



Hill could make 3-way Dem primary

Former congressman, Gregg, McDermott all ponder Pence challenge

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana Democrats are facing a potential three-way gubernatorial primary for 2016 as former congressman Baron Hill told Howey Politics Indiana he is weighing a bid.

"I'm looking at the governor's race," Hill said, after he was asked about that race and a possible challenge to U.S. Sen. Dan Coats. "I haven't made any firm decisions but I'm taking a look at it. I don't exclude the possibility of running for the Senate, but I don't think that's the place I want to go."

Former House Speaker John Gregg told HPI he will make a final decision on the race after the November election. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. is sorting out a potential 2015 bid for a fourth term there as well as challenging Gov. Mike Pence. "I'm going through the mental gymnastics," McDer-



Former congressman Baron Hill, shown here campaigning in 2010 in Bloomington, is exploring a potential 2016 gubernatorial bid. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

mott told HPI while he was in Indianapolis on Wednesday.

Both Gregg and McDermott have been stumping for legislative candidates heading into the November

Continued on page 5

Quitting on your voters

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

GNAW BONE, Ind. – If you're a member of the Indiana General Assembly, at your next campaign event or town hall meeting ask these questions: If you elect me, should I serve a full-term? Or would it be OK if I quit in the next year or so?



The coda to State Rep. Eric Turner's twisting and swerving career wasn't his effort to create a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage, nor was it the various tax policies and laws he impacted as an influential member of the Ways & Means Committee.

Instead it was a cynical ploy to stand for reelection, then quit after the election.



"The best evidence I've seen that ISIS is a national security threat is that 300 or so have U.S. passports."

- U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita



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

HPI, HPI Daily Wire \$599
HPI Weekly, \$350
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

© 2014, 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.

Instead of the 60,000 or so voters in his district choosing the next House member, in Turner's mind it will be several dozen precinct committee men and women in an overwhelmingly Republican district who will likely make the selection.

"He's announced that he's not going to serve in his office if people elect him. That's an insult to the voters," said HD32 Democratic nominee Bob Ashley (pictured above), who likened his challenge to Turner as running against "a ghost." Turner's career has been one where the priorities of the man trumped those of the voters. He was originally elected to the House as a Democrat, then switched to the Republicans in 1994. And as Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn points out in his searing column on the Turner matter, the Cicero Republican doesn't fund his campaign via the people. He relies almost totally on special interest funding.

It's this kind of situation that prompted Faegre Baker & Daniels lobbyist Ted Bristol to note on an Indiana Chamber of Commerce Fly-In panel last week, "Nobody really likes politicians at all."

Distrust and cynicism has created gridlock on Capitol Hill. The circumventing of voters in Indiana has the potential for creating a similar dynamic out here on the prairie.

If Turner was an isolated case, one might see an arising career opportunity as a compelling reason to take such action. But as Fort Wayne Journal Gazette Statehouse reporter Niki Kelly wrote in October 2013, of the 150 members of the General Assembly, 28 have been chosen via caucus. Of that group, eight were deceased legislators and 20 resigned for a variety of reasons, mostly career opportunities. Since Kelly wrote that article, three others, including Turner and Rep. Steve Braun, have resigned, bringing the number of initially unelected legislators to more than 20



percent.

This phenomenon has spread beyond the two legislative chambers. Of the seven constitutional officers in state government (governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and superintendent of public instruction), three have been appointed. In

the auditor's office alone, three people have held the post since Tim Berry was elected to that office in 2010. Former treasurer Richard Mourdock quit four months before his term ended to preserve a higher personal pension. Secretary of State Connie Lawson was appointed to replace the convicted Charlie White.

In a fast food society marked by disposable items, constitutional offices and legislative seats are now treated as personal chattel or the object of political maneuvering. The idea of the voters' choice being sacrosanct has gone the way of empty plastic water bottles or little propane tanks. So much for the will of the people.

The disposability of the constitutional offices underscores the need to consolidate the executive branch into a true gubernatorial cabinet. The auditor and treasurer's offices should be combined into a state controller, selected by the governor and conducting business at his or her direction. The buck stops with the governor on fiscal policy. The same case can be made for secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction. All of these positions are basically bureaucratic in nature. Those holding these offices don't create policy, they implement it. In 2012, the platforms of both Indiana Republicans and Democrats advocated that the superintendent be a gubernatorial appointee. The Classes of '06 and '10 have demonstrated the need to make these appointed.

Voters should elect policy-makers. Policymakers should appoint bureaucrats to carry out policy. An

independent attorney general should be elected as a check and balance on the governor.

Legislators are lawmakers. They create policy in tandem with the governor. All legislators should be elected by the people, just as all members of Congress are. When a member of the U.S. House dies or resigns, a special election is held in that district. If a U.S. senator resigns or dies, the governor appoints, but that appointee stands for election within two years.

Legislative leaders cite the cost of special elections as a reason to throw the decision to precinct officials. But if the laws were changed to conduct a special election or allow the second-place votegetter to assume the office, this merry-go-round would quickly stop, particularly if the resigning legislator had to pick up the cost of conducting a special election. A resigning legislator would find a far more compelling reason to fulfill the commitment to voters if he or she were on the hook to fund a replacement.

Running for the General Assembly requires a two- to four-year commitment. If you run for the legislature, a man or woman should be committed to serving the voters for that time span.

Indiana was greatly shaped politically during the era of President Andrew Jackson, who intensely distrusted centralized government. Thus, Hoosiers created a constitution and policy that resulted in the election of more than 10,000 public officials. It created the election of bureaucrats that most Hoosier voters know little about. In the mid-1970s, an obscure politician named Otis Cox was elected treasurer, most likely because voters confused him with Gov. Otis Bowen. Hoosier voters don't like duplicity,

thus we don't allow our officeholders to run for two offices at once.

If you're a legislator reading this and question the veracity of these points, there's the aforementioned litmus test. Ask your constituents and voters whether you should serve a full term, or if it would be OK if you pulled a Mourdock, a Turner, or a Sarah Palin and quit midway through.

I think we all know what the overwhelming answer would be. Perhaps voters should be asking their legislative nominees whether they are committed to serving a full term.

As for Speaker Brian Bosma and Senate President David Long, both of whom have made transparency and accessibility to the system a compelling hallmark of their careers, strong consideration should be given to creating a system that can be trusted and supported by the voters. I can guarantee you Bosma and Long know the answers to the initial questions I pose.

Speaker Brian Bosma, who has already promised ethics reform, said the July 15 ballot deadline needs to be explored as well (Rader, WTHR-TV). "We are going to take a hard look at these issues in the coming session," declared Speaker Bosma. "It's highly unusual to have two ballots like this and it's caused us to pause and say, 'This is not the ideal situation.' It needs to be examined. It needs to be looked at. We need to decide if this is the right thing to happen and there is a valid discussion going on. Is this in the best interest of the public or not? It's not a discussion we are going to avoid."

The final chapters of Rep. Turner's term in office do just the opposite. ❖

Pimping in the Statehouse dry rot

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – The Indiana State Legislature is not the private piggy bank of any representative, senator or special interest. The legislature belongs to the people of Indiana and exists only to serve the people of Indiana. Call me old-fashioned, but this is what I believe. This is why I find the case of Rep. Eric Turner so disturbing.



It was troubling enough to see Rep. Turner busying himself with his personal war on same-sex marriage and its failed attempt to legislate human rights, but it was his overt pimping for special interests

that concerned me the most.

I'm no political prude who doesn't understand that any good politician must keep an eye on their campaign funding and allow groups who share a common interest to share in the cost of democracy. However, asking people who support your natural beliefs to contribute to your campaign is a far cry from being a legislator for hire. I'm sorry but I always had the sickening feeling in my gut that Eric Turner was more interested in attending to the needs of friends and family than putting his constituents first.

Is this just my opinion or is it verified with the facts? Experts claim that the shortest path to the truth is to follow the money. Well, the shortest path to the truth about Eric Turner is littered with special interest cash. I have seen some pretty ugly campaign finance reports over the years but Rep. Turner's take the cake. I took an in-depth look at the Turner campaign finance reports for 2011, 2012 and 2013. They are not held in secret. You may find them on the secretary of state's website.

According to the year-end campaign finance report for 2011, 99.93% of Eric Turner's \$80,105 contributions were from special interests. If that was bad, 2012 was

worse. Turner's haul of \$93,000 was 100% from special interests! His campaign haul in 2013 was \$67,952, over 98% of it coming from special interests. Come on! Weren't there some residents of Grant, Tipton or Hamilton counties who wanted to support their state representative because of all of the good things he had done for the folks back home? Apparently not.

One of my favorite financial supporters of Rep. Turner was the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. They gave Turner \$500 in both 2011 and 2012. However, in 2013, they really stepped up their game and forked over \$3,000 for the Turner war chest. Was Eric Turner a better legislator in 2013 or did the fact that he was the driving force behind the Indianapolis Motor Speedway bailout bill in the House have anything to do with it? I know the Speedway was grateful for the \$100 million that came their way, but \$3,000 seems like an awfully cheap tip for all the work Turner did on behalf of the legislation. When you consider that the Speedway spent nearly \$20 million on its new solar farm, they really did need the \$100 million for track improvements. This certainly benefitted the taxpayers in House District 32!

