



Howey/DePauw: Senate upset likely

Mourdock moves into 48-38% lead in Howey/DePauw Poll; Lugar's iconic career in jeopardy

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Richard G. Lugar's iconic career of elected public service appears to be in great jeopardy. A Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll conducted Monday and Tuesday of this week shows that Lugar is trailing Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock 48-38% in the Republican Senate primary.

That head-to-head figure includes so-called "leaners," who could conceivably change their minds in the final 72 hours of the campaign. Without the leans, Mourdock still leads 43-35%. Based on this survey data, Howey Politics Indiana is moving the Senate race into a "Likely Mourdock" category.

We may be witnessing a Hoosier version of the "last hurrah." It's been a "Leans



THE INDIANA BATTLEGROUNDS POLL **HOWEY DEPAUW**
Politics Indiana UNIVERSITY



Lugar" until the March 26-28 Howey/DePauw survey had Lugar leading Mourdock 42-35%, at which time HPI moved the Senate race into "Tossup."

The survey, conducted by Republican pollster Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research and Democratic pollster Fred Yang of Garin-Hart-Yang Research Group, is based on 700 likely voters with a +/- margin of error at 3.7%. The sample was made up of 76%

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Republican contradictions

By **CHRISTINE MATTHEWS**

WASHINGTON - Republican primary voters in Indiana say they want a U.S. Senator "to focus first on trying to solve many of our country's problems, even if that means working with elected officials across the aisle to do it," (60%) versus a U.S. Senator "to focus first on standing up for conservative principles, even if that means not working with elected officials across the aisle to solve problems" (30%).

Yet, on the cusp of the May 8th election, they appear



"There are very severe deficiencies in my opponent's background for the office, starting with the lack of any qualifications that are particularly visible, any preparation for it, any understanding of how the legislative process works."

- U.S. Dick Lugar, talking about Richard Mourdock



Howey Politics Indiana

is a non-partisan newsletter based in Indianapolis. It was founded in 1994 in Fort Wayne.

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Subscriptions

\$350 annually HPI Weekly
\$550 annually HPI Weekly and HPI Daily Wire.

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poised to elect someone who believes "We don't need bipartisanship as much as we need the application of principle." (Richard Mourdock, Evansville Courier & Press, April, 2012). Challenger Richard Mourdock leads incumbent Senator Richard Lugar by a 43%-35% margin which expands to 48% to 38% when initial undecideds leaning toward a candidate are included.

So, what to make of this apparent contradiction?

Actually, Mourdock supporters are about evenly split on this question: 48% want a problem solver vs. 46% want conservative principles first. Lugar supporters, however, overwhelmingly want someone to solve problems first (78%) vs. putting principles ahead of bipartisan problem solving (17%).

However, while voters may differ on what brand of conservative they want to send to Washington, and even express a preference for bipartisan problem solving, the race really boils down to this: Close to three-fourths of voters supporting Richard Mourdock say it's because of Lugar's longevity or age or the fact that he lives in Virginia. These voters think Indiana's senior senator has served too long. The comments relating to Lugar being too liberal, or Obama's favorite Republican, or voting for his Supreme Court Justices account for just about 15% of the reasons given for supporting Mr. Mourdock. In fact, while the Senator's support for the DREAM Act is one of the main arguments Tea Party groups make against Senator Lugar, the majority of GOP primary voters say they support it (54%), while only about one-third oppose it. And Lugar's support of the DREAM Act did not register as a reason, specifically, for supporting Mourdock.

What's happened since our last survey in late March is that Mr. Mourdock is now capturing a majority of the vote among those who identify as Republicans (51% - 36%) whereas

Senator Lugar has remained very close to the level of support he got in March (38%) when the two candidates were tied. All the voters we interviewed for this survey have a past history of voting in a Republican primary, but roughly one-fourth identify initially as independent. Among these self-identifying independent voters, Senator Lugar has a narrow edge (41%-38%). He needs a strong showing among independent-leaning primary voters to compensate for Mr. Mourdock's lead among Republicans. However, because the race appears to hinge as much, if not more, on longevity as ideology, adding independents may less dramatically accrue to Senator Lugar's benefit. [1]

[1] Of course, one could argue that this primary will attract some voters with no history of voting in a Republican primary. In addition to the 700 interviews we conducted, we also dialed a separate list of voters with no primary vote history but who voted in the 2008 and 2010 general elections. We did not dial known Democratic primary voters. We stopped calling after the first night, after obtaining 50 interviews because: 1.) the calls are expensive due to the lower number that qualify as likely GOP primary voters and 2.) they were breaking for Mr. Mourdock in a similar fashion to our 700 sample of past GOP primary voters. Those 50 additional interviews are not included in our results. Our thought was to obtain these interviews in case we needed to model what an expanded electorate might look like in the event of a very close contest. While we only did 50 interviews, if the voters were breaking strongly for Senator Lugar and the race were virtually tied, an argument could be made that this could be a factor, but only with a race that is close enough that it could be decided by non-traditional voters.



Unlike a general electorate, the majority of Republican primary voters tend to be male and they are breaking toward the challenger by a 52%-36% margin. Among women, the race is closer with 44% for Mourdock and 39% for Lugar. Nearly six in ten of the remaining undecided voters are women.

A plurality (44%) of primary voters identifies themselves as "very conservative" and, not surprisingly, they overwhelmingly favor Mr. Mourdock (63%-26%). So the balance of the electorate is somewhat conservative (33%) or moderate (19%) and, to win, Mr. Lugar would have to dominate among these voters. The problem for Senator Lugar, is that Mr. Mourdock is also winning the less conservative voters (43%-41%), so that the senator carries only moderate voters (60%-26%).

Generally, the rule of thumb is that undecided voters break two or three to one for the challenger. That may be true here, but the demographics of the undecideds give Lugar a shot. Nearly six in ten are women with whom he fares better. They are less conservative and more independent leaning than voters overall. The endorsements of Governor Mitch Daniels and the Indiana Right to Life carry the most weight with them, as with voters overall. They are much less likely to have an opinion of either candidate (33% favorable – 24% unfavorable for Lugar and 21%

favorable – 17% unfavorable for Mourdock), but have become more unfavorable toward both over the past few weeks – mostly likely as a result of all the negative television ads.

About one third of voters say their opinion of Senator Lugar has become less favorable over the past week or so, compared with about a quarter trending negative for Mr. Mourdock.

While Lugar has a slight edge over Mourdock on general electability, enough voters think both would fare equally well against Democrat Joe Donnelly that this argument doesn't help much. And Mourdock has a similar edge on what may be a more important voting consideration, which is, "shares my values."

We conducted our polling on Monday (April 30) and Tuesday (May 1), ending a full week ahead of the May 8 primary. Of course, the last week before a primary campaign can be very fluid; things can change. But, without any new data to conclude otherwise, it certainly looks as if the momentum has shifted toward Richard Mourdock. ❖

Matthews is president and CEO of Bellwether Research, is a graduate of Indiana University and a native of Kokomo.

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Republicans, 14% independent, 8% independent/lean Republican, 1% lean Democrat and 1% independent/lean Democrat. Survey top lines will be posted under the "Howey/DePauw Poll" tab at www.howeypolitics.com.

And it appears to be a confirmation of a Tea Party mantra that a single challenger to Lugar would consolidate their support, with the incumbent getting about 39% of the "establishment" Republican vote - the percentage that U.S. Sen. Dan Coats won in the 2010 Republican primary against four other candidates. Hoosiers for a Conservative Senate, spearheaded by Tea Party activist Monica Boyer of Warsaw and Greg Fettig of Noblesville, engineered a Tea Party endorsement of Mourdock on Sept. 24, 2011 in Greenfield, and helped keep the field constricted to the treasurer, who was coming off a million vote reelection victory in 2010.

Yang observed, "Back in January 2011, I conducted a statewide survey on behalf of Chairman Dan Parker

for the Indiana Democratic Party, and I found a surprising result in one of our questions: Richard Lugar had a 28% reelection to another term score, and fully 56% wanted to make a change and elect someone else, and this result was among Republican voters. Thus, the findings of that poll made clear that Senator Lugar was vulnerable to a single challenger in a Republican primary. And that's exactly what has seemed to transpire."



Among Republicans, Mourdock has a 51-36% lead, and among the 44% of the Republican sample who called themselves "very conservative," Mourdock leads 63-26%.

Should this trend continue through Tuesday's Republican primary, Mourdock will have pulled off one of the greatest upsets in modern Indiana history. Yang suggested that the final results may not be close.

A decade of throwing out incumbents

But it will hardly be an isolated event. Over the past decade, Hoosier voters have had a vivid propensity to change parties, throw out incumbents, including pow-



erful, iconic ones. This includes a sitting governor, two of the most powerful legislators in state history in Republican primaries, five sitting U.S. Congressmen, the East Chicago mayor who led the Lake County Democratic machine, and in the 2007 municipal elections, 40% of incumbent mayors, including Bart Peterson of Indianapolis. In 2010, sensing the destabilized political environment, U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh abruptly announced his retirement just prior to the primary filing deadline, setting off a disastrous series of defeats for Indiana Democrats, including a dramatic erosion of the party's Southern Indiana base where "heritage" Indiana House and Senate seats held for decades by the party went Republican.

During this time span, the Indiana House has changed party majorities three times and President Obama became the first Democrat in 44 years to carry the state in a presidential election. In essence, it's been volatile.

