



Obama's case: 'I need more time'

President speaks of saving the auto industry, chides GOP

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. - President Obama said the U.S. can create one million new manufacturing jobs, defended his rescue of the auto industry but said that the "path will not be quick or easy."

Hours later, the Labor Department released the August jobs report showing 96,000 new jobs - not even keeping up with population growth - while the jobless rate ticked down two tenths of a percent to 8.1% - revealing how long and tough the economic recovery has become.

Obama accepted his second Democratic presidential nomination in Charlotte Thursday night with most polls showing him in a dog fight with Republican nominee Mitt Romney. In doing so, and following the riveting speeches by First Lady Michelle Obama and former President Clinton the preceding two nights, the president sought to inspire his base much like President George W. Bush - at a similar standing in the polls - did with his 2004 reelection.

"I've met workers in Detroit and Toledo who feared they'd never build another American car," said Obama,



who has tried to make that same case in Kokomo after the disastrous 2010 elections left him with a divided, hostile U.S. House. "Today, they can't build them fast enough, because we reinvented a dying auto industry that's back on top of the world. I've worked with business leaders who are bringing jobs back to America - not because our workers make less pay, but because we make better products. Because we work harder and smarter than anyone else."

But Obama took a journey back to his first convention speech in 2004 when he was a state senator from Illinois, and quickly said, "I recognize times have changed

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Polarizing politics

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. - I've heard this story over and over again from relatives, friends and even the Sears salesman in Bloomington who sold me a refrigerator and

I've experienced it myself: Because of the polarized nature of today's politics, old friendships are ending.

Friends can no longer talk politics among those who have a difference of opinion. There is the point, counterpoint, and over 10 or 15 minutes it gets emotional, then heated. Often, one side shuts down: "I'm not going to talk about politics anymore."



"We all know that Gov. Romney opposed the plan to save GM and Chrysler. So here's another job score. Are you listening Michigan and Ohio and across the country? Obama 250,000; Romney zero."

- Former President Bill Clinton



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People are getting angry when a Tea Party friend sends them birther or Sheriff Joe videos via email. The conservatives cannot fathom how anyone could support Barack Obama; they simply cannot believe anyone would be so stupid.

I purposely watched the Democratic National Convention Tuesday night on Fox News. Somewhere between Bill O'Reilly and Sean Hannity I moved away from the TV and into another room to catch a Sox/Twins score, and the muffled rancor permeated through. It was a national quarrel. It was depressing. I found refuge in C-Span, a channel that I thought might play it straight.

We are a divided nation.

The Real Clear Politics composite on the presidential race stood at 46.8% for both Mitt Romney and President Obama, an absolute dead heat. The RCP Congressional generic stood at 44.2% for both Republicans and Democrats. I can't ever remember a time when a presidential race and the Congressional generic were absolutely tied at the same time. President Obama's job approval stood at 47.3% approve and 48.8% disapprove. The RCP Electoral College map stood at 221 for Obama and 191 for Romney with Indiana in the "leans Romney" lighter shade of red.

Romney isn't faring much better. Gallup reported that the GOP nominee received no bounce from last week's Republican National Convention, as the 46% of registered voters who supported him in Aug. 31-Sept. 3 Daily tracking is essentially the same as the 47% who preferred him in Aug. 24-27 tracking, the four days preceding the convention. A Pew Research poll found that 20% of those surveyed found Clint Eastwood's interview with an empty chair as a prelude to Romney's speech was the "highlight" of the convention, compared to 17% who said Romney's acceptance speech was, and 10% who cited Paul Ryan's and Ann Romney's speeches.

Look further into the battleground states and it's pure splitsville: In Ohio, Obama is up 46.2% to 45.5%; in Virginia Obama leads 47.3 to 46.7; in Wisconsin the president is up 48.2 to 46.8; in Florida Obama has a 47.3 to 46.7 lead. Romney leads in North Carolina 47.3 to 45.7 and in Iowa, Obama is up 45 to 44.8, if you call that up.

The RCP right/wrong track stood at 31.4% to 63%.

The Congressional approval stood at 13.8 approve and 79.2 disapprove in RCP composite, while NBC/Wall Street Journal had it at 12/82 between Aug. 16-20.

The Gallup Economic Confidence Index registered -27 in August, matching the prior monthly low for the year, recorded in January. August's reading is essentially the same as July's -26; still, confidence has now slid 10 percentage points from the four-year high of -17 recorded in May.

In the year of the rubber match, this is a summer of discontent.

When Obama enthralled the nation in 2008, he campaigned on the simplistic notions of "hope and change." The nation had been through seven years of war, with the amount we spent in Iraq and Afghanistan coming very close to the trillion dollar budget deficit we faced. There had been President George W. Bush's dramatic Medicare entitlement expansion, tax cuts that were also unpaid for, and a sense that this middle-aged empire was beginning to lose its way.

In 2010, Americans gyrated, voting like the flapping screen door in a squall line, returning the U.S. House to GOP control, and almost the U.S. Senate, had it not been for the failed, gadfly candidacies of Sharon Angle, Joe Miller and Christine O'Donnell.

The masses were dividing themselves, watching only Fox News or MSNBC, depending on which one reinforced your political posture. And people were self-segregating, moving



into like-minded congressional districts.

In a 2006 study by Nolan McCarty of Princeton University, Keith T. Poole of the University of California and San Diego and Howard Rosenthal of New York University, studied the historically low levels of competition in congressional elections. This is especially true of elections to the House of Representatives where 99% of incumbent members standing for reelection were successful in the 2002 and 2004 elections. In the swing to the Democrats in 2006, no individual Democrats were defeated and even 89% percent of standing Republicans were reelected. Given the conjunction of these two patterns, it seems natural to draw a link, namely, the increased polarization of Congress is a direct result of the increasing ease of reelection. Presumably in an era of declining competition politicians no longer feel the need to reach out to moderate and independent voters to win elections. Instead politicians are free to pander to their ideological and partisan base.

In their book "The Big Sort: Why the Clustering of Like-Minded America Is Tearing Us Apart" by Bill Bishop with Robert G. Cushing, they compared the presidential elections of 1976 and 2004. In 1976, the year in the post-war era when the average American was most likely to live alongside people of the opposing political party, barely 26 percent of us lived in counties that went in a landslide for one presidential candidate or another. In 1992, nearly 38 percent of us lived in a "landslide county." By 2004, nearly 50 percent did.

Bishop and Cushing noted that we can no longer even agree on what used to be called facts. Conservatives watch Fox; liberals watch MSNBC. Blogs and RSS feeds now make it easy to produce and inhabit a cultural universe tailored to fit your social values, your musical preferences,

your view on every single political issue. We're bowling alone – or at least only with people who resemble us, and agree with us, in nearly every conceivable way.

In January 2009, surveying the colossal mess left behind by the Bush/Cheney presidency, I predicted that Barack Obama would likely not be reelected. He acknowledged as much a few weeks later on the Today Show, saying that if his stimulus package failed, "I'll be a one-term president."

Unlike the months following President Reagan's election, when dozens of Democrats joined Republicans in voting for the 1981 tax cuts, President Obama and the two Congresses that followed became equally polarized. Nothing big passed without straight, partyline votes. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell neatly summed up the priority: "The single most important thing we want to achieve is for President Obama to be a one-term president."

So much for laying down politics for the national interest and crafting legislation to create jobs. Washington operated like a corporation with its eye solely on the quarterly report, and little beyond.

Here in Indiana, Republican Senate nominee Richard Mourdock articulated the polarization by saying, "I get criticized for it but I often say it's bipartisanship that's taken us to the brink of bankruptcy and we don't need bipartisanship."

The two sides of the ship of state are rowing against each other, conversing about it only with those with which they agree. As the economy stagnates, neither of the dug-in sides will get things moving. A house divided . . .



The columnist publishes at www.howeypolitics.com. Find him on Twitter @hwypol.

Obama, from page 1

since that convention. I'm no longer just the candidate, I'm the president."

Obama reminded voters that he made the decision to eliminate Osama bin Laden and said that America is now importing 1 million barrels of oil less than when he took office. He reminded them that he has raised car efficiency standards to 54 mpg.

But the president did not mention the controversial aspects of his presidency. The stimulus package and Obamacare were not broached in his speech, though they were touchstones for virulent GOP criticism a week earlier in Tampa. Obama seemed to rely on former President Bill Clinton's speech Wednesday night that touched on some of the policy issues he avoided Thursday.

But he tried to make the case of staying the path.

"Now, I've cut taxes for those who need it – middle-class families and small businesses," he said. "But I don't believe that another round of tax breaks for millionaires will bring good jobs to our shores, or pay down our deficit. I don't believe that firing teachers or kicking students off financial aid will grow the economy, or help us compete with the scientists and engineers coming out of China. After all that we've been through, I don't believe that rolling back regulations on Wall Street will help the small businesswoman expand, or the laid-off construction worker keep his home."

