



Senate, 8th CD into HPI Tossup

Ellsworth, Van Haaften go from comfortable leads into the 2010 frying pan

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - The immediate impact of U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh's chain reaction that has resulted in the apparent appointment of U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth as the next Democratic senatorial nominee is that it's put two Indiana congressional seats fully in play for November.

While it's too early to forecast a Republican House takeover this fall, if that should happen by one or two seats, the Bayh-Ellsworth scenario will go down in history as a debacle, providing Republican Dr. Larry Bucshon can move it into the red column.

Not to mention that Bayh's Senate seat is also off the backburner and fully in play. Howey Politics Indiana is moving both the U.S. Senate race and the 8th CD into the "tossup" category after last week's bizarre events.

HPI believes that Dan Coats is the Republican frontrunner for the Senate race. Coats has far more name ID and is expected to have much greater resources than



After a week of musical chairs, State Rep. Trent Van Haaften (left) and U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth find themselves in the 8th CD and U.S. Senate races that are tossups, as opposed to races where they were comfortably ahead a week ago. (HPI Photo by Steve Dickerson)

the others in the GOP field. He will be able to raise money on a national basis, something we don't see the other contenders doing.

A week before Bayh's bombshell, the Democrats

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Bayh's new White House path

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

CAPE CORAL, Fla. - Anyone who believes that Evan Bayh's days as a public figure are numbered should think again. Since his surprise retirement announcement last week, Bayh has been all over the airwaves and penned an Opinion Editorial for the New York Times (See page 7) explaining why he has decided to leave the Senate at the end of his second term.



Chris Sautter Column

These appearances do not seem like the final lap of an old pol headed for the sunset. Rather, Bayh seems to be sending clear signals he intends to remain in the public arena forging



“The people of the United States and Afghanistan will never be able to pay the debt of honor and respect owed to Sgt. Jeremy McQueary.”

- U.S. REP, MIKE PENCE



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a new path to his ultimate goal—the Presidency.

Ever since Evan Bayh began his climb to national prominence by running for Indiana Secretary of State in 1986, it has been understood that he would some day be a candidate for President. During the run-up to the 2008 presidential campaign, Bayh laid the necessary groundwork. He raised significant dollars and began developing a solid organization in Iowa. His strategy was to position himself as the alternative to frontrunner Hillary Clinton. But he pulled out of the race just weeks after establishing a formal exploratory committee in late 2006. A Bayh town meeting in New Hampshire had been completely overshadowed by Barack Obama's first trip to the Granite State. Bayh, ever the realist, recognized he had no real niche in the race and that Obama was much more likely to become the alternative to Clinton.

The reality is that Bayh lacked the kind of message that can carry a presidential campaign. He was running as the sole moderate in the race. But presidential nomination campaigns are not about ideology. They are contests between establishment candidates and outsider candidates, those who will carry on the party's established tenets and those who want to change or reform them. As a two-term U.S. Senator and former chair of the Democratic Leadership Conference, Bayh was pure establishment. Hillary Clinton had locked up the establishment support. Obama and John Edwards were pushing from the outside with messages promoting change. There was simply no place in that race for someone like Bayh.

Bayh began his political career as a reformer. When he ran for Secretary of State and first ran for governor of Indiana, Bayh promised to make state government less politicized and more responsive. He ended the system of kicking back money from the license branches to the political parties. And, he succeeded in holding the line on taxes while streamlining government

and improving public education. At the same time, he recognized the rights of state employees to organize. Bayh's administration was both progressive and fiscally responsible.

But after a successful first term as governor, Bayh began to play it safe as he looked ahead to the future. As a U.S. Senator, Bayh established the credentials for higher office. For example, he became expert in foreign policy and intelligence matters. He had developed the perfect resume for Vice President. But he no longer came across as a change agent. He lacked the basis for the kind of message that would resonate in a national campaign.

Bayh's call last week for fundamental changes in the Senate and in American politics has put him back in the role of reformer. In his New York Times Op Ed, he pledged to spend his final months as Senator fighting for reforms, including changing the filibuster rule and campaign finance laws. The media coverage of Bayh's announcement was glowing. For the first time, Bayh is viewed nationally as a leader in changing the way Washington works.

Bayh could disappear into private life after he serves out his term in the Senate. What is more likely is that he proposes a full agenda for change and spends significant time and energy promoting that agenda. Some have suggested he may run for Governor of Indiana again in 2012. Such a move would give him both a showcase for his ideas and an office from which to run for President in 2016. Bayh would only be 61 years old.

Instead of the closing of a political legacy, Bayh's retirement from the Senate is more likely the beginning of a new chapter.

If Bayh can recapture the freshness of his early days as a reform politician, he has a real chance to remain in the national conversation of possible future presidential candidates.





Tossups, from page 1

were pushing polling data that showed Bayh with landslide-strength leads over Republican Dan Coats and John Hostettler. The Rasmussen Reports polling last week showed Ellsworth trailing Coats 46-32 percent, Hostettler 46-27 percent and State Sen. Marlin Stutzman 40-30 percent.

HPI views those numbers as more baseline in nature. The race was still in flux when Rasmussen was in the field. Once the Indiana Democratic Central Committee coalesces around Ellsworth, giving his candidacy an air of legitimacy and he begins to develop a campaign staff and raising money, the polling in the next month or so will be more revealing.

Ellsworth has won every election by a landslide, including the 1998 Vanderburgh County Sheriff race when he defeated Ed Bassemier 40,660 to 10,212. By comparison, Republican county auditor Cheryl Musgrave won 24,601 to 24,581 over Roy Hamner, and Commissioner Richard Mourdock defeated Rick Jones 25,991 to 24,560. Ellsworth ran unopposed for reelection in 2002 and drew 36,000 votes.

Heading into the 2006 election cycle, Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker had originally recruited Ellsworth for an Indiana General Assembly seat, but asked him to challenge Rep. Hostettler. He defeated Hostettler 61-39 percent (131,019 to 83,704) in the worst Congressional incumbent loss of the cycle and coming in a Congressional district that President Bush had won with 62 percent of the vote in 2004. Landslide Ellsworth outraised Hostettler three-to-one. In 2008, with the endorsements of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Rifle Association, Ellsworth creamed Republican Greg Goode 188,693 to 102,769 (65-35 percent).

In essence, Ellsworth has put the kind of election night numbers up that Evan Bayh has. He just hasn't faced a fully engaged, well-funded opponent.

Ellsworth is pro-life, taking a major role in the autumn 2009 health reform debate in the House when he helped craft language on the issue that appeased the anti-abortion wing of the Democratic Party while angering the liberal left. In 2007, just a few days after joining the House,

Ellsworth was one of 16 Democrats to vote against the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act, which would have allowed federally-funded stem-cell research, according to Gannett News Service. He backed a Constitutional amendment against same-sex marriage. While he differed from Hostettler on the immigration issue, arguing that it would be impossible to lock up 12 to 20 million illegals as Hostettler had urged in 2006, he introduced the Legal Employee Verification Act in 2007.