Lugar's problems came on a myriad of fronts. In the initial Howey/DePauw survey conducted on March 26-28, Congress had a 10% approval rating with 81% disapproving of its performance - matching historic lows in national polls conducted by Gallup, Pew Research, NBC/Wall Street Journal, and Fox News. The senator turned 80 during the homestretch of the campaign.

And he was hounded by the issue of his residency, where he voted from an address at a home the family sold right after he entered the U.S. Senate in 1977. Bayh and Coats had survived previous residency controversies dating back to 1986 and again with Coats' return to the state to run in 2010. But in Lugar's case, the odd arrangement - even with three state attorneys generals signing off on it as complying with Indiana Constitution and U.S. Senate rules - fit neatly into the Mourdock narrative that Lugar had "gone Washington."

Indiana Democrats, sensing an opportunity to defeat the incumbent and thus provide an opening for U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly in the general, tag teamed the issue with Mourdock, conservative bloggers, and national advocacy groups, and the issue persisted in the headlines for weeks.

Survey respondents were asked for the "main reason" they were supporting the candidates. In Mourdock's case, 23% maintain Lugar has been in office too long, 16% embraced Mourdock's slogan of "it's time for a change," 14% dislike Lugar, 13% said they were "dissatisfied with Lugar," 12% cited Mourdock's conservatism, 10% wanted "new blood," 7% cited Lugar's age and the fact that "he doesn't represent Indiana well," and 6% each said Lugar needed to retire, was too liberal, and "lives in Virginia." Much of the support for Mourdock is centered on what

could be called negative reasons.

Other aspects of Lugar's epic Senate career where he authored legislation that saved Chrysler Corporation in 1979, convinced President Reagan that Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos had stolen an election, his role in ending apartheid in South Africa with U.S. sanctions, and the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Act that, for the first time in history had a mortal enemy scrap the arsenal of another on peaceful terms, don't appear to be enough to save Lugar in the era of sprawling deficits measured in the trillions of dollars.

Those supporting Lugar include 24% who like his experience, 21% who said he is doing a good job, 16% cite his "good record," and at 6% each cite as "just like him," or "dislike Mourdock," while at 5% others cite his "seniority or foreign policy" and Mourdock's "negative campaign."

The Lugar/Mourdock race essentially becomes a referendum on the Senator and his tenure and legacy appears to have become a millstone.

When Howey/DePauw asked "over the past week or two, has your opinion of Richard Lugar become less favorable," 32% said yes, while 12% said their opinion became more favorable. Clearly, the stately Lugar's campaign going negative had some repercussions. Lugar's hard favorable/

unfavorables were both at 43%, while Mourdock's stands at 47/25%. And cross tabulations show Lugar has lost support in Indianapolis, his hometown.

"While the Tea Party and other national groups got into this race because of what they consider to be Lugar's liberal transgressions, it appears that a bigger issue for GOP primary voters is simply his longevity," said Matthews. "It is a very difficult environment to be running as a 35-year incumbent."

Mourdock campaigned by calling for an end to "bipartisanship," vowing that a "principled conservative" stance was needed to defeat liberalism and return the U.S. to fiscal sanity.

When Lugar entered the Senate in 1977, he was considered one of its most conservative members. Should he lose next Tuesday, he will exit as one of the most "moderate" Republicans in the upper chamber.

In response to the challenge, the stately Lugar at the prodding of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, went negative. The Friends of Dick Lugar campaign launched wave after wave of salvos saying Mourdock didn't show up for work, recklessly invested Indiana pension funds into junk bonds, and violated Indiana Republican Party database rules.





While Lugar had a roughly \$5 million to \$2 million money advantage over Mourdock, the challenger took advantage of the Citizens United U.S. Supreme Court decision that allowed 527 "Super PACs" to spend uncapped and unprecedented amounts of money. More than \$3.5 million flowed into the Mourdock campaign from Club for Growth, which bought a lion's share of his TV ads; FreedomWorks which organized the Mourdock ground game; and the National Rifle Association, which pumped in direct mail.

An upset of Lugar means the Mourdock campaign will become a template as the groups work to achieve "ideological purity."

The Lugar campaign has stressed that its micro targeting efforts have targeted a 20% increase of absentee voters new to the primary process. "Eighty-five percent have never voted in a primary," said campaign manager Emily Krueger. "And 65% are age 60 or older." She said the race will come down to "turnout" and added, "We have a mechanism in place."

Michael Meyers of TargetPoint Consultants, told HPI, "With any primary, you have to decide weights of a survey sample that helps you control costs and gives you the most accurate picture you can get. That leads to errors in all sorts of directions. The senator's campaign is working hard at turnout and I suspect his supporters aren't showing up in a traditional survey of primary voters."

Meyers believes that most Indiana voters in a general election would support Lugar. "What we've tried to do is convince folks he's the right pick for Indiana and they need to vote in this election," he said. "We believe that most voters in a general would prefer to have Richard Lugar return to the Senate. Our challenge is 'how do we get them to vote now?' We now have 20% who haven't voted in Republican primaries in the past. New guys are good for us. In 2010, new people wouldn't have been good for Dan Coats."

Meyers had stressed to the Lugar campaign "don't read polling like micro targeting and don't read micro targeting like polling," said Lugar spokesman Andy Fisher.

A bipolar mindset

Other elements of the Howey/DePauw survey suggest an almost bipolar mindset of Republican voters.

When pollsters Yang and Matthews asked: "Which statement better describes your view?"

60% responded to "I want a U.S. Senator to focus first on trying to solve our country's many problems, even if that means working with elected officials across the aisle

to do it."

And 33% responded to "I want a U.S. senator to focus first on standing up for conservative principles even if that means not working with elected officials across the aisle to solve problems."

The first question would appear to have fit a description of Lugar; the second, Mourdock.

On a second issue question pertaining the DREAM Act, which has been vociferously opposed by the Tea Party and Mourdock, the pollsters asked: "Do you support or oppose allowing the children of illegal immigrants who graduate from high school and have no criminal record and serve in the U.S. military or attend college a path of full U.S. citizenship?"

Again, the response would seem to favor Lugar: 22% said they "strongly supported" that; 32% said "somewhat support" while just 13% said they "somewhat oppose" and 19% "strongly opposed."

The aggregate on that question was 54% supporting and 32% opposing. Again, such a stance on the issue would appear to have played into Lugar's wheelhouse.

Not only were those issues more akin to Lugar, they also fit into Donnelly's issue portfolio. In the March 26-28 Howey/DePauw general election survey, Lugar was leading Donnelly 50-29%. In a head-to-head between Mourdock and Donnelly, the race was tied at 35%.

With this survey confined to the Republican primary, there are no new Mourdock/Donnelly head-to-head numbers.

But what should be troubling for Mourdock in victory is a fractured Republican Party. Among Republicans supporting Lugar, 12% had a favorable opinion of Mourdock and 57% had a negative opinion.

Yang observed, "If Joe Donnelly can get 15% of the Republican vote, split the independents, that's how Frank O'Bannon defeated Stephen Goldsmith" for governor in 1996.

When the March Howey/DePauw asked the question that in 2008, the "federal government loaned \$80 billion to Chrysler and General Motors to prevent these companies from going bankrupt. Do you approve or disapprove of this action?" 51% of the general election set approved and 44% disapproved. The significance of this data is that Treasurer Mourdock tried to prevent the Chrysler/Fiat merger in a case that was eventually rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court. Donnelly had been an ardent proponent of





the auto rescue, saying it would save tens of thousands of Hoosier auto industry jobs.

The opening for Mourdock in the fall will be Donnelly's vote for "Obamacare," which is unpopular here.

Value of endorsement

When the pollsters asked whether an endorsement would make them more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate. Here's how that broke down:

	More likely	Less likely
Gov. Mitch Daniels	49%	18%
State/national Tea Party	37%	20%
State/national business groups	29%	17%
National Rifle Association	46%	13%
Indiana Right to Life	51%	12%
Club for Growth	8%	17%
Sarah Palin	32%	24%

Other demographics of the survey shed light on the make up of the Republican primary voter: 15% said they/spouse were active/retired military, and 53% said they were evangelical Christian.

Indiana: the Upset State

If Lugar loses the primary on Tuesday, it will be the biggest upset in modern Indiana history, but hardly an isolated event:

With the new Congressional and legislative maps in 2002, the 2nd CD seat of retiring U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer shifted to Republican Chris Chocola, who defeated former U.S. Rep. Jill Long.

In 2003, 21 incumbent mayors were defeated, including those in Evansville, Richmond, Hammond, New Albany, Noblesville, Marion, Elkhart and Valparaiso.

In 2004, Republican Mitch Daniels defeated Democratic Gov. Joe Kernan, who assumed office after the death of Gov. Frank O'Bannon in September 2003. In the Republican primary, voters in Indianapolis and Greenwood defeated powerful Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst, while Republican Mike Sodrel upset U.S. Rep. Baron Hill and the Indiana House switched to the Republicans by a 51-49 margin. And as a final coda, long-time Lake County Democratic Chairman and East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick was defeated by George Pabey in a special election ordered by the Indiana Supreme Court after it ruled that Pastrick's 2003 victory had been fraudulently achieved.

In 2006, Senate President Pro Tempore Robert D. Garton was upset by Greg Walker by voters in Johnson and Bartholomew county in the Republican primary. The Garton defeat, in tandem with that of Borst two years earlier, signaled an end to the "old boys club" that dominated in the Indiana Senate since the 1970s. That was followed by the defeats of Republican U.S. Reps. Chocola, Sodrel and John Hostettler. Indiana Democrats reclaimed the Indiana House

51-49.

