



The peril of 2nd term presidencies

Of 20 who served twice, only 9 were deemed successful by Fort Wayne author

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – The case against a second term for President Obama has been, thus far, centered on the tepid economy, opposition to the Obamacare health reforms and the stimulus package. His supporters point to his drone-led assaults on Al Qaeda, his ending the American combat in Iraq, his rescue of the American auto industry and

the move toward more fuel-efficient cars and trucks.

But from a historical perspective, there have been 20 presidents who have had second terms and by the accounting of Fort Wayne author Alfred J. Zacher (pictured, left) in his new book "Presidential Power In Troubled Second Terms" (Telemachus Press), only nine of them could be considered a success. And one of those, President Abraham



Lincoln, had a second term lasting only five weeks before he was assassinated.

Any list of America's greatest presidents is dominated by those who have been elected to a second term. As historian Michael Beschloss (who is speaking at the Benjamin Harrison home in Indianapolis tonight) stated, "One of the best things a sitting President can do to burnish his reputation among future generations is to get reelected." It is the second term that not only tests the mettle of the

Continued on page 3

The peril of polling

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE – Close elections show the perils of polling. All polls have a plus/minus error factor, and always include the usually ignored point that they are "snapshots" of a given day or days when the poll was taken.

RealClearPolitics is the best site to see the cumulative effect of most polling organizations, but even it has limitations. Wednesday they showed Obama with a combined polling lead of 3.2%, which is within the margin of error but a significant lead. But two outliers, CNN and Gallup, distorted the



"It's also important for me - just as it was for the White House last night by the way - to say that the statements were inappropriate and in my view, a disgraceful statement on the part of our administration to apologize for American values."

- Republican nominee Mitt Romney



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polling consensus, most of which was a 1% differential.

Media organizations, therefore, were drawing widely different conclusions about the success of the conventions. For example, Obama has a 6% lead according to CNN but had a 9% lead in early August. Those who quoted CNN this week concluded that he had a convention "bounce" which is debatable (up from GOP convention but net lost ground from early August, a less than complete "bounce-back" which is rather different).

ABC/Washington Post polls, on the other hand, had Obama 3% ahead in May, tied in July, Romney up 1% in August and now Obama up 1% in September. In other words, no real variation and probably just reflects the "margin of error" in polling. If you report on that trend, rather than the more erratic variations of CNN, you come to a totally different conclusion.

Here is my take. Neither party won over swing voters with their conventions. Both parties fired up their base somewhat during their conventions and both conventions fired up the hard core opposition as well. The middle watched football or anything else. The undecided voters aren't really moderates, they are people who don't have consistent worldviews and thus are vulnerable to attack ads and last minute "mistakes."

I also think that the President has opened up small but steady leads in Ohio and Florida, must states for the Republicans. On the other hand, Romney has closed the gap in normally safe Democrat states. In other words, this very close election could still turn into an electoral blowout in either direction.

Indiana Senate Race

About every major reporter/commentator (of which none are favorable and most hostile to Mourdock) compare Donnelly to Bayh. If so, why was Donnelly only tied at the peak of Republican in-fighting? Bayh was nev-

er tied, even when matched in early polls in his first Senate race when Dan Coats was the incumbent. Bayh's dad was an Indiana institution and Bayh himself had run three statewide campaigns (close race against Rob Bowen, close race against John Mutz, solid win over Lindley Pearson) before his first Senate race. "Bayh" was a household name from his first race on because of his dad. Donnelly is obviously not Bayh. Furthermore, Hoosiers don't have a history of splitting ballots on federal races. Bayh has such a history, not Democrats.

Federal races are different than state races. In a federal race you are justly tied with your party. Almost all politicians, when their party is a little soft, want to be called "independent." In other words, "independence" is not something you declare about yourself. It is not even "party loyalty votes" (congressmen from swing districts run up their independence on non-important votes.) Independence is measurable. It is when you buck your leadership and are punished: Committee assignments changed, amendments blocked, and/or fundraisers canceled. Joe Donnelly is more open-minded than most Democrats but he is not independent as evidence proves.

The facts supporting a close race are this: Joe Donnelly is a likable guy which translates on television and Richard Mourdock is not naturally that way (think accountant). Donnelly has a brilliant television strategy in an attempt to "isolate" Mourdock as a "my way or the highway" guy; Mourdock seems to be trying to assist Donnelly in reinforcing Donnelly's strategy. Mourdock's ads (his and allies) don't glue together but are landing some punches.

Facts supporting a solid Mourdock win: Donnelly is moderate, for a liberal Democrat, but not independent – he was seldom even on a "potential target list" for tough amendments. He voted for ObamaCare, he voted for the stimulus package, he always



supported Nancy Pelosi for Speaker, etc. – in other words, when it counted he was a loyal liberal vote. Obama will get clobbered in Indiana, Pence will have a solid win, Republicans are likely to get seven of nine congressional seats, Republicans likely will sweep Indiana legislative races, and Republicans will win the other statewide posts. To repeat, Donnelly is not Bayh and it will be a closer race than Obama and Gregg, but with a ceiling under 50%

Several examples call into question fair media coverage of Mourdock, such as the mostly Democrat-pushed idea that there will be a few Donnelly/Pence signs has not raised the screamingly bigger, obvious point that should be headlined: Democrats appear to have abandoned John Gregg . If there really are Lugar supporters who would give up control of the United States Senate to the Democrats, why has there not been a single news story with the lead: "Lugar supporters practice "My Way or the Highway"?" (The

reason you don't see these headlines is because Lugar people are upset but not really abandoning Mourdock.)

An interview question about cooperation with Democrats led to claims Mourdock should have named a Democrat senator he could work with (with the logical follow-up question of "on what issue?") A better answer would have been that Mourdock is sure that on some potential issues bipartisan amendments may be possible. No candidate should be stupid enough to walk into such a specific trap question (e.g. the Democrat could have been called, blasted Mourdock and led to additional stories). The desire for a good story or dislike of a candidate should not distort basic reporting as it has done thus far. ❖

Souder is a former Republican Member of Congress.

2nd Terms, from page 1

president, but it also offers a lens that focuses on the enduring essence of the presidency itself.

But as Zacher observes, "Twenty presidents have been elected to a second term, a threshold for greatness. Yet, for many of these, frustration, failure and even disaster followed their reelection. For a relative few, success meant overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles, while for others apparent success was followed by failure in the judgment of history. The second term has been a time of great stress or travail to such presidents as Jefferson, Monroe, Grant, Cleveland, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Johnson, Nixon (both pictured below), and George W. Bush. But, for others, such as Washington, Jackson, Theodore Roosevelt and even Reagan, their second terms were times of success or even triumph."

Zacher asks, "What caused this great variation; why have presidents faltered and so few succeeded?"

"It is in the second term that the elements of presidential leadership are crystallized, when innovation can be implemented and authority expanded," Zacher writes. "By the second term, Theodore Roosevelt would find

more meaningful ways to communicate with a public now familiar with his rhetoric. For Monroe and Wilson, Congress found the means to frustrate the agenda of the Chief Executive. In some respects Jefferson became a lame duck with diminished political power in his second term. In several instances, unexpected crises arose, denying the president the benefit of the authority granted a newly reelected president particularly when there is a landslide victory. Both Cleveland and Johnson faced this challenge. Franklin Roosevelt's reelection victory led to a spirit of invincibility, clouding his judgment.

"Historically, the second term became a time of trial or triumph. Vision, leadership, courage in the face of adversity, honesty, and political skill embodied in the character and temperament of a president interplay to effect his leadership through the four long years of a second term.





"The ability of a president to survive and sometimes triumph through what can be the fire of the second term tells much about the American people and their idea of what a president ought to accomplish. The public will approve and even applaud innovation in a president; but this must conform to the following deep-seated convictions which appear not to have changed significantly from the founding of the nation, namely those implicit in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the writings of the founders."

5 keys for success

Zacher lists five keys to second term success:

First, the American people want to feel secure from attack, external or internal, real or imagined.

Second, Americans strive for economic security and individual freedom. This becomes the first priority for Americans if there is no foreign threat. This, of course, was and is the foundation for freedom and democracy.

Third, America is historically conservative. Only economic upheaval, foreign threat and social stress will cause the nation to veer from that path. Further, change, once implemented, frequently becomes the norm.

Fourth, the nation believes, conditionally, in fair play. The treatment of the Native Americans and African-Americans provides evidence that civil rights, civil liberties, or economic innovation become a cause for this nation only when strong leadership is joined with a sizable discontented minority demanding change.

Fifth, law and order, with moralistic and religious overtones to preserve freedom and democracy, is part of the American psyche. The president has traditionally been considered the high priest of morality and justice. This is one reason that Nixon was deposed so quickly after Watergate. It is why Grant lost favor with his party as evidence of graft in his administration was revealed. Conversely, it is the reason Jefferson was loved, despite his failings.

"These five characteristics of Americans are particularly relevant to the second term because a president must tend to achieve or take into account fulfillment of many of these goals, first to be reelected and then to achieve success in a more challenging second term," Zacher explains. "The leadership role of a president must relate to these consistently held values of the American people. The lessons of history may not induce the nation to select the best candidate for the presidency, but the public may better judge the candidate's potential in office from the message given by history."

6 goals for Americans

To succeed, Zacher observes, presidents must fulfill the challenge of a significant number of the following six

measures, which express the goals of Americans:

One: The president must provide defense against foreign or domestic threat.

Two: The president must retain or expand economic, political, and/or social opportunity. As stated above this becomes the first priority if Americans feel there is minimal foreign threat.

Three: The president must effectively lead Congress. Since the nation began there has been a perennial conflict between the executive and legislative branches of government. Most presidents will extend their exclusive bands of authority to the utmost. Jackson was the first president to clearly establish the executive branch as being "first among equals." Congress, on the other hand, generally seeks to limit the president's freedom of action. It maintained a dominant role for over twenty years beginning with the latter days of Jefferson's administration. Congress does not readily give up its effort to be the dominant branch; and if it succeeds in a first term, this is one basis for a president's failure to win reelection. By the second term, Congress has made its judgment of the president, often irrespective of party affiliation or party control. It then makes the most of its insights to hamper the president in his intuitive, sometimes extralegal, use of his power and authority potentially turning him into a lame duck. By the second term, Congress will have established the ground rules for its match with the president. The outcome is a measure of the effectiveness of the Chief Executive.