In the fall of 2008, Ellsworth supported both versions of the Bush administration's financial bailout plan, including the one that failed to pass the House. He told the Washington Times-Herald in Indiana, "If I thought this was bailing out some CEOs on Wall Street, I would have never voted for it. Doing nothing is worse than doing something." But in early 2009, he was one of 11 House Democrats to vote against President Obama's stimulus bill. In June 2009, he voted against the Waxman-Markey greenhouse gas bill. But he did support the House version of the health care reforms.

He also introduced the Small Business Regulatory Improvement Act, which requires agencies to consider the economic impact of new regulation and regulatory regimes.

Another interesting twist comes on Iraq, where Rep. Hostettler was one of five Republicans to oppose the October 2002 Iraq War Resolution. Ellsworth told the Evansville Courier & Press that he would have likely voted for the resolution.

Newsweek reported: Ellsworth wasted no time before allying himself with conservative House Democrats and joining Indiana Reps. Baron Hill and Joe Donnelly - all three coming into Congress in 2006 - as Blue Dog Coalition Democrats. Just two days after defeating Hostettler, he called fellow Rep.-elect Heath Shuler, a North Carolina Democrat who had just picked up a seat in Republican territory. Ellsworth told Shuler that they should stick together because they both needed to position themselves to the right of the House Democratic Caucus. "We're both in the same boat," he said. "We've got to remember that the people back home put us here and they can take us back out." ❖

Reexamining CD races after a tumultuous week

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

FRANKLIN - Last week's tumultuous events ignited by U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh has altered the 8th Congressional District in vivid fashion, while U.S. Rep. Baron Hill still has removed himself from the Senate race, though he is still



expected to seek reelection in the 9th.

Last Friday's filing deadline almost brings the field into final status for the May 4 primary, though candidates can withdraw by noon today.

Here is HPI's analysis on the competitive six Congressional DIstricts where we believe the outcome is not assured in either the May 4 primary or the Nov. 2 general



election. Democratic U.S. Reps. Pete Visclosky in the 1st and Andre Carson in the 7th are expected to easily win primary and general elections, as is U.S. Rep. Mike Pence in the 6th CD. Visclosky has one primary opponent - Woody Wilcox - who is not credible. Carson has three primary challengers not expected to mount serious competition and Pence is unopposed in the primary.

Here is our rundown of competitive districts:

2ND CD: Walorski and a wave

Republican Jackie Walorski faces former Eli Lilly and Bremen School Board President Jack Jordan in the Republican primary. We believe that Walorski's network spread over St. Joseph and Elkhart counties, and her involvement in the anti-property tax and tea party movements will serve her well in the GOP primary. She has too much name ID and support for Jordan to overcome. A race against U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly will be intense, though Donnelly has some real assets. He didn't get sucked into the Evan Bayh succession frenzy, stalwartly staying focused on his district. He gathered in some real assets fighting on behalf of GM and Chrysler workers during the 2008-09 auto meltdown and can point to GM repaying the TARP funds by June as a real plus. His vote for the health reforms could hurt him, though the recent Wellpoint/Anthem rate hikes will give him cover. As a Blue Dog, Donnelly is popular with independents and many Republicans we know. Walorski is expected to mount a tenacious general campaign challenge and her best hope could be to surf a Republican wave that, if big enough, can wipe out anything in its path. The size of that wave won't likely be known until late summer or early fall. **Horse Race Primary Status:** Safe Walorski. **General Status:** Leans Donnelly

3RD CD: Souder will be tough to beat

For almost 20 years, people have been under estimating U.S. Rep. Mark Souder, whether it was Orvas Beers, Rep. Jill Long or Paul Helmke. Challenge Souder in a primary or general election and you'll lose. This cycle, it's Phil Troyer who is attempting to take Souder out in the Republican primary, hoping to catch the anti-incumbency energy that is rocketing across the political skies. Good luck. We're skeptical Troyer can get much more traction than he did in his 1992 congressional primary when as Chairman Beers' annointed candidate he lost to gun enthusiast Chuck Pierson in the primary. We haven't heard much out of Troyer and haven't seen much earned media. His money totals aren't impressive at all, raising a little over \$4,000 while putting \$26,000 of his own money into the campaign, with a mere \$19,000 cash on hand. While Souder may see some anti-incumbency blowback (a couple election cycles ago a gadfly primary opponent polled close to 30 percent), we

just don't think he'll be seriously challenge in May or November, for that matter, when he's expected to face former Fort Wayne Councilman Tom Hayhurst. The time for Souder to get washed out was in 2008 during the Obama tide, but Hayhurst sat that cycle out (he lost to Souder in 2006). Souder is likely to have a distinct tailwind this fall and given his campaigning ability in the past, we'd be stunned if he were vulnerable. **Horse Race Primary Status:** Safe Souder. **General Status:** Likely Souder

4TH CD: Aiming for Rokita, Hershman

The Republican primary could essentially be considered a statewide campaign because this district runs 184 miles from north to south. It is also Indiana's most gerrymandered district (we call it "Frankendistrict") because



State Sen. Mike Young files for the 4th CD last week. (HPI Photo by Steve Dickerson)

it was made up of all the spare parts not included in the 8th, 9th, 5th, 1st and 2nd districts. With U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer's retirement, the largest primary field has come into play with 14 candidates and many expect it to be dominated by Secretary of State Todd Rokita and State Sen. Brandt Hershman. Greenwood Mayor Charlie Henderson and State Sen. Mike Young are the other candidates who have a shot at the nomination, which is tantamount to winning the seat. Rokita is

considered the early frontrunner for several reasons. He's run and won statewide twice, thus it's easy to assume he has the most name ID. The district could be "Exhibit A" for Rokita's efforts at redistricting reform. Just this past week, he has pressed the Indiana House Democrats to hear and vote on bills that would take political data out of the equation and create districts that are community oriented, and follow existing county or township lines. Rokita also generated news by calling on Marion County - a portion of it residing in the 4th CD - to save up to \$300,000 per election by using the vote centers that he initiated in Tippecanoe, Wayne and Cass counties. Rokita can also cite his record as secretary of state when he initiated the voter ID law (winning a U.S. Supreme Court case in the process), and presiding over the 92 county voting machine switchover beginning in 2003 after the Bush vs. Gore Florida election debacle of 2000. He will also stress changes he brought to Indiana securities law that include several major indictments and convictions. Hershman's assets are that he was Buyer's district director. He knows key players in the district



and has worked on a number of projects. He is also expected to get the endorsement and some financial backing of Rep. Buyer. But the district director is a bit of a double-edged sword. Buyer's controversial education foundation was headquartered in the congressman's Monticello district headquarters, so Hershman will likely have to defend his role and Buyer's in that controversy. Another problem for Hershman is he authored and pushed the Unemployment Insurance reform in 2009, which the Indiana General Assembly is in the process of rescinding. Organizations like the Indiana Chamber and Indiana Manufacturers branded it as a big tax increase on businesses, and Hershman can expect to take some arrows from the rest of the field on that count. Sen. Young ran for this seat in 2002 during the first election of the newly created Frankendistrict. While he resides in the 4th, most of Young's Senate district is outside of the 4th and so most voters don't have much familiarity with him. Henderson is a longtime mayor of Greenwood and is popular in the Johnson County portion of the district, but largely unknown throughout the rest of the sprawl. Henderson can expect some support from mayors across the district who know him from his tenure with the Indiana Association of Cities and Towns. **Horse Race Primary Status:** Leans Rokita

5TH CD: A Myers scenario for Burton?