And Obama tried to make the case that he needs more time to rectify a stubborn economy that still has the U.S. jobless rate at 8.1%. No president has been reelected with the jobless rate so high. "I won't pretend the path I'm offering is quick or easy. I never have. You didn't elect me to tell you what you wanted to hear," the president said. "You elected me to tell you the truth. And the



truth is, it will take more than a few years for us to solve challenges that have built up over decades. But know this, America: Our problems can be solved. Our challenges can be met. The path we offer may be harder, but it leads to a better place."

As Romney did a week earlier, Obama posed the Nov. 6 election as a "clear choice" between two widely different paths.

Obama chided the Republicans, saying, "Now, our friends at the Republican convention were more than happy to talk about everything they think is wrong with America, but they didn't have much to say about how they'd make it right. They want your vote, but they don't want you to know their plan. And that's because all they have to offer is the same prescription they've had for the last 30 years: Have a surplus? Try a tax cut. Deficit too high? Try another. Feel a cold coming on? Take two tax cuts, roll back some regulations, and call us in the morning!"

Obama offered few policy specifics and he appeared to rely on Clinton - a former rival during the 2008 campaign when he ran against Hillary Clinton - for offering the nuts and bolts defense.

Clinton said Wednesday, "I had the same thing happen in 1994 and early '95. We could see that the policies were working, that the economy was growing. But most people didn't feel it yet. Thankfully, by 1996 the economy was roaring, everybody felt it, and we were half-way through the longest peacetime expansion in the history of the United States. But -- wait, wait. The difference this time is purely in the circumstances. President Obama started with a much weaker economy than I did. Listen to me, now. No president -- no president, not me, not any of my predecessors, no one could have fully repaired all the damage that he found in just four years."

Clinton added, "During this period -- during this period, more than 500,000 manufacturing jobs have been created under President Obama. That's the first time manufacturing jobs have increased since the 1990s. And I'll tell you something else. The auto industry restructuring worked. It saved -- it saved more than a million jobs, and not just at GM, Chrysler and their dealerships but in auto parts manufacturing all over the country. That's why even

the automakers who weren't part of the deal supported it. They needed to save those parts suppliers too. Like I said, we're all in this together. So what's happened? There are now 250,000 more people working in the auto industry than on the day the companies were restructured."

Clinton added, "So -- now, we all know that Governor Romney opposed the plan to save GM and Chrysler. So here's another job score. Are you listening in Michigan and Ohio and across the country? Here -- here's another job score: Obama, 250,000; Romney, zero."



The Clinton speech was so effective, it underscored what legendary Republican L. Keith Bulen said in the late 1990s during Clinton's second term when asked about him. "Best politician I've ever seen, heard or dreamed of," Bulen observed.

Obama seemed a little more subdued than the rhetorical flourishes that marked his epic 2008 march to the White House.

But Obama, his wife and Bill Clinton did what they needed to do this week: stoke the base and make a plea to independents who will likely decide this cliffhanger.

Any boost Obama gets could be tempered by this morning's federal jobs report, with the 96,000 new jobs providing fodder for his critics who maintain he has been ineffective in managing the economy. And it could be further impacted by Bob Woodward's appearance on CBS and "60 Minutes" Sunday night when he discusses his book, "The Price of Politics," which chronicles President Obama's contentious and still unresolved fiscal policy battle with congressional Republicans that dominated the White House agenda for nearly all of 2011. ❖



Social media analysis reveals Senate race trends

By **CHRISTINE MATTHEWS**

WASHINGTON - While many of you were on vacation or at the pool during the month of August, we were hard at work capturing online conversations, tweets, Facebook posts, blog comments, and news coverage of the candidates for U.S. Senate and governor. Today we highlight some of the initial findings from our Indiana Bellwether Barometer project sponsored by Eli Lilly & Company through their social media platform, LillyPad

Indiana Bellwether Barometer
Howey Politics Indiana



September 7, 2012

[See Matthews column on HPI website]. This Indiana social media monitoring project began in early August and will continue through the election. We consider this project – unique, we believe, at the state level – to be a work in progress and we will likely refine how we report and present our findings.

In this installment, we take a look at what people were saying or writing online about the U.S. Senate candidates each week in August up to Labor Day.

Making news in August were several polls that showed an essentially tied Indiana U.S. Senate race, the first of which was a Rasmussen poll on August 3rd, followed by an internal Donnelly poll around August 8th. Both Republican Richard Mourdock and Democrat Joe Donnelly saw an increase in online mentions, spiking on August 10th, as a result of these polls.

These are the key themes surrounding conversation and coverage of Joe Donnelly and Richard Mourdock for the first full week of August:

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (155)

Bipartisanship & work with both parties dead heat Holland, Salinas and tracking Lugarites for Donnelly Mourdock's "my way or highway" Rasmussen, polling **Richard Mourdock** Support middle class Sustainable Social Security, Medicare Todd Akin

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (181)

Club for Growth and FreedomWorks dead heat Holland, Salinas and tracking **Joe Donnelly** Mitt Romney Tea Party

The embarrassing incident of the NRSC tracker mistaking Marion County Judge Jose Salinas for Democrat Joe Donnelly was another early August theme connected negatively to Richard Mourdock and in posts about Joe Donnelly.

Joe Donnelly's message of bipartisanship and willingness to work with both parties and his initial TV ads characterizing Mourdock's approach as "my way or the highway" also break through online conversation about the candidates in early August.



The online conversation quiets down and builds up again with the mid-August news coverage of Richard Mourdock and the 17th Amendment (which provides for the direct election of U.S. Senators). Richard Mourdock's name was mentioned in association with others who have floated the idea of repealing the 17th Amendment ("Seventeenthers") such as Arizona Rep. Jeff Flake and Missouri Senate candidate Todd Akin .

The 17th Amendment discussion is very significant in connection with Richard Mourdock during the weeks of August 13 and into the week of August 20th.

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (96)

17th Amendment dead heat **Jeff Flake (17th Amendment)** Joe Donnelly Justice Antonin Scalia **Todd Akin**

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (77)

17th Amendment Holland, Salinas and tracking **Jeff Flake (17th Amendment)** Repeal of Obamacare **Social Security, Medicare unconstitutional Tea Party Todd Akin**

Conversation about Joe Donnelly dramatically falls back during the week of August 13th, and nearly all of the low level of buzz centers around the polls released by The Indiana Chamber of Commerce and a group supporting Donnelly, Majority PAC, which continue to show a dead heat.

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (22)

dead heat Rasmussen, polling Richard Mourdock



On August 19th, Missouri Republican Senate Candidate Todd Akin made comments about rape and conception and the online dialogue blows up. We see the biggest spike in mentions for both Richard Mourdock and Joe Donnelly on August 21st and August 22nd as blog posts, tweets, and articles widely denounce Todd Akin's comments and speculate about what they could mean for Republican attitudes in general and Tea Party candidates in particular. As Republican party leaders may have feared, Todd Akin's comments seep well beyond his race and dominate the conversation in other races, such as this one, during the end of August.

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (89)

Abortion and redefinition of rape Bipartisanship & work with both parties dead heat Lugarites for Donnelly **Matter of criminal law Pro-life conservatives Rasmussen, polling Todd Akin**

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (77)

17th Amendment Holland, Salinas and tracking **Jeff Flake (17th Amendment)** Repeal of Obamacare **Social Security, Medicare unconstitutional Tea Party Todd Akin**

The Republican convention in Tampa, which Richard Mourdock did not attend, dominates coverage for the final week of August.

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (62)

attack bipartisanship Gregg health care law Joe Donnelly May primary Obamacare RNC for Life approval Social Security, Medicare unconstitutional

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (52)

Abortion and redefinition of rape Bipartisanship & work with both parties debt family **Mike Pence** Obamacare Richard Mourdock same time Sustainable Social Security, Medicare **Walorski**

Joe Donnelly is mentioned barely at all online during this week. Jackie Walorski, who is seeking Donnelly's open congressional seat and spoke at the Republican National Convention, got some online buzz and Joe Donnelly's name was mentioned in articles about her. Because there were so few mentions, our sentiment analysis was more neutral in tone (gray) rather than negative (red) during this week. Buzz about Richard Mourdock started out nearly as low, but spiked on August 31st where the issue of partisanship versus bipartisanship flared up again as Mourdock released a video in which Lt. Governor Becky Skillman says that he will work with both sides while Donnelly allies swatted it down.

August produced four polls showing the Indiana



Republican Senate nominee Richard Mourdock is shown in a video in Madison, Ind., questioning the constitutionality of Medicare and Social Security. A Democratic tracker took the video.

U.S. Senate race tied, despite a significant partisan advantage for Republicans leading up to the 2012 election. Social media analysis is not polling, but serves as a useful complement to polling. In this case, what we are seeing indicates that Joe Donnelly has had success thus far in casting himself as someone who is not a partisan Democrat in a state that has retrenched since 2008 as a reliably Republican state likely to support Mitt Romney by a comfortable margin over Barack Obama.