Four: The president must avoid a spirit of invincibility, of hubris, which might cause a president to lose touch with political reality. The president elected to a second term, particularly if by a landslide, will be tempted by the exhilaration of victory to feel an inordinate sense of power, of excessive self-confidence. The temptation is then to maneuver Congress and the nation to implement plans and programs which the nation or Congress are not ready to adopt or which are ill-advised and inappropriate.

Five: The president must exercise influence over and effectively communicate with the nation. He must be able to communicate persuasively. Such "communication" is almost beyond definition. Popular adulation for Jackson rivaled that enjoyed by Franklin Roosevelt or Ronald Reagan. Television mastery and internet communication are now required, as was influence with the press in bygone eras, but the results remain the same. Jefferson encouraged his friends to communicate his messages for him; Lincoln used speeches, debates and letters to convey his message. The president must communicate; and whatever the means, he must do so persuasively.

Six: The majority of the American people must have believed in the president's integrity and have sustained a substantial level of pride in the president throughout his eight years in office, despite specific shortcomings.



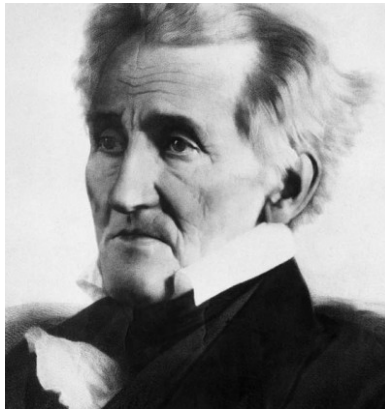
He must have strengthened the nation, on balance, by his actions. The president shall leave a legacy for the nation.

Successful second termers

Successful second terms include:

George Washington: Zacher observes, "He was confident, determined and quite comfortable with himself. During his second term, he displayed patience and unusual endurance, facing issues without precedent. He perceived the momentous times in which he served the nation without adopting the trappings of a political philosopher. He was a great facilitator and implementer of the ideas of a free government, of individual freedom and of a Constitution that balanced forces. He firmly established the authority of the federal government to enforce its laws in the face of the Whiskey Rebellion."

Andrew Jackson: He presided over the U.S. as Indiana began to grow and his influence is still felt in the Hoosier state today, extending into the Tea Party movement. Zacher notes that Americans were experiencing "momentous personal and social changes. For many, the secure, predictable agricultural life, which most Americans enjoyed through the first decades of the 19th Century, was being replaced. Young people left home to find new means of self-support. They moved to the cities to become workers



in factories or to become mechanics or craftsmen. They risked their lives and that of their wives and children to settle farm land in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Ohio and Indiana." Jackson had many of the same experiences, and he "trusted his own strengths, but distrusted government, expanding industry, monopolies of any kind, centralization of banking and paper money." Jackson's second term was defined by his confrontation of the Bank of the United States. Jackson "displaced the enlightenment of Jeffersonian times with intuitive action, steeped in the emotional strivings of the man himself. He enhanced the presidency while reeducating that of the federal government. Under Jackson, government became dependent on popular support."

Theodore Roosevelt: Zacher observes, "He seemed to thrive on crisis and conflict and to relish great challenges. It brought out the best in the man. Teddy Roo-

sevelt's second term demonstrated his adroit governmental management and this was especially true when one considers the hostility of Congress toward the President."

Dwight Eisenhower: "His tenure would be a contrast for what was to follow. As did Washington, he felt the need for the nation to be protected from excessive involvement with foreign affairs. For Washington, it was an infant nation to be allowed to develop unfettered by participation in European wars. For Eisenhower, it was a mature nation, deeply imbedded in international affairs which must be given as cloistered an environment as possible in which to flourish as a nation. Only a president can give such leadership. Remarkably, he left the nation in at least as good a state as he found it."

Ronald Reagan: "Like so many, he sought the applause and love and adulation that come with the office. But unlike Grant, Wilson and Johnson, for whom the need for public praise became overwhelming, Reagan quietly and with unusual self-confidence played upon the public support that was awarded him, without distress and with grace and acumen. He conveyed a self-confidence about the support he had with the public, to stand firm for his program. He presumed he knew best."

Bill Clinton: Zacher writes, "A paradox? A paradox." He calls Clinton "a free spirit in many respects as president," including him in a class with Jefferson and Teddy Roosevelt. He did not serve in times of great transition making him an agent of major change, which "given the episodes of Clinton's personal upheaval, is probably just as well." Despite the scandals that led to his impeachment and acquittal, "Clinton sought to bring peace and conciliation to the issues before him. He compromised with Republicans, to achieve changes to welfare legislation and then to reduce the debt, moving the nation to a financial surplus. He left the country in better condition than he found it."

Failed second terms

As for failed second terms, Zacher lists:

George W. Bush: Bush had "failed in the two most importune measures of an effective president. There was little conviction that his invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq improved the security of the nation. Bush also failed the test of economic well-being as he was held to be at least somewhat responsible for the most severe economic crisis since the Great Depression."

Richard Nixon: The administrations of Nixon "illustrate in graphic ways the measures for an effective president. In his first term, Nixon, remarkably, fulfilled many of these tests. His second term failed more than any other in the history of the nation, however, because of his spirit of invincibility and the violation of the moral code of the nation. Nixon's defiant nature, his proclivity for secrecy,



his spirit of distrust and his drive to control overwhelmed him."

Lyndon Johnson:

Zacher writes, "Fearing that his Great Society would not survive the (Vietnam) war, Johnson concealed the build-up of troops and postponed telling Congress and the people what the war was costing. The truth about the rising expense of the war and its casualties filtered through the people, sparking protests. Lyndon Johnson in his second term proved how difficult it is to administer the presidency, how transitory is its power, and how broad must be the mind, the intuitions and skills of that President."

Harry S. Truman: Zacher writes, "He was ... a man who gave no joy to the country in his leadership. He contrasted totally with FDR in his style. Truman was so plain and so unceremonial yet reasonable and appropriate, that the ingestion of his policies was taken by the American public almost as a dose of castor oil. Truman's first term was exemplary for its innovative risk taking forays into uncharted leadership. His second term, however, focused only on what he and the nation believed to be the defense of an anti-Communist way of life."

President Obama

As for President Obama, Zacher asks, "Does Barack Obama have the leadership skills, experience, cultural background and temperament to deserve a second term? His opponents say no to all of the above."

The author observes: "There can be no question that Obama lacks experience in government either as a governor, as a long-term member of Congress or in any phase of the business world. Further, his background in academics and as a com-



Presidents Truman and Eisenhower at the 1953 inaugural. Eisenhower is perceived as having the most successful second term.

munity organizer offers no evidence of someone who has the fire in his belly to be a leader. Obama obviously had to learn all that was to be required to be President through 'on-the-job' training. Only Lincoln came into office with so little experience."

He adds, "It is possible to conclude, however, observing the momentous legislation passed during his first term, that Obama is a quick learner. The most appropriate comment on the stimulus program is that the nation did not falter and may have stabilized. The bailout of the

automobile industry seems to be a success. The health care legislation frequently lacked presidential leadership in the judgment of most observers and its final configuration is yet to be determined. Obama expanded the war in Afghanistan and is fulfilling his promise to withdraw the forces in Iraq."

As for the six measures of a successful president, Zacher gives Obama a passing grade on national security, but he gets an incomplete on the economy, national outlook, and has been "over-exposed" on communicating

with the nation. He has a mixed record on leading Congress, as Bob Woodward's new book "The Price of Politics" details over the showdown over the 2011 debt limit, suggesting that the executive dominance President Jackson achieved was ceded back to Congress under Obama in 2011. The final point on belief in his abilities by the nation is also an incomplete.

Zacher asks of Obama, "Will he be reelected?" He notes that rarely have presidents with popularity in the low 40s won reelection. Written before the nomination process ended last spring, Zacher adds, perhaps prophetically: "In part his reelection will depend on whom the Republicans choose as their candidate." ❖



President Obama pushing his stimulus package in Elkhart in February 2009 listens to an unemployed Hoosier. (HPI Photo by A. Walker Shaw)



Indiana Bellwether Barometer

A social media research project sponsored by Eli Lilly & Company (LillyPad)
Findings for September 3-9, 2012
By Christine Matthews, Bellwether Research & Consulting



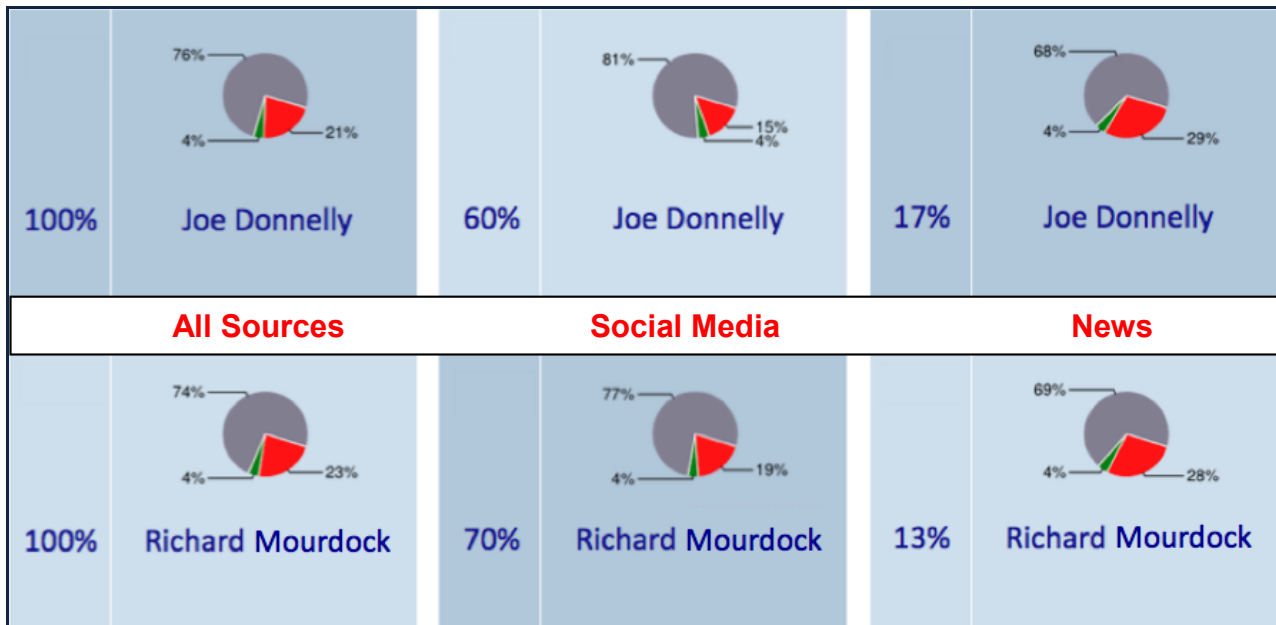
U.S. Senate

Last week we presented the findings of our social media research analysis from August for the U.S. Senate candidates. We found, as summer ended, Richard Mourdock was being weighed down by perceptions that he is extreme rather than mainstream. This was fueled by his statements from the GOP primary, topics such as repeal of the 17th Amendment, Donnelly's advertising ("My way or the highway") and the unfortunate connection with Missouri Senate candidate Todd Akin which was amplified on social media.