But exactly what was the conflict that caused Rep. Turner's fall from grace in a legislative body that is a walking talking definition of conflicts of interest? It seems that Republicans in the House of Representatives just couldn't choke down the fact that while Eric Turner was busy as a beaver in working against legislation that would restrict nursing home construction, he was an undisclosed owner of investments in nursing home construction companies. This coupled with his disclosed interests in half a dozen other nursing home construction investments, was enough to make the other girls in the whorehouse blush.

As Sly and the Family Stone might have put it, "It's a family affair. It's a family affair." Turner's son is a developer of nursing homes and his daughter passionately lobbied against the nursing home construction moratorium. How many reasons would Rep. Turner need to risk his entire legislative career on fighting against the construction ban in House caucuses? Ding, ding, ding! The answer is \$2.3 billion!

Not leaving well enough alone to merely accept \$345,000 from the Indiana Economic Development Corporation for the construction of a nursing home in Terre Haute that the Associated Press reported will net Eric Turner \$1.8 million, not merely making nearly \$8 million selling nursing homes in the last two years as reported by the Indianapolis Star, Turner flashed his robber baron credentials when he and his family bagged \$2.3 billion from the sale of various family nursing home properties and properties under construction to Canadian firm, Health-Lease Properties. As they say, if you're gonna go, go big or



go home!

To be fair to Rep. Turner, the House of Representatives Ethics Committee did absolve him of any ethical breach, although they did (in an understatement of Biblical proportions) state that Turner's conduct did not rise to the "highest spirit of transparency." You think! Six feet of Indiana mud is more transparent than Turner's shenanigans.

Being absolved from an ethics breach and told to "Go and sin no more," Turner looked to resume his dual legislative missions of feathering his family nest and abusing same-sex couples. However,

a funny thing happened on the way to the coliseum. Multiple reliable sources have informed me that Eric Turner had become such a pariah that the House Republican caucus could not live with him in a leadership role. The message was sent to a receptive Speaker Brian Bosma: Eric Turner needed his wings clipped and should be relegated to the proverbial back bench.

With his leadership responsibilities recently stripped from him by Speaker Bosma, just what's a multi-millionaire influence peddler to do? I can almost see Turner checking off his bucket list: Make a fortune in the fireworks business using Indiana's fireworks friendly legislation to benefit business. Check. Parlay fireworks expertise into a lucrative national fireworks lobbying gig. Check. Make a million dollars from an industry that state revenues subsidize. Check. Help make son a multi-millionaire. Check. Assist daughter's lobby efforts. Check. Make a few more million in the nursing home business. Check. Announce retirement from the legislature in a way that will be most embarrassing to the Republican Party and jeopardize retention of a safe Republican seat. Double check!

The greatest danger to long-term governmental success in Indiana is that our Republican super-majorities in the House and Senate, coupled with control of the governor's office will allow complacency to set in and will eventually turn into governmental dry rot. As Republicans we must hold all of our elected officials to the highest standards of ethics and transparency and not be afraid of administering powerful sanctions when run-of-the-mill conflicts of interest turn into state sanctioned larceny. The founding fathers of Indiana saw the dangers in a fulltime legislature and wisely tried to bridle influence and profiteering by limited the number of days that the Indiana Legislature may meet.

Here is one Republican who hopes that the leadership of the Indiana Legislature demand legislative ethics that eliminate conflicts of interest in deed and in appearance. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

Baron Hill, from page 1

elections. McDermott gave House Minority Leader Scott Pelath a \$20,000 check raised from a Steely Dan concert in Hammond and went door-to-door with State Rep. Christina Hale Tuesday evening. Gregg has kept a busy schedule campaigning with House and Senate nominees, which is what he was doing Wednesday morning, as well as 2015 mayoral candidates. "I'm doing all the things neither of them is doing," Gregg said in text messages to HPI on Wednesday. "The focus is '14. I'll make my announcement between Election Day and January."

All three Democrats profess friendship and respect for each other. Hill and McDermott expect party leaders to huddle with the three candidates to determine whether a ticket could be forged, as well as a U.S. Senate nominee. But all three are indicating they are prepared to wage a contested primary.

"I don't object to a contested primary," Hill said. "It can be helpful to the party. For 2016, strategically, it's worth a conversation. I have the utmost respect for John Gregg and Tom McDermott. I consider them friends. I think we'll have discussions." Hill said he will make a decision "by the end of the year."

McDermott said his time table is similar to Gregg's: After the November elections. McDermott said that if he runs for a fourth mayoral term and then wages a campaign for governor, "It will take two years of my life. I know in my heart I will be running for the Statehouse."

And McDermott fired off what could be the opening salvo in a potential primary. "In 2012, Joe Donnelly and Glenda Ritz won. John Gregg didn't," said McDermott, who added he gave \$15,000 for the Gregg campaign. "John will say, 'I was so close, I should get a second chance.' But another way to look at it is he lost when he could have won."

McDermott described himself as an "executive" who has successfully run a city for more than a decade. He suggested that Gregg might be better suited for the U.S. Senate. "He's a legislator," McDermott said. "Mitch Daniels

was an executive. I'm an executive. I'm used to running things and getting things done. My team and I are used to building things. As mayor, I've changed Hammond for the better."

McDermott has a home-grown campaign team already under development. His attorney Kevin Smith would serve as campaign manager and Emily Gurwitz will handle fundraising.

Gov. Pence was expected to win by a sizable margin in 2012, but Gregg closed the gap in the final weeks, helped in part by Richard Mourdock's debate meltdown

and Pence's response, losing by just under 3% while keeping Pence to just 49% of the vote, the first governor in half a century not to win with a majority of votes.

McDermott said that Gregg's folksy TV ad campaign "did not help us at all in Northwest Indiana." He also questioned the Democratic strategy in place since the Bayh era emphasizing Southern Indiana. "Northern Indiana is where the votes are, where our party's base is," McDermott said.

McDermott believes that many of his Hammond constituents will back him on both a reelection bid and the governor's race. There

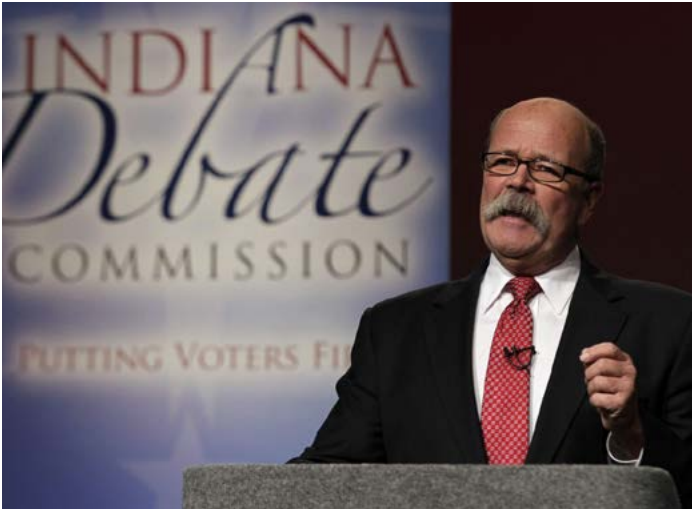
has never been a governor from Lake County. He also believes that his political base in Lake County where he was Democratic chairman for five years and his coverage in the Region media market, along with a number of relationships he is forging in Indianapolis, give him a solid base for a Democratic primary.

Hill is a five-term congressman from Seymour. He served in the Indiana House from 1982 to 1990 where he chaired the Rules Committee when he challenged Sen. Coats in a race to complete the term of the man he replaced, Vice President Dan Quayle. Hill ran a credible race despite a lopsided money disadvantage, losing to Coats 54-46%. Hill ran for the 9th CD in 1998 after U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton retired and defeated State Sen. Jean Leising 51-48%. Hill lost to Republican Mike Sodrel in 2004 during the reelection year of President George W. Bush, then regained the seat in 2006 and held it for two more terms before he was defeated by U.S. Rep. Todd Young in 2010.

Following his 2010 defeat, Hill worked on government affairs or APCO Worldwide. He recently moved back



Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr., is weighing both a reelection bid for a fourth term and a 2016 gubernatorial bid.



Former Indiana House speaker John Gregg has been campaigning for legislative candidates this year and will make a final decision after the November election and before January.

to Indiana.

In looking at a series of metrics where Indiana ranks low nationally in personal income, infant mortality and an array of health issues, Hill hinted at a coming campaign theme, saying, "Indiana is better than that."

"I do think there's some big differences between how I would move Indiana forward and the way the governor is moving," Hill said. "The biggest issue is the budget issue with a \$2 billion surplus. Somewhere there are needs, the most recent one is the domestic violence issue. Where do you draw the line on what is sound fiscal policy and taking care of the needs of Indiana, whether it's domestic violence, education, or Medicaid? Those are the issues I'm most interested in. Whether it relates to the health, education or the wage gap, Indiana ranks in the bottom of all three. Those are serious concerns not only to me, but the people of Indiana."

Hill added that "the middle class is getting hammered at the expense of corporations. The wage gap, the tax increases on the middle class are unfair."

