



10 Years After: Frank O'Bannon in focus

Assessing the legacy of Indiana's 47th governor a decade after his passing

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – May 27, 1997.

It seems like an innocuous date today, but in reality it was the high point in the executive career of Gov. Frank O'Bannon.

This was the day the Indiana General Assembly reconvened in a special session, the fifth of the previous decade. It found the two 1996 gubernatorial opponents – O'Bannon and Republican Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith – tag teaming and speaking to House and Senate caucuses of the other party to forge an epic deal.

When the dust settled, the package had been hammered out on the new NBA arena for the Indiana Pacers and \$30 million in extensive renovations for the Indianapolis Colts at the RCA Dome. Both teams were threatening to leave the state, and within days of the final gavel there was an announcement that the NCAA was moving its



national headquarters to the White River State Park, that there would be an 18% increase in workers compensation benefits, and a cut in the inheritance tax.

As the Howe Political Report observed in its June 6, 1997, edition, "Most critically, Indiana's stature in the eyes of the nation and its people not only dodged a potentially huge hit, but actually grew. From a psychological standpoint as we head into the next century, Indiana stands poised as a thriving manufacturing center with

Continued on page 3

Reassessing the gentleman

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON – Judy O'Bannon is fond of quoting an adage of her late husband Governor Frank O'Bannon: "If you don't care who gets the credit, there's no limit to what you can accomplish."



As a political apothegm, the maxim goes back to President Harry Truman, which is appropriate. Truman and Frank O'Bannon had a lot in common. Both were underrated in their time, perhaps in part because they spoke the plain language of their modest, midwestern backgrounds. Both had core values they believed in



"After listening to the speech, I have not been persuaded to support military action in Syria."

- U.S. Rep. Todd Young



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

It is published by
WWHowey Media, LLC
405 Massachusetts Ave.,
Suite 300
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Brian A. Howey, Publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington
Jack E. Howey, Editor
Mary Lou Howey, Editor
Maureen Hayden, Statehouse
Matthew Butler, Daily Wire

Subscriptions

\$599 annually
Ray Volpe, Account Manager
☎ 317.602.3620
email: HoweyInfo@gmail.com

Contact HPI

www.howeypolitics.com
bhowey2@gmail.com
☎ Howey's Cabin: 812.988.6520
☎ Howey's cell: 317.506.0883
☎ Washington: 202-256-5822
☎ Business Office: 317.602.3620

© 2013, Howey Politics Indiana. All rights reserved. Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher. ❖

deeply. And, both succeeded polished chief executives whose popularity overshadowed their successors' accomplishments.

When Truman left office, he was one of the most unpopular Presidents in history. His popularity only began to rise in the 1970's after his death when historians gave him a second look. O'Bannon's popularity never dipped significantly — certainly not anywhere near as low as Truman's did. But his accomplishments have been obscured by the glare of the Evan Bayh and Mitch Daniels administrations. A decade after his death, Frank O'Bannon career warrants re-examination. O'Bannon's status in history deserves elevation.

For sure, Frank O'Bannon aspired to be governor, though he was not driven by personal ambition. He didn't approach one office as a stepping-stone to a higher one. Nor was he tied to a political ideology. Instead, during his 18 years in the state Senate and then four as lieutenant governor, he focused on accomplishing public good through consensus building. He strongly believed in the process of democratic government.

O'Bannon spent most of his legislative career in the minority. His ability to reach agreement with the majority made him one of the most successful minority leaders ever. But his refusal to make decisions as a part of a career calculation led many to underestimate him as a gubernatorial candidate. Of course, he graciously abandoned his first campaign for governor to take the second spot to a younger inexperienced but charismatic Evan Bayh. His willingness to do so in order to avoid a divisive primary helped pave the way to 16 years of Democratic rule in a Republican state.

O'Bannon was elected governor in 1996, in part, because he was underestimated. Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith, who enjoyed a golden boy national reputation, started the race with a double-digit lead.

Goldsmith's over-confidence allowed O'Bannon to out-hustle him during the summer months and outmaneuver him down the stretch.

O'Bannon's 1996 campaign ranks as one of the best in modern Indiana history (see page 11).

Overconfidence led Goldsmith to make mistakes that O'Bannon shrewdly capitalized on. O'Bannon also put together a first-rate ground game. Julia Carson, running for Congress for the first time, turned out the Democratic vote in Indianapolis resulting in O'Bannon carrying Marion County—Goldsmith's home turf.

In the final analysis, the majority of voters found O'Bannon more trustworthy than Goldsmith. He exuded the same kind of grandfatherly image as the former Indiana Governor Otis Bowen, epitomizing "Hoosier values."

The heart of O'Bannon's agenda as governor revolved around community development, or what Judy O'Bannon called "communities building communities." Frank and Judy O'Bannon became evangelists for a philosophy of economic development that flowed from the ground up rather than the top down as usually happens. The essence of their approach was to try to hand local communities real control of their future by giving them the tools to effectively compete.

O'Bannon also placed professionals experienced in local government on his staff — first as Lieutenant Governor and then as Governor. For example, South Bend Deputy Mayor Craig Hartzler became Director of Community Development in the Commerce Department and then ran several other departments when O'Bannon became governor. Betty Cockrum, who had been controller for the City of Bloomington, became controller at Commerce and later the State Budget Director in the O'Bannon administration.

A related initiative and perhaps O'Bannon most visible ac-



accomplishment was the creation of the community college system under IVY Tech that has grown exponentially. Indiana's community colleges have expanded educational opportunities in the state and provided career paths for students who aren't yet prepared for a four year college. It has also created a feeder system into the state's major colleges and universities. The goal of establishing local and regional community colleges was integrally tied to the O'Bannon philosophy of empowering these communities and providing skills that would keep people from leaving their hometowns for greener pastures.

The O'Bannon administration was openly friendly to working families and laid the groundwork for progressive reforms in unemployment and workers compensation. It also pushed for enactment of the Workforce Investment Act that enabled the use of federal job training funds for dislocated and underemployed workers.

Other accomplishments included legislation that tightened the sales and advertising of tobacco products to underage children ushering in a new era of declining cigarette use in Indiana. The O'Bannon administration also

played a major role in expanding Indiana's relationship with Japan, attracting Japanese investment in the state and companies that hired Hoosier workers.

O'Bannon believed deeply in early childhood education and was the first to propose full-day kindergarten. Gov. Daniels, having signed legislation to fund full-day kindergarten in 2012, will be remembered for it. But the idea began with the O'Bannon administration. As O'Bannon used to say, it doesn't matter who gets the credit.

Frank O'Bannon was Indiana's gentleman governor. He governed Indiana with grace and a calmness that inspired the best in public service. O'Bannon's values reflected an honesty and decency that are particularly Midwestern and Hoosier. He governed without ego and was down-to-earth and approachable. In the current climate of intense partisanship, he probably seems like a throwback. We could certainly use a throwback like Frank O'Bannon in politics today. ❖

Sautter is a Democratic consultant living in Washington.

Frank O'Bannon, from page 1

better protected workers and maintaining itself as a sports center."

On the day of the Indianapolis 500, it was O'Bannon who sought to move the splintered House and Senate leadership toward a deal. He not only had a Republican Senate still seething about his upset over Goldsmith the previous November, but House and Senate Republicans were engaged in bitter fratricide as Bob Garton and Larry Borst held court.

"You know my style of leadership and my legislative experience is to know the people and know the policies involved and to try and put those together to make some sense," O'Bannon told me after the dust settled. "Then as I worked at it over the weekend, I decided what the five bills would be and they were the Pacers bill, innkeepers bill, workers comp bill, and the inheritance tax bill and the unemployment insurance bill. It gave a \$50 million break to business. I added that to the package in case they wanted to throw something off."

It was Gov. O'Bannon, just six months after his stunning 52-47% upset of Goldsmith, who vetoed a budget, called a special session with no deal in hand, then wrote out on the back of an envelope the five things he needed for a deal. He enlisted the help of powerful Republicans like Joe Loftus, Pat Kiely, John Mutz and Randall Tobias.



"They worked to say that with a 9% increase in premiums on worker's compensation they would still be paying 9% less than they were three years ago and that had to be a fair deal," O'Bannon said.