Based on our social media research, Joe Donnelly has done a pretty good job of presenting himself as a mainstream, reasonable choice for U.S. Senate by emphasizing his willingness to work with Republicans and positions that separate him from Obama. Surprisingly, neither candidate was associated with an economic message or jobs, undoubtedly the key concern to voters. This race is centered at present on the theme of extreme versus mainstream. Post Labor Day, the Mourdock campaign appears to be attempting to recast the conversation with Joe Donnelly in the position of extreme by labeling him "Obama Joe" and connecting him with Obamacare and his unpopular policies in this Republican-leaning state. So far, the Obama Joe moniker has not appeared in our social media research, although President Obama's name has. We will be watching in the coming weeks for words such as "liberal" and "Obamacare" in connection with Joe Donnelly.



As the chart below illustrates, most of this week's input on the U.S. Senate race is drawn from social media conversations and posts about the candidates. The data we analyze includes Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, blogs and traditional news coverage which is gathered through Aquity4Social technology.



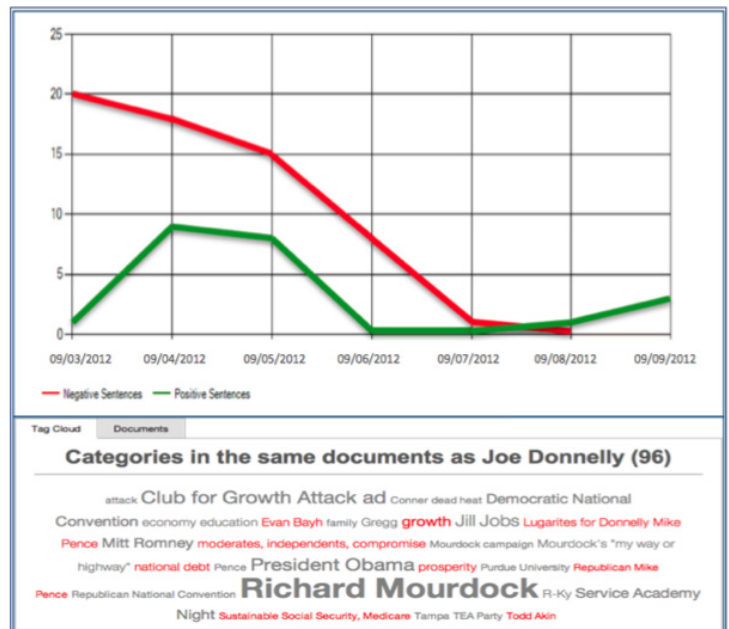
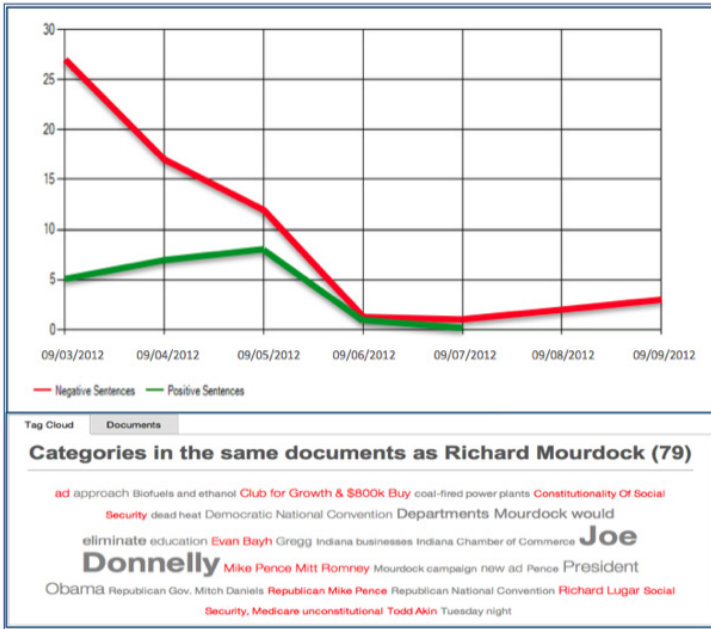
This week, we're starting to see some economic themes pop up: the words "economy" and "jobs" for Donnelly; the Indiana Chamber of Commerce endorsement and "Indiana businesses" for Mourdock. The Club for Growth's new ad against Donnelly was a dominant theme, and Evan Bayh's campaigning for Donnelly is mentioned. One of the key themes that has continued in online conversation since August is the perception of the candidates on Social Security. Mourdock is associated with "unconstitutionality" and Donnelly is associated with "sustainable." This may be something we need to test on our September poll to see if Mourdock has vulnerability with seniors on this issue. The question of what Richard



Lugar supporters will do in November continues to be discussed. There is no public polling that indicates they will defect to Joe Donnelly in large numbers. To help understand what they might do, the Howey-DePauw September poll will examine this cohort.

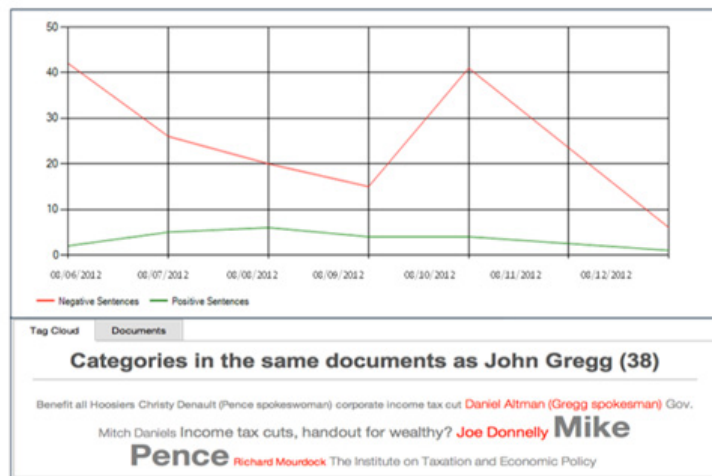
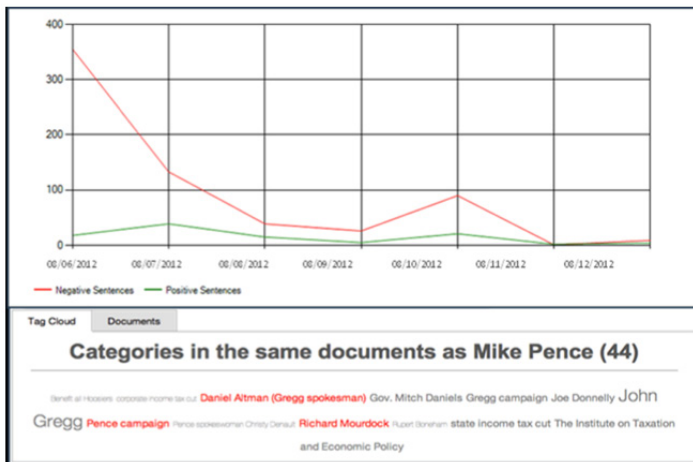
Richard Mourdock, September 3-9, 2012

Joe Donnelly, September 3-9, 2012



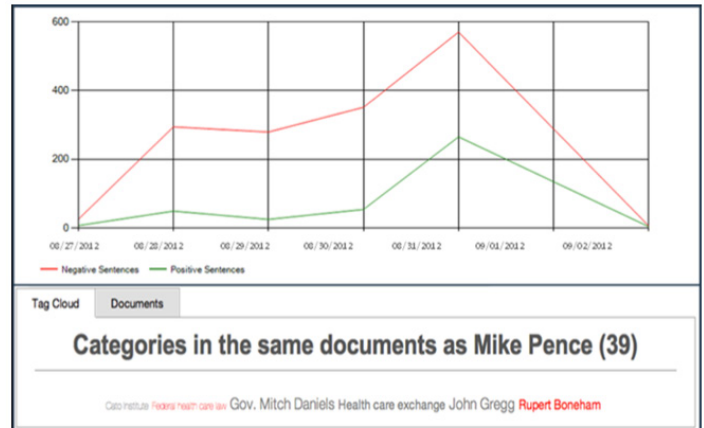
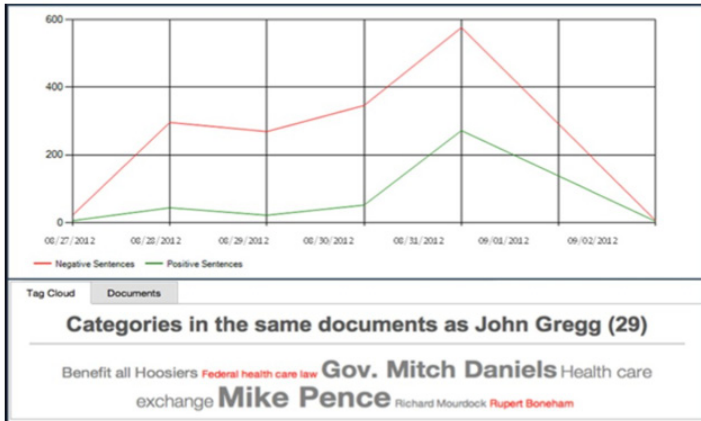
Indiana Governor

Just as we did for the U.S. Senate candidates, we started tracking perceptions of Mike Pence and John Gregg in early August. Mike Pence received significantly more coverage than did John Gregg in early August and, for the first part of the month, Mike Pence's proposal to cut state and corporate income taxes set the agenda for both candidates. The reaction we captured online to Pence's proposal was largely positive to neutral. John Gregg's response was that tax cuts should "benefit all Hoosiers" rather than serve as a "handout for the wealthy" and these appear as key themes for him. The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy factored into the conversation that the tax cuts would benefit the wealthy.