He also cited the recent "ethical breaches" by State Rep. Eric Turner, INDOT's Troy Woodruff and the Indiana Economic Development Corporation. "If I run for governor, I will point out those ethical lapses," Hill said.

McDermott is the son of a former Republican mayor of Hammond. He was raised mostly by his single mother in California, but spent his summers in Hammond with his father. After high school, he entered the U.S. Navy where he served six years. He earned his undergraduate degree at Purdue Calumet and his law degree from Notre Dame. "I chose to live and raise my family in Indiana," McDermott said. "I come from a Republican family. I know how to work with Republicans."

Both Hill and Gregg served in 50/50 split Indiana House, with Hill chairing the Rules Committee with Republican State Rep. John Keeler. Acknowledging the current

Republican super majorities in the legislature, all three Democrats say they have the ability to work with Republicans.

"I've always been bipartisan," Hill said. "People don't care about partisanship. As governor, I would reach out to Republicans and Democrats to get things done. In Washington, Congress is way too partisan. Members wake up every day thinking of ways to get Republicans or Democrats. I will do what's right for Hoosiers." ❖



SAVE THE DATE

For a Celebration that's been 20 Years in the Making!



Join Brian Howey as he celebrates
20 Years of Howey Politics Indiana.

Drinks and Appetizers

Special Presentations at 6:30 pm by

John Gregg
Rex Early

Plus Other Surprises!

Date: THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2014

Time: 5:00 PM to 8:00 PM
Presentations at 6:30 pm

Place: The Antelope Club
615 North Delaware Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Chamber Fly-In panel prognosticates the November election

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

WASHINGTON – Questions, questions, questions: Will Republicans take the Senate in November? Will there be a Republican wave? Who will be the presidential nominees in 2016?

These were the questions posed by J. Murray Clark to an Indiana Chamber of Commerce Fly-In panel last Thursday at the Hyatt Regency on Capitol Hill that included HPI's Brian A. Howey, U.S. Chamber national political director Rob Engstrom, former U.S. Rep. Mary Bono and Ted Bristol, both of FaegreBaker & Daniels Washington office, and Chris Sautter, a Democratic media consultant and recount expert who is also a contributing HPI columnist.



D.C. FLY-IN



As we head into the homestretch of Indiana and U.S. elections, this panel provides a pretty decent

benchmark for the upcoming six weeks.

A 2014 wave?

Clark: Will there be a wave in November?

Mary Bono: All indications are right now there's going to be a small wave. It's going to be a good Republican year. People are fed up with the status quo. Sadly, people are fed up with their own congressman. I think we'll take back the Senate and pick up a few House seats. Talking to Stu Rothenberg, who like Brian is a handicapper, (we talked) about the California situation, which is unique in a lot of ways. He says the wave will stop at the Rockies and won't hit California, which is lethargic when it comes to elections.

Rob Engstrom: We invested in about 95 races in the 2010 cycle and redistricting cut that to 35 or 40 races. You all know about the experience in the Senate race. Now the battles are in primaries. A lot of attention and time has been spent in races in the Republican Party, but there have also been notable examples in the Democratic Party.

Pundits no longer worry about a November election, they focus on what's going to happen in the spring and also into the summer. So we're interested in an expanded majority, but also the composition. We've invested significant amount of time and resources in the primary season. Mary's right there's probably a net gain of somewhere between eight and 10 seats in the House and, though things can change and October surprises aren't generally good for Republicans, that dictates the Republicans will get the Senate. But I caution the Republican Party not to view that as a mandate to govern without a plan. You can't be just "no to Obamacare" or "no to cap and trade." The Republican Party has to figure out what that agenda looks like, substantively, constructively if they are to be trusted into the 2016 cycle.

Brian Howey: From an Indiana perspective I call this the beige election. It's going to be a status quo situation. My Democratic sources are telling me that it's very unlikely the party will pick up seats in the Indiana House. That's something Indiana Democrats absolutely have to do. They've got to start making inroads into the super majorities. Otherwise we risk Indiana turning into a one-party state when it comes to the Statehouse. On the Congressional level, we're watching the 2nd CD. Jackie Walorski had a closer-than-expected race in a newly drawn district. Joe Bock has gone up on TV, but again the national dynamic is a headwind that's going to be very, very tough. That's why Walorski's 2012 opponent (Brendan Mullen) didn't ante up this time. As far at the national dynamic, Stu tells Mary the wave may stop at the Rockies. That's going to be interest-



Rob Engstrom of the U.S. Chamber makes a point as Fly-In panelists Ted Bristol, Mary Bono, Murray Clark react. Indiana Chamber President Kevin Brinegar looks on. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

ing in Colorado with all the legal marijuana going around. It's going to be interesting to see if that keeps some people from even getting to the polls (laughs). This should be a wave election, but the New York Times poll has Congressional Republicans at 19% approval and 70% disapproval. That's the kind of thing that could stop the wave even before it gets to Colorado. I call that a cross current. The Kansas Senate race is absolutely fascinating. The Democrat tried to drop out, and Sen. Roberts is in deep trouble. For that reason I'm going to go out on a limb here and forecast a 50/50 Senate, which would be an interesting proposition for Vice President Biden if he decides to take on Hillary because it would tether him to Washington. ISIS is the wild card. We heard last night the Members talk about all the dilemmas there. In an election context, ISIS could be the Hurricane Sandy of this cycle. That's an event that tosses a curve ball into this cycle.

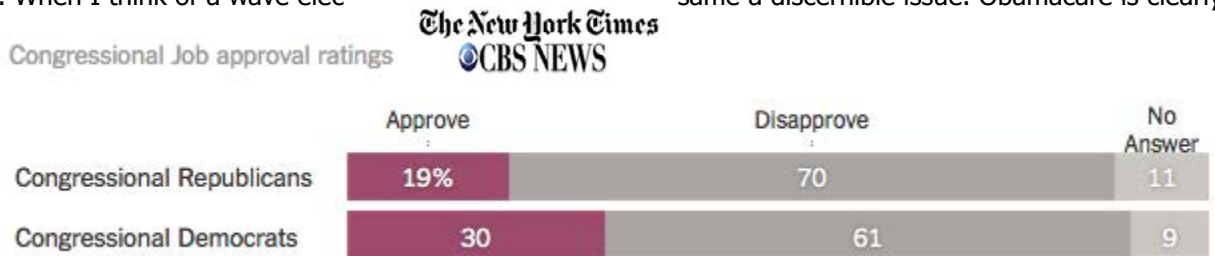
Chris Sautter: I think this election is not likely to be a classic wave. When I think of a wave election I think that the party that's winning wins basically everything that's contested. If you look at the governors' races around the country it's clear the Democrats

are going to pick up seats. That tells me there's something else going on. It may be local issues may be driving things a little more than perhaps some of the pundits think. Clearly the map favors the Republicans in the Senate races. They need six seats and there are six contests where Romney won those states by double digits. So that alone explains why the odds favor Republicans for taking the Senate. But then when you begin to examine these races one by one; as Brian pointed out, you've got Kansas which is a complete mess if you're a Republican. It looks like (Gov. Sam) Brownback is going to lose his reelection for governor. The Senate race has kind of a Dick Lugar factor, so that may be the firewall for the Democrats. You've got two different types of Senate races in play. You've got the red states and the polling in the last couple of weeks, since Labor Day, seems to show a trend toward the Republicans. In Arkansas, Alaska, Louisiana, there are contested races and we're seeing movement toward the Republican candidates. They are close tossups. On the other hand, in classic tossup states like North Carolina, Colorado and even Iowa, you're seeing slight trends toward Democrats. Whether that holds up is unclear. I would say between five and eight seats is a pretty safe bet. We'll find out if there's even a little wave, I think that would result in those races in Iowa and Colorado and North Carolina going Republican. If the Democrats win two out of those three, that says something about 2016. That even under really favorable conditions to Republicans they weren't able to

pick up seats in those states. I think all in all it's going to be a lot more mixed than what folks were predicting at the beginning of the year.

Ted Bristol: The adage is that everyone says that Congress is bad but I like my congressman or my senator, I think now what they see in the polls is nobody really likes politicians at all. We're not seeing a wave where you expect to see a wave, particularly when you see the President's popularity has dipped; it's really going to be about turnout. I think these elections are going to be more local than you think. I don't know how many candidates are creating a lot of passion to turn out their voters. On both sides the field operations are really going to be significant and really critical at the end of the day.

Sautter: In 2006 and 2010, which were wave years and in which there were clear issues, in '06 it was the war in Iraq and in 2010 it was the Affordable Care Act. Those were driving a lot of voters. There's not quite the same a discernible issue. Obamacare is clearly



an issue but it's faded. It's not a driving force. The economy is problematic in a lot of pockets. We don't have that driving issue that normally drives a wave.

Howey: We've seen some polling this summer that for the first time in history most Americans want to replace even their own congressman. But last night we got our delegation together and a lot of the comments I heard while mingling with a lot of you people is there's a lot of affection in this room for our delegation and members in both parties. It's a young delegation. We've seen a lot of our seniority bleed away over the past two election cycles and yet in this delegation we see some real up and comers. That's kind of a disconnect between this dissatisfaction with the gridlock and yet a lot of personal affection for the people serving Indiana.