Here we have the full deck and the wild card with U.S. Rep. Dan Burton, the established challengers of Dr. John McGoff, State Rep. Mike Murphy, Luke Messer and Brose McVey, and Tea Party activist Andy Lyons. Despite Burton's harrowing 28 percent reelect number in the Bellwether Research Poll earlier this month, we see no evidence at this point that any of the challengers are consolidating their position. If none of the challengers change this perception and get momentum, Burton will likely return for what many believe will be a final term. As one observer noted, the race is beginning to look like the multi-challenge derby in 1994 to U.S. Rep. John Myers, who prevailed in the crowded GOP primary, then retired two years and anointed a loyal state senator from his district - Ed Pease - who won the seat in 1996.



Republican Brose McVey filed his candidacy at the Statehouse on Friday. (HPI Photo by Steve Dickerson)

"We're beginning to see that mind-set creeping in," said one elected official in the 5th CD. "You get the sense that this field will begin playing for 2012." But similar to the 1996 Myers-Pease scenario, long-time ally - State Sen. Mike Delph - might be in a position to gain Burton's imprimatur. The wild card is data we saw in the latest CNN Opinion Research Poll that revealed 63 percent of Americans are prepared to throw their congressional "bum" out. That's easier when there's only one or two challengers, not four or five. Even if the Tea Party movement materializes, it's hard to see a Burton defeat if the anger is spread out over four or five challengers. Many believe that Burton's base is in the 30 to 35 percent range. We'll be watching to see if any of the challengers catch fire, seize an issue and ride a lightning bolt past Dan Burton. During his town hall meeting Thursday at Ivy Tech Community College in Kokomo, Burton told the Kokomo Tribune he wouldn't participate in debates or joint appearances with his challengers. He plans to be in Washington D.C. when the events already scheduled will take place. "I spend four to five days a week in Washington. When I come back, I have speeches scheduled," he said Thursday. "I have 15 town meetings, nine more after this. I've got to see my wife once in a while." Burton said the challengers are campaigning every day in the district and he has only two days to meet with voters and work on his campaign. "I'm running on my record and hope the people of the district will look at my record," he said. "If they decide they want me to stick around, I will." Burton said running against five opponents has its advantages and disadvantages. "If you take it for granted and don't let people know what your doing, you can lose even with that many people," he said. "If you do your job, even with the "Throw the bums out" attitude, I can still survive. I'm going to work hard." **Horse Race Primary Status:** Leans Burton

8TH CD: Bucshon goes on the attack

Technically, both U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth and State Rep. Trent Van Haaften are on the primary ballot. Ellsworth has until noon today to withdraw from this race. He will likely face Dr. Larry Bucshon, an Evansville cardiologist who wasted no time on Friday taking swings at Van Haaften over taxes and lobbyists. Bucshon, who reported a little over \$100,000 on his fourth quarter FEC report, faces seven opponents, but only former Monroe County Republican Chairman John Lee Smith is likely to gain much traction. We see Bucshon coming out of the primary. Van Haaften is a former two-term Posey County prosecutor who won HD76 in 2004. He told HPI he wants to work with "everybody" in order to come up with solutions for Hoosiers, as well as Americans. "We live in a country which is essentially a two-party system," Van Haaften said. "I believe in the Democratic party, but what I believe in the most is



making the lives of people better through public service. It requires working with everybody. We want to find a solution that works for everybody. I will work with everybody in terms of finding solutions instead of yelling back and forth." He identified jobs, health care and "concerns about friends or enemies of this country" as national issues that concern him. He is the chairman of the Public Policy committee and a member of the Judiciary, as well as the Rules and Legislative Procedures committees. "It is difficult serving up here, with living so far away," Van Haaften said. "It will no longer be a three-hour drive to Indianapolis. It may very well be a flight to Washington D.C." Bucshon immediately went on the attack after Van Haaften filed. "Trent Van Haaften supports the same agenda of Barack Obama and Nancy Pelosi which Evan Bayh so aptly deplored," Bucshon said. "I believe people of the 8th district want a representative who will bring balance to Congress and stand up for our Hoosier values of limited and responsible government. I intend to provide it." Bucshon said Van Haaften's decision to enter the race raises a number of concerns about his record as a state legislator, noting that he opposes the constitutional property tax caps that will be before voters as a referendum in November and also opposed Major Moves in 2006. "Van Haaften voted against a constitutional amendment to cap homeowner's property taxes, yet he authored a bill (HR 1231) to allow individuals who own private planes to sidestep Indiana sales taxes," Bucshon said in a statement. "Van Haaften opposed tax caps for homeowners, but when private plane owners are disadvantaged, it's Van Haaften to the rescue." Bucshon also noted that "out of 150 members of the Indiana's General Assembly, Van Haaften was second only to the Speaker of the House in the amount of gifts accepted from lobbyists and corporate interests." Specifically, Bucshon noted that AT&T paid more than \$1,600 for Van Haaften and his wife to attend the Indiana Inaugural Ball in Washington the night before Barack Obama was sworn in as president. "Three days later, the wined and dined lawmaker introduced legislation to create a statewide mapping system for high-speed Internet access -- a move hailed by AT&T executives as their top 2009 legislative priority," Bucshon said. Van Haaften told the Evansville Courier & Press, "I go up (to Indianapo-

lis) every year, and I fight for my district. I think people recognize that, especially in regards to the schools. I know the questions about the lobbying are going to come up, but all I can hope for is that the media will take a look at the full picture, unlike the political operatives that want to take a look at 10 percent of the picture." Cook Political Report moved the fall race between Van Haaften and Bucshon "leans Republican." Cook explained, "The early leader in the GOP field, cardiologist Larry Bucshon, lacks deep roots in the district and has yet to get his campaign fully up and running, but doesn't have a record to attack, either. Running as a political outsider, (Bucshon) has raised \$100,000 for the race so far and should certainly be able to raise much more now that Ellsworth is abandoning his re-election bid." We expect it to be competitive and HPI rates the general **Horse Race GOP Primary:** Safe Bucshon; **Horse Race General Status:** Tossup