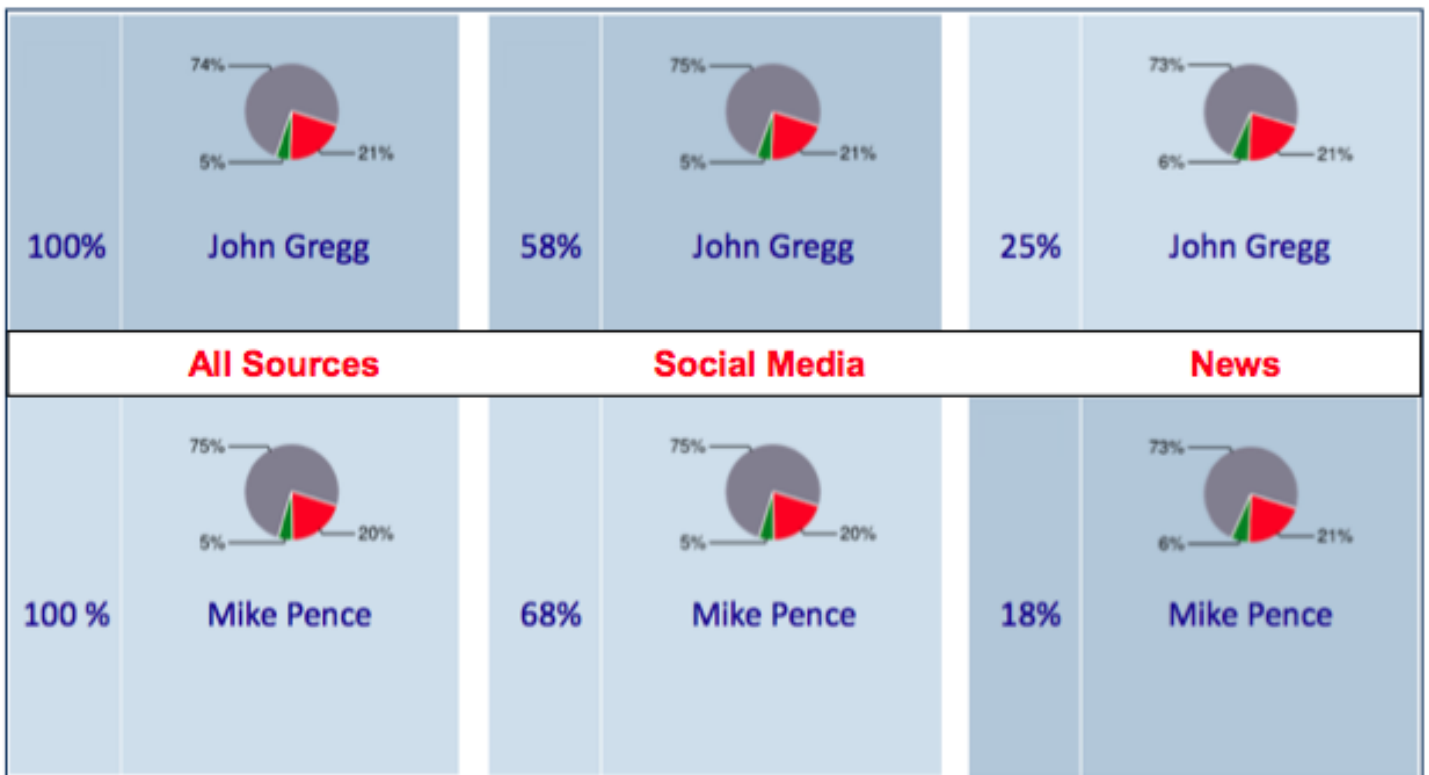




In late August, Gov. Daniels requested input from the three gubernatorial candidates on what the state should do with health care exchanges. Coverage from these meetings and the candidates' statements on the issue dominated late August and culminated on Aug. 31 in peak buzz.

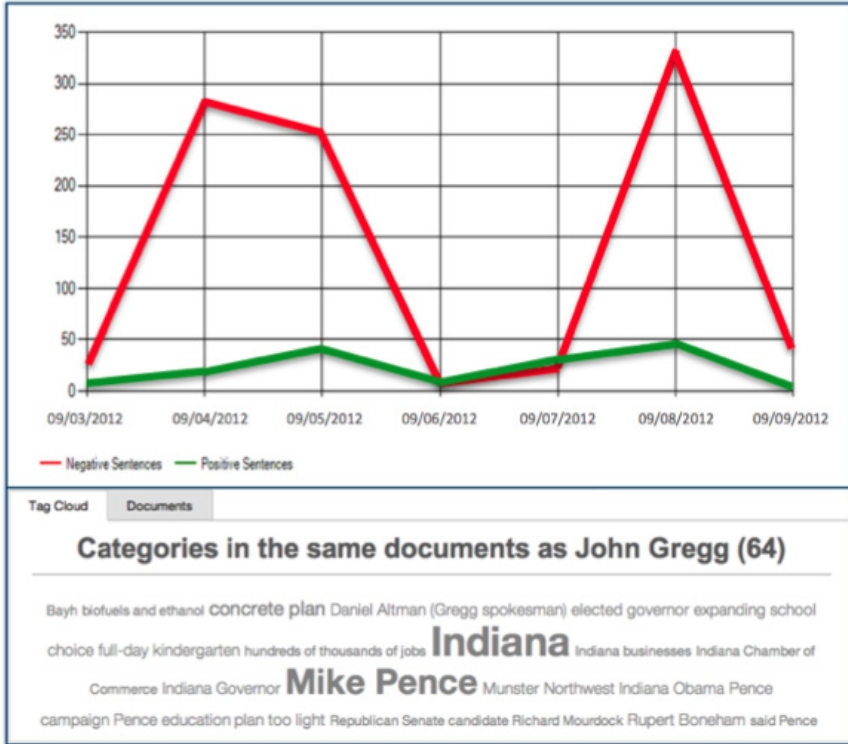


Catching up to date on the governor's race, this week our analysis included more news coverage for the gubernatorial candidates than for the U.S. Senate candidates, but is still dominated by discussion on social media. Mike Pence's education proposal appeared in conversations and coverage, including some criticism that it was light on details.

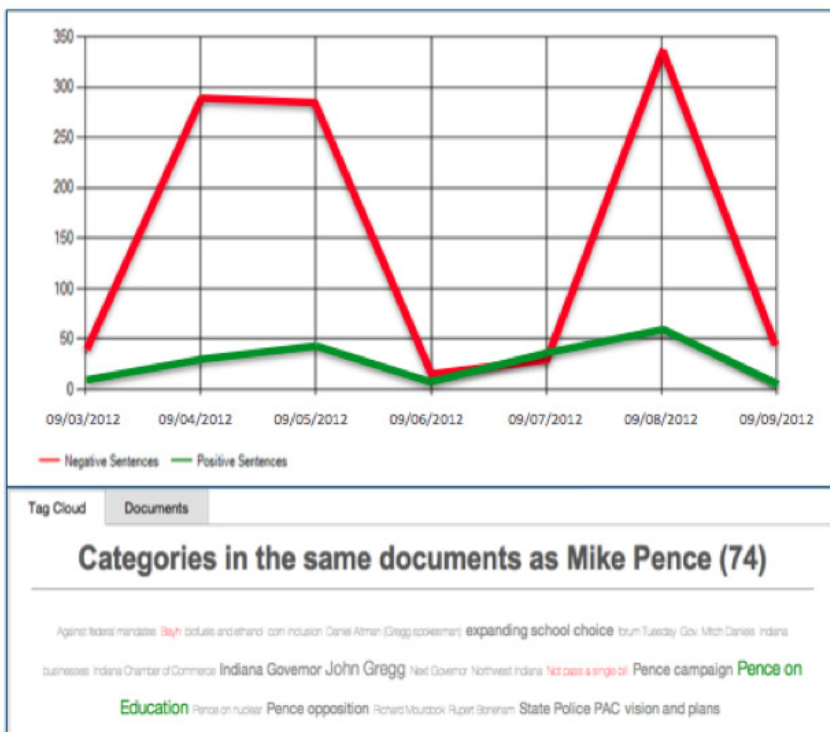




John Gregg, September 3-9, 2012



Mike Pence, September 3-9, 2012



Fox News Poll has Obama up 5%

WASHINGTON — An increase in support from women as well as independents gives Barack Obama a post-convention advantage over challenger Mitt Romney. The president receives a five percentage-point bounce among women and a 12-point bounce among independents, in a Fox News poll released Wednesday.

Overall, the Obama-Biden ticket tops the Romney-Ryan ticket by 48 to 43% among likely voters. The president's advantage is within the poll's margin of sampling error. That's a four-point "convention bounce" for Obama among likely voters. Before the conventions, Romney edged Obama by one point (45-44%, August 19-21, 2012).

Meanwhile, Romney supporters were 10 points more likely than Obama supporters to say it is "extremely" important their candidate wins (64 percent to 54 percent) before the conventions. That enthusiasm edge has evaporated. Now, 63% of Romney supporters and 62% of Obama supporters believe it is extremely important their candidate wins. Obama leads Romney among all women by 14 points and unmarried women by 38 points. The conventions helped a number of undecided independents pick a candidate. Before the Republican convention in Tampa, independents backed Romney by a 10-point margin (42-32%) and 26% were undecided. Today independents go for Obama by 5 points (44-39%) and 17% are undecided.