Statehouse impacts

Murray Clark: Brian, Will there be any ripple effects from this election at the Statehouse? And, if so, who the winners and losers? Whose stock goes up or down?

Howey: The Republicans are going to take the three statewides. There's an all female ticket. I don't see the Democrats mustering the resources or having anything at the top that's going to pull their voters out. It kind of reminds me of 1994. I remember Lee Hamilton getting up at the Indiana Democratic Editorial Association and warning that Democrats were going to be embarrassed to show

up at the polls. I think that may be the case this year. Even before this election cycle began unfolding, there were a lot of Democrats who took a pass in congressional and legislative races because of Obamacare and the unpopularity of the president. My sources are telling me there's nothing but a headwind. As far as ripple effects on potential winners and losers, now that Evan Bayh has made a decision and is not going to run, John Gregg is probably in the best position, but Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott is going to get in and so this is the beginning of a contested Democratic governor primary. Gov. Pence has been pretty much a caretaker governor, but there's a lot of affection for him personally. There was a lot of criticism in the Statehouse on how he handled his legislative agenda and the way he got bills set up. But I believe he's settling in and having Jim Atterholt, the former state rep, coming in as chief of staff I think you'll see a different dynamic there. All eyes are going to be on the governor to see whether he gets into the reelection saddle or he's going to take a look at the 2016 presidential race. For me, the key moment will come in November or December when Jeb Bush makes his decision. If Jeb Bush does not get into the presidential race, if I'm Mike Pence I'm going to call my very tight inner circle together and take a long hard look at what the dynamic is. Usually there is an heir apparent in the GOP for president, and there is not one right now.

What happens if Senate goes GOP?

Clark: What happens if the Senate goes Republican?

Engstrom: I think we just saw the high watermark of Congress this past session. I think the next two years, if the Senate switches, I don't expect to see anything significant happen. It's going to be a complete stalemate.

Bono: I disagree. But I agree with the sentiment that it's always nice to have a few Democrats around (laughs). If you look back at the House and Senate when Bill Clinton was president, one of most significant pieces of legislation that passed was welfare reform. And to his credit it turned out to be a very good thing. I think you'll see an improvement in the House and Senate. The Ameri-



HPI Publisher Brian A. Howey and Chris Sautter of Sautter Communications and a contributing HPI columnist prognostic on the Indiana Chamber's Fly-In Panel in Washington on Sept. 18. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

can people want the checks and balances if they can do something. I think there will be more opportunity. The American people expect the two sides to compromise. I am encouraged that something will get done.

Sautter: I agree with Mary to some extent. There will be things that drive the desire for some accomplishments over the next couple of years, assuming the Republicans take the Senate. Obama will be looking for something beyond what he accomplished in his first two years to add to his legacy. Presidents always think about legacy, especially toward the end. Secondly, the Republicans will undercut any shot they have at winning the presidency if they behave badly and do things like threaten to shut down the government. The dynamic will be similar to when Clinton was president and

Republicans controlled the Congress. But, the number of Republicans in the Congress now who are anti-Obama and more on the extreme is far greater than it was during the Clinton years. You're going to have two tracks. You're going to have a lot of investigations, the IRS and Benghazi, not just in the House but in the Senate, pushing to get something done so as to not completely undercut their ability to get out there in 2016 and try to accomplish something. If they don't, 2016 is not going to be a good year in the presidential race. And, by the way, the Senate maps as bad as they are for Democrats in 2014, it's that bad for Republicans in 2016. They may only have it for two years. It will be that way if they can't accomplish anything.

Engstrom: Big things that get done in Washington always happen on a bipartisan basis. Both sides have a choice to make here, both in the short term and long term. Republicans have to decide whether they are going to pick three to five issues where there's agreement, where they can pick off some Democrats to repeal the medical device tax, or the Excel pipeline. If there are things that Democrats and Republicans can agree on, it can be sequences appropriately between the House and Senate. The question is who will be American people see as the obstructionist? The problem that the Democrats have is this is not your father's Democratic Party. Back when Clinton was president, there were 60 blue dog Democrats from Georgia, Texas, from the South and West who were moderate and would earn our endorsement. In 2008 we endorsed 38 Democrats, and then it went to 20 in 2010 and then it went to five last time. We didn't change our metric. I think it's bad for the country when

moderate Democrats are extinct. Democrats running for president in 2016 are going to have a real dilemma. They are going to either have to double down on the Obama agenda – good luck with that – or they’re going to have to somehow position themselves as the moderate force focused on other issues. Both parties have a problem. Brian referenced the Republican Party. The people don’t trust them. And the Democrats have the same exact problem. That trust has been broken because Washington is broken.

Howey: You saw this on Meet the Press a couple weeks ago. If you’re Hillary Clinton, you want a Republican Senate for the next two years. They’re expecting this gridlock to continue and then you get this backlash so the Democrats can say, “Be careful what you wish for.”

2016 Presidential nominees

Clark: Who are the presidential nominees going to be in 2016?

Sautter: I don’t have any idea on the Republican side. I can tell you who I think would be best Republican candidate in the general election and that would be Jeb Bush. I think he would beat Hillary Clinton. It looks like it’s going to be Hillary Clinton on the Democratic side, but things happen. That’s what everybody thought two years out in 2006. The dynamics continually favor the Democrats because of the changing demographics. That said, the Obama years have not been all that popular and the Republicans have a real opportunity. Rand Paul on the Republican side is interesting, because he’s kind of an idea guy. Whether the Republican establishment would allow Rand Paul to be the nominee, I don’t know, or if the Republican establishment could even do anything about it. If Jeb doesn’t run, I think Brian’s right, Pence will get in. Republicans will be looking for somebody not unlike Pence. Christie has problems and Walker will probably squeeze by, but he’s been damaged. These things are hard to predict. I would think it will be Rand Paul because I don’t think Jeb Bush will run.

Howey: The conventional wisdom is Clinton vs. Bush. But there’s the Barbara Bush element to it, “There are other families.” That would just be fascinating, a generation after the first Clinton v. Bush we would have another one. I’m going to say something here I’ll probably get a lot of nods of agreement, but maybe the best presidential candidate for the Republicans is already a president, and it’s Purdue’s Mitch Daniels. If Mitch had gotten into the

race against Obama, he could have won it. I traveled with him on the ground and watched his retail political skills that Mitt Romney did not have. Maybe the best scenario for Republicans would be a draft Mitch movement.

Engstrom: I agree, I really do. Mitch Daniels has all the skill sets. He worked with you all to get right to work passed. That would be considerable. I think Republicans are ready to have an adult conversation. I’ll say a couple of things about conventional wisdom. I don’t think Hillary runs. The party has changed so dramatically. If she had such troubles against a first-term senator that nobody had ever heard of, I think her party has fundamentally changed. I think elections are about the future and I don’t think Hillary is going to be the nominee. She may not even run. I would say someone like Gov. Cuomo of New York, who has the name, money and the infrastructure, has examples working with the business community, but certainly can trot out the bona fides with the labor unions and environmentalists. I would also say, while this is not likely, Gov. Romney has not ruled this out. We’ve been with him a couple of times and think about how he has navigated the map and been involved with endorsements. He’s been in New Hampshire for Scott Brown and Iowa. Interesting,

Iowa and New Hampshire! I know that it’s being discussed. Rand Paul is an interesting choice, but I think he’s going to have problems with national security. I also think Elizabeth Warren, maybe not this time, will be a factor and that shows how the Democratic Party has changed.

Bristol: I have no insight in this, but I agree with you about Mitt Romney. He’s got it all set up. It probably plays to his favor not to get out there for awhile. My observation is you do wait in line and get the reward. The exception was George W. Bush. On the Democratic side, I think everybody is frozen until Hillary makes up her mind. I know there are people setting it up, waiting for her to run. I think Vice President Biden is waiting to see what she decides. I think she’s the presumptive favorite, but we all know when she runs she’s an absolute lightning rod. Every time she hits the spotlight she becomes a lightning rod. She’s not the shoo-in everybody thinks.

Bono: I like Hillary Clinton. I hope she runs. It would be hard for me to be opposed to her. I like Hillary. I am really hopeful that Mitt does run again. I think Mitt and Ann Romney are two very fine people. Their leadership skills, his business acumen, he really has run something. I’m very hopeful he gets in. My second favorite would be Jeb Bush, though I’m very close to the Romney campaign so I’m a little bit biased. I hope either one of them would look at (Sen.) Kelly Ayotte as their running mate. She has been a terrific leader on issues such as national security. For me the dream ticket would be Mitt and Kelly, and let Hillary duke it out. ❖



National GOP, Indiana Dems in similar zone

By PETE SEAT

INDIANAPOLIS – Nationally, Republicans are without a leader, without a message, and without a plan. The party is having a difficult time defining exactly what it stands for in the waning years of the Obama Era and seems intent on waiting until a presidential nominee emerges to figure it all out. Ironically enough, Indiana Democrats are in a similar position.



In fact, both parties have the same 2014 strategy: We're not the other guy. Republicans in targeted federal campaigns are focusing much of their attention on bashing President Obama and highlighting their opponents' verbal missteps rather than on positive ideas for the future. Indiana Democrats are playing the same game. They are hoping voters default to them because Republicans already have supermajorities

in the State House and Senate. But the parallels don't end there.