"He was the only one of everybody on this planet that could have done it," said Senate Finance Chairman Larry Borst. Ways and Means Chairman B. Patrick Bauer would call it "the best budget ever passed."

I observed that "O'Bannon has built the foundation for the rest of his governorship as a risk-taker who chooses his battles wisely and, when it counts, fights them well. It's a picture reminiscent of another kindly governor – Doc Bowen – who had the ability to cut deals with savage wit and an audacious clarity of will. Old-timers will tell you that those

who got in Doc's way could be cut so concisely that they wouldn't even feel the pain until long after the battlefield smoke had disappeared over the horizon. The perils for O'Bannon center around the fact that Republicans will soon feel their pain."

Or as the Indianapolis Star's Mary Beth Schneider wrote, "He gave them an ultimatum: Pass it all or lose it all. The Statehouse and the state are hungering for leadership, and O'Bannon filled the void. Now that we have seen it, we want more."

This would be the high point of Gov. O'Bannon's



career. He died 10 years ago this Friday after suffering a stroke in Chicago on Sept. 8 before succumbing on Sept. 13, 2003 at age 73.

As Howey Politics did in 2006 with the gubernatorial legacy of Gov. Evan Bayh, 10 years after a governorship is a good time to make a reassessment. The time frame sounded right to Gov. Mitch Daniels as he prepared to leave office last December.

Thus, we survey the six years when the grandfatherly figure from Corydon moved from his father's state senate seat to that of Senate Finance chair and then minority leader. Then came the deal he cut with young Evan Bayh in early 1988 to

create a united Democratic ticket after two decades of Republican rule, and the 1996 campaign that was truly one of the best in modern Indiana politics.

When it comes to an assessment of the O'Bannon legacy, it is the 1997 session that stands out. He would go on to create the state's community college system, though the marriage between Ivy Tech and Vincennes University was a tormented one that wouldn't last. Now more than 120,000 Hoosiers attend Ivy Tech in any given year. He brought more than 120,000 children into Medicaid coverage and O'Bannon presided over a \$2 billion surplus, giving back \$1.5 billion to taxpayers, then saw a sharp recession literally draw the curtain between the prosperity of his first term and the recession of his second term, the beginning of a long decline in employment and per capita income that haunts his state today.

He won his race in 1996 promising Bowen-style tax reform, then went the route of a Blue Ribbon panel after a tax court's fair market value ruling created one of the most complex scenarios in modern times.

His tenure saw modest growth in per capita personal income, and the jobless rate never went over 5.2% during his terms in office. Today, despite nine years of Republican rule that has assailed the O'Bannon-Kernan legacy as a "garden that needed weeding" as Daniels would say, these key economic benchmarks have Democrats viewing the O'Bannon era as the good old days.

O'Bannon was there when the internet became a

factor in society, and he presided over the state buffeted by the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attacks.

There were plenty of disappointments along the way, from House Democrats who killed what had been his goal, full-day kindergarten, to the loss of life at two of the state's homes for mentally disabled.

Ten years after, here is a look at the O'Bannon legacy.

The policy apex of 1997

O'Bannon's 1996 campaign manager and chief of staff Tom New agreed that this was the high point of the administration. "It was a lot of things that came together at one time, Conesco (Fieldhouse), NCAA, the State Museum," New recalled. "Those were all primarily Marion County Republican business community items. We were for these things, too."

But there were things that O'Bannon needed for his base, which was organized labor. "We got a budget worked out but the labor agenda was missing," New recalled. "The

governor told me to call Joe Loftus and tell him that he was going to veto all the mayor's legislation, not because he was against it, but because he wanted his help in completing the agenda: workers comp, unemployment insurance. Joe and I are good friends, so that helped. That was a tough call to my friend."

That set up the improbable scenario of the former opponents working the hallways and addressing enemy caucuses. New said that Goldsmith was gracious in accepting the role, which was to convince Marion County Republicans to support the deal. O'Bannon wanted the Republicans to come up to his office, but Republican Minority Leader Paul Mannweiler convinced him to address the House caucus in the Senate Finance Committee room.

"It was a great experience," O'Bannon said just after the dust settled. When he finished speaking, O'Bannon heard a Republican ask, "Well, how can we trust people on the other side?"

"I said, 'I'll tell ya, you can trust me because I'll veto it. That's the thing that can hold this together.'"





David Johnson, the BioCrossroads and Central Indiana Corporate Partnership chief who linked up with O'Bannon after returning to Indiana in the late 1980s, didn't spend a lot of time in the governor's warrens that session, but was with O'Bannon when he found out House Democrats had jettisoned the State Museum project.

"I don't think I ever saw him get angry before, but he was furious," said Johnson. "He thought Judy would be insulted and he was insulted. He really wanted that museum. He sent the word that he wanted (Speaker) John Gregg in his office in five minutes. My God, John Gregg was there. He called the Senate leadership, and he said, 'No matter what, this is a museum I care about and I want to see it done.'"

House Republicans like floor leader Brian Bosma bristled about a budget they saw laden with pork and "other white meat."

Johnson added that the NCAA headquarters was being developed with the belief that it would be "Gov. Goldsmith" there to put the final deal together that had been forged by Jim Morris and Jack Swarbucks, now the athletic director at Notre Dame. "They hadn't expected Frank O'Bannon was going to be governor, but he was," Johnson said. "And he did. No one was quite sure how it was all going to work at that point."

Scan the Indianapolis skyline and one can see Bankers Life Fieldhouse, the NCAA headquarters and the Indiana State Museum. All might have eventually happened, but in 1997 they all came about due to Gov. O'Bannon.

O'Bannon at this high point knew how to construct a deal and get disparate forces aligned and with skin in the game. It never came together again like it did in that first session.

Missing tax reform

If there was a missed opportunity, it might have been taking the election victory and failing to move toward comprehensive tax reform. This is what happened when Doc Bowen ran for governor in 1972 and then forged his property tax reforms in 1973. But even with Gov. Bowen's big election win, durable popularity and Republicans controlling both chambers, Bowen barely eked out a reform package in the Senate.

O'Bannon had promised tax restructuring during the 1996 campaign, but instead of a plan, he called together a "Blue Ribbon Commission" made up of every special interest group in the state. By 2001, pockets in Indiana were seeing property tax rates skyrocket. New remembers finding Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson surrounded by angry homeowners at 57th and Central Ave. one day and knew something had to change.

In two successive sessions in 1997 and 1999, O'Bannon delivered \$1.2 billion in tax relief, but without restructuring. It allowed O'Bannon political operative (and future state chairman) Robin Winston to coin the 2000 reelection phrase "Thanks a Billion, Gov. O'Bannon," but true reform never occurred, even with a special session in 2002 that delivered a modicum of relief that had dissipated by the time Mitch Daniels reached the governor's office in 2005.

Instead of coming up with a new restructuring plan in June 2002, which press aide Mary Dieter feared would become a "lightning rod," O'Bannon felt it was in the "legislators' domain" to forge the plan. At one point, it hinged on House Minority Leader Brian Bosma coming up with four votes to help the package pass.

When it did finally conclude, Pat Kiely of the Indiana Manufacturer's Association grudgingly acknowledged, "The governor made some right decisions in the last few days. Bauer pretty much put his plan together in isolation of the governor's office. The governor was helpful in the end, the lieutenant governor was more helpful to get more Democrats to pass the thing."

It was fitful governance, much to the consternation of the Borsts, Greggs, Bauers, KIELYS, Brinegars and, we suspect, Joe Kernans, of the world. When it concluded, Indiana was one of the only states to accomplish significant restructuring during this recession and jobless recovery.

"We were grappling with the St. John's case," New said of an Indiana Tax Court ruling that essentially rendered the state's property tax system unconstitutional. It was something New's father Jack, a former state treasurer, had told him years before. "I had meeting after meeting and it was with the budget office and the tax board folks trying to decide what the court had said, and what was fair market value, and you would ask the court and they would





say, 'the decision speaks for itself.' We were just really concerned about the incredible dislocations that were going to occur when we went willy-nilly to a fair market system."

"Maybe waiting only exacerbated the problem," New acknowledged. "We clearly knew it had to be fixed, but none of the policy choices were good at the time. It was essentially pushed to a later date."