Richard Mourdock is still fighting the perception that he is overly partisan and narrowly focused on Tea Party interests. Also troubling is that conversation about Richard Mourdock has been sidelined by issues like the 17th Amendment and Todd Akin and what is truly shocking is that the issue of jobs and the economy are not themes associated with either candidate, at this point. Right now, the conversation seems to be centered around who is extreme versus who is mainstream and that is not benefitting Richard Mourdock and is a likely explanation for why the race is knotted up.

We'll field our first Howey-DePauw general election poll later this month and we plan to build on these insights in a quantifiable way, but we will also continue our social media monitoring project each week through the election. Next week, we'll update the conversation about the U.S. Senate candidates and will report our findings for the gubernatorial candidates. ❖

Matthews is president and CEO of Bellwether Research based in Washington, D.C. She is a native of Kokomo and a graduate of Indiana University at Bloomington.



Lilly & social media

By **BART PETERSON**

Social media, and its variety of platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Foursquare and many others is becoming an increasingly important vehicle as a method for people across the globe to connect and to gather their news and opinion forming information. Moreover, we are seeing social media become a more reliable, trusted source of information and it is shaping public opinion in ways never seen before in our society. For the last several years, Lilly has been on the forefront of these important social media trends in order to help us shape a pro-biomedical innovation environment in the United States and right here in our home state of Indiana. We launched "LillyPad" in 2010 as our social media platform from which we have engaged many of our key projects.

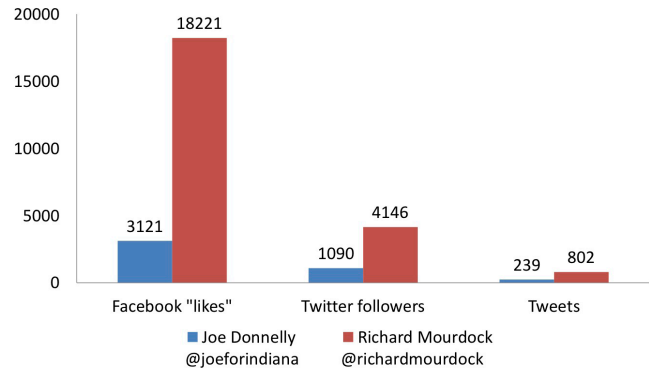
It is against this backdrop that Lilly is proud to sponsor the Indiana Bellwether Barometer, which will run throughout the fall and 2012 and accompany the Howey-Depauw Indiana Battleground Poll.

Monitoring social media activity is not unique, but the effort being undertaken by the Indiana Bellwether Barometer is much more comprehensive than any of the other monitoring efforts that we are aware of. The Bellwether Barometer will monitor all social media activity as well as the impact on, and coverage by, the traditional media. The Indiana Bellwether Barometer will track all media interactions and coverage in the races for Indiana's United States Senate seat and the Indiana Governors race. Through that tracking, we will learn more about how voters are getting their information and ultimately how they are making decisions about which candidate they plan to support based on that information.

We all know that the way in which we communicate, the way we gather information and the way we share that information is changing at almost the speed of light. Lilly is sponsoring this project not because we support any individual candidate over another, but rather because we think the lessons we will learn are vital in understanding how we as a state can build community consensus. And we believe that building community consensus is vital as we address the many challenges we face here in Indiana. ❖

Peterson is Senior Vice President, Corporate Affairs Eli Lilly and Company

U.S. Senate candidates on social media*



*as of 4pm, September 6, 2012

Richard Mourdock August 6 – August 12, 2012

Tag Cloud Documents

Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (181)

Club for Growth and FreedomWorks **dead heat** -Holand, Salinas and tracking **Joe Donnelly** Mitt Romney Tea Party

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data

Joe Donnelly August 6 – August 12, 2012

Tag Cloud Documents

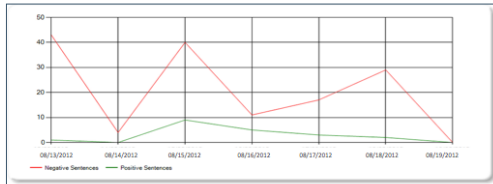
Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (155)

Bipartisanship & work with both parties **dead heat** -Holand, Salinas and tracking Lugar/Griffis for Donnelly Mourdock's "my way or highway" Rasmussen, polling **Richard Mourdock** Support middle class Sustainable Social Security, Medicare Todd Allen

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data



Richard Mourdock August 13 – August 19, 2012



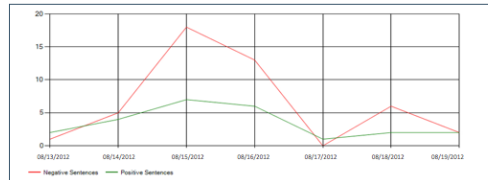
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17th Amendment dead heat **Jeff Flake (17th Amendment)** Joe Donnelly Justice Antonin Scalia **Todd Akin**

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data



Joe Donnelly August 13 – August 19, 2012



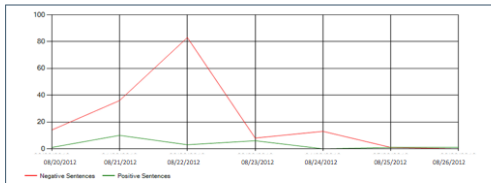
Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (22)

dead heat **Rasmussen, polling** **Richard Mourdock**

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data



Richard Mourdock August 20 – August 26, 2012



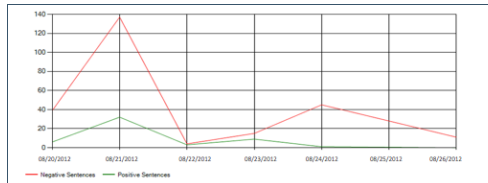
Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (77)

17th Amendment Historical, Bipartisanship and reaching **Jeff Flake (17th Amendment)** Repeat of Obamacare Social Security, Medicare unconstitutional **Tea Party Todd Akin**

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data



Joe Donnelly August 20 – August 26, 2012



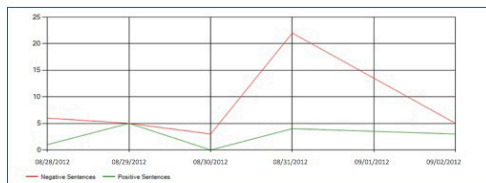
Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (89)

Abortion and redefinition of rape Bipartisanship & work with both parties dead heat **Legislator for Donnelly, matter of criminal law** **Pro-life conservatives** Rasmussen, polling **Todd Akin**

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data



Richard Mourdock August 27 – September 2, 2012



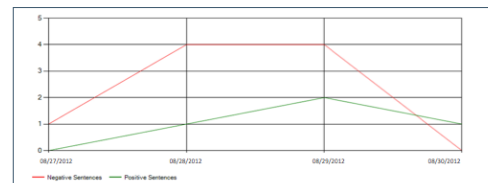
Categories in the same documents as Richard Mourdock (62)

attack bipartisanship Gregg health care law **Joe Donnelly** May primary **Obamacare RNC for Life approval Social Security, Medicare unconstitutional**

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data



Joe Donnelly August 27 – September 2, 2012



Categories in the same documents as Joe Donnelly (52)

Abortion and redefinition of rape Bipartisanship & work with both parties debt family **Mike Pence** Obamacare Richard Mourdock same time **Sustainable Social Security, Medicare** **Walorski**

Based on analysis of Aquity4Social data





Mourdock begins backtracking on his attacks on bipartisanship

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – With every public survey since the May primary repeatedly showing Republican U.S. Senate nominee Richard Mourdock in a dead heat with Democrat Joe Donnelly, the Indiana treasurer has taken on a remake of his battered image.



In a new TV ad featuring popular Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman, the Mourdock campaign is now insisting that, as Skillman says, "Washington could use a little Hoosier common sense. Richard is a great teammate. He'll work with both Republicans and Democ-

crats."

And Mourdock wrote an op-ed article for the Indianapolis Business Journal explaining that "it's the Hoosier way to compromise." He explained, "Most Hoosiers honestly struggle with the question of whether we need to get tough on Washington and firmly stand our ground against business as usual, or 'compromise' and strike the middle ground. It's a fair and natural dilemma. I find instruction in this regard from what we just accomplished here in Indiana with my partners, Governor Mitch Daniels, Lt. Governor Becky Skillman and a bipartisan legislature."

He pointed to his early career when he was the only Republican on the Vanderburgh County Commission, "working with my colleagues to turn riverboat gambling revenue into an innovative welfare-to-work program. It was a terrific example of cooperation and bipartisanship at the local level and it served our Evansville area well. That's the Hoosier way to compromise, so I will work with any

member of any party who wants to move our nation forward just as we have here in Indiana. On the other hand, I'll never compromise my Hoosier values to individuals in Washington who think that Indiana has it wrong."