With Evan Bayh's protracted flirtations with a third run for governor now (finally!) behind us, Democrats are without a leader to champion their cause. At the moment, Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz is as close to a leader as they have, and talking to some of the party faithful you come away with the sense that they wish that wasn't the case. Ritz is popular with a few important Democratic constituencies, namely teacher unions, but she leaves a lot of Democrats annoyed and perplexed at her office's ineptitude.

Republicans around the country are likewise stuck. There's chatter that former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney might make a third run for the presidency, but the most talked about Republicans of the day are Texas Sen. Ted Cruz and Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul. Like Ritz, they cater to important Republican constituencies, but aren't close to laying a claim on party leader.

Without a single leader, or a group of leaders accepted by all factions of the party, the loudest and harshest voices in both parties have been able to hijack the message, and both sound the same. The message coming from the Indiana Democratic Party has become reminiscent of the "Party of No" Republicans we hear about on Capitol Hill. Indiana Democrats have opposed Gov. Mike Pence and Statehouse Republicans on nearly every measure from the economy to education to health-care. If it's an idea proposed by the governor, liked by the speaker, and supported by most Republicans, chances are

Democrats will cry "no" to any television camera pointed their way.

And in those interviews, they use talking points that do little but stoke the base of their party and alienate middle-of-the-road voters. They are like a child run amok with a toy label maker, sticking an adhesive moniker to everything in sight. "Tea Party!" "Extremist!" And so on, and so forth. Opposition and negativity are the first words spoken rather than any ideas that will help Indiana grow.

Their opposition is so fierce that when former Gov. Mitch Daniels and State House Republicans pursued right-to-work legislation in 2011 the entire House Democratic caucus absconded to Urbana, Illinois, for five weeks. Their leader at that time, Pat Bauer, suckered them into a losing battle and the bill ultimately passed the following year.

Republicans on the national level are in the same boat having been down the road where a single voice can bring government operations to a halt. Of course, when a Republican veers off course and makes inane comments, they are quickly chastised by Democrats, the media and the public, and made to atone for their verbal sins. But in Indiana, when a Democrat called Daniels an "idiot" and said Hoosiers "clap and bark like a bunch of trained seals," little hay was made. In fact, that person was nominated to run for governor! (Hint: It's John Gregg).

Finally, neither national Republicans nor Indiana Democrats has a plan for the future. If Republicans do in fact capture a U.S. Senate majority in November, what do they plan to do with it? Oppose Obama some more? The U.S. House of Representatives, already with a Republican majority, has passed hundreds of bills that will help create jobs in our country. Those bills have died in the Senate at the hands of Majority Leader Harry Reid. But even if Reid is demoted, and Republicans pass the bills out of the Senate, Obama will more than likely veto them and we will find ourselves back in the same place as we are today.

Again, that sounds like Indiana Democrats. They could potentially gain a seat or two in the General Assembly, but where does that get them? State Chairman John Zody recently said his party is focused on the long-game, which sounds more like reality than a strategy. Without a plan for what the party will do in the future, voters are unlikely to give them a chance.

Clearly, the better option is to just sit back and wait. It's a lot easier than working for the win. ❖

Pete Seat is senior project manager at the Indianapolis-based Hathaway Strategies and author of the recently published book *The War on Millennials*. He was previously a spokesman for President George W. Bush, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats and the Indiana Republican Party.

Does Joe Bock have a chance?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Does Joe Bock have a chance?

"It's what people are wondering," says Bock, the Democratic nominee for Congress in Indiana's 2nd District. Indeed, that question is often heard as the TV ads for Bock and Congresswoman Jackie Walorski, the Republican incumbent, now appear frequently, alerting viewers that there is a race.

Interviewed in his campaign headquarters, Bock said the question of whether he has a chance is answered with his ability to get on TV extensively. Walorski, with better funding, started to rule the TV screens with two ads in early July.



Bock says he has a chance to overtake Walorski, regarded as the front-runner. "The fact that we're up on TV is helping," says Bock, in building name recognition after starting as a political unknown and in letting voters know that "this is somebody

who's serious."

As voters now focus, the No. 1 issue is "frustration that the government is so dysfunctional," Bock said, as well as Walorski's role in the government shut-down. "There is a genuine enthusiasm for change. People are not satisfied with the representation they have."

While Walorski calls in her campaign for bipartisanship, Bock contends that "currently we have somebody with extreme views," demonstrated in Walorski's vote for the Ryan budget drafted by Republican Rep. Paul Ryan.

"That's not a popular thing," says Bock. "It cuts Pell grants, it takes away the Medicare guarantee, it provides large corporations with tax breaks, including those who are sending jobs overseas."

His governmental philosophy? That of a Democratic moderate more interested in pragmatic solutions than in partisan ideology, with concern for fiscal responsibility, but with different priorities than in Ryan budget cuts.



TV is important in the sprawling 10-county 2nd District, and Walorski plans to stay on TV right up to election day. Can Bock raise funds to match that pace? "We're going to have the resources to do what we need to do," he says. But he doesn't claim he can match Walorski.

The Washington analysts of congressional races, all giving Walorski an edge, have speculated that Bock needs to be targeted for help by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee for a real chance. The DCCC has had Bock on an "emerging" candidate watch list but has provided no funding. The organization targets only districts where it finds its additional resources could make a difference. So it apparently hasn't found Bock yet that close.

"We really don't know what their plans are," Bock says of the DCCC. "At this point, we're not real concerned about them. The enthusiasm in the district itself is what we're really focused on. People (contributors) in the district are generous."

He contends that Walorski hurt her own cause with TV ads attacking his vote as a Missouri state legislator for a pay raise for himself. That was over 22 years ago, he said, and the vote to which she refers was a cost-of-living increase for state employees, not just legislators. He says it was supported overwhelmingly and wasn't a partisan issue. Bock served three terms in the Missouri House, 1986-92.

"People are upset she attacked," Bock says. "I think Jackie is concerned that she is vulnerable, and she's so desperate she's looking back that many years. It's Jackie trying to distract people from the real issues here in this campaign."

Bock, a teaching professor at the University of Notre Dame, came here eight years ago.

He pushes now for debates. Walorski has no enthusiasm for that. Bock says Walorski declined debate invitations from Rochester high school students and the League of Women voters and thus "refuses to answer for her record."

Bock, with experience in disaster response efforts around the world and once a professional firefighter, says in TV ads that he again is running "toward the fire," the conflagration in Washington. Voters wonder if he has a chance to get there. And whether he should. They will decide if he does. ❖

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

Rokita discusses ISIS, education and debt

By **MATTHEW BUTLER**

INDIANAPOLIS – When we sat down with U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita Tuesday we expected most of our time to be dedicated to priorities he has long championed, entitlement reform and eliminating bureaucratic red tape.

"We've been fighting it since day one," Rokita explained of entitlement reform. "It's the main reason I ran for Congress." Sitting on the Budget Committee, Rokita has tackled these issues head on, touting the first cuts in spending since the end of the Korean War and his proposal to reform Medicaid.

As well as touching on those efforts, Rokita wanted to emphasize work he was doing as chairman of the subcommittee on K-12 education. Asked by Speaker John Boehner to chair, in fact, his former committee, Rokita was quite surprised. However, he quickly appreciated the importance of its remit and accepted. "And, yes, I'm one who doesn't think there is any federal role in education," he added. But he acknowledges, he can lead reforms in the meantime, like the Student Success Act. "It's the first time an education reauthorization bill has seen passage in 13 years," he explained. "That was my signature bill; it came through my committee. It replaced No Child Left Behind (NCLB), which was Speaker Boehner's signature bill and I got him to vote for it."

Describing the Student Success Act, Rokita said unlike NCLB, it gives authority and money to states and local schools. "Yes, we agree with accountability," he commented, "but the local level can determine what success is." Rokita was also proud the bill prevented Common Core from being a prerequisite for Department of Education funding. "If we get a Republican Senate, I predict it will be one of the major pieces of legislation that will move next term," he added.

Rokita called attention to bipartisanship within his committee, noting last week's reauthorization of early childhood block grants. "That was bipartisan, bicameral and should be on the way to the President's desk by the end of the year," he explained. Another accomplishment already passed into law was streamlining education re-

search. And, Rokita is working with U.S Rep. George Miller (D-California) to expand charter schools. Looking to next year, Rokita wants his committee to address student data privacy and school nutrition. He wants to further investigate what he believes are overly high rates of free lunches at schools.

Outside of education and tackling the debt, another Rokita legislative priority for next year is comprehensive civil service reform. "It's going to take several cues from the VA reforms we did earlier this year but go a lot farther," he told HPI. "First, it's going to outlaw public sector unions, not unlike what Mitch Daniels did the second day on the job through executive order. I think public sector unions should be illegal not because I'm anti-union – I come from Lake County, okay, I grew up on unions and get the social economic value they give – but because private sector unions have a natural circuit breaker. If a union gets out of balance or too aggressive it drives the company into bankruptcy. A public sector union doesn't have that circuit breaker." Additional reforms would include more accountable pay raises, forfeiture of pension annuities for convicted felons, allowing for demotions if warranted, and future hires to be considered "at-will employees."