9TH CD: Sodrel favored in primary

Prepare yourself for the fifth Hill-Sodrel race. While U.S. Rep. Baron Hill ponders Evan Bayh's U.S. Senate seat, we just don't see that going anywhere. Indiana Democratic Central Committee members just don't see a warm body to defend the 9th CD. Only Hill can do that. Former congressman Mike Sodrel faces a primary with Todd Young of Bloomington. Young has raised \$300,000, which is a decent amount for a primary. But he has to overcome Sodrel's 90th percentile name ID. Unless Young can tap into the Tea Party/anti-incumbency attitude and tie Sodrel to the wild and woolly spending days of the Bush/Congress era when he served from 2005-07, we expect Sodrel to get the nomination. It didn't hurt that he recently received an endorsement from GOP Conference Chairman Mike Pence. Overcoming Sodrel will be tough for Young because of the



Former congressman Mike Sodrel starts out as the GOP primary frontrunner. (HPI Photo by Mark Schoeff Jr.)

sprawling nature of the 9th, nestled in between the Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati and Evansville media markets and the fact that Sodrel can tap into personal wealth if he needs to. Hill, who will have to defend President Obama, the stimulus, health care and Cap-and-Trade votes, can only hope that Sodrel and Young will bleed themselves blue in the primary in order to keep the seat that way in the fall. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Sodrel ❖



Why I'm leaving the U.S. Senate

By **EVAN BAYH**

Baseball may be our national pastime, but the age-old tradition of taking a swing at Congress is a sport with even deeper historical roots in the American experience. Since the founding of our country, citizens from Ben Franklin to David Letterman have made fun of their elected officials. Milton Berle famously joked: "You can lead a man to Congress, but you can't make him think." These days, though, the institutional inertia gripping Congress is no laughing matter.



There are many causes for the dysfunction: strident partisanship, unyielding ideology, a corrosive system of campaign financing, gerrymandering of House districts, endless filibusters, holds on executive appointees in the Senate, dwindling social interaction between senators of opposing parties and a caucus system that promotes party unity at the expense of bipartisan consensus.

Many good people serve in Congress. They are patriotic, hard-working and devoted to the public good as they see it, but the institutional and cultural impediments to change frustrate the intentions of these well-meaning people as rarely before. It was not always thus.

While romanticizing the Senate of yore would be a mistake, it was certainly better in my father's time. My father, Birch Bayh, represented Indiana in the Senate from 1963 to 1981. A progressive, he nonetheless enjoyed many friendships with moderate Republicans and Southern Democrats.

One incident from his career vividly demonstrates how times have changed. In 1968, when my father was running for re-election, Everett Dirksen, the Republican leader, approached him on the Senate floor, put his arm around my dad's shoulder, and asked what he could do to help. This is unimaginable today.

When I was a boy, members of Congress from both parties, along with their families, would routinely visit our home for dinner or the holidays. This type of social interaction hardly ever happens today and we are the poorer for it. It is much harder to demonize someone when you know his family or have visited his home. Today, members routinely campaign against each other, raise donations against each other and force votes on trivial amendments written solely to provide fodder for the next negative attack

ad. It's difficult to work with members actively plotting your demise.

Any improvement must begin by changing the personal chemistry among senators. More interaction in a non-adversarial atmosphere would help.

I'm beginning my 12th year in the Senate and only twice have all the senators gathered for something other than purely ceremonial occasions. The first was during my initial week in office. President Bill Clinton had been impeached and the Senate had to conduct his trial. This hadn't happened since 1868, and there were no rules in place for conducting the proceedings.

All of us gathered in the Old Senate Chamber. For several hours we debated how to proceed. Finally, Ted Kennedy and Phil Gramm, ideological opposites, were given the task of forging a compromise. They did, and it was unanimously ratified.

The second occasion was just days after Sept. 11. Every senator who could make it to Washington gathered in the Senate dining room to discuss the American response. The nation had been attacked. The building in which we sat had been among the targets, and only the heroism of the passengers prevented the plane from reaching its destination. We had to respond to protect the country. There were no Republicans or Democrats in the room that day, just Americans. The spirit of patriotism and togetherness was palpable. That atmosphere prevailed for only two or three weeks before politics once again intervened.

It shouldn't take a constitutional crisis or an attack on the nation to create honest dialogue in the Senate. Let's start with a simple proposal: why not have a monthly lunch of all 100 senators? Every week, the parties already meet for a caucus lunch. Democrats gather in one room, Republicans in another, and no bipartisan interaction takes place. With a monthly lunch of all senators, we could pick a topic and have each side make a brief presentation followed by questions and answers. Listening to one another, absent the posturing and public talking points, could only promote greater understanding, which is necessary to real progress.

Perhaps from this starting point, we can move onto more intractable problems, like the current campaign finance system that has such a corrosive effect on Congress. In the Senate, raising in small increments the \$10 million to \$20 million a competitive race requires takes huge amounts of time that could otherwise be spent talking with constituents, legislating or becoming well-versed on public policy. In my father's time there was a saying: "A senator legislates for four years and campaigns for two." Because of the incessant need to raise campaign cash, we now have perpetual campaigns. If fund-raising is constantly on members' minds, it's difficult for policy compromise to trump political calculation.

The recent Supreme Court ruling in Citizens United



v. Federal Election Commission, allowing corporations and unions to spend freely on ads explicitly supporting or opposing political candidates, will worsen matters. The threat of unlimited amounts of negative advertising from special interest groups will only make members more beholden to their natural constituencies and more afraid of violating party orthodoxies.

I can easily imagine vulnerable members approaching a corporation or union for support and being told: "We'd love to support you, but we have a rule. We only support candidates who are with us at least 90 percent of the time. Here is our questionnaire with our top 10 concerns. Fill it out." Millions of campaign dollars now ride on the member's response. The cause of good government is not served.

What to do? While fundamental campaign finance reform may ultimately require a constitutional amendment, there are less drastic steps we can take to curb the distorting influence of money in politics. Congress should consider ways to lessen the impact of the Citizens United decision through legislation to enhance disclosure requirements, require corporate donors to appear in the political ads they finance and prohibit government contractors or bailout beneficiaries from spending money on political campaigns.

Congress and state legislators should also consider incentives, including public matching funds for smaller contributions, to expand democratic participation and increase the influence of small donors relative to corporations and other special interests.

In addition, the Senate should reform a practice increasingly abused by both parties, the filibuster. Historically, the filibuster was employed to ensure that momentous issues receive a full and fair hearing. Instead, it has come to serve the exact opposite purpose — to prevent the Senate from even conducting routine business.

Last fall, the Senate had to overcome two successive filibusters to pass a bill to provide millions of Americans with extended unemployment insurance. There was no opposition to the bill; it passed on a 98-0 vote. But some senators saw political advantage in drawing out debate, thus preventing the Senate from addressing other pressing matters.

Admittedly, I have participated in filibusters. If not abused, the filibuster can foster consensus-building. The minority has a right to voice legitimate concerns, but it must not employ this tactic to prevent progress on everything at a critical juncture for our country. We need to reduce the power of the minority to frustrate progress while still affording them some say.