The problem is that until now, the key premise of the Mourdock campaign is that he is an ardent foe of "bipartisanship."

On the morning after his stunning landslide upset of U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar, Mourdock appeared with Gov. Mitch Daniels and Skillman at Republican headquarters. HPI asked Mourdock about bipartisanship. Is there a time when he believes he can reach out across the aisle to Democrats?

"Sure," Mourdock responded. "There is always a time for compromise on issues, but not on principle. The idea that compromise is based on principle usually leads to a discussion of bipartisanship. I recognize there are times when our country is incredibly polarized in that political sense. Right now is one of those times. The leadership of the Republican Party and the leadership of the Democratic Party are not going to be able to reach compromise on big issues because they are so far apart in principle. My idea of bipartisanship going forward is to make sure that we have such a Republican majority in the U.S. House and U.S. Senate and in the White House, that if there's going to be bipartisanship, it's going to be Democrats coming our way,

instead of them trying to pull Republicans their way."

An hour later, Donnelly told HPI, "He said he's for bipartisanship as long as Republicans get what they want. That's like the kid who comes to the park with the ball and bat and says, 'We have to play by my rules or I'm going home.'"

In a new ad by the Democratic Super PAC American Bridges running on behalf of

Donnelly, four video examples of Mourdock's opposition to "bipartisanship" are displayed.

"I get criticized for it but I often say it's bipartisanship that's taken us to the brink of bankruptcy and we don't need bipartisanship," Mourdock says in the first clip.

Just hours after he scored his upset landslide, Mourdock told Chuck Todd on MSNBC's Morning Rundown, "I'll be happy to keep bipartisanship when the Democrats come and join us." The full context of those remarks on





MSNBC was this: "I certainly think bipartisanship ought to consist of Democrats coming to the Republican point of view. If we [win the House, Senate, and White House], bipartisanship means they have to come our way, and if we're successful in getting the numbers, we'll work toward that."

In another CNN interview right after the primary, Mourdock explained, "What I've said is bipartisanship is when Democrats come over to the Republican point of view."

And in the final clip, WTHR-TV anchor John Stehr asked Mourdock how he would operate in the Senate. "Well, it's clear over the last few years there's very little room for compromise between Republicans that are there now and the Democrats."

American Bridge spokesman Chris Harris said the ad is not being run on broadcast or cable TV, though he added, "I can't speak to what other groups will choose to put into paid media, but we'll be working closely to ensure they have the research and tracking video they need."

In an April meeting with the Indianapolis Star editorial board, Mourdock was asked if he could work with Democrats. "Compromise is not a sign of a lack of conviction," he began. "This is a comment that I will see in some grainy TV commercial in the future, but I've said this many times. Frankly, it's bipartisanship that has brought us to the brink of bankruptcy. We need less bipartisanship and we need a greater sense of standing by principle of we don't spend more than we take in."

Murdock characterized the current state of affairs in the Senate by saying that if the Democrats propose \$500 billion we don't have in spending and the Republicans say "no, no that's horrible" and counter with \$300 billion, they end up "compromising by spending \$400 billion we don't have. I don't think that's moving the country in the right direction."

"Where was the call for bipartisanship when Obamacare was passed?" Mourdock continued. "Not a single Republican voted for Obamacare. It was simply power politics."

Beginning with the March 26-27 Howey/DePauw

Indiana Battleground Poll, the first general head-to-heads emerged with Lugar leading Donnelly 50-29% while Mourdock and Donnelly were tied at 35%. Since the primary, an array of polls ranging from the conservative Rasmussen Reports to Market Research for the Indiana Chamber have all shown the Senate race in a dead heat, with independent voters deciding the outcome.

In an April 30/May 1 Howey/DePauw Poll sampling of GOP primary voters and some independents who could have voted in the Republican primary, pollsters Fred Yang and Christine Matthews asked: "Which statement better describes your view?" with 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.

Yang, the Democratic pollster from Garin-Hart-Yang Research Group, observed, "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).

Murdock's stance against bipartisanship worked in the primary. But it has dubious implications in the general, something that has finally dawned on Team Mourdock.

As the National Journal's Kevin Brennan observed after the Skillman ad began airing, "The ad represents a clear change in tone from the Mourdock campaign. Mourdock's anti-compromise rhetoric didn't end with his primary victory. Mourdock's change of heart could have something to do with a series of television ads run by Donnelly, painting the state treasurer as the "My Way or the Highway"



Club for Growth began its fall campaign on behalf of Richard Mourdock, spending \$800,000 in a statewide TV blitz painting Joe Donnelly has a "classic liberal."



candidate in the race. While most analysts initially gave Donnelly little chance against Mourdock in the solidly red Hoosier state, the Democrat has found success appealing to independents and moderate Republicans, some of whom may have been turned off by Mourdock's attacks against Lugar during the primary campaign. Recent polling has shown the race within the margin of error, and Mourdock appears to have decided he finally needs to pivot back to the center to hold off Donnelly. Another interesting aspect of Mourdock's new ad is the use of the relatively low-profile Skillman as a surrogate."

After the May MSNBC interview, Washington Post blogger Greg Sargent wrote in his Plum Line blog, "What I think is interesting about this is that, by most accounts, Mourdock isn't really part of the crazy faction of Republican politics. A recent New York Times profile compares him more to Utah Senator Mike Lee than to flaky and failed 2010 nominees Sharron Angle and Christine O'Donnell. That is, Mourdock is part of the new normal in Republican politics, and that's a 'normal' that utterly rejects the notion that any cooperation between the parties is possible – that is, without the other party's abject capitulation."

Sargent added, "As I've argued, the problem with the Republican Party – the problem that Tom Mann and Norm Ornstein write about in their new diagnosis of dysfunction, "It's Even Worse Than It Looks" – isn't that many of today's Republicans are extraordinarily conservative. It's that they reject the kinds of co-operation and compromise with their opponents that a Madisonian system depends upon. What's depressing about Mourdock's quote is that it's not about conservative policy positions or philosophy. It's all about partisan polarization, almost as a primary goal in and of itself – a goal that is now commonly aspired to even by mainstream Republicans. If their most important project during the Obama era has been to make the political system more dysfunctional than ever, that project took another step forward yesterday."

And Indianapolis Star columnist Matt Tully observed, "If I had to pinpoint the moment at which I went from thinking Richard Mourdock would be an ineffective senator to a downright disaster, it was probably when he answered a question this spring about his top goals for the Senate. The Republican Senate nominee told several reporters and editors that day that if he were a member of the Senate next year but in the minority, his top goal would be to travel the nation campaigning for fellow conservative candidates. The answer was as petty as it was depressingly political and partisan. And it underscored Mourdock's deep misunderstanding of the responsibilities and power every senator has – even those in the minority."

Can Mourdock's pivot on bipartisanship save his campaign? Voters are a skeptical lot these days, particularly the independent voters Mourdock needs to win on Nov. 6.

He already had the Tea Party faction in his pocket. He failed to temper his stances after the primary, steadfastly clinging to the rhetoric that brought him victory even though only a little more than 10% of all Hoosier voters were responsible for his landslide.

Murdock can try and make the case he'll work with Democrats, but it flies in the face of his own words, all there forever on the World Wide Web.

Howey Politics Indiana's Horse Race lists the Mourdock/Donnelly race a "Tossup." Additional Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground polls will be conducted in late September and late October.

Governor: Gregg begins 3rd ad

Democrat John Gregg took another shot at Republican Mike Pence, using his pastor in Sandborn to make the point in his third TV ad. Like his previous two ads, the spot, titled "Two Kinds," is set in Gregg's hometown and features his friends and neighbors from the town. This ad heightens the contrast with Congressman Mike Pence, as Gregg compares the congressman to another kind of public servant, Sandborn's preacher, Bryan Sanders.

In the ad, Gregg discusses how Bryan is a public servant in the best sense of the word. He is always working to help his church and his community, and he is never truly "off the clock." He gets paid next to nothing, but he doesn't do it for the money; he does it because of his devotion to his faith and his community.



Gregg says that "Congressman Pence, however, is a different story." Gregg points out in the ad that Pence gets paid \$174,000 per year by the taxpayers, but seems to be putting in a little less work than Bryan. Pence didn't show up to 86% of his committee votes this year, and hasn't help pass a single bill. As Gregg says, "loafers at the Blue Jay wish they had Mike's job." The ad shows that the people of Sandborn are Hoosiers who believe in hard work,



and taking public service seriously.

Campaign Manager Rebecca Pearcey said, "The ad is another example of the values that John grew up with in Sandborn. Unfortunately Mike Pence's record in Congress shows that he doesn't take his job working for the people of Indiana quite as seriously. If he did, he would probably have at least one accomplishment to show for his time in Washington."