In the 2007 mayoral elections, 40% of incumbent mayors were defeated, including Greg Ballard's stunning upset of Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson.

In 2008, Indiana went blue in the presidential race for the first time since 1964 as Barack Obama defeated Republican John McCain.

And in 2010, the sequence began with the abrupt retirement of U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh - who was probably looking at troubling polling data - followed by the "Bayh Dominoes" that included U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth's defeat in the Senate race to Dan Coats, while Rep. Hill was upset by Republican Todd Young by 14% and Larry Bucshon won the 8th CD seat Ellsworth gave up. In Southern Indiana, Indiana Democrats lost two Congressional seats, three Indiana Senate seats and seven Indiana House districts, many of them so-called "heritage" seats that had been held by the party for decades. ❖

Lugar's decision to run, one opponent will lead to upset

By FRED YANG

WASHINGTON - While primary elections are notoriously difficult to predict (and to poll!), our survey points to one conclusion: Richard Lugar is likely to be defeated next Tuesday. While this outcome rightly will be characterized as an upset, I'd argue that, even before the third-party ads, the "outside" polls, and even the Lugar/Mourdock campaigns themselves, the outcome was settled by two simple actions that happened months ago. First, Richard Lugar decided to seek reelection, and second, Richard Mourdock emerged as his ONLY challenger.



Back in January 2011 I conducted a statewide survey on behalf of Chairman Dan Parker for the Indiana Democratic Party, and I found a surprising result in one of our questions: Richard Lugar had a 28% reelect to another term score, and fully 56% wanted to make a change and elect someone else, and this result was among Republican voters. Thus, the findings of that poll made clear that Senator Lugar was vulnerable to a single challenger in a Republican primary. And that's exactly what has seemed to transpire.



Of course, turning a favorable poll result into a winning campaign is a different matter altogether, and I will leave it to others more well-versed in Republican primary politics and the Lugar/Mourdock campaigns to dissect how next Tuesday will turn out and why.

But turning now to the survey data at hand, here are my brief thoughts (from the Democratic perspective) on Tuesday's likely outcome:

First, and most obviously, Senator Lugar is far below the 50% threshold (38% with leaners, 35% without leaners). There is a rule of thumb in incumbent elections that the incumbent is unlikely to get undecided voters, which would leave the Senator with little chance of overtaking his challenger's lead. [By the way, undecided voters view Lugar and Mourdock in roughly equal terms, which suggests that neither candidate will grab the lion's share, which is another advantage for the challenger.]

Second, Richard Mourdock has one of the important "M's" especially in primary politics: momentum. Since our late-March GOP primary poll, Mourdock's "favorable" rating has doubled (24% to 47%), while it is equally impressive that despite some withering attacks, Mourdock's "unfavorable" rating rose slightly (18% to 25%). At the same time, Senator Lugar's image went backward, from 47% favorable/31% unfavorable, to 43% favorable/43% unfavorable.

Third, where Mourdock is getting his support is critical. For example, Mourdock is winning handily with self-identified Republicans (51% to 36%) and "very conservative" voters (63% to 26%), two constituencies that are likely to turn out in a GOP primary. Even if, in the very off chance, there is a significant number of non-Republican voters who vote next Tuesday, it is likely to only change the "score" and not the outcome. Among independent/leaning Republican voters, Lugar is only marginally ahead (41% to 38%).

Fourth, Mourdock has trumped what ostensibly was Lugar's strength/effectiveness. It's interesting that Lugar beats Mourdock by 40% to 35% on which candidate will beat the Democrat in November; but maybe it is because Mourdock voters are still coming to grips with the fact that their candidate will win on Tuesday! (81% of Lugar voters feel that Lugar will beat the Democrat, compared with only 66% of Mourdock voters). But on the more fundamental quality of who "will get things done," both candidates are tied at 38% apiece. To think that, after a much-praised po-

litical career that started in 1967 and a Senate career that started in 1977, Richard Lugar would be tied on "effectiveness" probably is the most telling result of this campaign.

Finally, there will be the usual and inevitable Monday-morning quarterbacking of who did what right (and probably more to the point, wrong), and the best question, "What does it all mean?" As a Democratic pollster, I am least qualified to comment on Republican Party dynamics. I am fascinated to be able to watch, but to be able to have any interpretation of the 2012 Grand Old Party, that may be beyond my ken!

But I do think two questions in our survey that understandably will get short shrift nonetheless paint a more complicated picture of Tuesday's outcome. Three-fifths of GOP primary voters tell us that they want a U.S. senator to work with elected officials across the aisle (i.e., the "Lugar" model), compared with just 33% who want a U.S. senator to focus on standing up for conservative principles (i.e., the "Murdock" model). Yet, Mourdock is poised to win next Tuesday, and the big reason why is that among voters

who want compromise, Lugar is only beating Mourdock by 49% to 38%. (Murdock is winning by 66% to 19% among "conservative principles" voters).

Similarly, we find that, by a solid 54% to 32%, GOP primary voters support the DREAM Act, with even a plurality of "very conservative" voters in support. This would not be the expected outcome for an electorate that is poised to elect a Tea Party supporter to the U.S. Senate. Again, among pro-DREAM Act voters, Lugar is only winning 45% to 40%. (Murdock is sweeping the anti-DREAM Act voters by 62% to

25%).

So, what does it all mean? Only that what will likely happen next Tuesday is complicated and probably is the culmination of long-term factors that may have been beyond the ability of any single campaign to shape and influence. And perhaps at the end of the day, the answer comes down to the two simple facts I posited at the beginning: Richard Lugar made the decision to seek reelection in 2012 and Richard Mourdock became the credible (and only) vessel of change. ❖

Yang is a partner with Garin-Hart-Yang Research Group in Washington and has polled on behalf of the Indiana Democratic Party, Gov. Frank O'Bannon and Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson.





The two Richards moving in different directions

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - There are fewer than one hundred hours before the Republican decision on whether our longest serving U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar will extend his longevity record. Today's Howey-DePauw University Indiana Battleground Poll confirms the trend about which I have been writing: There has been a dramatic movement toward Richard Mourdock and away from Senator Lugar since the Senate debate.



This terrifically planned question made the point: "In the last week or two has your opinion of Richard Lugar become more favorable, less favorable or stayed the same?" Mourdock basically netted out to "no change." Lugar had 12% positive and 32% negative, which basically is a meltdown. I don't remember ever seeing this before (not that most pollsters even think to ask the question) unless a candidate reveals

they once toyed with being a witch or admitted an affair. Lugar unveiled the Daniels' ads just after the debate, and many believed those helped; the Howey poll showing that Daniels essentially tied Right-to-Life as the most influential endorsement with 49% saying his opinion would positively influence them.

Then Lugar pivoted, and not only went back to negatives but had he been Russian, he would have had to negotiate a nuclear weapons treaty with himself. As much as I would like to say it was the ads, evidence in this poll is not conclusive. Those responding to "is running a negative campaign" were split (25 Lugar/21 Mourdock, 35 both, and 20 neither, which apparently are those who don't own a television set).

It also could show up in the primary reason for choosing who they support question as "dislike Lugar/dislike Mourdock" but there 14% disliked Lugar but while only 6% disliked Mourdock but another 5% disliked Mourdock's negative campaign. So that division was 14-11, the 3 point differential being similar to the 4 point on the negative campaign. That does not explain the 3 to 1 negative momentum shift.

My personal opinion is that Mourdock in their only debate basically established himself as a credible candidate. The only poll evidence is this - At our house we've received a dozen Lugar mailers ripping the skin off Mourdock, and television ads warning of impending doom should Mourdock, the crook, win more often than all the combined

car ads, plus car insurance. Here is the clearest measure of the failure of that ad strategy: Lugar: 43% favorable, 43% unfavorable. Mourdock: 47% favorable, 25% unfavorable. Usually when you see such a discrepancy, you then go over and see a column that demonstrates they never heard of one candidate. Yet only 4% don't know him. The gap is a group of voters who say they have no opinion. In other words, they have seen the ads and they are so "over the top" that they don't believe them. BTW that gap in "unfavorable" is certainly among the absolute most significant things in this campaign.

Once Mourdock established that he didn't live in Hades and was well-spoken, it crystalized the big Lugar weakness. Senator Lugar recently turned 80. He was elected to the Senate in 1976, 36 years ago at the same time as Jimmy Carter, who now has a National Historic Site named after him. A Mourdock support group ad also does a calm, effective job of implying that during this time Senator Lugar has drifted leftward. (For the record, Unigov and his early Washington career was not "movement conservative" and his current record is not liberal. Issues change, but he has always been moderate on some things but very pro-business.)

The Howey-DePauw poll clearly highlights this point. Here are what people polled said was the MAIN reason they back Mourdock: 23% (Lugar has) "been in office too long," 16% "time for a change," 10% "new blood," 7% "Lugar old/age," 6% "Lugar needs to retire," and 6% "Lugar lives in Virginia." That totals 68%. Mourdock's ad that ended - "It's time" - nailed the voter's mood. The ideological answers for backing Mourdock were: 12% "conservative," 7% "Lugar doesn't represent Indiana well," and 6% "Lugar is too liberal." That totals 25%. The other 27% said they "disliked Lugar" or were "dissatisfied with Lugar" also could be ideological, which would bring the issue based opposition to 52%. (For you math people, I know that totals 120% but I am just commenting on the results that are printed.)