MICHIGAN: President Obama has increased his lead over Mitt Romney in Michigan to 10 points - 47-37% - according to a new Detroit Free Press poll. The president's lead has gone up in Romney's native state by 4 percentage points since July and now sits at 47 percent. Undecided voters remain high, however, at 16 percent. ❖



Perception spreads that Mourdock is in dogfight

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Psssst. Someone let the national political press in on the Hoosier secret. And the secret is this: the Richard Mourdock/Joe Donnelly U.S. Senate race is competitive ... it may even be a tossup!

Since the first Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll was released April 4 showing a general head-to-head matchup between Mourdock and Donnelly tied at 35% (Sen. Dick Lugar had a 50-29% lead in the same survey), we've listed the race as a "Tossup."

But the national press viewed Indiana as a "red state" and without a "Bayh" or "O'Bannon" on the ballot, the perception was that Mourdock was practically a shoo-in because of his GOP stripes.

But since last weekend, there has been a striking change in that perception, both with Indiana media and its national counterparts. Over the weekend, an Associated Press story by reporter Tom LoBianco ran in dozens of Indiana media outlets and it focused on Republican and Democrat operatives speculating on the "Pence/Donnelly ticket splitters."

LoBianco wrote: As the countdown to the November election picks up steam, establishment Democrats and Republicans have been quietly talking about the possibility that Indiana swing voters could pick Republican gubernatorial candidate Mike Pence and Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Joe Donnelly in November. If Pence and Donnelly both won election, it would be in keeping with a rich tradition of Hoosier voting that has sent candidates like former Democratic U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh to Washington and Republican Gov. Mitch Daniels to the Statehouse in the same election. "There is a theory that at a

minimum, voters subconsciously look for balance in government," said Andrew Downs, director of the Mike Downs Center for Indiana Politics.

As HPI has noted, this trend goes back decades. In the 2004 election, Daniels won the governorship and Bayh was reelected to the U.S. Senate. In 2000, Gov. Frank O'Bannon was reelected while Lugar and George W. Bush carried the state by big margins. In 1996, O'Bannon and Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole carried the state. In 1988, Bayh won the governorship while the Bush41/Quayle ticket romped.

During the weekend, the Indianapolis Star came to the same conclusion, when reporter Jon Murray wrote: Experts say it will take more than strong base enthusiasm to put Mourdock, the Indiana treasurer, or Donnelly, a Northern Indiana Democratic congressman, over the top. For one, both candidates still are trying to win over Lugar's backers. And they're aiming at independent voters who are up for grabs in any election. It's a contest pitting a Tea Party darling against a moderate Democrat who's distanced himself from Obama – and from his party's positions – on social issues.

Jennifer Duffy of the Cook Political Report, who raised eyebrows in Tampa during the Republican National Convention when she acknowledged the race should "probably be a tossup" based on Mourdock's incredibly bad first 48 hours after his landslide primary win, told the Star, "It is now among the most competitive Republican-held seats. (Democrats) can hold the Senate without it, but the more Republican seats they can put in play, the better off they are."

Donnelly campaign manager Paul Tencher sees Mourdock underperforming Romney, leaving him wide open to a grab for the center by his candidate. "This race is going to come down to just thousands of votes probably," he told the Star.

Those two stories – read by hundreds of thousands of Hoosier newspaper and web readers – were the precursor to the secret reaching the national press.

On Tuesday, the New York Times wrote of a "national shift" in the Senate maps. The NYT story noted: The fight for the Senate has shifted significantly over



Richard Mourdock appears with U.S. Sen. Tom Coburn Monday in Indianapolis.



the past weeks, with fierce races breaking out in states where they were not expected and other contests dimming that were once ablaze with competition. With less than two months until Election Day, the Senate landscape is both broader and more fluid than it has been in years, with control of the upper chamber now anyone's guess. Both parties have seen new opportunities and new challenges, but the net result is that Democrats appear to be in less danger of losing the Senate, while Republicans have a more difficult path to gaining the majority. Democrats are now strongly competitive in races for the Republican-held seats in Indiana and North Dakota, where the Republican candidates – who were expected to walk away with those races – have exhibited weakness.

"A year ago, I thought the Republicans were certainly more likely than not to net four seats and win control," said Stuart Rothenberg, editor of the nonpartisan Rothenberg Political Report. "It increasingly looks like they have to run the table here."

The NYT reported: In Indiana, Mr. Mourdock, a Tea Party favorite, defeated Senator Richard G. Lugar in the Republican primary for a seat that he had held since the mid-1970s. But Mr. Mourdock has struggled, and Mr. Donnelly has gained traction, drawing support from some of Mr. Lugar's backers. Mr. Donnelly will have to rely on a brew of support from conservative Democrats, independents and disaffected Republicans who would never think of voting for President Obama but who might be turned off by Mr. Mourdock's anti-compromising attitude, which has not mellowed much during the general election.

"Going back 25 and 30 years, there is a history of ticket-splitting in the presidential year with Hoosiers," said Dan Parker, the chairman of the Indiana Democratic Party.

On Wednesday, it was Politico reporter David Cananese figuring out the new dynamic, describing Mourdock as "limping" into the homestretch. Politico reported: Republican Richard Mourdock hasn't morphed into the Sharron Angle-like candidate Democrats were hoping for. But the state treasurer finds himself limping into the fall homestretch after a barrage of Democratic ads over the summer framed him as an unyielding hyper-partisan. The onslaught has kept Donnelly in the game and forced Mourdock into a grittier fight than expected.

"We're no longer in a position to put this away by Oct. 1 because the Democratic groups pounced and the Republicans didn't. We had to reload and now the cavalry is coming," said a GOP operative involved in the campaign.

In fact, it was only last week that pro-Mourdock spending surpassed pro-Donnelly forces on the airwaves, according to a media tracker. Mourdock has also begun a tactical shift to the center, enlisting Republican Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman to vouch for his ability to work constructively with members of both parties. That's quite the reversal from the blustery, take-no-prisoners approach he vowed

after his May primary win over Sen. Dick Lugar.

Mourdock insisted at the time that "less bipartisanship" was needed on Capitol Hill. But the recalibration hasn't been entirely smooth. During a campaign event Monday with Oklahoma Sen. Tom Coburn, Mourdock couldn't name a Democrat he could work with. Mourdock's camp is preparing a harder line of attack against Donnelly once it emerges from the field with fresh polling next week. But the Blue Dog Democrat has shown to be surprisingly resilient against tags that he's too liberal or too close to the president. Donnelly's biggest challenge is outperforming Barack Obama and gubernatorial candidate John Gregg, who are on pace to lose the Hoosier state by high single digits.

The National Journal also reported on Wednesday: Republicans are now on the defensive in three critical states that once were squarely in their corner: Missouri, North Dakota, and Indiana. In Missouri, what once looked like a gimme seat for any Republican against Sen. Claire McCaskill has turned into a GOP nightmare as a weakened Rep. Todd Akin pledges to stay in the race. In North Dakota, Democrat Heidi Heitkamp is running neck-and-neck with Republican Rep. Rick Berg, thanks to an effective campaign that has emphasized her independence and personal likability. In Indiana, the GOP's Richard Mourdock hasn't been able to pivot from a Tea Party-fueled primary upset over Sen. Richard Lugar into an effective general election against Democratic Rep. Joe Donnelly. All three states are well out of the president's reach, but are filled with a significant number of crossover voters who will be backing Republican Mitt Romney and the Democratic Senate nominees.

Fueling this national change of perception has been Mourdock's shift away from the ardently anti-bipartisanship HPI described in the Sept. 7 edition. That shift has been duly noted by both Indiana and national press.

Indy Star columnist Matt Tully was openly derisive of Mourdock's attempted makeover: "If you buy that reversal of rhetoric, you might also be interested in buying public speaking tips from Joe Biden. The attempted re-write of Mourdock's history is cynically transparent and comical. It's also the year's top don't-look-at-the-man-behind-the-curtain maneuver. At the end of his new commercial, Mourdock delivers the standard legal disclaimer: 'I'm Richard Mourdock, and I approved this message.' Yes, he approved of the ad's message. But that doesn't make it any less phony."

The alarm ringing through GOP circles prompted the National Senatorial Campaign Committee to rush U.S. Sen. Tom Coburn to Indianapolis on Monday where he held a rare presser with Mourdock, only his third since February. "This seat in terms of us achieving a majority in the Senate is critical for us," said Coburn, who added that he believes that Mourdock will work in bipartisan fashion. "I believe in



compromise," said Coburn, "and I believe Richard will compromise in the best interest of our country which ultimately will be in the best interest of Indiana."

But just minutes later, when the press asked Mourdock to name a Senate Democrat he could fathom working with, Mourdock gave further credence to speculation that his national funders and handlers want him to keep quiet, circulate only at GOP events, and let them do the talking. Mourdock responded, "I would have to think about it. I don't have any off the top of my head."

WTHR-TV called Mourdock's gaff "revealing."

It gave Donnelly another opening, with the Democrat reacting, "Hoosier voters should be deeply concerned that Richard Mourdock is unable to name one member of my party who he thinks he could work with in the Senate. Time and again I have stood with Republicans like Fred Upton and Republican members of Indiana's delegation on matters including A-10s in Fort Wayne, veteran issues and critical transportation issues for Hoosiers. I also partnered with Senator Richard Lugar to support the rescue of our Hoosier auto jobs. Richard Mourdock? He's the same 'my way or the highway' guy, no matter how hard he tries to hide it."

How should have Mourdock answered that question? He could have mentioned conservative Democrats like West Virginia's Joe Manchin as someone he might be able to work with. He could have said that he would huddle with the Indiana congressional delegation, including U.S. Reps. Pete Visclosky and Andre Carson, to identify issues impacting Hoosiers. He could have aligned himself with Democrats dealing with the Great Lakes Asian carp dilemma, or those working on agricultural legislation. The Mourdock response underscores how hollow is his recent remake from an ardent foe of bipartisanship to an inclusive future Member.

There were signs that the Mourdock campaign is retooling in the face of more botched messaging. It brought on former 7th CD nominee Brose McVey as deputy campaign manager to the controversial Jim Holden. McVey is now shouldering more of the campaign communications chores and it fits his resume as a crisis communications specialist.