Pence campaign officials have told HPI that many of the votes Gregg is citing occur in the House Judiciary Committee, which they term as one of the "most political" in Congress. Show votes there are frequent. The Pence campaign also says that Pence has worked on dozens of bills that have passed into law, often working behind the scenes.

The Pence campaign is currently airing its seventh ad, featuring wife Karen, a school teacher, talking about education. Gregg took a shot at Pence on that front, saying that Pence has opposed Pell Grants. According to a report by the Education Trust, those votes would have caused over 1 million students to lose Pell Grants over the next 10 years (Huffington Post, 3/27/12). When asked about his votes against Pell Grants, Pence replied that they did not fit into his view of the "larger economic picture" and that they were not "fiscally responsible" (Courier Press, 8/23/12).

"**Congressman Pence** cannot have it both ways," said Daniel Altman, communications director for Gregg for Governor. "Despite what he says while running for governor, his 12-year record in Congress shows that he has voted time and again against Indiana students. For many students Pell Grants will make up the bulk of their funding for college. Mike Pence's vote to take away that funding shows that either he does not understand the financial reality many students are facing, or he just does not care. Hoosiers deserve a governor who will actually work to make college more affordable and create jobs for young Hoosier."

In a weekend story that ran in numerous newspaper and TV websites, reporter Tom LoBianco of the Associated Press observed: Pence says the iron fist of the federal government, with its freedom-crushing mandates, has no place in Indiana, except for when the government is ordering drivers to put Hoosier corn in their cars. Pence told a crowd of energy leaders last week that his energy plan for Indiana includes a vigorous fight against new regulations on coal-fired power plants. He has answered questions about how he would implement the new health care law by saying he would fight the federal mandate. And, if elected in November, Pence said he would restructure the office Gov. Mitch Daniels used to lobby for federal tax dollars into one dedicated to fighting government mandates. Unless, of course, that mandate is the one requiring 36 billion gallons of ethanol to be blended into gasoline each year. Pence

said the difference between a "good" mandate and a "bad" one depends on whether it supports Indiana businesses. "Obviously, we go on an issue-by-issue basis," he said after his talk at the Indiana Chamber of Commerce's annual energy conference. "My view is always going to bring a bias toward what's in the best interest of Hoosiers, what's in the best interest for Hoosier prosperity. My perspective is ethanol adds to our local economies.... If we can open up more access to consumers for biofuels and ethanol, that would be a positive."

The Evansville Courier & Press reported that Pence is open to reevaluating the Rockport coal-gasification plant if he's elected governor, but he will only do so if Indiana lawmakers ask him. He said so in an effort to clarify comments he made indicating he was open to changes related to the plant. Pence now says he would not seek to re-open the state's contract with the plant's developers from an administrative standpoint, so any changes would have to come from the General Assembly. After the Courier & Press reported that Pence had said he is open to re-evaluating the project, he sent a letter seeking to clarify his position. "I am open-minded about the issues surrounding the project, but it is important to state that I have no intention of revisiting the contract as an administrative matter," Pence wrote in the letter. "The state of Indiana currently has a binding contract to purchase gas from the Rockport plant, and as governor, I plan to honor this and all binding contracts. I understand that there are Hoosiers who support the Rockport gasification plant, and those who oppose it. I am committed to working with all of them on the future of this project, while honoring the commitments the state has already made."

And there was more reporting on Pence's relative silence on social issues. NWI Times' Dan Carden recalled Pence's Values Voter Summit speech last year when he said, "We must not remain silent while great moral battles are being waged."

"**We're going to dig in** and we're going to fight for the principle that taxpayers should not have to subsidize the largest abortion provider in the country," Pence said on MSNBC. That Mike Pence, the warrior for social issues, seems to have abandoned his great moral battle as he runs for governor of Indiana. On the campaign trail, from Lake County to the Louisville area, Pence speaks only of employment and education. Even when directly asked what happened to his past unrelenting focus on social issues, Pence returns to those two subjects. "People know I'm a conservative and I've embraced a conservative viewpoint throughout my public life in various roles, but I think this election is about jobs and schools," Pence said.

For a brief moment in his June speech accepting the Republican nomination for governor, Pence sounded like his old self telling Hoosiers, "Our present crisis is not



just economic and political, but moral." But in the past three months, Pence has released no plans to address Indiana's alleged moral crisis and told reporters in August he was merely speaking of the need to strengthen Hoosier families. "I am who I am and I hold the views I hold, but if I have the privilege of being governor of the state of Indiana, we're going to make job creation job one," Pence said. "We're going to focus on getting this economy moving again."

Gregg told the Times that running against Pence makes him feel like a game warden. "I'm chasing a leopard that's changing his spots. You just can't all of a sudden say you're about jobs and disregard your past. Hoosiers need to see what he's really about," Gregg said.

The Pence campaign Tuesday announced that he was endorsed by the Indiana State Police Alliance PAC. "Mike Pence's vision and plans for Indiana speak strongly to our members, who voted overwhelmingly to support him as Indiana's next governor," said Wayne Flick, executive director of the Indiana State Police Alliance PAC. "We look forward to working with Mike Pence in the future to continue to make Indiana a better and safer place to live.

Finally, the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette reported that Pence is opposed to "zippiness." While discussing options for Indiana's state parks Tuesday, Pence made clear he wasn't really a fan of the zip line phenomenon. "Having gone on the zip line at the Super Bowl, I have mixed emotions about zip lines, at least my personal involvement in zip lines," he said. "My kids loved it. Karen loved it, but I had a different opinion."

U.S. Senate: Donnelly skips DNC

The Democratic National Convention began Tuesday, but the party's Indiana Senate candidate isn't joining his colleagues in Charlotte, N.C. (Allen, South Bend Tribune). Donnelly, D-Granger, thought it was more important to spend the week in the state where he's trying to win a Senate seat that Republicans have held for the past 35 years. "I've got better things to do than go down there," Donnelly told an Indianapolis television station Tuesday. "I've got a chance to be here in Indiana." On Monday, Donnelly campaigned at Labor Day events throughout southern Indiana. On Tuesday, he spoke at Ivy Tech Community College in Indianapolis. His wife, Jill, is attending the convention and addressed Indiana delegates Wednesday morning.

A spokesman for Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock, the Republican candidate for the Senate, said Donnelly is just trying to distance himself from President Barack Obama. "To kind of distance himself now and act like he's not a Democrat is an unfortunate, cynical exercise, and we're not gonna let him get away with it," said Brose McVey, Mourdock's deputy campaign manager. McVey said Donnelly has supported most of Obama's legislative agen-

da, including the \$787 billion economic stimulus package in 2009 and the health care overhaul in 2010. He said Donnelly also has accepted hundreds of thousands of dollars in support from Democratic heavyweights, including Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid. Donnelly's campaign responded that his record shows he's been an independent moderate during his three terms in Congress. For example, Donnelly opposed Obama on the issue of cap and trade, and he has supported extending the lower, Bush-era tax rates for Americans at all income levels. "Joe has opposed the president more than 30 percent of the time and broke with his party more than all but six Democrats in Congress," Elizabeth Shappell, Donnelly's communications director, wrote in an e-mail.

Donnelly's campaign cited Mourdock's newest ad touting Indiana's economic successes and asking voters if they are better off than they were four years ago. "It's rich that the man who tried to single-handedly destroy over 100,000 jobs in our state is now touting Indiana's economic successes," said Elizabeth Shappell, Donnelly communications director. "Joe Donnelly fought tooth and nail to save those jobs, while Richard Mourdock fought to destroy the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Hoosier families. Mr. Mourdock, the truth matters. And the truth is, you don't have the record to talk about job creation here in Indiana."