Bottom line is that no matter how you slice the numbers, more than half, two-thirds if you split the dislike/dissatisfied between ideological and too long in office, of the likely Mourdock voters are not so much issue-based as anti-Washington and time in office.

Connecting the two strains of his support was a very, very smart political strategy.

It also raises the Tea Party issue. The media loves to call Mourdock "Tea Party" like he's some sort of a Nathaniel Hawthorne character with a scarlet letter. Mourdock was elected Vanderburgh County Commissioner, twice, before there was a Tea Party. He lost congressional races before there was a Tea Party and won statewide Treasurer races before there was a Tea Party. He is not one of the



2010 Tea Party candidates who predictably tanked.

And look at some of the answers in this Howey/DePauw poll: "more or less likely to back if Tea Party endorses" 37-20 and Sarah Palin was 32-24. You know what is the outstanding number there? Historically the more movement conservative challenger in a statewide Republican primary gets about 1/3 of the vote since maybe the 1950s. There it is: 37, 32, and even the 25+ on issues being the main reason for supporting Mourdock.

Furthermore, only 32% oppose the described but not named DREAM Act for kids of illegal citizens and 34% opposing a position for illegals short of full citizenship but resolving much of our current stalemate that results in a huge underground of people who are just lost right now. But there is the one-third number again.

The Tea Party is exaggerated in size so why all the frothing at the mouth about it? Partly it is symbolic. Richard Mourdock

goes to seemingly everything, offending traditional Party people in the process.

Is he deluded about its size and influence?

Possibly, but my bet is a mix of these two things:

1.) it is a way to constantly signal that he, Mourdock, is NOT part of the establishment (whether you like them or not, everyone can agree that they aren't part of the establishment) and 2.) he's saying "thank you" to those, as the old political saying goes, "dance with the one that brung ya."

The Tea Party isn't electing Mourdock. But without the foresight of just a few leaders, who have taken lots of flak for it, there likely would have been more than one candidate and Lugar would have marched right through the primary.

Ideological conservatives, actually liberals as well, when they have 10 people, they look around the room and

think: "We have enough people here for at least five factions." Rare order and focus was brought to the table, and it worked. Then the outside groups followed. The outside groups did not lead: they were early laggards.

If this poll is correct, and Mourdock is not only leading but potentially blowing this formerly close race apart – such as a 55-45 win, the most relieved groups will be Club for Growth and other conservative groups that

were batting such a low average that you'd think my Chicago White Sox had signed them to a long-term contract. If Mourdock wins, donors will be encouraged to fight on. Thus Senators especially, and others, will still worry about being tagged a liberal.

A few last words of caution about polls. I have worked with many of our nation's best pollsters. This seems like a solid poll, but there are a few things I questioned. Plus predicting turnout, geographic mix, crossover voting, etc. is very hard (not to mention cell

phones increasing dominance). Still, polls are historical snapshots and can be used to guess the future, but they, in fact, are about the past. Sometimes the underdog, like Mourdock gets ahead, and there is some "buyer remorse" so things shift back. "We just wanted to scare him" was a fairly common sentiment about me when I was a congressman.

That said, this does confirm the "on the ground" scuttlebutt, even down to possible Mourdock gains in the doughnut around Indianapolis. In less than 100 hours the only poll that matters begins.

However, this Howey/DePauw poll goes a long way toward explaining what seems to be occurring. ❖

Souder is a former Republican Member of the U.S. House and a regular Howey Politics Indiana contributor.



In just a few months, two Hoosier icons - Sen. Dick Lugar and former Indianapolis Colt QB Peyton Manning - appear to be leaving the scene.



Indiana's Top 10 modern primary upsets

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON - Primary upsets are rare, perhaps, rarer in Indiana. Even in volatile political years when incumbents have been defeated in greater than usual numbers, very few lost in primary elections. With U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar teetering on the brink of an upset next Tuesday - and if that happens it would almost certainly move into the No. 1 spot - here are 10 of Indiana's historic primary upsets in recent years which prove anything is possible in politics:

1. Bobby Kennedy Over Branigin, McCarthy (1968):

Indiana was for Robert F. Kennedy what West Virginia was for his brother John F. Kennedy in 1960 — an inhospitable but necessary stop on the way to the Democratic nomination. RFK had to overcome intense opposition from the party establishment who backed favorite son candidate Gov. Roger Branigin, organized labor, business, and the Indianapolis Star. Even most anti-war voters were already supporting Senator Eugene McCarthy. That forced Kennedy in his first test after belatedly entering the presidential race to forge a new coalition made up of "Black Power and Backlash." His unique chemistry with lower classes allowed him to make critical inroads among the state's white blue-collar workers and family farmers. It was in Indiana that Kennedy became the first political leader to try to bring together an America torn apart by racial divisions and an unpopular war.

2. Pete Visclosky Unseats Katie Hall (1984):

Katie Hall was the first African American to represent Indiana in Congress after winning a special election in 1982 to succeed Adam Benjamin who died in office. But facing Democratic primary voters for the first time in 1984, Hall was challenged by Lake County Prosecutor Jack Crawford and former Benjamin aide Peter

Visclosky. Most observers predicted Hall would win as Crawford and Visclosky split the white vote. But Visclosky, originally handicapped as third in the race, prevailed in the Byzantine politics of Northwest Indiana, defeating Hall and her powerful patron Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher by running as a reform candidate and the natural successor to the popular Benjamin.

3. Adam Benjamin prevails over Ray Madden (1976):

Ray Madden was 84 years old and had served almost 34 years in the House when State Sen. Adam Benja-



RFK (left), Sen. Greg Walker and Sen. Brent Waltz scored big primary upsets over Indiana power brokers.

min took him on for the second time in the 1976 Democratic primary. Benjamin had narrowly lost to Madden in 1972. But now Benjamin was challenging him in a post-Watergate environment and the younger, more dynamic and independent Benjamin was more in tune with the times.

4. Brent Waltz Upsets Larry Borst (2004):

Larry Borst, a 36-year state Senate veteran who served as the powerful chairman of the Finance Committee, began with a huge seemingly insurmountable lead over 28-year old conservative Johnson County Councilman Brent Waltz. Waltz's campaign was unrelentingly aggressive, hitting Borst repeatedly for his moderate votes on taxes, abortion, and special perks such as lifetime health benefits. After a recount, Waltz had nosed out Borst by a mere 38 votes.

5. Greg Walker Knocks Off Bob Garton (2006):

Bob Garton's 36 years and status as Pro-Tem in the Indiana Senate counted for little when political newcomer Greg Walker challenged him. Garton had been a moderate Republican, even championing the Equal Rights Amendment in his early days. But like Borst, Garton's



U.S. Reps. Julia Carson (lower left) and Pete Visclosky (lower right) with colleagues Lee Hamilton and Andy Jacobs Jr. in 2004. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



moderate views had grown out-of-favor with an increasingly conservative Republican base. Walker, following Brent Waltz's playbook against Larry Borst, won with the help of conservative churches, anti-abortion activists, and insurance magnate J. Patrick Rooney. Garton's role in creating lifetime health benefits for state senators became an albatross as a majority of Republican voters concluded Garton had grown out-of-touch.

6. Julia Carson Surprises Ann DeLaney (1996): Ann DeLaney was not an incumbent, but she had been a top adviser to Gov. Evan Bayh and served as the Democratic State Chair. DeLaney's fundraising advantage bought extensive television advertising that along with an Indianapolis Star poll showing DeLaney ahead gave the appearance of DeLaney as the frontrunner. But Carson, a former state senator and Center Township Trustee, had built an extensive grassroots network that was underestimated by DeLaney and undercounted by pollsters. An endorsement by retiring Congressman Andy Jacobs brought undecided voters into Carson's camp as her ground troops swamped the opposition. DeLaney, confident of victory and looking ahead to the general election, ended the primary campaign with money in the bank.

7. Jill Long Thompson Holds Back Jim Schellinger (2008): Political novice Jim Schellinger was recruited by party leaders to run against Gov. Mitch Daniels and enjoyed strong establishment support and a substantial fundraising advantage over former Congresswoman and Clinton administration official Jill Long Thompson. But Schellinger's inexperience and controversies related to his architectural business undercut the advantages handed to him. Long Thompson, with the help of a key endorsement from the Steelworkers, rolled up large enough margins in the northern part of the state to give her the narrow upset over Schellinger and party officials.

8. Dan Burton Beats Bruce Melchert (1982):



U.S. Rep. Dan Burton (top) won a House seat designed for GOP Chairman Bruce Melchert, while Jill Long Thompson defeated Jim Schellinger when he took his eyes off Lake County in 2008. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)



Danny Burton's familiar campaign strategy of divide-and-conquer was never better executed than when he won the race for an open suburban Indianapolis seat created by the Republican-controlled General Assembly specifically for State Chair Bruce Melchert. Burton had first been elected to the state legislature when he was 28 years old, but had lost congressional bids in 1970 and 1972. Burton won in 1982 by outthrusting Melchert and his three other opponents. He sent volunteers into small Hoosier towns on a fire truck he had purchased for the campaign and benefited by a tough image projected in his TV ads.