The next flashpoint could be the Indiana Debate Commission's two Senate debates that are scheduled for WFYI-TV in Indianapolis on Oct. 15 and IUSE in New Albany on Oct. 23. But commission President Max Jones of the Terre Haute Tribune-Star could only say "we hope so" when asked if Mourdock, Donnelly and Libertarian Andrew Horning would participate. GOP strategists toss and turn at night wondering how Mourdock will react to an Akinesque question on "legitimate rape" or the GOP national platform on abortion. Donnelly can only salivate to press him on his born-again stance on bipartisanship.

And Horning said that Mourdock is ducking joint

appearances. "So far, I've become aware of a dozen public candidate events (debates, QA, meet/greet) that have been canceled because at least one of the other candidates prefers to purchase tightly controlled, pre-scripted messages, than face actual human interaction and hard questions. This is not how elections should work."

Asked if it was Mourdock or Donnelly refusing to appear in joint formats, Horning said, "I haven't seen Richard Mourdock do anything but Republican stuff. If you can buy a message, if you can control that message, why debate? The truth of it is, this is a rotten way to run a campaign."

As HPI columnist Mark Souder wrote in today's Page 1 column, the press seems to be aligned against Mourdock. But this campaign has had an "us vs. them" mentality concerning the news media.

But Republicans outside Lugar circles are increasingly appalled by the Mourdock campaign. Here is one informed and reliable local Republican who surveyed the Senate race: "First, Mourdock will probably win. The Republican tide in Indiana will be just too strong. That being said, if he wins, it will be in spite of his campaign. Jim Holden will not listen to anyone. They have insisted in trumpeting their victory over a 30-plus year tenured opponent (Sen. Lugar) in fundraising appeals. This (does) not sit well with some moneyed folks in the party. They have repeatedly been warned about doing this. The Skillman advertisements have been very effective. Tracking shows that. Mourdock has not done a very good job of involving the local party organizations. Whereas Pence has been the master at this, Mourdock has largely bypassed the locals. This has hurt his ability to raise funds in Indiana. The 527 group headed by Jim Bopp is raising big money and that will help Mourdock. Tea Party people will turn out for rallies but they don't raise money and, so far, they haven't been particularly adept at grassroots politics. Unfortunately, they actually think they are the reason that Lugar lost. They are terribly wrong. Finally, Indianapolis political muscle is starting to come together for Mourdock for one main reason: He could be the difference between Republicans carrying the Senate or not."

On Sept. 26, U.S. Sens. Dan Coats, John Coryn and Rob Portman will attend a fundraiser with Mourdock in Fort Wayne.

The Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll will survey the U.S. Senate race twice prior to the Nov. 6 election.

Horse Race Status: Tossup

Debate sequence opens on Oct. 3

Debate sequence opens Oct. 3 with the first and probably the most crucial presidential debate and ends on Oct. 25 with the final of three Indiana gubernatorial



debates.

Including those debates, there will be three presidential debates between Oct. 3 and Oct. 22, a vice presidential debate on Oct. 11.

The presidential debates will be:

Thursday, Oct. 3, 9 to 10:30 p.m., University of Denver, on domestic policy and hosted by PBS NewHour host Jim Lehrer. The debate will focus on domestic policy and be divided into six time segments of approximately 15 minutes each on topics to be selected by the moderator and announced several weeks before the debate. The moderator will open each segment with a question, after which each candidate will have two minutes to respond. The moderator will use the balance of the time in the segment for a discussion of the topic.

Tuesday Oct. 16, 9 to 10:30 p.m., at Hofstra University in Hempstead, NY, in a town hall format that will include foreign and domestic policy, hosted by CNN's Candy Crowley. The second presidential debate will take the form of a town meeting, in which citizens will ask questions of the candidates on foreign and domestic issues. Candidates each will have two minutes to respond, and an additional minute for the moderator to facilitate a discussion. The town meeting participants will be undecided voters selected by the Gallup Organization.

Monday, Oct. 22, 9 to 10:30 p.m., at Lynn University in Boca Raton, Fla., on foreign policy, hosted by CBS Face the Nation host Bob Schieffer. The format for the debate will be identical to the first presidential debate and will focus on foreign policy.

The vice presidential debate will be the closest to Indiana, scheduled from 9 to 10:30 p.m. Thursday, Oct. 11 at Centre College in Danville, KY, and hosted by Martha Raddatz of ABC News. The debate will cover both foreign and domestic topics and be divided into nine time segments of approximately 10 minutes each. The moderator will ask an opening question, after which each candidate will have two minutes to respond. The moderator will use the balance of the time in the segment for a discussion of the question.

Of the three presidential debates, the Oct. 3 opener could be the most crucial, as it will be not only the first, but the only one that will occur before most early voting by mail and internet methods in 32 states and the District of Columbia opens shortly thereafter. Early voting opens Sept. 27 in the tossup state of Iowa and Oct. 2 in Ohio. Polls in two more swing states, Nevada and Colorado, open Oct. 20 and 22, respectively. In Florida, the decisive state in 2000, voting starts Oct. 27.

Hoosier voters can submit questions to the Indiana Debate Commission for consideration to be asked of candidates in the governor's race and U.S. Senate race. As many as 2,500 free seats will be available at venues across

the state of Indiana that have agreed to donate their facilities. Indiana voters are invited to submit questions on the commission's website with links to both races from the home page. For the governor's race: <http://indianadebate-commission.com/submit-a-question-gubernatorial-debate/>. For the U.S. Senate race: <http://indianadebatecommission.com/submit-a-question-senatorial-debate/> Questions are vetted by members of the commission and those who submit may be invited to ask their questions of the candidates in person. Confirmed dates, times and locations for the gubernatorial debates with Republican Mike Pence, Libertarian Rupert Boneham and Democrat John Gregg are: 7 p.m. Oct. 10 at the Zionsville Performing Arts Center; 7 p.m. Wednesday, October 17 at DeBartolo Performing Arts Center, South Bend; 7 p.m. Thursday, Oct. 25 at WFWA-TV PBS 39, Fort Wayne.

Tentative dates, times and locations for the U.S. Senate debates with Republican Richard Mourdock, Libertarian Andrew Horning and Democrat Joe Donnelly are: 7 p.m. Monday Oct. 15, WFYI-TV, Indianapolis; 7 p.m. Tuesday, October 23, Paul W. Ogle Cultural & Community Center, Indiana University Southeast, New Albany. "The commission continues to put voters first as we engage with candidates in this fall election season with one of our busiest seasons ever," said Max Jones, president of the commission and editor of the Tribune-Star in Terre Haute, Ind. "We also had a record number of venues submit applications this year and we also rely on their generosity to provide free and accessible sites to accommodate public attendance."

Governor: Pence calls for marriage impact statements

Republican gubernatorial candidate Mike Pence gave a hint Wednesday at what social issues he would push for as governor, while Democrat John Gregg called for a new tax credit he claims would help companies return jobs from overseas (Carden, NWI Times). The Pence campaign issued a "roadmap" Wednesday that included most of the campaign's previous policy announcements and added a few new ones. The campaign said it would improve law enforcement training and help foster families and adopted children get better educations.

The plan also stated that Pence would "promote marriage by requiring a family impact statement for state regulations." Pence spokeswoman Christy Denault said the campaign would explain what that meant in the coming weeks and declined to answer questions about the new proposals.

Family impact statements have a long history on the national stage, stretching from the culture wars of the '90s back to a Senate investigation on the status of



the American family led by then-Sen. Walter Mondale in 1973. In 1987, President Ronald Reagan ordered that the executive branch look at whether new rules and regulations "strengthen or erode the family and, particularly, the marital commitment."

Kristi Hamrick, spokeswoman for the Washington-based conservative group American Values, said the goal of the statements was to help lawmakers and regulators see how federal laws and regulations unintentionally rip families apart. Welfare programs and tax laws, for example, discouraged low-income mothers from getting married by giving more money to single mothers, she said. "It's in the federal government's interest if we live in the context of strong families," she said. Hamrick was unsure exactly how family statements would apply at the state level, but guessed that education would be an obvious choice for assessment.

Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg said he wants companies to get tax credits if they "re-shore" jobs as part of a plan to revitalize the state's manufacturing sector. "This race will look totally different at the end of September," Gregg, a former Indiana House Speaker, said (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). He held an event alongside his running mate, State Sen. Vi Simpson, D-Ellettsville, at Cannon IV, a printing and supply company in Indianapolis, to announce what he called "common sense reforms" that would create manufacturing jobs. "If we are serious about job creation — and we are — we need to do everything we can to give Hoosier manufacturers and small businesses a leg up, and then get out of their way," Gregg said. He called for a tax credit worth 100 percent of what employers would spend on payroll taxes for each manufacturing job that is "re-shored," or brought from overseas into Indiana, for a three-year period. Gregg said he would create an Indiana Office of Manufacturing, which would be a primary point of contact for manufacturers interested in moving into the state, seeking suppliers and more. And he said his administration would focus on linking skilled veterans with job opportunities.

Both leading candidates for governor have proposed tax cuts -- but an Indiana University study suggests they're focusing on the wrong ones (WIBC). Pence has said he'd slash Indiana's income tax to three-percent from the current three-point-four, while Democrat John Gregg has proposed exempting gasoline from the sales tax. Both candidates have proposed cuts in the corporate income tax. IU's "Policy Choices for Indiana's Future" project says cutting the corporate income tax might be helpful. But the project's tax commission notes the state just cut those rates, and concludes they're low enough to be competitive. Co-chairs David Lewis, an Eli Lilly vice president, and former Democratic lieutenant governor Kathy Davis say a further cut might not be affordable. Indiana's seven-

percent sales tax, on the other hand, is the second-highest in the nation, and Lewis and Davis say it needs to be cut. They recommend expanding the sales tax to cover services, and using the additional money to slash the overall rate. The study steers clear of recommending specifics for implementing a service tax -- Lewis acknowledges the issue is complex. He says legislators need to consider, for example, whether some services are mobile, and might simply move to another state to escape taxation. The panel recommends against changing the income tax, noting it's the ninth-lowest in the nation now. But Davis says legislators should consider what she concedes would be an unpopular move: increasing the gas tax to cover road maintenance, as the proceeds from the Toll Road lease run out. IU's Public Policy Institute released the study earlier this year. Davis and Lewis presented the panel's findings Monday to a legislative study committee.