Filibusters have proliferated because under current rules just one or two determined senators can stop the Senate from functioning. Today, the mere threat of a filibuster is enough to stop a vote; senators are rarely asked

to pull all-nighters like Jimmy Stewart in "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." For this reason, filibusters should require 35 senators to sign a public petition and make a commitment to continually debate an issue in reality, not just in theory. Those who obstruct the Senate should pay a price in public notoriety and physical exhaustion. That would lead to a significant decline in frivolous filibusters.

Filibusters should also be limited to no more than one for any piece of legislation. Currently, the decision to begin debate on a bill can be filibustered, followed by another filibuster on each amendment, followed by yet another filibuster before a final vote. This leads to multiple legislative delays and effectively grinds the Senate to a halt.

What's more, the number of votes needed to overcome a filibuster should be reduced to 55 from 60. During my father's era, filibusters were commonly used to block civil rights legislation and, in 1975, the requisite number of votes was reduced to 60 from 67. The challenges facing the country today are so substantial that further delay imperils the Republic and warrants another reduction in the supermajority requirement.

Of course, the genesis of a good portion of the gridlock in Congress does not reside in Congress itself. Ultimate reform will require each of us, as voters and Americans, to take a long look in the mirror, because in many ways, our representatives in Washington reflect the people who have sent them there.

The most ideologically devoted elements in both parties must accept that not every compromise is a sign of betrayal or an indication of moral lassitude. When too many of our citizens take an all-or-nothing approach, we should not be surprised when nothing is the result.

Our most strident partisans must learn to occasionally sacrifice short-term tactical political advantage for the sake of the nation. Otherwise, Congress will remain stuck in an endless cycle of recrimination and revenge. The minority seeks to frustrate the majority, and when the majority is displaced it returns the favor. Power is constantly sought through the use of means which render its effective use, once acquired, impossible.

What is required from members of Congress and the public alike is a new spirit of devotion to the national welfare beyond party or self-interest. In a time of national peril, with our problems compounding, we must remember that more unites us as Americans than divides us.

Meeting America's profound challenges and reforming Congress will not be easy. Old habits die hard. Special interests are entrenched. Still, my optimism as I serve out the remainder of my final term in the Senate is undiminished. With the right reforms, members of Congress can once again embody our best selves and our highest aspirations. ❖



If Evan doesn't like primaries, get rid of 'em

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Ever since Evan Bayh dropped his bombshell a week ago, I've heard two primary emotions out of Democrats. The first, bigger group was outraged that he would do this less than 24 hours before the filing deadline, a move that essentially precluded any other Democrat from mounting a signature drive.

In essence, Bayh and his allies decided they didn't want to have one of those messy, unpredictable primary elections.

Or as Bayh told the press this past week, "It appears as if the Republican Party is going to have a vigorous primary. That's going to take resources and attention. Our party will be able to forge a consensus around a candidate who can focus on the fall election."

The second group of Democrats understands this and lauded Bayh for staving off one of those messy, unpredictable and expensive primaries.

They saw it as a shrewd move for a couple of reasons. One, it kept U.S. Rep. Mike Pence and Secretary of State Todd Rokita out of the race. The hair in the ointment on this one was that former Sen. Dan Coats surfaced and threw a wrench into this conspiracy that apparently was in the works for months. They note that in 2002 and 2003 Mitch Daniels and his allies were able to convince all but Eric Miller to abandon their gubernatorial dreams.

This group also has a good laugh at the idea that Coats and his primary opponents - State Sen. Marlin Stutzman, Don Bates Jr., former Congressman John Hostetler and Richard Behney - will be slinging mud at each other and spending lots of money doing so between now and May 4.

They laugh because they know that U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth only has to fend off the liberal blogosphere. He won't have primary opponents slinging wet loam in his direction. He can come up with a game plan and begin raising and hoarding big bucks, keeping his powder dry until the fall when it really matters.

At this writing, that's a Democratic dream. Ellsworth appears to be poised to get an emphatic endorsement from the Indiana Democratic Party Central Committee sometime soon, which will discourage Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott, Joe Hogsett (though we really believe he's angling for the Southern District DA post), U.S. Rep.

Baron Hill and rocker John Mellencamp from going any further with their senatorial dreams.

Now, if Hill or McDermott decide to go for broke and try to build up some kind of momentum to dissuade the Politburo, er, Central Committee, from acting quickly, then that's a plan gone awry.

Or if Mellencamp decides to mount the seething Internet campaign to get into the race, that is a nightmare that would keep the Democratic power core lying awake at night. While Mellencamp's publicist hasn't said anything to egg the movement on, or to pull the plug out of it, I'd consider that unlikely, if not quite entertaining if it actually did happen.

Mellencamp's Seymour classmate Hill is also quite unlikely to monkey around with Ellsworth's senatorial plans at this point. It would do Hill much damage if he came off as one of those ambitious types who wants to run for anything that comes up. That's the risk McDermott faces, with the mayor already holding the Lake County Democratic chair while eyeing the governor's race (or even Congress if Rep. Pete Visclosky's career ends up in tatters).

My problem with Bayh's decision to circumvent the primary is that if he really thinks primaries are bad - baaaad! - then why doesn't he (and his allies like House Speaker B. Patrick Bauer) take steps to end them?

You can make a logical case that Indiana's primary system to nominate statewide offices is:

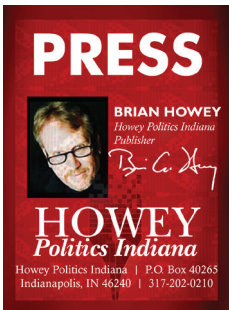
- a. Too expensive. It costs millions of dollars to run primaries, most of which draw 15 to 20 percent of voters.
- b. Only attracts light participation unless you get a Hillary Clinton vs. Barack Obama race, which appears to happen once in a generation.
- c. Ending primaries would reinvigorate the party system that has wilted from too many heir-apparants.

If these Democrats don't like the primary system, then offer up legislation, build consensus, convince the public and get it passed. I suspect that such legislation has the potential of attracting bipartisan support. A number of Republicans I know have pondered a return to the pre-1972 convention-based nominating process.

Now, do I believe that primaries are messy, expensive and out of control?

Not necessarily. I tend to subscribe to the notion that a good primary race makes adroit campaigns better. They hone their fundraising abilities, develop and relay their messages and drive up name ID and support. A successful primary campaign is a foundational building block to the fall. It can be about momentum.

What we've ended up with here is one party following the rules while the Democrats think they've pulled a cunning end-around. Or, more bluntly, a fast one. ❖





32 House primaries will test anti-incumbency

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Several Indiana House members from both parties will be tested as the anti-incumbency dynamic takes shape between now and the May 4 primary. State Reps. Bill Ruppel, Dan Leonard, Phyllis Pond,

Chet Dobis, Don Lehe, Dave Wolkins and Woody Burton are all facing challenges from either local government officials or well-connected community activists with the potential of raising money for their campaigns.



With the Tea Party movement stirring in the background, 32 House primary races are underway. At least eight of the challengers are local government officials from the city, county or township levels.