Entitlement Reform

Entitlement reforms remain Rokita's lodestar. "Ten thousand Baby Boomers retiring every day into unreformed social entitlement programs is what is driving our debt," Rokita said. "And that will escalate vertically if you look graphically." He outlined those outlays: 63 percent of federal spending is on Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, "a smorgasbord of other social welfare programs," and debt servicing. Rokita says that aggregation will eventually account for 90 percent.

"Everyone wants to focus on the discretionary spending," Rokita said. "Sequester is not going to continue to be a palatable answer if these entitlement programs continue to balloon unreformed."

With his Budget Committee colleagues, Rokita says Republicans have put forward a reform package. "We took the extra step, even though some said it was political suicide, to put a narrative in about what's really driving our debt and what we had to do. So you see Paul Ryan and I and others producing Medicare reforms. You see me with the most mature idea within the Republican Caucus on reforming Medicaid. And you saw elements of my Medicaid bill in the budget the last three years."

Rokita emphasized that none of their proposed reforms impact those



currently enrolled or soon to enroll. Instead, it will impact the middle-aged and younger “who have time to prepare for retirement and who are going to live a lot closer to 100.” He believes eligibility age increases should be on the table as well as other changes. “Perhaps a more aggressive means test for these programs. That’s a huge tax increase,” Rokita noted. “This Republican would be for that if it meant changing the trajectory of this debt load. I think that’s pretty courageous quite frankly; I’m willing to do those kind of things.

“What did we get from that? From the Democratic Party did we get a better idea?”

Immigration Reform

Rokita also feels the Democrats are offering little in terms of tackling the recent border crisis and influx of unaccompanied minors from Central America. He touted being among caucus members who demanded an ambitious bill which dedicated funding and redirected foreign aid to the respective countries in order to house, clothe, treat, and educate unaccompanied minors instead of dispersing them throughout the country with little oversight.



“First off, he caused this crisis,” Rokita said of the President. “He unilaterally said he was not going to enforce some of our immigration laws regarding ‘the Dreamers.’ If you look at the human-telephone nature of that, the rest of the world thought, ‘Come stick your toe in the U.S. and it will be okay.’ So now we have this massive rush.”

What about the strong incentive for parents to send their children unaccompanied since, if they make it, they will be processed and dispersed awaiting an eventual hearing? “It’s a terrible magnet,” said Rokita. “There are horrific stories of what happens to these kids along the way. Why is he doing this, but to garner votes from constituencies that are already here and the liberal left.”

Moreover, Rokita is concerned with border security. He noted some 75 different nationalities have been captured trying to cross the southern border recently. “If we had a workable E-Verify system that was universal,” Rokita believes, technology and policies punishing delinquent employers could severely discourage illegal immigration.

Confronting ISIS

The Congressman’s appraisal on what has been a recent preoccupation in Washington and globe, ISIS: “It was good to see the unity on Congressional approval to support arming Syrian rebels. It’s why I was a ‘yes’ vote. I know there are huge differences of opinion and very good opinions for ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ I saw, as some others did, that the world was watching us. It’s my opinion the President

got us in this situation in the first place by announcing a leave from Iraq and no residual forces left behind. After six years going around the world apologizing for your country and bowing to others you get this. I think he has generally made himself irrelevant and after six years has made us irrelevant. So when he came and said I want to do this, knowing that we only have one commander-in-chief, I said okay, I will help.”

We noted President Obama sought approval for airstrikes roughly a year ago against the Assad regime after it used chemical weapons on its own people and rebels but both parties, especially Republicans, exhibited opposition and little unity as the world watched. Rokita answered that the perception of danger has since changed for the public and lawmakers: “Here the threat is ISIS and the country is much more unified against ISIS than it was about going into Syria. I heard that loud and clear. One year ago I heard two things when I was back in the state:

Don’t go into Syria and stand up against ‘Obamacare.’” Now, Rokita says he’s not hearing opposition from his constituents on Syrian actions “at all.”

“The best evidence I’ve seen that ISIS is a national security threat,” Rokita explained, “is that 300 or so have U.S. passports.”

Noting Rep. Rokita’s strong fiscal conservative rhetoric and votes, we asked where he stood on allocating yet more spending to prop up the highly unreliable Iraqi army as well as relatively unknown rebel groups. Rokita said congressional approval for arming and training the rebels “had a lot more safeguards than previous votes.” He promised more oversight, hearings, and debate in the near future. He stressed he, “as a small ‘I’ libertarian,” wants the U.S. to be more selective in its overseas interventions without becoming isolationist.

What about the cost overhang of the Iraq War in terms of caring for veterans, citing some figures approaching \$4 trillion? Rokita said cost projections foresee declining expenditure when the WWII generation is no longer with us. Rokita added that defense outlays “are not driving our debt.” Nonetheless, he presses for greater accountability of the Defense Department. “It’s one of the few departments which cannot be audited,” he told HPI, “not because there is a statute against it; it’s because they are so big and so sloppy they cannot present evidence at an audit table of what they spend on.”

Delegation

Noting the success and general collegiality on display among Indiana’s entire congressional delegation at last week’s Indiana Chamber ‘Fly In’ event, we asked Rep. Rokita his thoughts on potential cooperation. “We genuinely like and complement each other,” Rokita explained. “I

think the delegation is punching above its weight compared to its seniority and I think that's a great thing."

Earlier this summer, U.S. Rep. Luke Messer noted that over 50 percent of Congress is new but leadership remains the same. Bothered by that, he is running to chair the Republican House Study Committee. "I'm supportive of him," Rokita said. "I hope he wins." As for leadership, Rokita paused and said his style probably prevented him from making the Ways and Means Committee. Nonethe-

less, he says he appreciates the difficulties of leadership and respects their experience on the Hill. "I don't pretend to think I could do as good a job as John Boehner or others in leadership."

"I was on Kevin McCarthy's inner circle whip team for his promotion after Eric Cantor lost," Rokita told us. (Fellow Indiana delegate Marlin Stutzman also pursued that leadership vacancy.) "I feel I'm able to affect policy and strategy with leadership by actually helping them." ❖

Delegation mulls ISIS war strategy

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

WASHINGTON – Indiana's Congressional delegation was split on a House bill that would train and arm Syrian rebels on last week. The House passed the measure 273 to 156 and the Senate voted 78-22.

Of the Indiana delegation, only U.S. Reps. Pete Visclosky, Marlin Stutzman and Todd Young voted against the measure. In the House, there were 159 Republicans and 114 Democrats supporting the bill and 71 Republicans and 85 Democrats voting against.

U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks, R-Indianapolis, said she voted for the measure "because the whole world is watching. ISIL is watching." She noted that there are now "31,000 terrorists, many with Western and U.S. passports" and said the legislation will give President Obama until Dec. 11 to make any determinations.

Young, R-Bloomington, voted against the measure, telling Hoosiers attending a Capitol Hill Indiana Chamber "Fly-In" that he had "concerns about the process" and acknowledged many Members were "conflicted" about the strategy. "We've heard conflicting statements" from the administration, Young said, noting that President Obama has vowed not to use U.S. ground troops while the Joint Chiefs of Staff could not "recall the number of ground troops" already involved. "I was encouraged some of my concerns were addressed," Young said.

President Obama reiterated his decision not to use ground troops. "This is not and will not be America's fight alone. One of the things we've learned over this last decade is America can make a decisive difference. But I want to be clear: the American forces that have been deployed to Iraq do not and will not have a combat mission,"

Obama said at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa. "As your commander in chief, I will not commit you and the rest of our armed forces to fighting another ground war in Iraq. After a decade of massive ground deployments it is more effective to use our unique capabilities in support of partners on the ground so they can secure their own countries' futures. And that is the only solution that will succeed over the long term," the president added.

"**There are real and valid** concerns with the path forward," said U.S. Rep. Larry Buchson, R-Newburgh. "I personally believe we'll have to have congressional hearings." U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski, R-Elkhart, said, "We have to destroy ISIL."

U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly, D-Granger, explained,



U.S. Reps. Susan Brooks, Andre Carson and Larry Bucshon and Sens. Dan Coats and Joe Donnelly at the Indiana Chamber's Fly-in last week on Capitol Hill. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

"This groups says their plan is to kill Americans. I take them at their word. This group is a zero sum group." Donnelly said he wanted to give President Obama options to combat the growing army that he said could eventually threaten Jordan and Saudi Arabia if left unchecked.

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, R-Carmel, added, "We're dealing with an organization with the likes we've never seen before. I support the president to go after ISIL wherever they are. I will be supporting it. This is a real defining moment for the country." ❖

The value of public radio

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – In Jasper last week a man asked me how that already successful southern Indiana city could improve its prospects. That attitude makes Jasper successful. Even though Dubois County has thrived for decades, a progressive spirit persists.



The question is not unique to Jasper. It is a statewide issue in towns that are doing well and those that are in trouble. In answer, many places seek to find a magic bullet, a project that will place them apart from their neighbors.

However, a statewide problem is best addressed by a statewide solution. How can we make all Indiana cities and towns more attractive? Let me propose a relatively inex-

pensive solution: Create a significant statewide network of public radio and TV stations.