Split education realignment

Like Govs. Bob Orr and Evan Bayh before him, Frank O'Bannon envisioned himself as an "education governor." His legacy is mixed on this front. He had identified early childhood education and made full-day kindergarten his top legislative priority in 1999. And he knew that Indiana lacked a community college system, which resulted in only about 24% of the state's adult population with college degrees.

"Full-day kindergarten was a top priority for him and a huge disappointment," said Johnson.

The problem was that by this time, recalcitrant Senate Republicans were in no mood to go along. And it prompted Ways & Means Chairman B. Patrick Bauer to scuttle the governor's top priority.

"In all fairness, the House Democrats – Pat specifically – Paul Robertson and a lot of people were working in good faith on this issue, it was clear the Senate Republicans were not going to budge," said New. "Basically it didn't matter. Whatever Frank O'Bannon wanted they were not going to do. If you said up, they said down. I will say that Frank came from the Senate and had a lot of good friends on the Republican side. But there were some key individuals who did not like the fact that Frank was the governor. That made the problem tough. Basically the House Democratic caucus finally decided this wasn't going to get done without really talking it through with the governor. They essentially made an agreement with Senate Republicans on school funding and full-day kindergarten was not part of that."

When negotiations for FDK collapsed, the Indianapolis Star/News coverage centered on a "miscommunication" between the governor and Chairman Bauer. During a post-mortem press conference, an irritated O'Bannon focused on the FDK loss and not the \$1.2 billion in tax cuts over

the first two biennial sessions. Howey Politics reported: O'Bannon hadn't shown such a public display of anger since September 1996 when he responded to Stephen Goldsmith's 38 tax increases campaign ad. There was plenty of speculation as to why O'Bannon didn't compromise on the Senate Republican 'cafeteria plan' that centered on local control.

One Democrat said, "Members weren't getting a lot of supportive calls. It certainly wasn't the biggest one for Pat Bauer. Pat did that on his own. He simply decided that he had other things that needed to get done."

The education beacon for Gov. O'Bannon was Ivy Tech.

"You've got it. That's it," former First Lady Judy O'Bannon said this week on her view of the administration's top accomplishment. "I think the community college system wasn't big and dramatic and didn't have a lot of fireworks, but of all the things he worked on, he talked more about his determination on that and full-day kindergarten. The development of the community college system is a real good case study on things in which you say everybody's going to say, 'Oh, that is good, let's jump behind it.' Instead, you find people of differing opinions and you have to work through that. His role as I saw it unfolding was that mind in the middle who said, 'Stay at the table and talk.'"

Mrs. O'Bannon cited the education roundtables that the governor used to vet education policy. "His role was people trusted him," she said. "He wasn't this wild guy. He brought smart people with him to the meetings who had good will in mind and they were able to overcome some of the turf wars."

New told HPI, "We didn't know what to do with Ivy Tech. Stan (Jones) had talked with us several times that in his view one of the major reasons Indiana did not have a higher rate of college participation is that we didn't have that low cost sector feeder system like most other states have, a community college system. At the same time, Ivy Tech was trying to figure out its role. Vincennes was struggling financially. I distinctly remember going up to the fourth floor into Chairman Bauer's office and talking not only with Pat, but with John Gregg and several key legislators. Stan really did most of the talking about how this could work. Everybody seemed to really think there was immediate agreement this could work."

"We thought Vincennes could deliver parts of the curriculum much better than Ivy Tech," New said. "We didn't anticipate the cultural differences between the two institutions, which Ivy Tech eventually won. But what we





also didn't anticipate was the wrath from the four-year institutions, primarily Indiana University and to some extent Purdue, because of the regional campuses. Miles Brand was very upset about it and really had the board of trustees, all of whom had been appointed by the governor, work us over pretty hard. They said this would destroy Indiana University and how the regional campuses were really the community college system. It was a major issue."

Today, Ivy Tech has an enrollment of more than 130,000 students at more than 30 sites. Gov. Daniels would repeatedly cite Ivy Tech as playing a critical role in the state's tortured advancement on the higher education front.

New added, "That was clearly one of the governor's greatest achievements. We didn't know how that would work out but we've seen the growth in enrollment at Ivy Tech. That's a much different institution than it was."

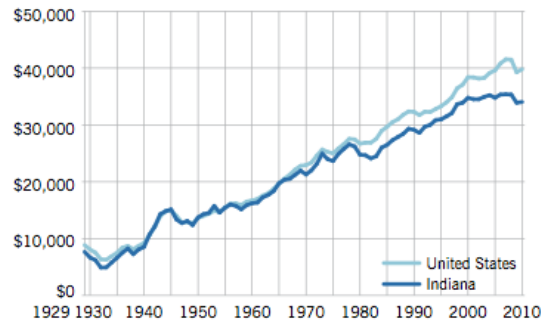
But the Ivy Tech and tax reform chapters of 2000 and 2002 prompted Howey Politics to observe following O'Bannon's passing in September 2003: O'Bannon approached tax restructuring not so much as an advocate, but as a facilitator and, ultimately, an arbitrator from his constitutionally weak station.

"I'd say that's a good observation," O'Bannon told HPR earlier. "We've got split houses here, one Democrat, one Republican." Govs. Bowen and Orr had GOP legislatures, and yet barely got their historic initiatives passed. "It's a tremendous difference," O'Bannon said.

Howey Politics observed in June 2002: An activist governor would present great initiatives, twist elbows and detour the asphalt trucks away from recalcitrant legislator's districts to get things done. O'Bannon is not prone to issuing threats, or slapping backs. "People kept saying he was missing in action," Mary Dieter said. "That's just not true. It's not his way. He's a facilitator who works quietly."

O'Bannon always looked for consensus in a State-house swamp where leaders of both parties worked a system of spoils and paybacks. In a sense, he governed the way Gov. Roger Branigin did back in the 1960s. A reporter once asked Branigin about his policies. "Son, I don't do

Figure 1. U.S. and Indiana per Capita Personal Income 1929-2010*



* 2010-constant dollars
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis



policies, I do personalities," Branigin responded.

Harrison Ullmann of NUVO News-weekly would observe in 2000: "Gov. O'Bannon works mostly as Sen. O'Bannon worked, making the governor into a sort of senator-at-large in the legislative processes. That is good enough, much of the time, but not good enough when we need a governor who will give us a little activity in the leadership processes. It's not enough to have a governor who wants. We also need a governor who does, which is also a governor who sometimes tells legislators that they must give the people something that they do not want to have. But that just wouldn't be Hoosier, and Frank O'Bannon is as Hoosier as Hoosier can be."

Former aide and future Mishawaka Mayor Bob Kovatch told O'Bannon, "You're a good governor, but you're a better man...."

Ups and downs of governance

Like any governor, O'Bannon had his crises and controversies. There were problems at the Teacher Retirement Fund and a loss of Medicaid accreditation at the mental health facility at Muscatatuck. There were deaths of patients there and at New Castle, a continuum of Gov. Bayh's decision to decentralize the state's mental health system.

O'Bannon would use \$60 million of tobacco settlement money for Medicaid expansion, putting about 120,000 Hoosier kids into the CHIP program. Said his Budget Director Betty Cockrum, "We had inherited a waiting list for group home placement. We had good people at FSSA and the budget agency who worked together. Things had gotten difficult by then, but the governor took such joy in being able to do good things and particularly looking after people most in need across the state. When you don't have the money and you have an uncooperative legislature, it's a tough thing to face. That's where we were at that point."

In that particular sequence in 2001 and during a recession, O'Bannon found himself under fire in the legislature over issues concerning state employee pay raises and a bill that would have kept government emails away from press access and out of the public domain. O'Bannon would veto the email bill, a move that angered legislators from both parties. Speaker John Gregg in November 2001



refused to hand that bill down for a veto override.

"There was difficulty going into that session and decisions that were made at the end of the last session," Cockrum recalled. She said the governor told her at one point, 'I think I've made your job impossible.' But he did what he believed was the right thing. It made him a leader."

Winning

Frank O'Bannon never lost an election.

Asked about the intangibles threading through the O'Bannon legacy, Robin Winston simply declared, "Winning. It's all about winning."

Winston continued: "The guy wasn't supposed to win in 1996. (Republican David) McIntosh was no slouch in 2000 and he got blown out by 300,000 votes. The fact that we have not won since 2000 is the legacy."