Here is a rundown of all the House primary races:

HD 3: State Rep. Charlie Brown faces Bryan Bullock in the primary and we expect Brown to win the primary. **Horse Race Democratic Primary Status:** Safe Brown

HD11: State Rep. Dan Stevenson faces Paul Krizman in a repeat of the 1994 primary when Krizman won the endorsement of the Hammond Democratic Party but was crushed by Stevenson. **Horse Race Democratic Primary Status:** Safe Stevenson

HD13: State Rep. Chet Dobis is challenged by Merrillville Council President Richard L. Hardaway. "He's been there 40 years and he's done an excellent job," said Hardaway of Dobis, who has clashed with Democratic leaders recently over a plan to build the Illiana Expressway (Post-Tribune). "I just think that now is the time for a new voice for working class people in Northwest Indiana and that's why I'm throwing my hat in the ring." Dobis did not return calls from the Post-Tribune. This will be an interesting race to see how compelling the anti-incumbency dynamic is. Hardaway brings a base and might be in a position to seriously challenge Dobis. However, Dobis' recent showdown with House Speaker B. Patrick Bauer earned him some glowing editorials in the Region newspapers. **Horse Race Democratic Primary Status:** Leans Dobis

HD15: State Rep. Don Lehe, who has been winning close general elections, faces a primary rematch against Art Anderson, who he defeated in 2006, 4,413 to

2,741. The winner faces either Democrat Tim Downs or John Malan, who ran and lost to former Newton County Sheriff Myron Sutton in 2008. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Lehe; **Democratic Primary Status:** Leans Downs.

HD16: State Rep. Doug Gutwein faces a Republican primary challenge from Rick Kallanbach. The winner will face Democrat Bill Reutebuch. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Safe Gutwein.

H17: State Rep. Nancy Dembowski will face either Republican Francis Ellert or Mike Yankausukas. Ellert, Culver, was recruited by the House Republicans and owns the local Coca-Cola distributor. Yankausukas, Hamlet, is a Starke County pork producer. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Ellert

HD18: State Rep. Dave Wolkins faces a challenge from Winona Lake Clerk-Treasurer Retha Hicks, who has served in that post since 1993. This is another primary race where HPI will be watching for an anti-incumbency trend as well as how the constitutional property tax caps issue plays out. Wolkins voted against the caps. "I am a servant of God, my family, my community, my county, my state and my country," Hicks told the Warsaw Times-Union. "I would be honored to serve and represent all residents in state government." Hicks is a recipient of the 2006 Kosciusko County Republican Hall of Fame designation for outstanding service. Having 17 years of experience in local and state government finance, she says her purpose in running for the seat is to give local government a strong representation in the state, to give the voters a choice, and to support all residents and their issues in an ethical manner. Hicks' roles with IACT include serving as director representing small towns, education committee (past chair and current co-chair), site selection committee (past chair), budget and finance committee and legislative committee. She is a member of the IACT Finance Policy Committee and currently is active on all these committees. Hicks assisted State Treasurer Richard Mourdock as a Trust Indiana Investment Pool Advisory Committee member by developing and implementing the program. No Democrat filed for the seat. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Leans Wolkins

HD19: State Rep. Shelli VanDenburgh, D-Crown Point, will face a rematch with Dennis S. Meeks, 57, of Crown Point. VanDenburgh defeated Meeks for the seat when it opened up in 2007. House District 19 covers southeastern Lake County and portions of Porter and Newton counties. The winner will face former Crown Point Mayor Dan Klein, who lost a reelection bid in 2007. In a statement released Thursday, Klein said he had become concerned in the past three years "of the lack of focus in Indianapolis on job creation for our community" (Times of Northwest Indiana). The statement also references Klein's



children and his hope for a brighter future for them. "For the first time in my life, I am concerned that their future is now more uncertain than ever as a result of unfocused leadership," he said in the statement. "I am confident that my ideas, energy, work ethic and independence from special interests will resonate with the voters in our community." Earlier this week, Fran Katz, the chief operating officer of the American Society of Agronomy, filed to run for the same nomination. She said she hopes to bring strong economic development and fight political corruption. Crown Point Republican Party Chairman John Moos said Thursday both candidates agreed to support the primary winner.

Horse Race Primary Status: Leans VanDenburgh; Leans Klein

HD20: State Rep. Tom Dermody faces a Republican primary challenge from Todd Reinert. No Democrat filed for the seat. We expect Dermody to easily be renominated. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Safe Dermody

HD21: This is the open seat of State Rep. Jackie Walorski, who is challenging U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly. Republicans Timothy Wesco and Mishawaka Councilman Dave Wood seek the nomination. The Elkhart Truth reported that Wesco of Mishawaka "is hitting the ground running, using social media and an aggressive door-to-door schedule to meet voters in the district." Democrat Dwight Fish has also filed, but the seat is very Republican. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Leans Wood

HD22: State Rep. Bill Ruppel faces Rebecca Kubacki in the Republican primary in a race HPI will monitor for the anti-incumbency dynamic. Kubacki is the wife of Lake City Bank CEO Mike Kubacki and resides in Syracuse. "I think this is a new chapter in my life and it is the right time to run now that my kids are grown, and I think we need more women in politics," Kubacki told the Warsaw Times-Union. Kubacki's priorities are economic development, education and bringing to the forefront the financial needs of small communities, which she said are most often ignored and given to large cities. "I will be the strong voice, strong advocate and strong representative that intends to get things done," Kubacki said. She said she has always striven to make an impact in the organizations for which she has served and the communities where she has lived. She said she intends to make a positive impact as a hard-working representative for the district. She has been appointed to serve on the Literacy Services of Kosciusko County, Syracuse Public Library, Wawasee Area Conservancy, Symphony of the Lakes Orchestra, United Way of Kosciusko County, Warsaw Biblical Gardens, Tri-Kappa, Kosciusko County Convention and Visitors Bureau Commission, Fort Wayne Zoo and is an Indiana State Museum trustee. Fundraising accomplishments include founder of the Red Ball Gala for the American Red Cross of Kosciusko

County, Author Dinner for the Literacy Services of Kosciusko County, Music in the Garden Series of the Warsaw Biblical Gardens and Symphony of the Lakes Orchestra. She also has accomplished fundraising efforts for the Cancer Care Fundraising Committee for The Cancer Care Fund Gala of Kosciusko County, Ivy Tech Capital Campaign and Fort Wayne Zoo Capital Campaign committees. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Tossup

HD23: State Rep. Bill Friend is facing Timothy P. Harmon in the Republican primary. No Democrat filed for this seat. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Safe Friend.

HD35: State Rep. Jack Lutz faces Erin C. Welch. No Democrat filed for this seat. **Horse Race Primary Status:** Safe Lutz.