9. Jeff Ellington Sneaks Up On Jerry Bales (1998):

Maverick 11-term State Rep. Jerry Bales was popular and considered close to untouchable in the general election in this Bloomington area Republican seat. But conservative Jeff Ellington edged him in the primary by only 26 votes with the help of Monroe County churchgoers who were upset with Bales over his abortion votes. Pro-life Democrat Peggy Welch defeated Ellington in the general election and has held the seat since, though she faces a tough general election this November in a redrawn district even after State Rep. Ralph Foley, who was drawn into the same district, decided to retire.

10. John Hostettler Surprises Republican Field (1994): John Hostettler's unorthodox below-the-radar approach to

campaigning enjoyed its first success against a large field in the Republican 8th District primary in 1994. Attorney/conservative talk-show host Les Shively was the party favorite and presumptive front-runner while local attorney Jeff Devine had the support of former Governor and Evansville native Robert Orr. But Hostettler, whom party regulars and the media almost completely discounted, quietly worked the churches, evangelicals, right-to-lifers, and gun groups to win the nomination on his way to defeating six-term incumbent Democrat Frank McCloskey in the year of the "Republican Revolution." ❖



Bucshon confident he will outlast Tea Party challenge

By **MARK SCHOEFF JR.**

WASHINGTON - The high-profile Republican U.S. Senate campaign is not the only Hoosier race in which a challenger from the right is trying to knock off a GOP incumbent.

This week, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee launched live telephone calls into the 8th CD attacking Rep. Larry Bucshon over what it characterized as profligate spending on constituent mailings.



The not-so-subtle subtext was to remind southwest Indiana voters that Kristi Risk is trying to unseat Bucshon before the Democrats get a chance to do it this fall.

"Congressman Larry Bucshon faces a Tea Party primary challenge from Kristi Risk whom he only narrowly beat in 2010," the DCCC said in a statement announcing the calls on Tuesday.

The script, highlighting a recent Evansville Courier & Press story that showed Bucshon ranked 60th in House spending on mailers in 2011, claimed that he sent five pieces of mail in one month.

"Bucshon said he would change Washington, but he's just looking out for himself," the DCCC script says. The organization would not reveal how many calls it is making or how much it is spending on them.

"The charges and attacks they're using are flat out false," said Bucshon campaign manager Patrick Murphy. He said that Bucshon never sent five pieces of mail in one month. Rather, the mailing statistics covered the April – December timeframe in 2011.

Although the statistics are in dispute, the point of the attack is clear. The campaign arm of House Democrats is trying to boost the party's 8th CD candidate, former state Rep. Dave Crooks, by tearing down Bucshon on the eve of the primary.

The DCCC touts the fact that Crooks has a roughly \$100,000 cash-on-hand advantage over Bucshon, who it says has had to spend about \$140,000 on TV during the primary. The Bucshon campaign puts TV spending in the \$80,000 to \$90,000 range.

"The question is: How weak is [Bucshon] coming out of the primary?" said a DCCC aide, who asked not to be identified.

A confident Bucshon brushed off the DCCC calls. "The DCCC are hypocrites," Bucshon said in an HPI inter-

view. He asserted that Crooks has never revealed how much mailing he did as a state representative. He also defended his own constituent missives. "The franked mail program has nothing to do with politics," Bucshon said. "The mail we send is to communicate with our constituents about what I'm doing on their behalf in Washington."

The DCCC's effort is "just a diversion," Bucshon said. "They're trying to hide from people in my district what Dave Crooks believes in, which is he embraces the president and his policies," said Bucshon, a heart surgeon.

As he travels from Terre Haute to Evansville, Bucshon promotes his three votes to repeal President Barack Obama's health care law and what he says are 175 votes that collectively would have cut \$3.6 trillion in federal spending. "I think my record speaks for itself," Bucshon said. "I'm a solid conservative."

He said that message is getting through and that internal polls have him up 42 points in the primary. "Every indicator is that things are going very well," Bucshon said. "I'm very optimistic."

Risk cautions Bucshon and other observers not to underestimate her. "If they think I'm going to be easier to beat than Larry, they're in for a rude awakening," Risk said in an HPI interview. She, too, exuded confidence about her campaign. "We're working hard, shoe leather down," said the faith-based counselor and substitute teacher from Spencer, Ind. "We're doing everything we can. I love it." She said that she's getting positive feedback about the approximately \$20,000 in TV and radio ads that she's aired, which feature voters from all walks of life. "They've been positive, not derogatory to Larry," Risk said.

But Risk is benefitting from negative voter attitudes toward Washington. She said people are worried about jobs and are connecting all of the country's problems to the burgeoning federal deficit and debt. "People wanted something to happen [in terms of spending reduction] after the 2010 [election] hype," Risk said. "It didn't. People are mad – and rightly so. They know the debt is stifling growth in America." Risk portrays herself as someone who can deliver on the promises made by the House GOP freshman class. "We just need some good, old-fashioned common sense in Washington," Risk said. "I hear that all the time."

By traditional campaign standards, however, Risk is lagging far behind Bucshon – and Crooks – in funding. She had \$9,301 on hand as of April 18, according to the Federal Election Commission. Bucshon had \$266,424 and Crooks had \$385,545. Crooks also was carrying \$75,000 in debt.

The DCCC recently put Crooks in its Red-to-Blue program, based in part on his strong fundraising.

Bucshon said that cash-on-hand is simply an inside-the-Beltway talking point that doesn't matter to voters. He he emerged from the 2010 GOP primary with virtually no money – and went on to win the general. ❖



5th CD moves into Tossup as McIntosh deals with residency

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - The rollicking 5th CD Republican primary fits all our description of a "Tossup" race: multiple candidate field, fine pedigree with an array of constituencies, geographical variety, and a volatile issue that is dogging the original frontrunner.

But new internal polling for the McIntosh campaign shows the former congressman at 30%, Susan Brooks at 23% and John McGoff at 14%. Jack Lugar slipped from double digits to 5%. Other informed and reliable sources are telling HPI that Brooks is within the margin of error.

The dynamic change comes with weeks of headlines and blog reports over McIntosh's residency. If that sounds familiar, then do a Google reference to "Sen. Dick Lugar" and "Sen. Dan Coats." Rival campaigns and activist attorneys have filed legal complaints and Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn - who is backing Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold - has asked Secretary of State Connie Lawson to make a determination.

Like Lugar - where the residency issue became an out-sized component in his race against Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock - there are similarities with McIntosh, who kept an apartment in Madison County, but lived in Virginia and had a driver's license from the Old Dominion.

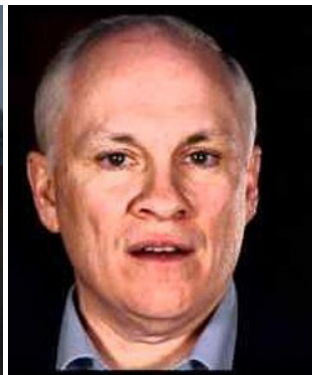
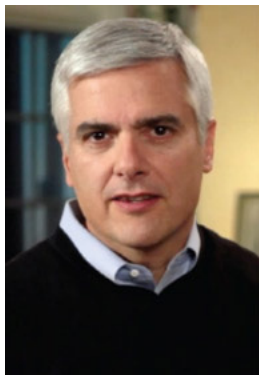
Dunn called on Lawson to issue a ruling. "I am not going to stand here and tell you that he committed perjury in Virginia to get his driver's license," said Dunn. "I went to the Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles website, and the only way you can get a driver's license there, not only do you declare Virginia residency, but you have to prove it. I'm

not going to tell you that when he got his absentee ballots here in Indiana that he wasn't truthful in filling out the affidavits on them. That's not for me to decide. My concern is that we don't get into another Charlie White situation where he wins the primary, and then the legal challenges start. I believe the Secretary of State needs to issue a clearly definitive decision prior to the primary that says he voted legally, and if Virginia has a problem with that, it has a problem with it. Virginia can take its action. As far as Indiana is concerned, we're good. I think it is a disservice to the voters of the Fifth District to put them through this ordeal again that we went through with Charlie White when you can very quickly resolve this issue."

McIntosh's campaign advisor, Ryan Streater told the Kokomo Perspective, "The legal issues here are very clear - before he even announced as a candidate, David checked with the appropriate officials and was told that he "has been, and continues to be, a resident of Madison County, Indiana, and as such, he may vote and seek office as a resident of Madison County." Other candidates are just playing politics with this issue because they aren't conservatives and don't want to talk about how their views on things such as bailouts, term limits, and the 2nd amendment are different than David's."

As in the case of Sen. Lugar, the Mourdock campaign, blogs and the Indiana Democratic Party had a field day with the issue. It dominated the news for several weeks, with a determination validating Lugar's arrangement with the Indiana Election Commission, only to have the Democratic-dominated Marion County Election Board rule he couldn't vote where he had since 1977. A deal was forged to allow Lugar to vote at his Marion County farm precinct.

But the residual fallout to Lugar has been intense and a potentially race-altering event. That could be the case with McIntosh in the 5th CD. HPI installed him as a nominal frontrunner because he has name ID, served three terms in Congress and was the party's 2000 gubernato-



The 5th CD race feels like it has tightened up between original frontrunner David McIntosh (from left), Susan Brooks, Wayne Seybold and Dr. John McGoff.



rial nominee. And McIntosh picked up an impressive array of endorsements ranging from FreedomWorks, to Indiana Right to Life, to a "personal" one from Grover Norquist.