Pence offered up an education plan last Friday that he says will push to pay higher salaries and bonuses to teachers whose students earn high scores on standardized tests if he is elected Indiana's next governor (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). It was the focal point of an education plan that laid out goals — among them, expanding access to charter and private schools, recruiting top math and science teachers, and supporting community-based prekindergarten programs — but included few details on how to achieve them. "We cannot succeed in the marketplace if we fail in the classroom," Pence said in a statement. "There's nothing that ails public education that can't be fixed if we give parents more choices and teachers more freedom to teach." In a white paper, Pence's campaign said a proposal to pay each school where 85 percent or more students pass the ISTEP exam an extra \$500 per student is a "great starting point," and said that "teachers should definitely share in the performance-based awards." It also called for grants for schools to pay their top-performing teachers more. Pence said the state should support community-based prekindergarten programs for low-income families, as well as promote the expansion of voucher and charter school options — but he offered no new details on how he would accomplish either goal.

New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie will attend a fundraiser for Pence in Carmel on Friday. **Horse Race:** Likely Pence

2nd CD: Mullen touts GOP support

Democrat nominee Brendan Mullen has promised to be a moderate, independent voice for north-central Indiana if he's elected this fall (Allen, South Bend Tribune). In the meantime, he's reaching across the aisle for votes. Mullen said last Friday at a downtown South Bend coffeehouse that he is supported by coalition of Republicans and independents over the GOP's candidate, Jackie Walorski.



One of those supporters is his wife, Suzanne, who worked for several years as general counsel to Republican-led congressional committees. "As a Republican, we have a mixed marriage," she said while holding their daughter Frankie, born four weeks ago at Memorial Hospital. "So, as you can probably guess, bipartisanship for us really starts at home -- whether it's deciding what we're going to have for dinner or talking about ideas to trim the national budget." St. Joseph County Republican Chairwoman Deborah Fleming said Mullen is mistaken if he thinks he's going to receive many cross-over votes in Indiana's 2nd District. "Obviously, as county chairwoman, I spend a lot of time listening to the concerns of Hoosiers in our district," Fleming said. "The people I talk with are not supportive of him at all. He can stand up there with some of his friends, but the Republicans in St. Joseph County stand fully behind Jackie Walorski." About a dozen self-identified Republicans and independents joined Mullen on Friday, but he said he has many more supporters who want federal lawmakers to set aside party labels and solve problems. "There's no monopoly on good ideas -- the Democrats don't have it; the Republicans don't have it," he said. "We all collectively have good ideas. We need to come to the middle of the table and get stuff done." Walorski (IN-02) was formally endorsed today by the Indiana Farm Bureau's political action committee, Indiana Farm Bureau ELECT (Howey Politics Indiana). "It is a privilege to be endorsed by Indiana's farmers," said Walorski. "Agriculture is the cornerstone of the Hoosier state's economy, and with all 92 counties recently declared primary natural disaster areas it is imperative that Congress protect family farms at the federal level." The Indiana Farm Bureau ELECT formally presented Walorski with her endorsement during a monthly meeting at McClure's Orchard at Peru. Walorski spoke with bureau members representing second district counties to hear more about their priorities for Indiana agriculture. Endorsement criteria also include the candidate's support and understanding for Farm Bureaus, farmers, agriculture, and rural issues. The ELECT PAC meet to review the platform of both candidates before voting. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Walorski

3rd CD Stutzman willing to debate

U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman released the following statement: "First, I'd much rather have this discussion on a day other than 9/11, but since my opponent raised the issue on this day of national remembrance, I'll respond. The two debates our campaign has been approached about so far have not worked because of scheduling conflicts. We've not been approached about others. I'm open to a debate that the members of the media would help facilitate, which we've mentioned to media outlets." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Stutzman

5th CD: Reske announces vet priorities

Scott Reske, 5th CD Democratic nominee, was joined Monday by military veterans to announce his legislative priorities for veterans and military families. "There are three things we must do to honor our veterans," said Reske, who faces Republican Susan Brooks. "We must make sure our service members have the best equipment and training, ensure that while our men and women are deployed their families are supported, and we must make sure our veterans are given proper health care and are able to transition back into civilian life when they return home." Reske said ensuring that our service members have the best equipment and training begins with making sure the federal budget is in line with the needs of the United States military. "As a Marine Corps colonel assigned to the Pentagon, I saw defense expenditures forced by Congress that were unneeded and unwanted by our military," said Reske. "With defense spending accounting for half of our federal budget, and in times of budgetary restraints, true military experience by members of Congress becomes even more important. With limited resources, every time we buy equipment for political gain that is unwanted by the Department of Defense, it puts our men and women in harm's way." Reske emphasized that our service members must be taken care of while they are deployed, but also when they return home. "Advancements in battlefield medicine have allowed soldiers to survive injuries that would previously have been fatal," said Reske. "Therefore, modern occupational therapy, rehabilitation and other medical advancements must be part of veteran care." **Horse Race Status:** Safe Brooks

9th CD: Young accepts debates with Yoder

U.S. Rep. Todd Young's campaign announced Wednesday that he has agreed with Democrat nominee Shelli Yoder to participate in two candidate debates--one hosted by Franklin College in Johnson County, and the other hosted by O'Bannon Publishing in Harrison County--before the November 6 general election. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Young

Statewides

Republican Superintendent of Public Instruction Tony Bennett responded Friday to a debate request from his opponent -- sort of (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Democrat Glenda Ritz challenged him earlier this week to a debate in each of the state's nine congressional districts, something that has never happened before. "With only 60 days left in the election, time is running short to meet all of the logistical requirements to host this type of event," Bennett said. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Bennett



Gauging the post-convention presidential poll bounce

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND - Bounce. Or not a bounce. That is the question.

The national political conventions are over. And pollsters try to measure the increase in approval - the bounce - that usually comes to a presidential candidate after the candidate's convention.



Why a bounce?

Because of the attention focused on a major party's convention, with speakers extolling virtues of the presidential nominee and contrasting those with the flaws of the other side. It's a one-sided presentation. And voters get to see on TV and evaluate the speech of the nominee, who seeks to make his most persuasive appeal in front of wildly cheering delegates.

Why not a bounce?

Some political analysts think that big bounces are a thing of the past. The TV networks don't carry much coverage of the conventions now, not the wall-to-wall coverage of the past, and interest is down because nomination winners have long been certain.

Also, the way the country is divided so evenly, with partisans on each side entrenched, there may not be that many undecided folks to be swayed and thus provide a big jump in polls after any convention.

After the Republican National Convention, some polls showed Mitt Romney enjoyed no bounce at all. His own speech was overshadowed by an aging actor who mumbled and bumbled inappropriate lines to an empty chair.

But contentions that Romney gained no bump from the convention are wrong.

Nate Silver, the number-crunching political prognosticator for the New York Times, whose predictions have so often been so accurate, finds from analysis of all the polls that "a bounce somewhere in the two-to-three point range looks about right."

That's a small bounce by historical standards, Silver notes, but not out of line with a trend toward smaller bounces.

Also important is that while most polls after the Republican Convention showed President Obama still clinging to a fragile lead, some showed that convention attacks on the president had increased the percentage of voters with a negative view of him. The president has enjoyed a much

higher "likeability" than Romney, and changing that was a convention goal.

Now, polls measure the bump for Obama after the Democratic National Convention (Gallup published a poll Saturday after this column was written showing Obama leading Romney 49-45% while Obama's approve/disapprove was at 52/42%).

Democrats, thrilled that viewers saw more enthusiasm and emotion among their delegates as Michelle Obama, Bill Clinton and the president all were cheered as home run hitters, now expect a bigger bounce.

We'll see.

Enthusiasm among the delegates doesn't necessarily translate into a big jump in the polls. After all, the important audience for the speeches is outside the convention hall.

As with the measuring of whether Romney got a bounce and, if so, how much, it will take analysis of all the polls, not just the initial samplings, to determine whether Obama really hit the ball out of the park or whether it just seemed that way to the delegates.

A bitty bounce, about the same as Romney's, means it's still basically a tie, with Obama still ahead by just a smidgen as three debates loom to perhaps break the tie. A big bounce could be decisive. No bounce at all could be decisive, too, in the other way.

During both conventions, the opportunity to sway voters was limited.

One large part of the electorate believes that President Obama brought America back from the brink of a Second Great Depression, saving the American auto industry and bringing slow but steady economic growth, despite obstructionist Republicans in Congress.

Another large part of the electorate believes that President Obama has failed to bring economic recovery, making a bad situation worse and bringing too much regulation, with Republicans in Congress viewed as correct in seeking to block health care reform and other Obama initiatives.

Those in the first group weren't swayed by criticism of Obama by Republican convention oratory. Those in the second group weren't swayed by criticism of Romney by Democratic convention oratory. Issues other than handling of the economy were stressed in the conventions, of course, and polls will test whether they swayed any of the limited percentage of undecided voters.

Hard to test but perhaps decisive is the effect of all the oratory on firing up potential supporters to actually get to the polls. A poll bounce doesn't matter much if it isn't sustained until Election Day. ❖

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



The majority doesn't always rule

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – Take Lake County for example. While the majority of the Lake County Council favors adoption of a county income tax, it likely isn't going to happen. Two of the three county commissioners – as they did once before – would veto the taxing ordinance. And the seven-member county council doesn't have a fifth vote to override the veto.



Without adoption of the income tax, the 2007 state-imposed freeze on local levies continues to strangle government on all levels in the county. No longer is the annual revenue escalator available to local government units. As a result, local government is cannibalizing itself across the county.

What to do?

Up until passage of HEA 1478 in 2007, the cities and towns had the power to impose an income tax without the blessing

of the county council and commissioners. Prior to the new law, municipalities making up 51 percent of the county's population could have voted to impose the income tax.

If they still had that power today, chances are excellent that Lake County would have an income tax. Just as the quality of county government is eroding because of a lack of money, so too, is the same happening to towns and cities.