Frank O'Bannon knew how to pick his battles wisely.

After the Republican rout of 1984, Senate Minority Leader O'Bannon was the highest ranking Democrat in the state. He was eclipsed somewhat by Evan Bayh's secretary of state victory in 1986. But on the night of Bayh's victory, Frank O'Bannon decided to run for governor in 1988. "That's the night he decided he was going to go for it," David Johnson recalled. "We didn't know whether Evan was going to run or not."

It wasn't clear what Bayh would do with the 1988 governor's race until late 1987. That set up the tough decision by Frank and Judy O'Bannon on whether to take on the young prodigy and potentially divide the party, or join forces. It was the O'Bannon entree to the Bayh team by John Goss to Joe Hogsett in late 1987 that essentially forged the ticket that would ultimately end 20 years of GOP dominance and forge 16 consecutive years of Democratic rule.

Goss recalled, "In '87 there were a fair number of Democrat mayors and we had a pretty good vibe coming off Evan's election. There was kind of flexing some muscle that we could make a run for governor. I was very excited about Frank being the candidate because he was the ideal Hoosier governor, the statesman, the experienced legislator, the guy who had ties and relationships with a broad range of organizations in the state. It looked to me like if any Democrat could win, Frank O'Bannon could win."

"Frank was out there and we put together in '87

what seemed like a good statewide network," said Goss, who was working with Bill Schreiber and George Fleetwood. "Fundraising didn't fire up. We got to \$500,000 and then it kind of leveled off because people we're saying, 'What's Evan doing?' We just decided to go out and do it. Around the end of the year, Evan made it clear he was in and there was lots of discussion on whether there was going to be a primary. A lot of people thought it would be good for the party. Behind the scenes, Frank and Judy and other close associates decided to talk to the Bayh people about forming a team. That's how the Bayh-O'Bannon team effort came about around the first of the year."

Lt. Gov. O'Bannon headed the Commerce Department and spent 1989 through 1992 crisscrossing the state making job announcements and sprinkling in hundreds of



Frank O'Bannon (left) gave way to Evan Bayh in 1988. The two are pictured here in May 2003 at an Indiana Fairgrounds Speech by President George W. Bush as two other future governors - Mitch Daniels and Mike Pence - look on. (HPI Photo by Ellen M. Jackson)

political events. Following Bayh's reelection in 1992 and eyeing a potential U.S. Senate race in 1998, Bayh moved in on the Commerce portfolio, causing O'Bannon to reexamine his station. "After the reelection in 1992, the issue was what was the lieutenant governor going to do? He spent most of 1993 trying to figure that out. In the fall of '93, there was a come to Jesus meeting at a lunch up in the Broad Ripple area and basically we just said, 'What are we going to do?' Bill Schreiber was there. Staff wants to know what's going to happen. We weren't interested in just finishing out our tenures in the lieutenant governor's office. Shortly after that, he said he was going to run. We started to think about what we could do with an eye to 1996 to put him in a position to win. Our first task was to make sure we cleared the field."

Former Indiana Republican Chairman Mike McDaniel wrote following O'Bannon's death, "He was one of



the most successful politicians in the history of Indiana. In 34 years, he never lost an election for the Indiana Senate, for lieutenant governor or for governor. All Hoosier politicians should reflect upon and learn from the successful political career of Gov. Frank O'Bannon. Why was Gov. O'Bannon undefeated in every election? The answer is one word. He was likable, period, end of report. In my 30 years in Indiana politics, I never met a Republican or a Democrat who didn't like Frank O'Bannon. Think about that for a second. During the last 34 years, politics in Indiana has evolved into a full contact sport. Politics is truly a rough and tumble life today. A lot of good people stay away from politics and public service because it has become so mean-spirited. Yet throughout this evolution, Frank O'Bannon kept his civility. People liked Gov. O'Bannon because they sensed that he genuinely liked and cared about them. There wasn't an ounce of phoniness in Gov. O'Bannon."



Gov. O'Bannon on Aug. 23, 2003, at the IDEA convention in French Lick. He would give his final public address that night. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Epilogue

The Indiana Statehouse was not a happy place in 2003. Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan had opted not to run in 2004 in a dispute about O'Bannon's choice of Peter Manous as Democratic state chairman. House Democrats were sniping at the governor and the press played up the idea of an open rebellion. Said John Goss, "It had been a time of famine over the budget for a couple of years. There was a lot of stress."

As late summer rolled around, O'Bannon shrugged off the criticism and chaired the Democratic Governor's Association, which met in Indianapolis. "The last time I saw him at the NGA meeting here and the DGA meeting at the Emmis board room, he was very animated," said Tom New. "He seemed really great to me."

And David Johnson talked to O'Bannon on the phone a few weeks before his stroke. "He had been with President Clinton and they had gotten into some spirited discussion on some deep theology. He was reflecting on that and what an interesting and spiritual person Bill Clinton was. He was mentally very engaged in that conversation."

Keynoting the Aug. 23 banquet at the Indiana Democratic Editorial Association convention at French Lick, O'Bannon recalled how New York Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt attended a National Governors' Association meeting in West Baden in 1931. He marveled at what Roosevelt found when

he looked at what was the largest free-spanning dome in the world at the West Baden Springs Hotel. "I wondered what they thought," O'Bannon said before he talked about his two proud achievements, the 2002 tax restructuring plan and that year's Energize Indiana legislation.

"It's working out like we planned," O'Bannon said. "It's reduced homeowners taxes by 11%.

There are 40,000 more Hoosiers working this June than last. We're not in decline, we're in ascent. I've been to eight commerce regions and there are four more scheduled. We need you to be our messengers to get to the naysayers who denigrate and want to tear the state down. We want to build the state back up."

And O'Bannon talked of West Baden Springs Hotel architect Harrison Albright, "who stood on top of the dome as the supports were taken out" while the local citizens looked on.

O'Bannon explained that many thought the dome would collapse, instead of standing for the next century. "I feel like I'm on that dome tonight," O'Bannon said.

Judy O'Bannon saw her husband on a roll late that summer. But when the couple returned to the Corydon barn, "He just went umph," she said. He wouldn't make another official appearance until the U.S./Japan society

meeting in Chicago on Sept. 8, the scene of his fatal stroke.

Scan the Indianapolis skyline and you see the contributions of Gov. O'Bannon. Walk into one of the 30 or so Ivy Tech campuses and his policy imprint thrives. Talk to Indiana Democrats and they recall the better times before the unions were clipped, the Lake County Democrat machine came under assault.

While Frank O'Bannon talked of his "hot-wired barn" down near Corydon and embraced the internet, therein were the seeds that would change Indiana.

It would bring high speed connections to small towns in the following decade, but would disrupt tens of thousands of mid-level careers and outpace the unprepared kids coming out of Indiana high schools. The things he cared about most – more college graduates and better prepared first graders – are a work in progress, though many of the policy seeds were sown under his administration.

As with any governor the legacy is mixed, with some obvious successes and the inevitable missed opportunity, some due to his style, others because of the deep Statehouse divisions.

The enduring legacy, however, is that of a winner, a grandfather, a gentleman, and the essential Hoosier 10 years beyond. ❖



O'Bannon's 1996 campaign was one for the ages

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS — As the O'Bannon old guard gathered at the Skyline Club last week to talk about the legacy of the 46th governor, another point in time flickered to the fore: 6:17 p.m. Nov. 5, 1996.

John Goss, the O'Bannon campaign field guru, was in the shower, preparing for a long night. Stephen Goldsmith was gathering his family and supporters at a downtown hotel on a night they expected about a 5% victory.

And then CBS News anchor Dan Rather announced one of the most improbable upsets in modern Indiana political history: Democrat Frank O'Bannon had won the Indiana governor's race.

Goldsmith entered the 1996 gubernatorial race as a heavy favorite, easily defeating Rex Early and George Witwer Jr. in the Republican primary. Lt. Gov. O'Bannon had seen the polls that showed him down by double digits. "And it was closer to 20 than 10," said campaign manager Tom New.