Donnelly also assailed Mourdock over education cuts. Appearing at Ivy Tech in Indianapolis, Donnelly toured its adult high school program, technology building, and new culinary school. "Hoosier schools like Ivy Tech serve our state by giving students of all ages the tools they need to compete," said Donnelly. "That is why I am a strong supporter of Indiana educators and institutions: they allow us to be prepared to get and keep good-paying jobs so we can take care of our families and retire with dignity. Richard Mourdock wants to cut billions of dollars from Hoosier students and schools. In this challenging economy, we should be investing in the workforce, not eliminating opportunities to get good educations, or learn new skills, or train for a new career. Mourdock's 'my way or the highway' approach puts politics over people." Richard Mourdock's extreme agenda would eliminate all education aid including college financial aid and education aid to local communities, which could raise property taxes dramatically. If Mourdock couldn't get his way, he would start with draconian education cuts that would lay off teachers and hurt preschool students and students with special needs, leaving local cities and towns to pick up the bill." **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

2nd CD: Walorski is back on attack

Republican Jackie Walorski has fired another salvo in the race for Indiana's 2nd District seat in the U.S. House



of Representatives (Vandenack, Elkhart Truth). In a new television ad released Wednesday, her fourth, several "local residents in candid street interviews" – that's how a Walorski press release put it – sound off against Democrat Brendan Mullen. Most notably, they criticize his links to Washington, D.C., and absence from Indiana until moving back here in 2011. "I don't understand how Brendan Mullen can actually represent us when he doesn't even live here," says one resident, identified as Donna of New Carlisle. Mullen left South Bend, where he grew up, to attend the U.S. Military Academy, and on graduating in 2001, he spent five years in the U.S. Army until 2006. He then lived for five years in the nation's capital, moving back to the South Bend area on announcing his bid for the 2nd District seat. He now lives with his wife and two kids in Granger. "He hasn't raised his family here. What does he know about this area?" asks Doug of Granger, also in the Walorski ad. The Mullen campaign fired back, charging Walorski in a press release with being "negative, nasty and mean spirited." "Hoosiers are tired of the constant smears and lies from career politician Jackie Walorski because her partisan tactics are what's made Washington such a mess," Mullen campaign manager Andy Reynolds said in the release. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Walorski

6th CD: Bookout faces foreclosure

Democrat Brad Bookout, who hopes to win election to a U.S. House seat long held by Republicans, got a dose of "real life" last week, when a New Castle bank filed a mortgage foreclosure suit against the candidate, family members and their business, Bookout Builders, the Muncie Star Press reported. Bookout, a candidate for the seat soon to be vacated by Mike Pence, has landed on his feet professionally. He's holding down economic development jobs that include grant-writing and consulting for city and county government and Energize-ECI. He faces Republican Luke Messer on Nov. 6. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Messer

8th CD: Buchson up on the air

In U.S. Rep. Larry Buchson's first TV ad of the general election campaign, he "willfully deceives Hoosiers and even his own family about his record of voting to end the current Medicare system," Democrat nominee Dave Crooks charged on Wednesday. "Not only did Congressman Buchson vote to cut the same \$500 billion in Medicare that were included in Obamacare, but he shifted the cost burden onto our seniors by ending the current Medicare program and forcing future retirees to pay \$6,400 for their benefits. The truth is that Dave Crooks is the only candidate Hoosiers can trust as an independent voice to protect Medicare and Social Security."

Buchson was honored by the American Farm Bu-

reau Federation, naming him "Friend of the Farm Bureau."
Horse Race Status: Leans Bucshon

Statewides

Contributions from the White family, as in White Lodging Services, continue to roll in for state Superintendent Tony Bennett (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). His latest large contribution report is a \$25,000 gift from Elizabeth E. White, wife of Bruce W. White, chairman and CEO of the company. Bruce White last month contributed \$10,000. His father, Dean White, has given \$125,000 to Bennett. Bruce White is a member of the Purdue board of trustees. Glenda Ritz, Democratic candidate for Indiana superintendent of public instruction, held a press conference in Indianapolis to announce her challenge to incumbent Bennett to hold public debates in each of Indiana's nine congressional districts. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Bennett

Indiana General Assembly

SD30: State Sen. Scott Schneider's TV ads have been on the air since the beginning of August and he hopes to stay on until November. That's unheard of in a race for state Senate and it tells you that Schneider is vulnerable (Shella, WISH-TV). Sen. Schneider is in his first term in the state Senate, a Republican in an area of Marion County that has elected Republicans for decades. Yet the Republican Party is spending big money for the ads. "Well," says Schneider, "it's the only way I know to run a campaign, you know, 110 percent." But it also has something to do with the threat posed by local attorney and Democrat Tim DeLaney. He's the son of state Representative Ed DeLaney and former state Democratic Chairwoman and Indiana Week in Review panelist Ann DeLaney. "Instead of talking about jobs and the economy and education," says DeLaney, "he spent time laboring to get creationism taught in schools as science." Schneider sponsored a creationism bill that was unsuccessful but controversial. "I don't think there's anything wrong with allowing students a full agenda of all different ideas of origins of life," he says, "and yet we find the sort of anti-religious folks getting into a fervor about that." **Horse Race Status:** Leans DeLaney

SD32: Democrat John Barnes outlined his idea to create jobs and rebuild the infrastructure of Indiana. Barnes' proposal is based on providing the resources needed to develop a network of infrastructure efficiently that drives down costs for Hoosier businesses while putting thousands of Hoosiers back to work. "We need to re-energize business in this state and re-engage Hoosier workers," said Barnes. "This proposal does both of these things. Better infrastructure saves time and money for businesses while the jobs provided by these projects will help Hoosier families as they put people back to work." ❖



Mullen hits back at Walorski over his Army service

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - Brendan Mullen counts on his military experience in more ways than one - three ways, in fact - in his race for Congress in Indiana's 2nd District. Mullen is the Democratic nominee in a race with Republican nominee Jackie Walorski.

He counts of course on his military experience as a West Point graduate who served five years as an Army officer, with tours of duty in Iraq and along the DMZ in South Korea, as impressive entries in his candidate bio.



A second way, stressed last week with formation of a campaign support group of veterans and military families, is to attract votes from Republicans as well as Democrats who have served in the military. Mullen also cites military

experience as helping in a third way, planning ahead for possible opposition maneuvers and understanding need to counterattack quickly.

Example:

Walorski hit with the first negative TV ad, denouncing Mullen as a creature of special interests with a "liberal agenda," a Washington "insider" who "owns three homes there" in the city where President Obama and Nancy Pelosi are found.

Mullen had an instant response ready to go on TV.

A fellow West Pointer and Iraq War veteran, a self-identified Republican, was featured in the counterattack, talking about service in Iraq and saying: "When I see Jackie Walorski smear Brendan, who has spent his life defending our country and working for veterans, while Walorski spent hers as a career politician, that's downright un-American. Jackie Walorski ought to be ashamed of herself."

Mullen's TV response was ready to go, even as Walorski initially was on TV with a positive ad, featuring her driving around the district, citing her own background and calling for "working together" and lessening partisanship in Washington.

Any good military officer prepares for an attack that the opposition is expected to launch, Mullen says. "We knew it was going to come," he says. "She is doing exactly what she did in 2010. She did a U-turn with her Honda (driven in the initial ad) at 55 miles an hour in the middle of heavy traffic and went immediately into attack."

By the way, each side says its ad in this exchange isn't negative. And indeed neither is as negative as what is

likely to come from outside PACs.

Mullen, again looking ahead to when and where the opposition will attack, says that a big buy on television by ERICPAC has been scheduled to begin a little later in September. ERICPAC is a PAC counted on by Eric Cantor, the House majority leader, to help retain the GOP majority. It won't exactly be praising Mullen.

Big TV buys indicate that the race is regarded as competitive.

Walorski, an experienced campaigner who came close the last time, in 2010, has long been regarded as a likely winner, especially with redistricting giving the district considerably more Republican flavor. But Mullen, who started with a name recognition problem that caused him to win only narrowly in the Democratic primary, has insisted all along that polls show lingering negative views of Walorski from her past campaigns and that he can pull an upset.

With Mullen still not that well known, Walorski's ad citing "three homes" in Washington attempts to define him as a Washington "insider." Like Eric Cantor? Well, no, an "insider" in such denunciations refers only to someone on the other side.

Mullen says he has three rental apartments in Washington, where he finished military service and lived while establishing a small business helping veterans. One place was his. Another was his future wife's. The other is where they lived after marriage. Now, Mullen, a South Bend native, lives with his wife and two children in Granger.

"If she (Walorski) wants all my past addresses," he says in continued counterattack, "I'll send her my address in Iraq and in Korea."

Mullen seeks to define himself as a "common sense" centrist.

"I'm not a national Democrat," he says. "I'm not an Obama Democrat. I'm a Birch Bayh Democrat."

He seeks identification with Hoosier Democrats who showed an independent streak and attracted some Republican as well as Democratic voters, former Sens. Birch and Evan Bayh and Congressman Joe Donnelly.

Most of all, Mullen counts on his military experience - in three ways. ❖

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



There was a time when Lake County mattered

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – There was a time – and not all that long ago – when Lake County was the nation’s hottest political ticket. It was standing room only.

Today, Lake County is pretty much a political wasteland.

No one any longer seems to care. Is it something we said, something we did?

Prior to the 2008 Democratic presidential primary, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama were spending enough time in Lake County to establish residency. In that heated primary, Lake County quite possibly was going to play a role in deciding the Democratic nomination for president.

Hillary, you may recall, dropped into the bar at Bronko’s restaurant in Crown Point one Saturday night and hoisted a couple beers while the locals crowded

around for photos. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. was at center stage that night, hoping that he could help put Hillary over the top.

Those photos are under glass today at the checkout counter at Bronko’s. While Hillary turned Crown Point – that former bastion of Republicanism – on its head, Obama was doing some wooing of his own.

With Lake County being just a stone’s throw from his home on the south side of Chicago, he was a frequent visitor to Indiana’s most concentrated collection of Democrats.

