosmetologists and

barbers would be repealed, including their professional licensing board. But the cosmetology industry says much more is at stake over this bill than whether a meth dealer can color a customer's hair or raise the arch of a customer's eyebrow. The Professional Beauty Association, a national organization of salons, spas, distributors and manufacturers opposed to the legislation, says the bill will kill cosmetology schools, put local product distributors out of business, jeopardize the livelihood of Indiana's barbers/cosmetologists and threaten the health and safety of consumers. "Licensing is essential to ensuring the welfare of the general public," said PBA spokeswoman Myra Irizarry of Scottsdale, Ariz. "Ensuring core knowledge and competency in areas such as bacteriology, sanitation, anatomy, chemistry and health is absolutely necessary to maintain confidence in the profession and safety for the consumer." "This bill was dumped in my lap because I'm the 'smaller-government person' in the House," said state Rep. David Wolkins, R-Winona Lake. "I have nothing in it other than I am the carrier."

## **\$1.2 million spent in Evansville race**

EVANSVILLE - Rick Davis and Lloyd Winnecke reported raising slightly more than \$1.2 million collectively in last year's campaign for Evansville mayor, according to year-end reports filed Wednesday (Evansville Courier & Press). The total, which includes cash and in-kind contributions of campaign-related goods and services, falls short of the combined \$1.48 million raised by 2003 mayoral candidates Jonathan Weinzapfel and Russ Lloyd Jr. Weinzapfel, a Democrat, ousted then-Mayor Lloyd, a Republican, in what the Courier & Press reported was the city's "costliest campaign ever." Winnecke, a Republican who defeated Democrat Davis

by a 54-46 percent margin on Nov. 8, reported raising a total of \$794,396.86 and reported having slightly more than \$6,500 cash on hand with more than \$10,400 in debts. Davis reported raising \$420,473.79. Having already stated his intention to seek re-election as Vanderburgh County treasurer this year, Davis begins the year with nearly \$66,000 in debt and just \$119 in cash on hand.

## **Ballard, Kennedy spent \$8.5 million**

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indianapolis mayor's race in 2010 was the most expensive on record. Now we have the final numbers, showing that Mayor Greg Ballard and Democratic challenger Melina Kennedy raised a combined \$8.5 million (Indianapolis Star). Ballard, who won a second term, raised nearly \$4.9 million from 2008 to 2011. That includes more than \$480,000 that came in after Oct. 14, the end of the last reporting period before the Nov. 8 election. Kennedy raised nearly \$3.7 million from her campaign's start in 2009 through last year, including nearly \$460,000 since Oct. 14. Ballard ended 2011 with \$73,384.20 in his account. Kennedy had just \$11,850.18 left over.

## **Records set in Fort Wayne race**

FORT WAYNE - Mayor Tom Henry spent a record \$1.3 million on last year's campaign, which was a success despite drawing the lowest levels of voter participation in city history (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Henry and Republican Paula Hughes spent a combined \$2.2 million during the 2011 campaign, according to campaign finance reports due Wednesday, a record amount of money for Summit City politics.