But eight months prior, at a focus group session on the south side of Indianapolis, the campaign's national consultants, Frank Greer and Geoff Garin, were delighted at what they had heard. It was at this point they believed they could win an election against Goldsmith. Campaign spokeswoman Rachel Gorlin told Howey Politics just after the election, "There was no reservoir of goodwill toward Goldsmith personally. Everything about his appeal was connected to the city. What we found was Frank O'Bannon and Steve Goldsmith were mirror images of each other. Our focus group revealed that people wanted to believe Frank O'Bannon, but with Goldsmith, people were ready to believe the worst."

As with many big cities, many things can go wrong, and in 1996 there was Golfgate, a fish kill and then the Meridian Street police brawl that the O'Bannon campaign was able to use to take off the luster of the "Indianapolis miracle."

Another component of the campaign was opposition research, conducted by an Oregonian named Dan Carroll, who not only picked apart the Goldsmith record, but did what New described as a "rip your face off" analysis of Frank O'Bannon. It was adroitly packaged so that no matter what the Goldsmith campaign said about O'Bannon, "We could pull it off the shelf and deliver an immediate response."

So when Goldsmith tried to connect O'Bannon to 38 tax increases while in the Indiana Senate in his first fall TV ads – coming three weeks after O'Bannon had gone up on TV – the campaign was able to effectively respond.

There were a number of instances where the campaign demonstrated it was hitting on all cylinders. In May, Garin and Greer walked through a lengthy memo of what needed to be done. David Johnson said Garin told O'Bannon, "You need to get a lieutenant governor right away."

O'Bannon excused himself from the room. "It's about 8:30 at night, it's not going well and the numbers were bad," Johnson recalled. "So Frank walks out, gets Joe Kernan on the phone, gets him out of bed and he asks him if he'll do it, and Kernan says, 'I'll do it.'"

O'Bannon strolled back into the meeting and casually said, "I just took care of that. I have a lieutenant governor candidate."

The seeds of that came six years before when South Bend Mayor Kernan and O'Bannon went on a trade mission to the Soviet Union and Poland. "They had not known each other before but they became very close on that trip," Johnson said. "It was always in the back of his mind to have Joe Kernan on the ticket. Kernan told him, 'If you really, really want me to do it . . . but really, I'd rather not. I love being mayor. I love where I live. I love

the people who I work with. I don't need this, but if you need me'"

New explained, "We ran a steady campaign. They ran a less than satisfactory campaign. We just started just chipping away. We went up five weeks in April, even though we didn't have an opponent. My biggest scare was we were going to wake up after the primary because the media was going for the Republican side and we were double digit down. We stayed up all through April and even a week after the primary. We cut five points off right there."





During the summer, the campaign stalled and the numbers didn't move. When the O'Bannon/Kernan campaign went up uncontested for three weeks in August, New said, "That's when the compression happened. We went almost dead even. Just two points down. That's where it happened."

Johnson was sitting in on a weekly Indiana Manufacturers Association polling series and became excited early that fall when the IMA numbers began mirroring the internal O'Bannon numbers produced by a young Fred Yang. "I was pretty confident six weeks out," Johnson said. "The trending was just going his direction. And no one else could see it."

Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research did the IMA polling. "That's the race where we knew Goldsmith was going to lose, and tried to tell the Goldsmith campaign," Matthews said. She recalled that Tarrance Group pollster Brian Tringali "called me to tell me all the reasons why I was wrong and they were right and that Goldsmith was going to win."

The Goldsmith campaign made a series of blunders, from not working up a ground game, to spending \$2 million in the Chicago media market. Meanwhile, Center Township Trustee Julia Carson was ginning up the black vote in Indianapolis, to the point where Goldsmith would lose his home city by 17,000 votes. In the doughnut counties deep in the Indianapolis media market, Goldsmith came away with a tiny 27,000 vote plurality.

"Frank O'Bannon was always underestimated as a candidate. And he was certainly underestimated in 1996," New said. Part of that dynamic was bringing on Greer as a consultant. "Frank Greer seemed to be able to communicate with Frank O'Bannon in a way some of these guys couldn't. He was a little more senior, had some gray hair and Frank O'Bannon related to him. He listened to him in ways he might not have listened to others." The candidate was not the best public speaker, but Greer was able to get O'Bannon to fall in love with the lens.

Then there was Fred Yang, the pollster.

About 10 days out, he began compiling a three-day rolling average. "At 11 o'clock every night Fred would call me with the numbers," New recalled. "About 10:30, I'd start pouring the bourbon and sit in my little house on Kenwood. And Fred would always mess with my head for at least three or four minutes before he'd get to the actual numbers. It was nip and tuck. We were up a point, down a point, it was always in that range. It was always plus one or negative one and the last poll we took, we did the Thursday before the election, it suddenly went to four. We hadn't seen anything above one or two."

The final result: O'Bannon 52%, Goldsmith 47%.

The O'Bannon campaign of 1996 is rated by Howey Politics Indiana as one of the best in the television age of this state's politics. ❖

HPI's Top 10 Campaigns

Brian Howey's Rankings

1. Frank O'Bannon upsets Steve Goldsmith for governor (1996).
2. Sen. Dan Coats defeats Secretary of State Joe Hogsett (1992).
3. Mitch Daniels defeats Gov. Joe Kernan (2004).
4. Barack Obama defeats Republican John McCain and carries Indiana (2008).
5. Glenda Ritz upsets Supt. Tony Bennett (2012).
6. Birch Bayh upsets Sen. Homer Capehart (1962).
7. Richard Mourdock upsets Sen. Lugar, then loses to Joe Donnelly (2012).
8. John Hiler upsets House Majority Leader John Brademas, and Dan Quayle upsets Sen. Birch Bayh (1980).
9. Democrat Marc Carmichael upsets Speaker J. Roberts Dailey (1986).
10. Greg Ballard upsets Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson (2007).



Chris Sautter's Rankings

1. Democratic Presidential primary (1968)--RFK, Gene McCarthy, Roger Branigin.
2. Birch Bayh upsets Homer Capehart for U.S. Senate (1962)
3. Frank McCloskey outlasts Rick McIntyre (1984-85-86)--two campaigns and a couple of recounts.
4. Richard Hatcher breaks racial glass ceiling to become first African American mayor of a U.S. metropolitan city and the first in Indiana (1967).
5. Frank O'Bannon surprises Steve Goldsmith (1996).
6. Mitch Daniels out-Hoosiers Governor Joe Kernan (1996)
7. Barack Obama ends GOP's presidential lock on Indiana (2008).
8. Richard Mourdock sneaks up on Sen. Dick Lugar but stumbles against Joe Donnelly (2012).
9. Jill Long shocks the political world to win the special election for Dan Quayle's former congressional seat (1989).
10. Joe Hogsett overcomes odds to defeat Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut for secretary of state (and ends Hudnut's career) (1990). ❖





Ellspermann listens and learns about Indiana

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI News Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS — This summer, Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann has spent as much time away from her desk as behind it, embarked on a “listen and learn” tour of the state, with the goal of visiting each of Indiana’s 92 counties by year’s end.

In her travels, she’s toured a pickle factory in northern Indiana and the world’s largest hard-boiled egg distributorship in southern Indiana, and covered a lot of territory in between.



But much of her time on the tour has been spent in closed-door meetings with local elected officials, community leaders, business owners and farmers, getting them to tell her how state government can do a better job serving local communities.

“I want them to speak to me as if the governor was there, in the most candid words,” Ellspermann said. “And I state that at the beginning of every session, ‘I’m not here to just get the good news. I want to know what’s really happening. Tell us what we what we need to hear and tell us as honestly as you can.’ ”

The responses to that request have been wide-ranging. She’s heard about crumbling infrastructure, shrinking school budgets, and the shortage of skilled workers, to name a few. She’s also heard complaints about the slow response of state agencies to local concerns, and worries about the unforeseen impact of government mandates.

What she may be hearing most: Gratitude from the locals, who feel like their voices often aren’t heard by powerbrokers in the statehouse.

“How many politicians do you know who really listen to what you have to say?” said Hartford City Mayor Ben Hodgin, a Democrat who met with the Republican Ellspermann when she came to his town this summer. “With her, you really do feel like she’s interested in what you have to say.”