More often than not, Rudy Clay, who then was county Democratic chairman, greeted Obama at the state line.

It was becoming increasing clear that the Lake County primary vote might dictate which candidate would carry Indiana.

And primary night became a circus.

The rest of the state – and even the nation for that matter – had its eyes glued on Lake County as the Hoosier votes were being counted. And they waited and waited. The fact that Lake County was an hour behind the rest of the state added to the drama. But the votes were coming

out of the Lake County Election Board at a snail’s pace. In fact, it became an embarrassment for Clay, who controlled the election office because he was county chairman.

So slow was the count that McDermott and Clay exchanged blows on CNN late that evening. Neither had a kind word for the other.

When the numbers finally were final, Obama had carried Lake County by 14,000 votes. That wasn’t enough to hand him Indiana, which Hillary won by about 28,000 votes. That wasn’t Lake County’s last appearance in the presidential spotlight.

For the first time in decades, it looked as if Indiana might play a role in the outcome of the presidential election.

As is their custom after a divisive primary, Lake County Democrats kissed and made up. And Obama was the benefactor. Obama scooted in and out of Lake County to keep the Democrats energized for the fall.

And did he ever. On a couple weekends before the fall election, long lines snaked their way through the parking lot at the county government center in Crown Point. People wanted to vote early and Obama was their man.

We didn’t see much of Republican John McCain and Sister Sarah up here that fall. They were too busy courting Joe the Plumber in the swing state of Ohio.

I remember interviewing Republican Gov. Mitch Daniels that fall. It was a given that Daniels would be re-elected. I asked him if Obama could overcome a massive Daniels vote and win. “Sure,” Daniels said, almost suggesting that he expected Obama to carry Indiana.

The Friday before the election, Obama spoke at an outdoor rally at Wicker Park in Highland. Lake County delivered that fall, giving Obama a 71,000-vote plurality to help him carry Indiana by 28,000 votes. Daniels was elected by 481,000 votes over Jill Long, showing a massive cross-over for Obama.

Neither Obama nor Mitt Romney is paying any attention to Indiana this

year, pretty much indicating that the state will slide back to the red column where it always has been since 1968 except for four years ago.

But if Indiana is going to make a charge for Obama, it will be up to Lake County again to turn out a massive plurality.

And the guy in charge of doing that this time is McDermott, who succeeded Clay as county chairman. ❖

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





Debunking the fiscal legacy of Daniels

By **SHAW R. FRIEDMAN**

LAPORTE – With the Mitch Daniels era in state government winding down to a conclusion, it's time to debunk one of the great illusions perpetrated over the last decade, that somehow Mitch Daniels' sound fiscal management of Indiana rocketed the state to the top of the charts nationwide.



Because of a largely unquestioning statehouse press corps (with a particular doff of the cap to lazy TV reporters who question little if anything spoon-fed to them at the governor's press conferences) Daniels developed an undeserved national reputation as a fiscally sound manager.

Many Hoosiers now understand that the so-called surpluses were gained on the backs of the poor, the aged, the infirm, public safety and our schools. Notwithstanding the cratering of the state in one quality of life index after another over the past decade, Daniels' apologists could at least claim the state was well managed fiscally.

A good example of just how badly Indiana fares on one index after another was the iVillage.com quality of life index for women published earlier this year. The publication ranked the 50 Best to Worst states for women based on six criteria including health and the economy, access to affordable childcare, female representation in state and national governments, education and accessibility to all sorts of women's health care. We were 43rd on that index and no state farther north fared worse than Indiana.

But even as one quality of life index after another panned the Hoosier state under Daniels, the governor's loyalists at least trumpeted some claim to fame for fiscal integrity. In fact, Daniels received national mention as a potential presidential candidate in 2011 because of his aggressive self-promotion of a line that went that while he was stingy and parsimonious (the "Blade") in delivering services to Hoosiers, he was an aggressive bean counter who protected the bottom line.

We now know from a just-released 50-state survey by the respected business magazine Barron's how even this last justification for the Daniels administration lies tattered and in shreds. Fiscal analysts on Wall Street look at more than just short-term cash flow. Just because Daniels cut off aid to schools, higher education, child protective ser-

VICES, job training and elsewhere and was able to show a surplus doesn't impress the hard-eyed money managers on Wall Street or the fiscal analysts at Barron's.

What they looked for in their most recent 50-state survey on "best and worst run states" was more than just a surplus or minor deficit. It's not as if Daniels boosted Hoosier incomes since he came to office. According to the Bureau of Economic Analysis, per capita personal income figures stayed stagnant and Indiana has ranked in 41st place since Daniels took office.

No, the real indicator that Barron's looked for is long-term debt that focuses on unfunded pension liabilities. On that measure, our state finances are in no great shape under Mitch Daniels and we only ranked 26th on their just-released survey of best- to worst-run states.

But what did this governor, who claims to be a financial guru, do to deal with unfunded pensions? Little to nothing. Most recently, he shoved through legislation providing that any surplus over a certain figure should be returned to Hoosiers in the form of a one-time tax credit worth about \$100 apiece. That's right. Rather than use the \$1 billion-plus surplus to help pay down unfunded pensions and perhaps boost our fiscal reputation nationally, he played gimmicky games for a quick political score.

Indiana has an unfunded pension liability to GDP of 4.2%. That combined with long-term debt of 1% of GDP means the state's total debt and pension liability to GDP checks in at a worrisome 5.2% of GDP, troubling enough to rank Indiana only 26th on Barron's chart. All we hear from Mitch is about the state's Triple-A bond rating, yet many other states enjoy that status as well. There's more to state finances than our bond rating and the Barron's survey demonstrates that.

It's Indiana's inability to deal with our long-term unfunded pension liability that has left the state languishing in its current status. Once again, Mitch pulled one of his snake oil routines that he's perfected over the years to convince normally skeptical reporters and observers that he was a far savvier business manager than he actually was.

The tale of the tape shows otherwise. Perhaps before yet another television reporter salutes the governor with a gushing farewell, that reporter will take a longer look at just how overblown and hyped this governor's financial record really was. He's all sizzle and no steak and the Barron's survey proves it. ❖

Shaw R. Friedman is a LaPorte attorney and a regular contributor to Howey Politics Indiana.



IU parking lottery proposed

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - Recently the Indianapolis Business Journal carried a front page story reporting a revolution in university life. "Indiana University is considering leasing its parking assets in Bloomington and Indianapolis." This would be following the lead of Ohio State.



First, a bit of background: Many years ago the president of the University of California described the tasks of a college leader to provide football for the alumni, sex for the students, and parking for the faculty.

IU seems to be wavering from this traditional direction. Leasing the parking lots currently managed by the university will bring in a big bundle of money now (Ohio State got \$483 million) and several millions each year.

Critics immediately pointed to the major questions such a deal brings forth: What will the university do with the up-front money? How much would private sector operators of the parking lots increase fees to make their financial goals? What provisions are made for improvement of the campus parking arrangements? Will land now devoted to parking be available for alternative uses in the future without having to pay an extraordinary amount to the lease holder?

Of course, the university sees the up-front money as a boon for hiring faculty and intensifying research. What else would you expect them to say? As for fee increases, that's the whole idea. Parking is jammed at both campuses and the university is quite happy to have the heat of raising fees fall on a private sector firm headquartered outside Indiana, possibly outside the United States.

The university could use the argument it is not in the parking business and is withdrawing from a commercial activity it has run only by historical accident. The same argument has been used by universities shedding responsibilities for their dorms, eating facilities, book stores and other student services.

The idea that the university might transfer its parking monopoly to a private firm bothers few in the Hoosier Holyland where the Indiana

Toll Road was leased for 75 years. That deal has gone well for the state, thus far. It nonetheless raises the question, What is the role of the modern university in the lives of its students, faculty and staff?

Is it time for teaching and research institutions to back away from non-academic activities? Is it time for them to drop sports? Oops, there I go again; I might as well have suggested gun control to my readers.

At the same time the parking question is being dealt with by the IU Board of Trustees, the Indiana General Assembly may be asked to privatize the Hoosier Lottery. Here, the transfer of the state's monopoly power to a single private firm is unjustified. Why not license four or more firms to run whatever lotteries they can. Is this not a state that believes private sector competition would benefit lottery consumers?

And then, why not combine the lottery with the parking game. Currently in Bloomington and Indianapolis a parking permit is considered a license to hunt for a space. Why not be honest about it?

Sell annual parking spaces and daily-use passes through a lottery. You scratch off the covered squares and find out where you are parking. Don't like that space, return it and buy a second chance. Or you could sell your first ticket in a secondary market to scalpers.