But in talking to multiple sources, our sense is this race has tightened up, with Susan Brooks and John McGoff closing the gap. There is no independent supporting statistical data to back this up, but our sense is that going into the homestretch, there is a large bloc of undecided voters, so this final weekend will be critical. Just in the past 24 hours, Brooks and McGoff have sent out five different direct mailers, all taking aim at McIntosh.

Indianapolis Star columnist also unleashed a column earlier in the week chastising McIntosh for making Brooks' work with a women's charity group an abortion-related issue.

Seybold has kind of rolled through the campaign - literally, on rollerblades - staying above the fray.

And each of the main McIntosh challengers have assets:

Brooks: the second largest pool of money and her pitch to female voters.

McGoff: His credentials as a general in the military, as an emergency room doctor, and his two previous runs in the old 5th CD, with strength in Hamilton and Marion counties, and the endorsement of the Indianapolis Star.

Seybold: His geographical position at the north end of the district.

Dollyne Sherman, spokeswoman for the Brooks campaign, observed, "Being a first-time candidate, you know she started down the pack in name ID and has managed to quite well in raising her name ID and favorables over the course of campaign. She's had great couple of weeks. Last week, she had a very successful Women for Susan fundraising event with nearly 300 women representing at least five of eight counties and they're fired up to help get the vote out next week. This week, she received endorsements from great group of police and fire leaders. At events and in calls, voters seem to be very aware of David's residency/voting issues. So if there is a low turnout, then voters who show up are the most knowledgeable about recent issues raised, which we believe will be a disadvantage to McIntosh."

Our early analysis of this race counted on Brooks making a run once her TV and direct mail kicked in. She just needed a defining issue to tag McIntosh.

Devin Anderson, campaign chairman for McIntosh, told HPI, "We've been disappointed that John and Susan have chosen to not focus on fixing Washington but rather on politics of personal destruction. Both know their views are not conservative and in step with a majority of this district. They feel their only choice is to personally attack the true conservative. The McIntosh campaign tried to focus on

what's wrong with Washington and David's view to fix it."

Anderson added, "Unfortunately, nasty campaign tactics, such as the extensive negative mail pieces John and Susan have been dropping for weeks, can sometimes be effective. Our campaign has no choice but to stop discussing important issues such as repealing Obamacare and expose John and Susan for their less than conservative record."

And watching McIntosh respond with negative ads against Brooks and McGoff are indicators that the former congressman is also seeing the race tighten.

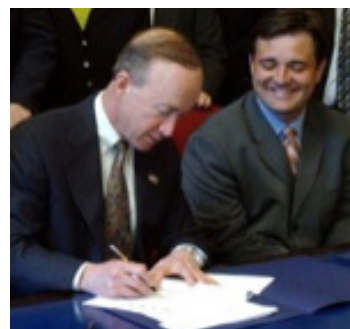
Dunn observes, "I believe the race has tightened as the McGoff and Brooks direct mail, along with television ads have stopped McIntosh's momentum. McGoff, Brooks and Seybold have all benefitted from this event. Seybold has done an excellent job of staying above the fray. This race is going to be so fractured by the number of candidates that a relatively low percentage is going to win. This could be a replay of 2010, with (Dan Coats) benefitting from name ID."

And, of course, there's the Jack Lugar wild card, with early internal campaign polling showing from several of the campaigns showing him with double digit support, all bleeding over from the Senatorial brand.

So this race is a "Tossup" with perhaps a slight edge to McIntosh, who has to be counting on out-lasting the onslaught from the rest of the field. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup

6th CD: Hankins said to be closing on Luke

Gov. Mitch Daniels endorsed Luke Messer on Thursday. Daniels worked closely with Messer for over a decade on a variety of issues.



But informed and reliable GOP sources tell HPI that internal polling shows Travis Hankins within striking distance of Messer. Hankins ran a close second to Todd Young in the 9th CD in 2010, using a network of Tea Party groups. While Messer has run a traditional campaign, has had big fundraising leads and a full

radio and TV ad campaign, Hankins is said to be working his grassroots strategy that had him finishing second above former congressman Mike Sodrel in the 2010 race.

Thus, the Messer campaign reached out for the Daniels endorsement.

"Luke Messer has been a key partner in most of our state's biggest policy achievements over the last seven years—leading the State Republican Party, helping craft a



balanced state budget with no tax increases and providing better educational opportunities for all Hoosier children," said Daniels. Messer served in the Indiana General Assembly from 2003-2006, representing Shelby and Bartholomew counties. During that time, Luke helped Governor Mitch Daniels craft the state's first honestly balanced budget in eight years that turned a \$600 million deficit into a \$300 million surplus in a single year - without a tax increase. Daniels said, "Luke's record speaks for itself. He is a strong and thoughtful leader whom I've always viewed as one of my wisest and most trusted allies." We haven't seen any of the kind of movement that would suggest that Luke Messer won't win the 6th CD. He has had the most TV and radio ads, along with a slew of endorsements from across the district. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Messer

9th CD: A Democratic Tossup

In the Democratic race between Robert Winningham, Jonathan George and Shelli Yoder (pictured), none of the three appear to have an edge. Winningham has strength in the South, the General in Lawrence and nearby, Yoder in the North. Yoder has won some interesting endorsements. One from Sheriff Mills of Floyd County and another from Sheriff Combs in Washington. Also, former 9th District Chair Mike Jones and former Hamilton staffer Bill Sears have endorsed her. Winningham has State Sen.



Richard Young and some other office holders in the South. There aren't any polls, even internal ones, and nobody has done any electronic media. Turnout could be low. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup

Indiana Legislature: Glick, Yarde face off

The race between State Sen. Susan Glick and State Rep. David Yarde is a dicey call. Glick had the early money, and experience, but she has some pockets of resistance in LaGrange because weak on constituent response. The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette reported that both candidates have about \$20,000 cash on hand for the homestretch. Glick impresses people with her talking points, but then Yarde does even more. We give Glick a slight edge, but an upset is possible. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup

HD37: Indiana Township Association President Debbie Driskell is running against Todd Huston, and she readily acknowledges that she's been at odds with the governor (WISH-TV). Union workers and teachers appear in her ad. She tells voters that she supports the right-to-work bill passed by Republicans and signed by the governor but points to Statehouse rallies and says it wasn't handled

properly. Her biggest contributions come from unions. "The side against right-to-work doesn't feel that they were heard and understood," said Driskell, "and I'm compassionate to that." Huston would love to have the race become a referendum on the governor. "My opponent's campaign, you look around and go, 'These are the people who have been the most ardent opposition to Gov. Daniels and the Republican agenda over the last eight years,'" he said. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Huston

HD55: The Farm Bureau ELECT Pac endorsed Lora N. Williams, who is also backed by the Tea Party. She appears to have an advantage over Fayette County Republican Chairman Sam Harvey, former USDA official Bob White, and Batesville businesswoman Cindy Meyer Ziemke. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Williams

HD82: The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette endorsed Mike Caywood, Denise Lemmon is backed by Noble County civic leaders and the Farm Bureau, and David Ober by State Sen. Jim Banks as well as the Farm Bureau. Sources say that Ober has raised the most money and has worked the retail side of it hard. This is a Tossup, with a slight edge to Ober. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup

HD92: While Tim Motsinger has been running cable TV for almost two weeks now, the Brad Rider campaign has received a \$150,000 infusion from HRCC and will run heavy TV in the final weekend. Rider was running TV ads on network TV on Thursday evening. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Motsinger

Presidential 2012: Romney's challenge

BOSTON — Mitt Romney faces a narrow path to the presidency, one that requires winning back states that President Obama took from Republicans in 2008 and that has few apparent opportunities for Romney to steal away traditionally Democratic states (Washington Post). Months ago, Obama's campaign advisers laid out five distinct ways for the president to clear the threshold of 270 electoral college votes and win reelection. As Romney, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, and his advisers chart their strategy, they plan to target a dozen to 15 states and say that they, too, have more routes than their opponents claim. But Romney's team acknowledges that any realistic course to 270 starts with winning back three historically Republican states that Obama won in 2008 — Indiana, North Carolina and Virginia — and believes that changing demographics in Virginia present a challenge.

In the Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll conducted on Monday and Tuesday, Romney lead with 60%, with Ron Paul and Rick Santorum at 10%, Newt Gingrich at 5% and 15% were undecided. Even with the nomination in hand, Romney still didn't get 40% of the Indiana Republican primary vote. ❖



Why I view a Lugar defeat with reticence

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. - Last Monday, a steel girder rose 1,271 feet above New York City and was affixed to the Freedom Tower, making it the tallest building in the metropolis. It happened on a clear, crisp day, not unlike Sept. 11, 2001 when terror pilots attacked the twin towers, each a small city in and of themselves, as is the Pentagon. On Tuesday, the news media was reporting potential "body bombs" boarding flights to the U.S. on the first anniversary of the assassination of Osama bin Laden.



There is considerable irony that the man who kept the really bad stuff - nukes, biological and chemical weapons - from reaching American soil, U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar, may see his career end with

Tuesday's Republican primary. There is a tenacious challenge from Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock, who, to his credit, recognized the dissonance of many Hoosiers and their perceptions of the extravagance of Washington, D.C. Mourdock is riding a whirlwind of discontent to a possible upset of historic proportions. In doing so, he has taken aim at "bipartisanship," saying it is responsible for the dire state of the U.S. finances.