For Ellspermann, 53, the listen and learn tour is about getting to know Indiana better, and Indiana getting to know her. Last summer, she was a relatively unknown freshman lawmaker from a small town in southern Indiana when she was picked to be then-candidate Mike Pence’s running mate. But Ellspermann had proved her political moxie two years earlier when she won her first election by

taking down then-Democratic House Majority Leader Russ Stilwell.

In waging that campaign, Ellspermann emphasized her accomplishments as an industrial engineer who’d built a successful management-consulting business doing problem-solving for public and private clients. She’s bringing those skills to the listen and learn tour, saying, “Good solutions bubble up when you’re hearing good information from those people who are closest to the problems.”

Ellspermann’s willingness to spend a recent morning meeting with local leaders in the small town of Spiceland impressed Nate LaMar, president of the Henry County Council and international regional manager for the county’s biggest employer, Draper Industries.

“We often feel like we’ve been left behind,” said LaMar of the small counties in Indiana. “I was really glad to see someone from the executive branch reach out beyond the doughnut counties (around Indianapolis) and into rural Indiana.”

In a recent column for Howey Politics Indiana, LaPorte County Democrat Shaw Friedman described Ellspermann’s listening tour as “a tremendous gesture and a reach-out to previously forgotten and neglected parts of Indiana.” That’s how GOP state Sen. Jean Leising of Oldenburg sees it too: “I’m from a rural district and even as a



Lt. Gov. Sue Ellspermann at the Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame in New Castle. (Terre Haute Tribune-Star photo by Jim Avelis)

Republican legislator, I’m always wondering, ‘Does someone at the top care about what we think?’ ”

Leising sat in on the Henry County meeting with Ellspermann and left feeling impressed. “She’s a strong woman,” Leising said. “She’ll go back and bend the governor’s ear and not just take marching orders from him.”

Veteran reporter Brian Howey, publisher of Howey Politics Indiana, said Ellspermann is engaging in smart



politics. "In this era of gridlock, taking the listening concept into communities across the state will serve the Pence administration well. People want to feel they are being heard. They want to know that their leaders in Indianapolis know their concerns, fears and aspirations," Howey said.

The tour may also serve Ellspermann well in the future, Howey said. He pointed to two former lieutenant governors, Republican Robert Orr and Democrat Frank O'Bannon, who crisscrossed the state during their tenures, developing contacts, making jobs announcements, and building strong networks of support. Both successfully capitalized on those experiences when they later decided to run for governor.

"These types of tours will help Lt. Gov. Ellspermann if she is ambitious and wants to break Indiana's ultimate

political glass ceiling and become Indiana's first female governor," Howey said.

Ellspermann downplays that possibility, saying the purpose of the tour is to help her and the governor shape policy in a way that will counter the feeling among local communities that the state is "doing something to them, not with them."

"We're only in our first year," Ellspermann said, of why the tour seems to be going so well. "I'm listening, not defending. In this first year, I can pretty much do that. Down the road it will be harder not to defend why we did this or why we did that." ❖

Best of the worst is not good enough

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS — Are Hoosiers satisfied to be the best of the worst? Is mediocrity our highest level of aspiration? I like to believe the answer to those questions is NO, but I have my doubts.



This round of questions is brought up by the latest estimates of per capita gross domestic product for the individual states by the federal Bureau of Economic Analysis.

State gross domestic product (GDP) is the market value of all goods and services produced within the boundaries of the state over a given period. The latest data are for 2012. Private firms, public agencies and not-for-profit organizations are included. It is the states' counterpart to the more familiar national GDP figures.

Per capita GDP indicates the total an economy is producing relative to the population of the nation or state. That population includes all persons -- the very young and the very old, the infirm and the incarcerated. Per capita GDP will vary with the composition of the population. As such it is a poor measure of worker productivity.

However, the number does give us a measure of output compared to the population -- the consumption units -- in a nation or state. It approximates the potential for the well-being of a population.

What do the data tell us about Indiana? In 1997, the Hoosier state ranked 31st among the 50 states in per capita GDP. In 2012, we again ranked 31st. No change.

You can praise our leaders for the relative stability of the Indiana economy, or you can condemn them for not doing enough to improve our relative standing.

In 1997, we saw Indiana with a per capita GDP 7.9 percent below the national figure, while in 2012 we stood 8.7 percent below the nation. That is not a catastrophic decline, but it is a movement in the wrong direction.

Between '97 and '12, Indiana ranked 26th in its rate of growth (average annual rate of 1.07 percent) or just below the national average rate of 1.13 percent. This put us at the top of the bottom half of all the states, a solid expression of mediocrity.

Where Indiana did excel was in comparison with the other four states of the Great Lakes (Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin). Our rate of growth was the best experienced by any of these neighboring competitive states.

But these five states together had the worst growth rate of any region in the nation. To lead the worst is not a great honor or distinction.

Do Indiana's leaders in business and government believe this is the best we can do? Fifteen years covers a strong start at the end of the century, followed by two recessions and two recoveries. During these years we have had much talk about Indiana's innovative programs and expensive efforts to strengthen existing firms and to attract new businesses.

Perhaps we need a re-examination of what we believe is innovative and just how we do spend our money.

❖

Mr. Marcus is an independent economist, writer and speaker.



Hoosier Libertarians bask with Ron Paul at DePauw

By **GREG LENZ**

GREENCASTLE - Surrounded by over 1,000 attendees at DePauw University, Ron Paul basked in the adoration of libertarians grateful for his carrying of the torch for their message over decades.

The Japanese have a tradition called Seizenso, a living funeral. People come to celebrate and relive the great memories of their past. It gives people a chance to tell someone how they affected their life before the opportunity is missed. That's what this felt like. It was an opportunity for many to pay homage to a man and his legacy, not to hear something new.

Ron Paul not a politician anymore. He still contributes through media appearances and the Ron Paul Channel, but politically the torch of liberty is passed onto the likes of Sen. Rand Paul, Thomas Massie, Rep. Justin Amash, and Sen. Ted Cruz. Never forget gentleman, you stand on the shoulders of liberty's giant. In his new place, outside the political arena, his role has changed to that of a buttress and not a pillar. Only in the sense that he now supports liberty from outside. Dr. Paul's speech was on point as expected. He touched on non-intervention as a general rule, the non-aggression principle, tolerance in society, the patriotism of Edward Snowden and Private Manning, ending the Federal Reserve, bailouts, and Libertarian populism. All the pertinent topics of the times.

I'm not sure why, but during his speech the movie *The Shawshank Redemption* came to mind. I began to see similarities between Dr. Paul and Andy Dufresne. Two men impossibly committed to a seemingly unreachable goal. Both men trudging through each day with a distant vision serving as their only fuel. They could taste that first breath of freedom. Dufresne's tool of choice was a rock hammer; simple, small, and non-threatening. It took him 20 years to tunnel through the prison walls with that hammer, to say nothing of the 500 yard excrement filled sewer crawl on his journey to freedom. Dr. Paul's tool is his message.

Simple, persistent, and underestimated.

It's been 24 years of preaching the same message over and over. All the while, Dr. Paul had to live through two GOP reinventions, only to have his positions ignored.

Andy Dufresne could see the results of his work on a daily basis, but he still had to crawl through excrement. However, in all reality isn't the difference between crawling through the mess and spending 24 years in Congress a matter of semantics? Each man used a simple tool, but when those tools are applied over and over for a period of 20 years, their impact is monumental. What is the biggest difference between Ron Paul and Andy Dufresne? Ron Paul's prison is inescapable...yet undaunted he presses on.

When ending his speech last night Dr. Paul quoted Victor Hugo, "Nothing is as powerful as an idea whose time has come."

He believes with every ounce of his being that the American people are coming around to his views. All signs seem to be in support of him; constantly hearing the word libertarian on the news, real political discourse about the surveillance state, and polling data in favor of non-interventionist foreign policy. All these signs serve as sunlight at the end of the tunnel. They give Dr. Paul hope and prove to him that his life's work has made an impact. He is a product of the greatest generation. In my opinion, belonging to that generation has been the single biggest influence on his beliefs. His passion, tireless work ethic, and willingness to stand alone when he believes something is right, are all traits of a bygone generation. These men and women survived the depression, won World War II, and built the most productive economy in the history of the

world. Selflessness is something they know all about.