Can't you see a futures market developing here? ❖

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

HOWEY
Politics Indiana

When Chris Cillizza of the *Washington Post* posed the question to readers across the nation - "Who's the most influential political journalist in your state?" - the answer in Indiana was this: Brian A. Howey of *Howey Politics Indiana*. Since 1994, *Howey Politics Indiana* has provided news, analysis and commentary from throughout Indiana and Washington D.C. Howey reaches the most influential insiders with his newsletters and the masses with his weekly newspaper column and www.howeypolitics.com.

Photo: Howey with Richard Lugar and Sam Nunn in Russia.

The Washington Post
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 2007

"The Best Indiana Political Reporter: *Howey Politics Indiana* editor Brian Howey."



Brian Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette:

Former President Clinton made a reference to Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind. – although not by name – during his Wednesday night speech at the Democratic National Convention in Charlotte, N.C. Clinton was talking about how Democrats and Republicans had worked together in his lifetime to solve problems. “Unfortunately, the faction that now dominates the Republican Party doesn’t see it that way,” he told convention delegates at Time Warner Cable Arena. “They think government is always the enemy, they’re always right, and compromise is weakness. “Just in the last couple of elections, they defeated two distinguished Republican senators because they dared to cooperate with Democrats on issues important to the future of the country, even national security,” Clinton said. One of those senators is Lugar, the six-term incumbent defeated in this year’s Indiana GOP primary election by state Treasurer Richard Mourdock. The other was Bob Bennett, a three-term Utah senator rejected by that state’s Republican nominating convention in 2010. In both cases, the senators were portrayed as too moderate by conservative tea party Republicans. ❖

Charles Krauthammer, Washing-

ton Post: Given the state of the economy, by any historical standard, Barack Obama should be 15 points behind Mitt Romney. Why is he tied? The empathy gap. On “caring about average people,” Obama wins by 22 points. Maintaining that gap was a principal goal of the Democratic convention. It’s the party’s only hope of winning in November. George H.W. Bush, Romney-like in aloofness, was once famously handed a staff cue card that read: “Message: I care.” That was supposed to be speech guidance. Bush read the card. Out loud. Not surprisingly, he lost to Bill Clinton, a man who lives to care, who feels your pain better than you do — or at least makes you think so. In politics, that’s a trivial distinction. On Wednesday night, Clinton vouched for Obama as a man “who’s cool on the outside but who burns for America on the inside.” Nice phrase, but not terribly persuasive. The real job of Clintonizing Obama was left to Mrs. Obama. As she told it in the convention’s most brilliantly cynical speech, her husband is not just profoundly compassionate but near-Gandhiesque in feelings. Others spoke about what Obama had done. Michelle’s job was to provide the why: because he cares. Her talk was a syllogism: Barack loves his wife, he loves his children, he loves his family — therefore, he loves you. I have no doubt about the first three propositions, but the fourth is a complete non sequitur. We were assured, nonetheless, that the president is a saintly man, dispensing succor — health care (with free contraceptives), auto bailouts, fairness lawsuits — to his people. The flood of tears in the hall testified to the power of this spousal paean. Its bril-

liance lay in Michelle’s success in draining from Obama any hint of ideological or personal motivation. The problem with swallowing the “he cares, therefore he does” line is that it so plainly contradicts what we’ve seen over the past four years. Barack Obama is a deeply committed social democrat who laid out an unashamedly left-liberal agenda at the very beginning of his presidency and then proceeded to try to enact it. ❖

Ross Douthat, New York Times:

The strongest impression left by Mitt Romney’s convention speech last week was that the Republican nominee’s campaign sees itself on pace for a narrow victory in November, with no risks or course corrections needed. The impression left by President Obama’s convention speech tonight was that incumbent’s campaign feels exactly the same way. This was a pure stay-the-course speech, workmanlike and occasionally somewhat distant, with a few inspired and moving passages standing out amid a litany of rhetorical moves that the president has made many times before. There was only the most general sketch of a second term agenda, only a relatively cursory defense of the president’s economic stewardship, and mostly assertions, rather than sustained arguments, to back up his claim that the country is headed (slowly) in the right direction. The strongest and most detailed portions of his remarks came on foreign policy (where his record is more popular and easier to defend) and in his late-in-the-speech attacks on the Republican ticket, which did effectively exploit some of the vulnerabilities that Romney’s rather content-free address created. And yes, maybe if Bill Clinton hadn’t covered so much of that territory so effectively last night, these strengths would have been enough to make the speech feel successful as a whole. But in the shadow of Clinton’s performance, the president often felt flat, rote, and unconvincing — almost as though he wasn’t quite convinced by his own arguments and promises, and felt a little awkward selling them to us. ❖

Peggy Noonan, Wall Street Journal:

Barack Obama is deeply overexposed and often boring. He never seems to be saying what he’s thinking. His speech Thursday was weirdly anticlimactic. There’s too much buildup, the crowd was tired, it all felt flat. He was somber, and his message was essentially banal: We’ve done better than you think. Who are you going to believe, me or your lying eyes? There were many straw men. There were phrases like “the shadow of a shuttered steel mill,” which he considers writerly. But they sound empty and practiced now, like something you’ve heard in a commercial or an advertising campaign. It was stale and empty. He’s out of juice. ❖





Congressmen stay within budgets

WASHINGTON - Most Indiana House members had no trouble living within tightened office budgets last year, with one-third still turning back 10 percent or more of their allowance (Indianapolis Star). But staying in the black could be more difficult this year after budgets were reduced again. The reason? The amount that five of the nine House members spent last year is more than the approximately \$1.3 million each is allowed to spend this year. Some are closing district offices, trimming payroll or communicating with constituents by email instead of through the postal service. Despite cuts, lawmakers still have a lot of flexibility in how they can divvy up their resources, showing differences in priorities. For example, GOP Rep. Dan Burton and Democratic Rep. Pete Visclosky paid the maximum allowable salary for their top aides -- \$168,411 -- while some paid about 40 percent less than that. GOP Rep. Mike Pence spent the largest share -- 85 percent -- of his budget on staff salaries, while spending the least in the delegation on mail, printing, travel and supplies. Burton leases two cars for himself and his staff, while most of the delegation lease none. Three of the newest members -- GOP Reps. Todd Rokita, Todd Young and Larry Bucshon -- spent less overall in 2011 than their predecessors did in 2009 but spent more on mailings as they started establishing themselves. Critics say the newsletters and brochures are more promotional than informational, but lawmakers say they're a good way of communicating with constituents. The new members entered Congress last year as the GOP-controlled House decided to set



a budget-cutting example by trimming their own allocations 5 percent. Office budgets were cut an additional 6.4 percent this year, reducing spending levels to about where they were in 2007. The cuts in the Democrat-controlled Senate, which reports expenses on a different budget cycle, were smaller: 5 percent followed by 1 percent.

Zoeller defends on immigration suit

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana Attorney General Greg Zoeller came out swinging today in defense of his decision to back away from an Indiana immigration law he believes is unconstitutional (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Zoeller in July said he would recommend that U.S. District Judge Sarah Evans Barker strike down most of the portions of the Indiana law passed in 2011, which enables police to make warrantless arrests based on certain common immigration documents. The attorney general believes a U.S. Supreme Court ruling rendered those sections of the Indiana law invalid when it ruled on a similar Arizona statute. But not everyone has accepted his judgment, and he has been a target on some blogs. "Some people questioned whether this decision violates my obligation to my state clients. Some have even questioned my professional ethics as an attorney," Zoeller said in an editorial piece he released to newspapers around the state Thursday. "As state government's lawyer, the AG's Office represents multiple 'clients' who all hold different views on important legal issues. For all of us in state government, our first responsibility is to the Constitution and the people. "I have had the unenviable task of explaining this fact to government officials who disagreed with my decisions. I respect their views; but the oath I took as AG means I must

acknowledge that at times the law is not what we might want it to be, and must shepherd state legal resources in a responsible manner."

Miller retiring from Vera Bradley

FORT WAYNE - Vera Bradley Inc.'s co-founder has designs on retirement (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Patricia Miller is stepping down from the Fort Wayne-based company effective Oct. 31, officials announced late Thursday. Miller, who has been Vera Bradley's national spokeswoman in recent years, served as Indiana's first secretary of commerce and president of the Indiana Economic Development Corp. in 2005 under Gov. Mitch Daniels. Daniels last year referred to Vera Bradley as "a standout homegrown success story."

Legislators face tough road funding

INDIANAPOLIS - With money from the Indiana Toll Road lease set to run out in the next three years, a panel of state lawmakers Thursday began looking at how Indiana will pay for roads and bridges in the future (Carden, NWI Times). They discovered it won't be easy. New federal fuel-efficiency standards are expected to reduce gasoline tax revenue, typically the primary funding source for transportation projects. In addition, congressional Republicans have vowed to significantly cut federal spending, likely reducing federal funds available for state roadwork. Meanwhile, the Democratic and Republican candidates for Indiana governor both have said they plan to reduce taxes, which could reduce state funding for roads and bridges. At the same time, many local governments are already cash-strapped due to property tax limits.