Anyone who reads this column with regularity knows that I view Lugar's defeat with great reticence. It comes down to one basic issue, and that is our national security, whether it's bin Laden or petrostates that play blackmail with oil and gas.

Lugar joined with Georgia Democrat U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn in 1991 to forge the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Act after the implosion of the Soviet Union. I traveled with both of them to Russia in 2007. It turned out to be a tour of nightmare scenarios that Nunn-Lugar slipped back inside Pandora's Box before placing it under triple fencing, breach monitors and guard towers.

At one point, Nunn and Lugar toured the Mayak Fissile Material Storage Facility near Ozyorsk, a city that didn't even appear on Soviet maps. The Republican and Democrat ended up in a warehouse bigger than several American football fields, wearing white gowns and carrying radiation monitoring devices. Under their feet were tons of entombed plutonium from SS-24 and SS-25 missiles once aimed at American cities and part of our \$6 trillion Mutually Assured Destruction strategy called the Cold war. It was there because of Nunn-Lugar funding and the pair's adroit tenacity of keeping two Russian presidential administrations and three American ones attuned to the mission and the threats. And it was not in the hands of terrorists.

Lugar and his staff faced death, literally, when in the weeks following 9/11, the Hart Senate Office Building was the target of an anthrax attack that killed five U.S. Postal Service employees. As Lugar noted in his debate with Mourdock, he was told that in 48 hours he would know whether he would survive. The trips to the former Soviet Union put Lugar face-to-face with impoverished Red Army officers, bankrupt nuclear, biological and chemical scientists, and pathogens and plutonium under flimsy padlocks.

"We were always building bridges," Nunn told me.

For Lugar, it was the execution of a "concept through which we as leaders who are responsible for the welfare of our children attempt to take control of a global threat of our own making."

On the trip to Russia, I traveled with Kenneth A. Myers III, who now directs the Defense Threat Reduction Agency. "Every time we've called Sen. Lugar to help us, to help us break into a new region, to establish the first step, to establish relations with leaders, he's always said yes," Myers explained at Indiana University last November.

What if Lugar is defeated, or dies? Is there anyone to pick up the mantle in Congress? There is no clear answer.

"This really is about personal diplomacy," Myers explained. "To succeed, we need the people in the field who go to work every day, but we need the leaders who go out and establish the relationships. When you are able to walk through a door trailing Sen. Lugar you have an entry that is second to none. Without this kind of leadership, we will not be able to have this kind of luck. I cannot prove a negative to you. So far we've been perfect. But we always have to be perfect. We were lucky in 1991 that we had the senator to develop the tools and gave us the flexibility to adjust."

Or as Kenneth B. Handelman of the Pentagon told me when I asked whether we had dodged a bullet, "We don't know what we don't know." Handelman repeated the question, and then explained, "Yeah, anytime we take something off the market, it's money well spent. But we've got to go where we aren't now."

When I bring up Lugar and WMD, or the fact that hundreds of MANPADS (shoulder-launched, surface to air missiles) are unaccounted for in liberated Libya, some Hoosier Republicans roll their eyes. They talk about how North Korea is a greater threat. It's the type of complacency that occurs when 11 years after the twin towers collapse, the wolves have been kept at bay.

Reelecting Sen. Lugar is no guarantee terror won't strike again. But I like our chances better with him on the watch. If he doesn't return, someone needs to pick up the mantle.



Mourdock represents what's wrong; Lugar epitome of what's right

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE - Richard Mourdock represents everything that is wrong with government today. Richard Lugar is the epitome of what is right.



Murdock, the state treasurer, is challenging Lugar, Indiana's senior senator, in the Republican primary. We'll find out what Hoosier Republicans are made of on May 8.

Murdock is the darling of the Tea Party, an unbending group that has brought Congress to a standstill, leaving little hope for achieving the common good. He has said that one of his unwavering goals is to block President Obama's legislative agenda, all of it, simply because it

is Obama. Now, that's a deep thinker.

The Times of Northwest Indiana recently quoted Mourdock as saying he will represent Indiana as an "unapologetic conservative." That pretty much gives him free rein to vote against apple pie and motherhood and not feel badly about it.

Murdock also said he will work to cut government spending, ban budget earmarks, and oppose liberal Supreme Court nominees. He pretty much takes the Neanderthal approach to government.

Did I forget to mention that part of his plan to reduce government is to eliminate the departments of education, housing and urban development, energy and commerce. That's pretty much a four-pronged attack on the poor.

Murdock contends that Lugar is part of the problem in Washington. No, the likes of Mourdock are the problem. Government isn't the enemy. People such as Mourdock, who refuse to embrace the fact that compromise is the foundation of government, are the problem.

Murdock has repeatedly attacked Lugar for his bipartisan approach to government. He says Lugar has "left behind his conservative Hoosier values." I'm not terribly sure what those "conservative Hoosier values" are, but if Mourdock is the standard bearer, I have to praise Lugar for not selling his soul for votes – a crime that ought to be a

felony.

Murdock is unwavering in his neocon approach to government, which is the primary reason that Obama hasn't been able to win approval of many of his planks – primarily putting people back to work by rebuilding the nation's infrastructure.

Lugar, on the other hand, ought to be a poster child for what is right about government, having spearheaded the global mission to persuade the Soviet Union to destroy most of its stockpiled weapons following the end of the Cold War. Lugar has been a champion for a fairer tax system, either through a flat tax or national sales tax. Unfortunately, few have listened. And, Lugar has been at the forefront of the push for a balanced budget amendment.

Lugar has always been a voice of reason, and when he walks across the political aisle, the Democrats listen.

While some – like Mourdock – talk about killing all earmarks simply for the political gain among unknowing tea partiers, Lugar has defended earmarks because they are a vital part of the system.

While Lugar has accomplished much for the nation and state, Gov. Mitch Daniels put it best, saying, "I'm not for Dick Lugar because of what he's done – but because of what he can do." In my time, Indiana has had two great senators – Democrat Birch Bayh and Lugar. It was 32 years ago that Indiana lost Bayh because of a national movement to remove liberals from the Senate. Losing Bayh was bad enough, but losing him to a mental midget like Dan Quayle made it worse.

In the last 50 years or more, there hasn't been a statewide Republican candidate to carry heavily Democratic Lake County. Dick Lugar came within 5,000 votes one time – not because he is a liberal, but because he is fair. I can't imagine losing Lugar to a Tea Party neocon. That would hold Indiana up to ridicule by the rest of the nation.

If you still aren't convinced, consider this: Sen. John McCain is backing Lugar. Sarah Palin is backing Mourdock. Enough said? ❖

Rich James is the former opinion page editor and columnist for the Post-Tribune in Merrillville.



Farmer Hass still lingers in 2nd CD

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - Fragrance of a farmer's fertilizer from a primary past lingers still in Indiana's 2nd Congressional District.



It's from the 2002 campaign of the legendary Lewis F. "Farmer" Hass, who designated an outhouse as his campaign headquarters. He waged only a mock campaign, but still carried two counties, came close in a third and got a fifth of the Republican congressional primary vote in his challenge to nomination winner Chris Chocola. There is no candidate like Farmer Hass this time. Really, there has never been another candidate just like Farmer Hass.

Also, there is no doubt about the general election matchup to be provided by the May 8 congressional primary results. It will be: Brendan Mullen vs. Jackie Walorski.

Each, however, has a primary opponent listed on the ballot. Either could be embarrassed by a little known candidate who hasn't done much real campaigning or fund-raising. Losing one of more of the 10 counties in the district or losing more than a quarter of the vote would be an embarrassment.

Mullen, the Army veteran from South Bend, who will be the Democratic nominee, is in the same position as Chocola in 2002 _ not on issues, of course, but as a front-runner with solid party support from the local to the national level.

Just as Chocola had big success in fund-raising, while Farmer Hass spent almost nothing in publicizing his outhouse, Mullen has raised over half a million dollars, while his opponent reported no expenditures to the Federal Election Commission.

Dan Morrison of Elkhart is Mullen's opponent. Mullen faces the same problem as Chocola did. Outside the South Bend media market, he isn't that well known.

Could a lot of Democratic primary voters, not realizing Mullen is the one counted on by the party for a serious challenge to Walorski, just pick the first name listed, Morrison?

Mullen is seeking to build name recognition through extensive travel throughout the district and with a major mailing of a color brochure to a targeted list of voters in all the counties. It features photos of him at West

Point, in military service and with his family, stressing his theme: "A Hoosier Veteran, Fighting for You."

Why would Mullen spend for this extensive mailing _ with two more to come before May 8 _ when he is sure of the nomination and faces a tough, expensive fall campaign?

Well, it's not to beat Morrison. It's to build name recognition for the fall and establish a positive image before opposition TV seeks to tear down his image.

Still, the primary results will be a test of how effective Mullen has been in getting known. He could be embarrassed if an unknown challenger carries some counties. (It should be noted that Chocola went on to be elected to Congress that fall.)

Walorski has an opponent who raised a little money, \$7,000, according to the last FEC report.

She doesn't face the name recognition problem that confronted Mullen. Walorski gained high name recognition as the Republican nominee for Congress in 2010, although it won't be saturation in new areas added in redistricting. (It was new areas that caused problems for Chocola in 2002.)

Dr. Gregory Andrews of South Bend is Walorski's primary opponent.

The test for Walorski will be whether she has built unified support among Republican voters. She captured 61 percent of the vote in the 2010 primary in a four-candidate race. She will need to do much better than that to avoid speculation that she is "too tea party" for Republican moderates.