HD38: In what will be one of the most unusual Republican primaries, former State Rep. Heath Van Natter, who never sat in the chamber for a single session, is challenging State Rep. Jacque Clements. Van Natter was chosen in a caucus to fill the unexpired term of State Rep. Jim Buck, who moved over to the Indiana Senate. At the same caucus, Clements was nominated as the 2008 Republican candidate. Van Natter, who has the backing of Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn, immediately signaled that he would try to regain the seat. Clements was fired as a Clinton County deputy auditor after Clinton commissioners accused her of unauthorized personal use of the county's e-mail network. The Kokomo Tribune reported that since 2004, the year she was elected county auditor, Clements sent or forwarded approximately 10,000 e-mails. Of those, some pertained to the county's decision to switch software companies. Clements is accused of violating the county's electronic policy concerning e-mails authored or received by her and allegations of leaking information to Nikish Software Corp., which was contracted with the county to provide software services. The House Republican caucus has signaled it will back Clements. This primary pits the Howard and Clinton county Republican organizations against each other in the dynamic that played out in the 2008 caucus that pitted the two Republicans against each other. Watch for a real donnybrook in this primary. No Democrat filed for this seat. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Tossup

HD41: State Rep. Tim Brown, who briefly considered seeking the 4th CD nomination, faces Anita Horn Carpenter in the primary. No Democrat filed for this seat. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Safe Brown.

HD46: Three Democrats have filed for the Democratic nomination in this open seat brought about by the retirement of State Rep. Vern Tincher. Republican Bob Heaton, 54, will be unopposed in his party's election during the May primary. Democratic candidates are Bionca



D. Gambill, Kal Ellis and Randy G. Carter. A fourth Democratic candidate, Charles A. Toth of Terre Haute, withdrew as a result of a residency issue. Gambill, 52, has served for the past 20 years as Linton Township Trustee in Vigo County. She also served as the township's assessor until 2008, when those duties were turned over to the county auditor by state law. She filed for re-election to her township trustee post, but has withdrawn that candidacy. "I have spoken with Vern Tinchler about three times on this as well as [state Rep.] Clyde Kersey and also spoke to House Speaker Patrick Bauer, who all encouraged me to run," Gambill said Friday (Terre Haute Tribune-Star). "I think that I bring some knowledge and experience" to the campaign. Gambill introduced then-Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama at Terre Haute North Vigo High School in 2008, one of two visits he made to Terre Haute during his presidential campaign. Gambill first ran for an elected office in 1996, seeking the District 3 county commissioner seat in a primary election. Incumbent Commissioner P. James Diehl won that race with 8,811 votes, while Gambill got 6,979 votes and George P. Dolan 1,292. At that time, Gambill was attempting to become the first woman elected as county commissioner. She is president of the Sullivan-Vigo Rural Water Corp. and is a past president of the League of Women Voters of Vigo County. Gambill is also a registered nurse, currently working as a nurse consultant for Wagner, Crawford & Gambill, the Terre Haute law firm of her husband, Chris Gambill. Ellis, 46, has been an attorney since 1989. Ellis served as attorney for the city of Brazil for two years under former Mayor Norval Pickett Jr. Ellis also served as a Vigo County deputy prosecutor for 7 1/2 years. This election will be Ellis' first bid for an elected office. "I have always had a desire to represent the people of our district. I am a lifelong Democrat and I think we need local representation at the state level," Ellis said. He and his wife, Christy, a high school art teacher, have three children. Ellis said education is one issue the state legislature needs to address. He said many teachers have been laid off statewide. "That is important to look at education in terms of budget cuts for the citizens of our district. I think educating our students is important," Ellis said. "I think the creation of jobs will be the most important thing in light of our economy. Job creation and education are both important," Ellis said. Democrat Randy G. Carter of Stinesville could not be reached for comment Friday. **Horse Race Primary Status:** Leans Gambill. **General Status:** Tossup

HD50: State Rep. Dan Leonard, one of only a handful of Republicans to vote against the property tax caps, is facing a primary challenge from Ron Fusselman. My opponent's votes to increase his salary and benefits to being only one of 23 representatives to vote against putting property tax caps in the Indiana Constitution proves he is out of touch with his constituents and chooses his

own interests and the interests of the lobbyist over the people he is supposed to represent," said Fusselman, one of the few Republican primary challengers to actually have a website. "Writing the property tax caps into the state's constitution will have major implications for years to come," Leonard said after the caps vote in the House. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Tossup

HD51: State Rep. Dick Dodge faces a GOP primary challenge from David L. Powers. The winner will face Democrat Codie Ross. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Dodge.

HD55: Both Democrats and Republicans in the 55th House District have primary contests to decide their party's nominee for state representative in the seat held by State Rep. Tom Knollman (Richmond Palladium-Item). Democrats Glenn E. Bailey of Oldenburg and David Moeller of Glenwood are vying for the Democratic nomination. Lynn Sheets, Liberty, and Randy Lyness, West Harrison, are seeking the Republican nomination. Knollman, of Liberty, who is seeking his second term, was unopposed in 2008. He won a primary challenge and the election in 2006, after former incumbent Robert Hoffman decided not to seek re-election. Sheets was the first to challenge Knollman this year, filing for the primary on Feb. 4. Bailey filed on Wednesday, Moeller filed Thursday and Lyness on Friday. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Knollman; **Democratic Primary Status:** Tossup

HD58: State Rep. Woody Burton is facing another challenge from Johnson County Council President Ron West. Burton defeated West in the 2006 Republican primary by a little less than 1,300 votes. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Burton.

HD60: State Rep. Peggy Welch is unopposed in her Democratic primary and will face either former Monroe County GOP Chairman Steve Hogan or former Monroe County Commissioner Joyce Poling, both seeking the Republican nomination. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Tossup

HD67: Seven Republicans are seeking the open seat being vacated by State Rep. Cleo Duncan. They are Indianapolis Fire Department Lt. Randy Frye, Oldenburg, the frontrunner. He is also a businessman, owning Blue Rivers Technologies. "I feel a deep commitment and connection to all of the counties in District 67," Frye said. Others seeking the seat are Shawn Fields, Tony Goodrich, Dale Jones,, Martin Voegele, Tami Wenning and Cindy Ziemke. No Democrat has filed for the seat. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Leans Frye

HD68: Two Republicans want to challenge State Rep. Bob Bischoff. Attorney Jud McMillin, who lost to Bischoff in 2008 by just under 500 votes out of more than 27,000 cast, was recruited to run again by the HRCC. We



expect McMillin to prevail in the primary and HD68 to be one of the most contested races of the fall cycle. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Safe McMillin

HD70: Brett Loyd, a UPS pilot from Greenville, and Rhonda Rhoads, a former Harrison County Council member, will face off in the GOP primary. The winner will challenge incumbent Rep. Paul Robertson of Depauw, who is unopposed in the Democratic primary. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Tossup