Driving from Indianapolis to Jasper, I listened to WFYI (Indianapolis), WFIU (Bloomington), and then WNIN (Evansville). Reception was mediocre to non-existent in many places between those major cities. Aside from the lack of reception, there is the serious lack of Indiana content on most of our public radio and TV stations. We have few programs about local issues, but segments of those shows are rarely broadcast by other public radio or TV stations in the state. We are largely ignorant of what is going on elsewhere in Indiana.

Our local newspapers are increasingly focused on local news and carry very few stories about other places in Indiana. Did your local paper carry any news about the proposed power plant in Logansport? It could be a major scam with questionable ethical issues involving a prominent state legislator. The Associated Press carried a story about this \$800 million project yet I found only two papers, aside from the Logansport Pharos-Tribune, that had articles on the topic.

Why is the Logansport power plant important? Electricity rates and reliable service are very significant to many industries that might locate in Indiana. If Logansport cannot attract businesses, if Logansport and Cass County continue on a downward spiral, we will all have yet another poor neighbor, another struggling community that does not contribute to the well-being of the state.

Have you heard about the plan to dam the White River above Anderson? This proposal would have detrimental consequences for Mounds State Park in the name of providing future water supply for the ever-expanding

Indianapolis metro area.

What did the interim legislative committee on taxes discuss at its meeting last week? These and other issues are important to all Hoosiers. Vigorous statewide public radio and TV networks could help close our information gaps. Equally important, educated people interested in Indiana are likely to be National Public Radio (NPR) listeners and Public Broadcasting System (PBS) viewers. Dozens of our towns would benefit if they had good, objective coverage from a statewide system.

Public radio and TV stations in Indiana need to expand their content and strengthen their existing, but tenuous linkage. If the legislature wants a low-cost means of improving the attractiveness of our state, this is a sensible opportunity. ❖



A public lecture on economic development

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – The changing economic landscape makes attracting people, not business, the successful strategy.

My employer requires from time to time that some professors give a public lecture. Last week was my first at Ball State and I offered a talk titled: "Why Tax Incentives



Don't Work." This was an intentionally provocative title. Economic development is big business with Indiana communities spending perhaps a billion dollars more on operations, incentives, abatements and infrastructure spending. So a little eye-popping headline can be excused because anything this big needs serious research.

The basis of my lecture was a 20-page study with nice mathematical models and graphs. Fortunately, most smart readers can understand the matter in far less space.

The Great Depression brought us modern economic development. From the 1930s to the 1970s about half of American counties and cities started an earnest effort to attract new businesses. There is some evidence that in the early days it was modestly successful. That shouldn't be too surprising since in the '30s maybe half of jobs were in businesses that could be lured to a new town with enough cash. But the world changed.

By 1990 nearly everyone had an economic development team, but by then fewer than one in five jobs were "footloose" in the sense that they could choose a

place of business untethered to the local demand for the good or service they produced. Over the past quarter century the share of jobs in 'footloose' firms has dropped to under 5 percent, maybe much less. The average size of firms has plummeted and scarcely 150 new large manufacturing establishments (500+ workers) open each year.

The sum of all these facts is that the cost of luring a new firm to town has skyrocketed, while the benefits have plummeted. The U.S. has created more than 90 million net new jobs over the past 45 years, but there are fewer 'footloose' or 'attractable' jobs today than in 1969. Yet, communities throughout Indiana continue to pour money into attracting those jobs.

Understanding why there are so few footloose jobs in our economy is important. As we get richer we spend more on services such as entertainment, health care and the like, and less on manufactured goods. Add to that the

automation in factories and the end result is far fewer businesses with fewer employees that could be lured to our state.

So what makes rich places rich and poor places poor? With almost all jobs tied to local demand for goods and services, most workers can choose to live anywhere they wish. That makes attracting people, not business, the successful strategy. Places with great schools, nice safe neighborhoods and good recreational opportunities attract more people. That is what makes places rich. Not having these attributes makes them poor. It is just about that simple. Traditional business attraction efforts at the local level have not made Hoosiers better off. Smart mayors and county leaders know this and are shifting policies. Still, it isn't necessary that every Indiana community modernize their economic development efforts, just the ones who want to grow. ❖

Breaking the GOP House super majority

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Indiana Democrats need to pick up three seats in the House to break the Republican supermajority. They would need to gain four seats in the Senate to end the GOP supermajority there. Holding the supermajority means the party in power can do whatever it sees fit. The minority party, in essence, doesn't have a voice to affect or stop legislation.



If Democrats are to break the Republicans' stranglehold of the Legislature, they will have to do it in the House. There is general agreement they can't do it in the Senate.

There also is general agreement among Democrats that one of the three seats they must win is the 15th House District where Rep. Hal Slager,

a Schererville Republican, is the incumbent. Challenging Slager is Democrat Jim Wieser, a former Highland town councilman and Lake County councilman and longtime party advisor.

Wieser, a Schererville resident and lawyer, said he got into the race because of the negative things he feels Republicans are doing to the state's public education system. Wieser's wife is a public school teacher.

While the 15th District leans Republican, local Democrats are energized by Wieser's campaign. The enthusiasm not only is coming from public school teachers

who are upset over the GOP assault on education, but also the construction and building trades unions and the steelworkers union. The unions are becoming involved because of the Republican passage of the anti-union right-to-work law. Some union members have been campaigning door-to-door with Wieser.

A fund-raiser for Wieser this week pointed to the emphasis Democrats are placing on the 15th House District. Scheduled to head the fund-raiser was Sen. Joe Donnelly, the state's top Democratic elected official. Also slated to speak was U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky, who is seeking a 16th term in Congress and is unquestionably the most popular Democrat in Northwest Indiana.

Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott, who is the former county chairman, was slated to be the emcee and county Democratic Chairman and Sheriff John Buncich was among the scheduled speakers.

Slager won the 15th District two years ago by less than 500 votes over former county Councilman Tom O'Donnell. Republicans drew the district with Slager in mind following the 2010 Census. The Slager-Wieser race is expected to draw the most interest locally in November. In fact, it is one of a few competitive races.

Although county Assessor Jolie Covaciu is a Republican, she is considered a heavy underdog against Democrat Jerome Prince and likely won't draw big numbers of Republicans to the polls. Covaciu was elected by precinct committeemen when Republican Assessor Hank Adams died last year.

Adams was elected in 2010 when it came out that Democrat Carol Ann Seaton had numerous legal problems. He was the first Republican in more than 60 years to hold a countywide office in Lake County. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years.

Congress, president need to work on military intervention

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – Our Constitution makes the President the commander in chief, yet gives Congress the ability to declare war. By giving a role to each branch, it clearly considers the use of force to be a shared decision.

In his speech last week outlining his plans to use military force against the jihadists of the Islamic State, President Obama gave Congress only passing mention. "I have the authority to address the threat from ISIL," he said. "But I believe we are strongest as a nation when the president and Congress work together."

He's right, of course. But that's not the half of it.



We live in troubled times, and over the last decade or two our military has been deeply involved somewhere in the world: Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen, Libya, Syria ... It's a long list that will only grow longer as we're called upon to use force in the future.

Our process for deciding to use force, however, hasn't caught up with these dangerous times. It has been decades

since Congress asserted any meaningful role — pretty much everyone in the country, including most members of Congress, consider military intervention to be the President's prerogative. Congress has been far too deferential; its members prefer to avoid a potentially difficult political vote, let the President take the lead, and then criticize him if he was wrong.

At the moment, much of the debate in the press and in Washington about the President's intentions revolves around the legal justifications, which I find slightly amusing. The fact is that presidents always find the legal authority to take whatever action they believe is in the country's best interest, and they have plenty of cards in their deck: self-defense, national security, protecting Americans, and their constitutional role as commander in chief.

Indeed, there are occasions when the President must act alone. If we've been attacked or hostilities are imminent or some emergency presents itself for which force is the only response, we'd expect the President to respond effectively.

But there are powerful political reasons for making the decision to use force abroad a joint one with Congress in all but emergencies.

When our nation must deal with controversial, complicated questions, there is great value to making the President articulate his analysis of the situation and the reasons for his decisions, and to test that thinking beyond close advisors who naturally tend to support him. The best place to do so is in Congress, where fresh eyes and an independent point of view will produce tough questions. Invariably, the result is a refined White House policy and a better understanding of it by the American people.

This is unequivocally what Americans want.

Even now, as a large majority of Americans support military action against ISIS, they also want Congress to weigh in, with more than 70 percent in a recent CNN poll believing President Obama should seek Congress's backing for military strikes.

This may be because Americans understand innately that military action supported by both the President and Congress carries more legitimacy at home and more conviction abroad. Internal debate on foreign policy unsettles our allies, who begin to doubt the sustainability of our chosen course. The U.S. is in a far stronger position before the world if it is clear that the branches of government are unified and that we are speaking with one voice as a nation.

Though my chief concern is with the politics of authorizing force, there is one legal argument I find paramount. It is common wisdom that our Constitution is ambiguous on this subject, since it makes the President the commander in chief, yet gives Congress the ability to declare war. In a sense, though, the Constitution's message is anything but ambiguous: by giving a role to each branch, it clearly considers the use of force to be a shared decision.