There is an ancient Greek proverb that says, "A society grows great when old men plant trees whose shade they know they shall never sit in." Dr. Paul, you have served as my introduction to libertarianism. You changed my mind and shaped my views in a way few have. Your contribution to the liberties of all Americans is immeasurable. On behalf of myself and those who have come after me, thank you for planting those liberty seeds so that we may enjoy their shade. ❖

Greg Lenz is a writer for We Are Libertarians, a local libertarian news site. Lenz is an Indianapolis resident, and works in the financial industry.





Empowering world shapers

By **CHRIS SPANGLE**

INDIANAPOLIS — On October 11, 1912, George and Ollie Risley weren't concerned with the Italo-Turkish war. On that Friday, they were concerned with the difficult task of childbirth on a small family farm in Knox County, Indiana. Lucky for your columnist, all went well, and they welcomed my great-grandfather Miles in to the world. My best guess is that the poor, Knox County farmers never heard of the small conflict that would one day impact their family.



Only seven days later would the small regional conflict come to a close with the signing of the Treaty of Ouchy. For the past 13 months, the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Italy had waged war on the lands destined to become modern-day Libya.

What caused the Italo-Turkish War? One must look back 34 years to the Congress of Berlin.

The once-great Ottoman Empire was flashing weakness as its institutions of government began to erode.

As a result, the surrounding powers began to annex their lands. Especially antagonistic were the Russians, who repeatedly tried to nibble away at the northern edges of the Balkans and the Caucuses. This sparked the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78.

The policemen of the world, Great Britain and the rest of the 19th century G8, had to intervene to end the conflict. The British went as far as sending a fleet of battle-ships to Constantinople to stop the Russians from entering the city. At the Congress of Berlin, the Great Powers carved up foreign lands lost by the Ottoman Empire. The "sick man of Europe" was humiliated and broken by the loss. At the end of the Congress, the Italians felt they had not been received their fair share of the ailing Empire.

This was a wrong they intended to right. In 1902, the French signed a secret treaty with the Italians that offered them a consequence-free invasion in to Tripoli on the northern shores of Africa. After an extended propaganda campaign by the Italians, the public shifted their support for the invasion that came on September 29, 1911. (Notably, the most outspoken critic of the war was a young journalist and activist by the name of Benito Mussolini. In September of '12, he participated in a riot against Italy's "imperialist war." For this, the young socialist spent five months in jail.)

Fast-forward 13 months, and the Treaty of Ouchy

is signed. The Italians were given the lands of Libya, and the Turks once again humiliated and weakened. This set off a sense in the Balkans that liberation could be theirs for the taking. A sense of nationalism spread, and Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Bulgaria formed the Balkan League and launched the first Balkan War. This then led to the Second Balkan War. And that led to the Great War.

Pop history teaches that the Great War, or World War I, was caused by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by the Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip on June 28, 1914. The assassination then led to a crisis that led to the invoking of dozens of treaties that entangled the Great Powers in a war that killed 15 million people. If including the Spanish flu, or the Great Influenza, the toll is 65 million.

The spark that led to the killing of 3.6% of the Earth's population in 4 years may have been the death of Ferdinand. The cause was imperialism and intervention of the previous 100 years. The Great Powers chose for other nations and states what paths must be followed. This led to revolts. The revolts led to wars. The wars led to treaties that failed to respect those living in the new boundaries. And the cycle began anew. For instance, the Treaty of Versailles led to World War II.

It was in World War II that George and Ollie lost a son, and Miles lost a younger brother. George Risley Jr., 25, was a fighter pilot flying over Normandy on June 7, 1944. He was killed in action.

History has two groups of people. The first are the world-shapers, the heroes and villains, and the notable exceptions. The second are the vast majorities of those in-between that fail to see history happening in their time. The first group rarely sees the effects of their decisions on the second group. And it is the second group that allows it to happen.

Any honest observer of world events today can see that history is happening around us. The governments created by fall of the Ottoman Empire now are crumbling themselves. The Arab Spring was set off by one particular moment. Mohammed Bouazizi was a Tunisian making less than \$10 per day. On December 17th 2010, a female inspector slapped him, confiscated his scales, and he snapped. Outraged, he lit himself on fire outside of the local government building. Protests erupted across the nation, and his death two weeks later made him a martyr in the fight over corruption. Tunisia's leader of 23 years, Ben Ali, fled the country two weeks later.

Was the Arab Spring set off by just this one incident? Do the dictatorial rulers that are being overthrown exist in a vacuum? Or does the imperialist and interventionist mindset still exist today?

I argue that it is softer than in the past, but the



Great Powers of the 20th and 21st century manipulated lands they did not own and people they did not have the authority to control. The Great powers toppled governments. Propped up murderous regimes. Provided chemical and conventional weapons to rebel groups that eventually

used them on us in future wars.

Now we are told that we "must do something" again. We should not ignore history. Let's do nothing, and empower those in the second group to become their own world-shapers. ❖

The same Jackie Walorski and the different one

BY JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – The same Jackie Walorski is a different Jackie Walorski. And this one, same and different and now representing Indiana's 2nd District in Congress, will be a more difficult target for Democrats as she seeks re-election in 2014.



In a recent, lengthy discussion of national issues with The Tribune's editorial board and reporters, Walorski talked of need for bipartisanship, of reaching across the aisle to work with one of the most liberal Democratic members on a measure to combat sexual assaults in the military, and even of good parts of Obamacare. And she referred to it as the Affordable Care Act.

Her rhetoric is different from back when she announced her first bid for Congress, proudly describing herself as "a pit bull" in battles in Indianapolis as a state legislator.

Her rhetoric is different from what was caught on camera and used against her in 30-second spots as she lost in her first try for congress in 2010 and had a closer race than expected after redistricting, winning narrowly in 2012.

Her rhetoric is different from the more rapid speaking in the past, when that delivery helped to solidify her Tea Party base but turned off other voters in the fall. Wait.

Her Tea Party base shouldn't fear and Democrats shouldn't hope that Walorski is becoming a moderate. She is the same Jackie Walorski in governmental philosophy – conservative, very conservative.

While she acknowledged there are parts of Obamacare that Americans like and want – portability of coverage, allowing adult children up to 26 to stay on their parents' coverage, restrictions against refusal of coverage for pre-existing conditions – Walorski made clear she still wants the healthcare plan repealed before there is anything new to provide the popular parts. "I have a consistent opinion on it," she said, "and my opinion really hasn't changed.

If anything I feel a sense of urgency that business feels and the people feel."

Walorski signed a letter along with some other conservative House members urging House leadership to include defunding of Obamacare in any bill for continued government spending. Even if that brings a government shutdown?

Walorski said she does not want a government shutdown and refrains from the bravado of some of her conservative House colleagues who say they would welcome a shutdown to get their way on slashing government. But she called for "an up or down vote" in the House on defunding Obamacare in any continuing resolution on funding the rest of government.

Since the House has voted over 40 times to repeal Obamacare, such a resolution could pass there but would then face defeat in the Senate and a presidential veto if it somehow made it through both legislative chambers.

So, in a final effort to continue funding the government, would Walorski vote for a resolution that didn't defund Obamacare? "I'd have to see what is in the bill," she responded. Walorski said her continued opposition to Obamacare and her vote for a farm bill that many other conservatives opposed because of funding for food stamps both reflected what she hears from 2nd District constituents.

She said she hears more by far about problems with Obamacare than about any other issue.

On the farm bill, she said, agriculture is a vital to the district's economy and farmers want to know what to plan for as they consider what to plant and how to operate.

House Republican leaders suffered embarrassment when a farm bill they supported was defeated by a coalition of Republicans wanting the food stamp program removed and Democrats regarding reduced funding for the program as a heartless kick at the poor.

Walorski said she was criticized by some conservatives for voting for that farm bill with the food stamp funding. But she said passage of a bill was vital for agriculture. She also voted for a later farm bill that stripped out the food stamp program and was passed, but that measure faces oblivion in the Senate.