Walorski lost one county last time to challenger Jack Jordan. He waged an aggressive campaign, however, suggesting that Walorski used "angry oratory" that wouldn't go over in the fall election.

The former state representative from Jimtown hasn't been spouting "angry oratory" in public appearances this spring. Nor has she sent out brochures like Mullen, concentrating instead on filling coffers for the fall and urging a united "Stand with Jackie" theme. She has raised nearly \$800,000.

How will Walorski do on May 8? Win. Sure. But with what percentage?

How will Mullen do on May 8? Win. Sure. But with what percentage?

Neither wants on May 9 to face questions about a Farmer Hass sequel. ❖

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



Nate Silver, New York Times: The latest veteran lawmaker to be the subject of a vigorous primary challenge is the 80-year-old Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, who is being challenged for the Republican nomination by State Treasurer Richard Mourdock. The latest poll in the race, from Wenzel Strategies for the Citizens United Political Victory Fund, which supports Mr. Mourdock, put Mr. Mourdock ahead 44 to 39 percent. Ordinarily, the rule is that a poll commissioned by a partisan group exaggerates their candidate's standing by an average of about 6 points — sometimes more and sometimes less. By that measure, then, the Wenzel Strategies poll could be read as showing the race as more of a tossup. The last nonpartisan poll of the race, from Howey/DePauw, put Mr. Lugar 7 points ahead, although it is now about a month old. Meanwhile, key Republican officials are certainly acting like it is Mr. Mourdock's race to lose. A "super PAC" that had been supporting Mr. Lugar, the American Action Network, has pulled out of the race. Mr. Mourdock received the endorsement of Sarah Palin, meanwhile, while Mitt Romney is conspicuously remaining neutral in the race. Thus, Mr. Lugar has probably become a modest underdog to retain his seat. If Mr. Lugar loses, it should increase Democrats' odds of picking up the Senate seat in November. Democrats have a fairly good candidate in Indiana in the form of United States Representative Joe Donnelly. Nor is Mr. Mourdock in the Christine O'Donnell category of candidates. As the state treasurer, he is roughly as well-credentialed as Mr. Donnelly. Mr. Mourdock has some standard Tea Party lines in his platform, enough to be problematic in more urban parts of the state like Indianapolis and north-east Indiana. Still, he is not all that far outside of Indiana's political mainstream — not obviously more or less so than Mr. Donnelly, who voted for Mr. Obama's health care bill, although he has bucked his party on other issues like gun-ownership rights and cap-and-trade. All of that points to a close race. I'd probably give a slight edge to Mr. Mourdock on the basis of Indiana's overall partisan orientation. ❖

Eric Bradford, Evansville Courier & Press: As voters sort out the differences between the two Republicans vying for Indiana's U.S. Senate seat, perhaps the most instructive example is how they would approach Supreme Court nominations. It's not that six-term U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar's and state Treasurer Richard Mourdock's philosophy of what makes a good justice are much different. Where they disagree is on how to approach the political task at hand. Lugar says that voting for well-qualified nominees of Democratic presidents helps get the picks of Republican presidents confirmed, too. Mourdock, meanwhile, would be much more likely to resist in hopes of forcing Democrats to temper their choices. It's a difference that underscores

their styles: Lugar's someone who tries to achieve his objectives through collaboration and relationships built over time; Mourdock views victory as something that must be accomplished through partisan strength. Lugar's argument is this: If Republicans weren't willing to vote for well-credentialed Democratic nominees, how could Republicans ever get their own party's president's selections confirmed by a Democratic Senate? "When a court vacancy occurs, the confirmation process takes on the trappings of a political campaign, replete with interest-group television ads that often reflect the same oversimplifications and distortions that are disturbing even in campaigns for offices that are in fact political," he said. "All of this may be understandable. It remains, in my view, a fundamental departure from the vision of the courts and their proper role that animated those who crafted our Constitution." Mourdock disagrees, and says Republicans should have learned the lesson that Lugar's approach is impractical by now. "He expects with that theory that the other side would be dogmatic and continue to throw people back of the same ideology," Mourdock said. "I think if enough Republicans voted to say no to Sotomayor or Kagan, I don't think the next one would have been just as liberal." His evidence: Democrats' reaction to President Ronald Reagan's 1987 nominations.

First, Reagan chose Robert Bork. But after it became clear that he could not win the votes he'd need to be confirmed, he was withdrawn. The same thing happened to Reagan's next nominee, Douglas Ginsburg. Finally, Reagan chose Anthony Kennedy, who is now regarded as the Supreme Court's swing vote, and who has been on the winning side of the vast majority of the high court's 5-4 decisions. ❖

Matt Tully, Indianapolis Star: Mourdock has his supporters and detractors -- that is, people who will turn out Tuesday driven foremost by their desire to vote either for or against him. But such voters appear to be in the minority as this bitter and bemusing primary campaign reaches its final week. This race, it has become clear, is all about Lugar. On one side, it's about voter fatigue as the former Indianapolis mayor seeks a seventh Senate term. It's about conservatives who are upset with some of Lugar's votes and some of his bipartisan friendships. It's about frustration among many GOP county organizers over Lugar's lack of involvement for many years in local politics. It's about a belief among some that Republicans should be represented by a dig-in-your-heels fighter, not a diplomat. And it's about the Lugar campaign's stumbles, as well as a deep anger at Washington, D.C., insiders. On the other side of the street, it's about people who deeply appreciate Lugar's willingness to consider more views than the one in his head. It's about a hope that Capitol Hill won't remain as gridlocked as it has been these past few years. ❖





Businesses can't find qualified help

INDIANAPOLIS - A new report out says thousands of small businesses in Indiana are having trouble finding qualified workers (WIBC). Jack Mozloom, spokesman for the Indianapolis Chapter of the National Federation of Independent Business says this reflects a national trend. The NFIB's monthly Economic Trends Report is due out next week. Mozloom says in Indiana, employers are having a tough time finding highly skilled workers in areas like manufacturing. Mozloom says 72 percent of small businesses trying to fill jobs have been unable to find qualified applicants. The report shows employment among small businesses as positive but still weak. Twelve percent of small employers reported hiring about three new workers over the past few months. However, 14 percent say they reduced workers by slightly less than three. The other 74 percent of small firms made no changes. Mozloom says state lawmakers should refine education and job training programs across the state to help increase the pool of qualified applicants.



Lawson to visit new vote center

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana Secretary of State Connie Lawson will visit Johnson County on Friday at 1:00 p.m. to tour the new vote center at Jonathan Byrd Cafeteria. Johnson County Clerk Sue Anne Misiniec will join Secretary Lawson to discuss Johnson County's experiences with the Vote Center model. They will discuss the

importance of building best practices as a tool for counties who are considering Vote Centers for future elections. Johnson County opted to switch to Vote Centers this year as a modern alternative to traditional precinct-based elections.

Davis tries to pay off mayoral debt

EVANSVILLE - Although incumbent Vanderburgh County Treasurer Rick Davis raised far more money than challenger Susan Kirk in the first quarter of 2012, he has spent nearly half of his donations paying down a \$66,000 debt his committee incurred running for mayor of Evansville last year, according to campaign finance reports (Evansville Courier & Press). Kirk and Davis are seeking the office of county treasurer and will square off on Nov. 6 as neither candidate faces a primary challenge. Davis raised \$13,200 from Jan. 1 to Apr. 13, reports show, compared to current Vanderburgh County Clerk Susan Kirk, whose committee raised \$225 during the same period. But Davis used \$6,000 paying off services he used during his unsuccessful 2011 bid for Evansville mayor. "My first priority is getting Kitch & Schreiber paid off in a reasonable amount of time," Davis said about a local advertising firm, "so I can raise funds in this election to put up a good fight."

Drunk coroner on primary ballot

GREENFIELD - The Hancock County coroner is in jail facing drunken driving charges (WISH-TV). Tamara Vangundy was arrested early Thursday morning after she showed up on a death investigation in New Palestine apparently drunk. A breathalyzer was administered around 12:20 Thursday

morning and she tested twice the legal limit at .16, police officials say. Vangundy was taken to the Hancock County Jail. Vangundy told police she had 18 ounces of wine — or about three-quarters of a typical bottle of wine — during a one hour period at a friend's house. She said she stopped drinking at 8:30 p.m. Wednesday, according to the probable cause affidavit. The coroner was stumbling and swaying at the scene, court documents say. She drove her personal vehicle to the death scene, because she said she thought she might be too intoxicated to drive the county-owned van. Court documents indicate that Vangundy is facing an operating while intoxicated charge and a charge of official misconduct. In Tuesday's primary election, Vangundy is running unopposed for re-election. She's the half sister of Greenfield Police Chief John Jester.

No IU-Kentucky hoops game in '12

BLOOMINGTON - Indiana versus Kentucky, one of college basketball's best rivalries, is over (Associated Press). Barring a change of heart between now and this summer, Indiana officials said Thursday that they will not renew the contract to play Kentucky because of a disagreement over where to hold the games. The schools have met during the regular season every year since 1969. After months of behind-the-scenes bickering over whether to play the games on campus, as Indiana prefers, or at neutral sites, as Kentucky prefers, Hoosiers athletic director Fred Glass ended the debate for now. "In the final analysis, we want our student-athletes, our overall student body and our season-ticket holders to enjoy this series at Assembly Hall," Glass said.