This imposes a responsibility on Congress. Our system is built on the notion that Congress cannot be a bystander when it comes to the grave decision to use our military abroad. It, too, needs to take ownership of decisions to use force, for the good of the American people's understanding and acceptance of the issues at stake, and for the benefit of the nation's profile abroad.

But Congress needs to assert this role, not hide behind the expediency of letting someone else make the decision. And the President should embrace it. ❖

Lee Hamilton is director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.

Karen Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette: Rep. Eric Turner long enjoyed a position of power at the right hand – some would say the far right hand – of Indiana House Speaker Brian Bosma. It’s fair to say the ties between them now are irrevocably broken. After years of ethically questionable behavior by his House speaker pro tem, Bosma finally stripped Turner of his leadership post last month when the latter’s business conflicts became too much of a liability. While the General Assembly’s lax ethics rules gave Turner a pass for influencing legislation that would have hurt his own financial interests, the loss of his speaker pro tem title had to hurt. The Cicero Republican might get the last laugh, however. He announced Friday he’s stepping down from his post after the election and will accept a job with a Georgia-based Christian leadership training company. While his caucus drew reliably Republican districts after the 2010 Census, Turner has handed Democrat Bob Ashley, a former Statehouse reporter, a welcome gift. The challenger only has to convince District 32 voters that they are better off supporting a known quantity than allowing party officials to pick a replacement for Turner after the election. “He’s announced that he’s not going to serve in his office if people elect him. That’s an insult to the voters,” Ashley told reporters at a Statehouse news conference Monday. ❖



Stuart Rothenberg, Roll Call: With six weeks to go, the fight for control of the Senate is down to five states, four of them currently held by Democrats. Republicans must win only two of those contests to guarantee the 51 seats they need to control the Senate for the last two years of Barack Obama’s presidency. And they need to win only one of the Democratic states if they hold the only GOP seat at serious risk. While things could still change — and national polls continue to show an environment that may produce a substantial GOP wave in the House and Senate — the Senate battle has boiled down to two reliably red states and three swing states. While you can find Democrats spinning a yarn about how their party could pull off an upset in a multi-candidate race in South Dakota, that state, plus West Virginia and Montana, look poised to flip to the GOP in November. Two Southern Democrats, Arkansas’ Mark Pryor and Louisiana’s Mary L. Landrieu, have run aggressive races as they try to survive the Republican wave that has swept over their states during the past four years. But Arkansas Republican Rep. Tom Cotton has finally opened up a small but decisive lead in his race, a lead likely to grow in the coming weeks. The Louisiana contest will probably go to a December runoff, and while runoffs are unpredictable, the almost certain GOP alternative to Landrieu in that race, Republican Rep. Bill Cassidy, has the advantage. If they win both races, Republicans need to net only one more seat to win Senate control, with the focus, at least right now, on Alaska, North Carolina, Colorado, Iowa and Kansas. My ratings continue to reflect

Republican Senate gains most likely in the five to eight seat range, with the eventual outcomes in the five most crucial contests likely to determine Senate control in 2015.

Kyle Kondik, Sabato Crystal Ball: The national numbers indicate that Republicans should be on the verge of big House gains. But a district-by-district analysis suggests a different story. Throughout the election cycle, we’ve been closely monitoring the House generic ballot, which is the national poll that asks whether voters would support a Republican or a Democrat in their local House race. For much of the year, the polls have been roughly tied. Those were generally polls of registered voters -- a bigger universe of people than the “likely voters” now being tested. With that polling adjustment now in place, Republicans have taken a clear lead in the House generic ballot, though perhaps not as big of a lead as they held at this point in 2010, when they netted 63 House seats and took control of the House. Table 1 shows the results of five recently released generic ballot surveys from high-quality, nonpartisan pollsters, as well as results from those same pollsters roughly this time four years ago. This is an imperfect comparison: While the pollsters used are the same, the timing of the surveys does not line up perfectly (we used the most recent survey from these pollsters conducted this year and tried to find the poll from four years ago conducted closest to this point in the election year). However, the Republicans held an average lead on the generic ballot of about 5.8 percentage points in these polls, whereas the same surveys now show an average lead of 4.2 points. That’s good for Republicans, but not quite as good as 2010. In comparing the overall average (including other polls not included in Table 1), the RealClearPolitics generic ballot average on Sept. 24, 2010 (four years ago as of this writing) showed a Republican lead of 3.7 points. The current average, as of Wednesday afternoon, shows Republicans with a 4.0-point lead. So depending on how one slices the numbers, one could argue that, based on this metric, Republicans are in slightly better shape in the battle for the House than they were four years ago. Or one could argue that they are not doing as well. For instance, another polling average -- HuffPost Pollster -- shows Republicans with only a one-point lead on the generic ballot, a couple points less than its average showed at this time in 2010. So pick your poison. ❖

Pollster	2010 polls		2014 polls	
	Result	Conducted	Result	Conducted
ABC/WaPo	R +6	9/30-10/3	R +3	9/4-9/7
CBS/NYT	R +2	9/10-9/14	R +7	9/12-9/15
CNN/ORC	R +9	9/21-9/23	R +4	9/5-9/7
GWU	R +5	9/19-9/22	R +4	8/23-8/28
Pew	R +7	8/25-9/6	R +3	9/2-9/9
Average	R +5.8		R +4.2	

Claytor blasts CECI funding

INDIANAPOLIS - Democratic candidate for state auditor Mike Claytor brought his "cost of corruption" tour to the voters of Allen County on Wednesday, protesting what he called a lack of transparency affecting public education (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). During his visit to the Allen County Democratic Party headquarters on Decatur Road, he also focused on what he described as a combative atmosphere that exists for elected Democrat Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz. While attacking the Center for Education and Career Innovation – a state agency created in 2013 under executive order by Gov. Mike Pence – Claytor said the agency is the only one that is not required to revert money left over at the end of the year to the state surplus. The reversions are used to keep that surplus at \$2 billion. The agency was created by pulling employees and funding from several existing agencies, including the State Board of Education, the Education Roundtable, the Indiana Career Council and the Indiana Works Council. "They're the only agency that doesn't have to revert," Claytor said. "It's a shell game. The people (who are working for the CECI) are not being paid from the agency they are working," adding that the costs of those 21 people amount to \$14 million. "They took \$14 million and put it together. You don't know how much they would have spent anyway and how much is duplication," said Claytor, who called the CECI a "shadow agency for Glenda Ritz." CECI itself doesn't have a line item in the current state budget because it didn't exist when the budget was passed. But the agencies under CECI did revert money. The State Board of Education returned \$1.7 million, and the Indiana Works Council sent back nearly \$150,000. The agencies CECI



oversees reverted \$2.18 million – or 21 percent of their appropriation.

Airstrike kills terror leader

WASHINGTON - U.S. missile strikes against an obscure al-Qaeda cell in Syria killed at least one of the group's leaders, delivering what U.S. officials described as a significant but not decisive blow to a terrorist group accused of plotting attacks against Europe and the United States (Washington Post). U.S. officials said late Wednesday that American intelligence agencies had not confirmed reports that the leader of al-Qaeda's Khorasan group, Mushin al-Fadhli, was the senior operative killed in the barrage of strikes west of Aleppo. Although Obama administration officials described the group as "nearing the execution phase" of a potentially major terrorist plot, other U.S. officials on Wednesday said there was no indication that it had selected targets, deployed operatives or otherwise set a specific plan in motion..

Pence kicks off Pre-K pilot program

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Mike Pence attended a pre-kindergarten kick-off meeting Wednesday that brought together leadership teams from the five pilot counties, including Allen (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). "This is vitally important work," he said. "We have an opportunity to impact large numbers of children in these five counties and lay a foundation." Allen, Lake, Vanderburgh, Marion and Jackson counties were chosen by the Family and Social Services Administration to pilot the first-ever state-sponsored early education program. And Pence said all the counties except Jackson are on pace to start at least part of their programs early next year. The counties were chosen based

largely on need and capacity to serve. In all, as many as 2,015 children could be served in the five counties based on estimates provided in the applications.

FOP disputes Peru PD chief report

PERU – The Miami County Fraternal Order of Police said Wednesday there isn't evidence to support Peru Mayor Jim Walker's claim that a group of Peru police officers launched a "mean-spirited" campaign to oust former Police Chief Jonie Kennedy (Kokomo Tribune). In a three-page press release, the FOP Miami Lodge 72 said it was "unaware of any campaign to have Chief Kennedy removed from her office." Kennedy stepped down as chief last week after she said in her resignation letter a group of officers showed her "such disdain and derision that I found myself, at times, focusing more on their actions than the task at hand of properly administering this department." Walker said during a press conference last week the officers used Facebook to conduct the "negative campaign" against Kennedy. The FOP said it was unaware of any Facebook post from an officer which attacked Kennedy, either professionally or personally.

Suspicious activity reports urged

INDIANAPOLIS – The Indiana Department of Homeland Security and the Indiana Intelligence Fusion Center are renewing a campaign called "See Something Say Something" in light of heightened tensions in the Middle East (Associated Press). Anyone seeing suspicious activity is urged to contact local law enforcement authorities. The fusion center may also be contacted at 877-226-1026 or by email at iifc@iifc.in.gov. If danger is imminent, residents should call 911.