For a variety of self-serving reasons, the county council and commissioners look the other way while Rome burns. Some of them said they oppose the income tax because it would be unfair in that businesses would be exempt. Don't buy it. That's just a smoke screen for the real reason they don't want the tax – self-serving politics.

There is a lawsuit pending to have the levy freeze lifted. It was filed a year ago by Dan Murchek, deputy chief of the county police department and Robert Klasner, county FOP president. While well-intentioned, the lawsuit has as much a chance for success as the Chicago Cubs have for winning the World Series. Over the course of a year, it hasn't even been

scheduled for trial.

So, is that it? Does Lake County continue to waste away – firing police officers and firefighters and other government servants? Or does someone fight back?

God bless the city of Hobart, which fired the first salvo last week. The Hobart City Council adopted a resolution asking the county council and commissioners to adopt a 1% income tax.

So who will be next?

Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott, Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson and East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland each has come out for the income tax. The leader of every municipality ought to be doing the same. They are all suffering together. I have got to think that if they all – or at least the vast majority – came together in support of the tax, that it would put enough pressure on the county council and commissioners to finally embrace reality and adopt the tax.

It could be done without any real political consequences. The local officials could tell their constituents they have no option because of the punitive tactics of the General Assembly and Gov. Mitch Daniels. It's either a matter of adopt the tax or die.

And local officials also can tell their folks that while they may pay an income tax, the money – or much of it – will be used to lower property taxes. This potential coalescence of communities faces one glaring problem. And it isn't new to Lake County.

Who, pray tell, is going to lead this movement?

With almost 20 municipalities in Lake County, is there someone with the gumption to cross town and city boundaries to bring people together.

I suggest that task falls to Tom McDermott, not only because he is mayor of Lake County's largest city, but also because he is county Democratic chairman.

One thing is for sure, the current situation isn't tenable. Such a campaign could thrust McDermott into the limelight as a real leader. That's something he could use one day if he decides to run for Congress when Rep. Peter Visclosky retires or a statewide office.

I would also suggest to McDermott and the opposition among the county councilmen and commissioners that this is about Lake County's quality of life, not taxes or politics. ❖

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





Andrea Neal, Indiana Policy Review: One day after Ann Romney's Republican National Convention speech, the Associated Press devoted an entire article to her "tasteful, conservative and appropriate wardrobe." Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice delivered an issue-packed endorsement of Mitt Romney, and Wall Street Journal Live responded with a two-minute video segment, "How to avoid Condi Rice lipstick on teeth." Media references to the physical appearance of women in leadership are so ubiquitous that most of us barely notice them. The Republican convention produced a typical sampling. Yet over time the media's portrayal of women has a profound deterrent effect, keeping capable potential officeholders from seeking elective position. That's a premise of the documentary, "Miss Representation," screened last week at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis and sponsored by National Panhellenic Conference. The film featured extensive video clips of television pundits referring to physical attributes of candidates, most notably Democrat Hillary Clinton during her 2008 presidential run, GOP vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin and House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi. The anecdotal evidence is echoed in a "political ambition study" by the Women and Politics Institute of American University. Women just don't want to put themselves "out there." Although women entered politics in growing numbers in the 1980s and 1990s, the momentum stalled in the early 2000s, and 2010 saw a net decrease of women in the U.S. House and state legislatures. Women hold just under 17 percent of the seats in Congress compared with 45 percent in Sweden, 36 percent in Spain and 33 percent in New Zealand. Nationally, women account for 23.6 percent of state legislative seats and 22.4 percent of statewide elective offices. In Indiana, they are 21 percent of the Indiana House and 20 percent of the State Senate. The disparity between men and women in elective office is not the result of discrimination but the failure of women to seek office in the first place, concludes the ambition study. So why don't women run in proportion to their percentage of the population, 50.8 percent? The reasons are complex but boil down to a gender gap in ambition that has widened from a decade ago, the study says. In 2001, when asked, "Are you interested in running for office in the future," 18 percent of women said yes, as did 23 percent of men. In 2011, only 14 percent of women said yes compared to 22 percent of men. Ironically, the 2008 campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin reinforced women's fears of the electoral process. A survey of potential female candidates found that 69 percent believed Clinton and Palin were subject to biased media coverage and 54 percent felt too much attention was paid to their looks. ❖



Eric Bradner, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette: It's tough to go anywhere in Evansville without meeting someone who was connected to the former Whirlpool plant. If it's not a direct personal connection, most people at least know a friend or have family member who drew a paycheck from the refrigerator-maker. After all, companies such as Whirlpool, which employed 10,000 at its peak in the 1970s, becomes a part of a city's DNA, and when it closes, as the plant on U.S. 41 did in 2010, the blow stings. What happened there — the company's decision to close its doors on Indiana and shift most of that work to Mexico — is part of a bigger story about the decline of old American manufacturing and the opening of the global marketplace. That sting still lingers, which is why the subject of foreign trade and how the United States ought to handle it became an issue last week in Indiana's 8th District U.S. House race between incumbent Rep. Larry Bucshon and Democratic challenger Dave Crooks. In his first two television ads, Crooks reminded viewers of decisions such as the one Whirlpool made. He shows now-closed plants and says he wants higher tariffs on Chinese exports and higher taxes on companies that send American jobs overseas. It's an issue that's personal for Crooks, who has his own version of the story those 1,200 Whirlpool workers from 2010 now have. His mother and sister were laid off when an American latex plant moved to Malaysia. His message might connect with voters in a Southwestern Indiana district that is no longer the manufacturing center it once was. Still, the issue of foreign trade is more complicated than a 30-second TV spot could ever possibly convey. Bucshon disagrees with Crooks. "Closing our borders and putting tariffs on products is an old concept that fails because this is a global economy, and the only way for us to keep jobs in our country is to out-compete other countries," Bucshon told me last week. ❖

Matt Tully, Indianapolis Star: U.S. Senate candidate Richard Mourdock describes himself as a student of history. These days he is trying to rewrite his own history. The king of no-compromise, the man who insisted "we need less bipartisanship in Congress" is now airing an utterly fictional commercial that portrays Mourdock as a bipartisan problem-solver. The candidate who has drawn national attention for taking his embrace of ideological stalemates to nearly unprecedented levels now hopes voters are so naive that they will forget his past. "Richard's a great teammate," Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman says in the new Mourdock-financed TV ad, "and he'll work with Republicans and Democrats to grow our economy and create jobs." The attempted re-write of Mourdock's history is cynically transparent and comical. It's also the year's top don't-look-at-the-man-behind-the-curtain maneuver. ❖



Obama, Romney trade shots

WASHINGTON — Republican Mitt Romney and President Barack Obama are trading tough words over the handling of foreign attacks on U.S. diplomatic missions in the Middle East, injecting foreign policy into a presidential campaign that has focused on a sour economy (Associated Press). Romney accused the Obama administration of showing weakness in the attack that killed the U.S. ambassador to Libya, Chris Stevens, and three American members of his staff. Romney blasted the initial statement from the U.S. Embassy in Cairo as disgraceful and “akin to apology,” adding later, “It’s never too early for the United States government to condemn attacks on Americans and to defend our values.” However, the embassy statement came before the protesters had breached the embassy’s walls and was not an apology but an affirmation of the American policy of religious tolerance and respect. A statement by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton minutes before Romney’s was released condemned the attack in Libya and said there was no justification for such violent acts. In an interview with CBS News’ “60 Minutes” later in the day, Obama said the episode showed Romney’s penchant for having “a tendency to shoot first and aim later. It appears that Gov. Romney didn’t have his facts right,” Obama said. That night, during a rally in Las Vegas, the president said he had a message for the rest of the world: “No act of terror will dim the light of the values that we proudly shine on the rest of the world, and no act of violence will shake the resolve of the United States of America.”



3 GOP electors won’t tab Romney

WASHINGTON - At least three Republican electors say they may not support their party’s presidential ticket when the Electoral College meets in December to formally elect the new president, escalating tensions within the GOP and adding a fresh layer of intrigue to the final weeks of the White House race (Washington Post). The electors — all are supporters of former GOP presidential candidate Ron Paul — told The Associated Press they are exploring options should Mitt Romney win their states. They expressed frustration at how Republican leaders have worked to suppress Paul’s conservative movement and his legion of loyal supporters. “They’ve never given Ron Paul a fair shot, and I’m disgusted with that. I’d like to show them how disgusted I am,” said Melinda Wadsley, an Iowa mother of three who was selected a Republican elector earlier this year. The defection of multiple electors would be unprecedented in the last 116 years of U.S. politics. And it would raise the remote possibility that the country could even end up with a president and vice president from different parties. If Romney prevailed in an extremely close presidential election, for example, defections could deprive him of the Electoral College majority needed to secure the presidency. That would throw the presidential election into the U.S. House for the first time in nearly two centuries. The Senate would elect the vice president if neither running mate got a majority of the electoral votes.

Brown files ethics charge vs. Daniels

INDIANAPOLIS - A Democratic lawmaker known to butt heads with Gov. Mitch Daniels on Wednesday filed

an ethics complaint surrounding his upcoming job as president of Purdue University (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Jane Jankowski, press secretary for the governor, called the complaint “partisan nonsense.” Rep. Charlie Brown, D-Gary -- who once famously referred to Daniels as “lord shorty” -- questioned two things about Daniels’ presidential transition, which will become official in January. First was the use of state employees and resources to send out a Sept. 4 statement criticizing expensive renovations to the Purdue president’s office. The statement was unrelated to state business and was sent out to reporters by his communication staff on state letterhead. Jankowski said Daniels simply set the record straight after what could have been misleading headlines about him. “But, as governor, he could very legitimately and properly comment about university expenditures at Purdue or elsewhere,” she said.

Winchester mayor, wife in SBA probe

WINCHESTER - For Winchester Mayor Steve Croyle, though, a recent State Board of Accounts report on his city’s parks department — and more specifically, the handling of revenue generated by rental of the Beeson Building and Shelter — had to be especially jarring (Muncie Star Press. That’s because the report indicated \$1,665 in such revenue collected between January 2011 and last June 12 was never submitted to the clerk-treasurer’s office. The audit noted the money from the shelter and building rental is collected by the mayor’s office, more specifically by the mayor’s secretary. In this case, the mayor’s secretary was also the mayor’s wife, Gail.