Jackie Walorski is the same and different. She speaks more carefully, more slowly, more softly – smart politically – but she still wants conservatives to wield a big stick. ❖



Russ Pulliam, Indianapolis Star: Gov. Mike Pence, who looks like a potential candidate for vice president in 2016, would be keeping up a long state history of supplying vice presidential candidates for both parties. At this point Pence acts like a candidate for re-election as governor. He's not raising money for a presidential run, nor does his travel hint at a national campaign. Yet his name would be on a short list of vice presidential candidates, especially if Republicans look to candidates such as New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush or Sen. Marco Rubio. Pence's 2012 opponent, John Gregg, sees the governor as a likely pick for the second spot under some scenarios. "He balances the ticket if the Republicans try to broaden their appeal and reach independents, with somebody like Chris Christie or Jeb Bush or Gov. Jindal of Louisiana," Gregg said. "He's a conservative, he's from the heartland, he's been in Congress, he's a governor." State Sen. Jim Merritt, agrees with Gregg's assessment. "Mike Pence is the darling of the conservative movement around the country," he said. "He's a terrific speaker. He'll have a record of cutting taxes as governor." From a more national perspective, Larry Sabato, director of the University of Virginia Center for Politics, sees Pence as a potential partner on a Republican ticket. "What you get with Pence is that you keep the more conservative elements in the Republican Party," Sabato said. "He's seen as very conservative on both social and fiscal issues." ❖



Matt Lewis, The Daily Caller: Last night, I listed five reasons Mike Pence might be the 2016 dark horse to watch. If you don't have time to read the column, the reasons are easily summed up by something GOP media consultant Paul Wilson told me: "[H]e has a rare mix of executive and legislative experience. Conservative issues 'cred,' fundraising chops and media skills." That's all true. But this still isn't a slam dunk. There are at least three big reasons to be skeptical: 1. First, Pence might not even run for president. For one thing, his gubernatorial re-election is in 2016. It's also worth noting that conservatives tried to draft him to run for president in 2011, and he (I think wisely) turned them down. This might speak to his prudent judgment — or it might be indicative of a candidate who lacks the requisite "fire in the belly" to take a bold leap. 2. Strengths can also be weaknesses. Last night, I argued that Pence's looks and conservative bona fides are a plus. But not everyone is sold on this silver-haired savior. Brian Lunde, a former executive director of the DNC who later supported George W. Bush, told me: "I think [Pence] brings a deadly combination to a general election electorate. He looks like a country club Republican (same problem as Romney) and he is perceived to be a crusader on social issues like abor-

tion. Most voters will look at him and instantly judge him as 'not like me.'" Additionally, I argued that being "under the radar" was an advantage for Pence, but this also comes at a price. "He has a unique ability to articulate the conservative vision, says Patrick Hynes, President of Hynes Communications, who lives in New Hampshire and advised two past Republican nominees. "But he is virtually unknown in New Hampshire, which would prove to be a significant drawback." 3. The verdict is out on whether he can build a campaign worthy of the candidate. A lot of strategists I talked to — even folks who are otherwise complimentary of Pence — are skeptical he can build a top-notch operation. "[H]e needs to focus so building a national network of donors and political types and he needs to highlight some of his reforms he has undertaken in Indiana," says Dave Carney, a respected Republican strategist who worked for Rick Perry. "It would be a huge uphill fight due to the size of his state, but he might be the dark horse if things remain predictable." "He doesn't have a big core of friends," laments another top consultant. "Unlike Jack Kemp, who made the House an organizational tool to unsuccessfully run for national office, Pence never did. Does he have the ability to be more than a one-man band and attract talent and be that guy?" That's the million dollar question. ❖

Rich James, Howey Politics Indiana: Northwest Indiana Democrats extended a warm welcome to Democratic Illinois governor candidate William Daley a couple of weeks ago. A \$1,000-per-person fundraiser was held at the Lake County home of James L. Wieser, an attorney and long-time Democratic activist. Wieser said close to 50 turned out for the event. Among the Lake County politicians on hand were Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson, Sheriff John Buncich, Treasurer John Petalas and former Gary Mayor Scott King. Also present was the influence of Evan Bayh, the former Indiana governor and U.S. senator, in the person of William Moreau, who served as Bayh's chief of staff when he was both governor and senator. Wieser said Daley spent a good deal of time talking about the business relationship between Illinois and Northwest Indiana. It's Bill Daley's past relationship with NWI that could be key for the future. "Bill Daley was an original (Gary) Airport Authority member," Wieser said. Richard M. Daley assigned brother Bill to the Gary/Chicago International Airport Authority when the union was formed many years ago. Chicago has been a financial contributor to the Gary facility. There are those who think Daley's election could be critical to the future of the Gary Airport, particularly as a cargo destination as well as some passenger service. Quinn recently signed legislation authorizing a third airport at Peotone. ❖



Emails, lists raise Bennett questions

INDIANAPOLIS - Former Indiana schools chief Tony Bennett faces scrutiny over the discovery of lists of Republican fundraisers on Department of Education servers and emails he sent directing staff to dissect a speech by Democrat Glenda Ritz (LoBianco, Associated Press). An election law attorney says the fundraiser lists and an August 2012 email to aides including chief of staff Heather Neal appear to violate election and ethics laws prohibiting state employees from engaging in political activity while on duty. The rules also bar them from ordering others to do so and using state resources for political purposes. Bennett denies any violations and says the fundraising lists were used to make "thank you calls" after the election. Inspector General David Thomas says his office is investigating Bennett but won't discuss the nature of the probe. Indiana law prohibits state employees from engaging in political activity, including seeking contributions, while on duty or acting in an official capacity. It also bars state employees from working on anything outside their official job duties while on the clock, or ordering others to do so, and from using state resources for political purposes. It's rare to have officials prosecuted because finding proof of violations can be difficult. Complaints typically go to the state inspector general, then to prosecutors if charges appear warranted. Prosecutors also can launch investigations on their own. In 1995, former Indiana Clerk of Courts Dwayne Brown was convicted of ghost employment for using state employees to help with his campaign for Congress. He received a



three-year suspended sentence, was ordered to perform community service and lost his law license. Former Indiana School Superintendent Harold Negley resigned in April 1985, two months before pleading guilty to charges of ghost employment and official misconduct. Negley and a top aide each received a one-year suspended sentence for using state employees to campaign on state time in Negley's 1984 re-election bid.

Democrat Claytor to run for auditor

INDIANAPOLIS - Mike Claytor plans to announce his run for state auditor on Thursday, making him the first Democrat to announce his candidacy for the position (Shoaf, Statehouse File). Claytor is an accountant and attorney. He previously worked for the Indiana State Board of Accounts, where he was appointed as deputy state examiner under then-Gov. Robert Orr. His job involved working on white-collar crime investigations while also ensuring the state government's integrity. Later, Claytor retired from Crowe Horwath LLP as a partner...[H]e will likely run against Republican Dwayne Sawyer, who was sworn as state auditor in August.

Indiana farmland values up 17%

WEST LAFAYETTE - Farmland values and cash rents have risen again this year, and Northwest Indiana has some of the highest prices in the state, according to a Purdue University study (Pete, NWI Times). Corn and soybean prices have recently started to wilt but had reached record highs after last year's drought, causing farm incomes to shoot up. Higher prices drove up profits, and farmers also got insurance reimbursements for lost

crops. The better-than-expected farm incomes, low interest rates and strong demand have helped push agricultural land values up by as much as 19.1 percent this year, compared to last year, the Purdue study found.

Pence meets with Subaru execs

OTA, Japan - Governor Mike Pence spent the fifth day of his jobs trip to Japan on the road thanking Indiana's current customers for their investments in Indiana (Howey Politics Indiana). Pence traveled northwest of Tokyo by train to Ota, Lafayette's sister city, to visit the headquarters of Subaru, the automotive division of Fuji Heavy Industries. In Ota, the governor toured Subaru's facilities and joined its leadership for lunch where the group discussed its recently announced hiring plans. In May, Subaru of Indiana (SIA) announced plans to invest \$450 million to build the Impreza at its Lafayette plant, creating up to 900 new jobs by the end of 2016.

Senators split on Syria strike

WASHINGTON - In the wake of President Obama's address Tuesday outlining his views on a potential military strike in Syria, Indiana's U.S. Senators are split on whether to authorize such action (Smith, Indiana Public Media). U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, R-Indiana, is skeptical of Russia's proposal in light of the country's close ties to the Syrian government. While U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, D-Indiana, says he supports the President's decision to seek congressional authorization, he won't say whether he will vote in favor of military action.