HD73: This is the open seat of State Rep. Denie Oxley, who has not attended the 2010 session of the Indiana General Assembly following a heart attack last fall. Salem attorney Doug Leatherbury is facing Ryan Bower, a Washington County deputy prosecutor and son of Salem Mayor David Bower. Leatherbury said he will run on the poor economy, telling the Louisville Courier-Journal, "When things are bad, that's when somebody better step up. I never anticipated I'd have a chance to do something about it, but I feel good about this. I think it's something I can accomplish." Bower said increasing job losses in Southern Indiana mean the area needs a representative who can be in Indianapolis to deal with important economic issues. "I'm running to make our voices heard, to give us the representation we haven't had in Indianapolis, unfortunately," Bower said. "It's time to go out and aggressively and energetically work for the people." Republican Henry Taylor will face Steve Davisson, who lost to Oxley by 9,500 votes in 2008. Taylor, co-owner of Eagle Steel Products in Jeffersonville, had not planned to run for office, but said he has become so frustrated with state and federal officials that he thought he needed to act. "I'm real concerned about some of the policies being enacted that I believe are detrimental to job creation and just don't enhance the environment for business at all," Taylor said. His company, which supplies steel to manufacturers, has laid off 75 people during the downturn and now employs about 78. He said planned increases in the unemployment insurance premiums for businesses, a move lawmakers approved last year to try to make the program solvent, need to be rethought. Even the delay in the increase that the General Assembly is debating will only push off the problem, he said. "It's another reason not to hire somebody," Taylor said. "I don't think we should be giving businesses reasons not to hire someone." **Horse Race Democratic Primary Status:** Tossup; **Republican Primary Status:** Likely Taylor

HD74: For the seat held by Democratic Majority Leader Russ Stilwell, Republican Susan Ellspermann will face Angela Sowers in the primary. Ellspermann was recruited by the HRCC and is the favorite. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Ellspermann

HD81: Republicans Mike Obergfell and Curtis Eastes will seek to challenge State Rep. Winfield Moses Jr.

Obergfell is a lifelong resident of Fort Wayne with a bachelor's degree from Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne. He has been a social studies teacher at Bishop Dwenger High School for the past 15 years and teaches U.S. government to seniors. He has been head track coach and is head freshman football coach. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Obergfell

HD85: State Rep. Phyllis Pond faces another Republican primary challenge from Denny Worman as well as Audrey Queckboerner, both of Leo. Pond easily defeated Worman by more than 1,200 votes in the 2008 primary. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Likely Pond

HD86: Two Republicans are seeking to challenge Democratic State Rep. Ed DeLaney. Kurt Webber, who was recruited by HRCC, will face Adam Nelson in the primary. **Horse Race Republican Status:** Likely Webber.

HD89: Three Republicans are seeking to challenge State Rep. John Barnes. They include Michael Batz, Cindy Kirchhofer and Timothy McVey Jr. **Horse Race Republican Primary Status:** Tossup

HD92: Labor activist Brett Voorhies faces Phillip K. Harrison in the Democratic primary for the right to face State Rep. Phil Hinkle. We give Voorhies the edge in the primary. **Horse Race Democratic Primary Status:** Likely Voorhies.

HD97: State Rep. Mary Ann Sullivan will face a primary challenge from Kristopher Owens. We expect Sullivan to prevail. **Horse Race Democratic Primary Status:** Safe Sullivan. ❖



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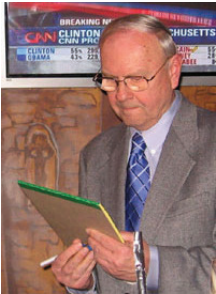


Coats not interested in the red meat

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - Dan Coats said "thank you" when I quoted from a column I wrote back when he was in the Senate, citing then his sense of humor, sense of decency and "low-key, reasoned approach."

Thanks? Wait. Praise it was then. But are those characteristics Republican primary election voters want now as Coats seeks the party's nomination to take back the Senate seat Evan Bayh doesn't want anymore?



In these angry times of partisan hatred, Tea Party wrath and eye-gouging campaign style, will voters in the May Republican primary seek instead a slasher to eviscerate President Obama and all things Democratic?

"You have to be who you are,"

Coats answered in a telephone interview. "Slashing and burning and throwing red meat to a crowd won't solve our problems."

And he sees problems aplenty: Rising national debt. Unemployment. Uncertain economic future. National security concerns. And, in general, the direction of the country during the Obama administration.

Coats said he had looked forward to running against Bayh, not to slash at the Democratic senator as the quintessence of evil, but to debate serious issues "that will determine the future direction of the country."

Coats thought he could beat Bayh. He did not come back to Indiana to lose. But most political analysts rated Bayh, with all his campaign funds and long-time popularity with Hoosier voters, as the favorite to win.

Now, with Bayh out, they virtually all figure the seat is likely to be won by a Republican.

By Coats? He likely would be favored if he is the nominee.

However, Coats was skewered by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee within hours after he announced his intention to run, with allegations about his clients and causes as a Washington lobbyist. While Coats was

able eventually to show flaws in the some of the opposition research, including the allegation that he somehow lobbied for Venezuela's Hugo Chavez, he knows that the negative start, with Republican opponents piling on, did not help.

Also harmful was that video showing Coats speaking to North Carolina delegates at the Republican National Convention. He tells them that he bought a second home in their state for retiring and jokingly asking them not to "tell the good people of Indiana." The purchase was because his wife's elderly parents live there, Coats said, and he was only giving a friendly greeting to the North Carolinians as a representative of the McCain campaign, not renouncing his Hoosier roots.

The last professional poll before Bayh bailed out, by Research 2000, showed Bayh ahead of Coats by 20 percentage points. The first professional poll since Bayh's departure, by Rasmussen Reports, shows Coats ahead of either of two top prospects for the Democratic nomination _ by 14 points over Congressman Brad Ellsworth, by 16 over Congressman Baron Hill.

Although the poll also showed that two other Republican contenders, former Congressman John Hostetler and state Sen. Merlin Stutzman, also with double-digit leads in the matchups, the Coats campaign was happy that the poll didn't show any disastrous effect for Coats of

Democrats clobbering him and his Republican opponents joining in as a greeting.

Now, with an organization forming and backing from Republicans nationally, with substantial funding sure to come, Coats will concentrate on getting out his own message on the issues, winning the primary and getting back the seat he once held.

Coats disagrees with some fellow Republicans who think Democrats gain from ability to appoint a nominee, while Coats and the other GOP contenders fight it out in a primary.

"A primary is very healthy," Coats said. "It sharpens all the candidates. And the winner will come out better prepared." Although the Democratic nominee won't have to spend on a primary, Coats said the GOP money won't be

wasted because it will help obtain statewide name recognition and test themes and staff for the fall.

In contrast, he said, Bayh "leaves Democrats in a pickle." Coats, still disdaining a slasher's knife, said he will run the same way he would have if Bayh were still the opponent. He'll do it his way and hope that the primary voters decide his more "reasoned approach" still works in politics.





The economic recovery has taken root

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - From Madison to Merrillville and Elkhart to Evansville the talk among business people is positive. Customers are showing more interest, orders are picking up. The data may not be there to support the good cheer, but economic data are always delayed.



Morton Marcus
Column

A business may know what is happening up to the minute, but the public does not learn about general economic conditions for days, weeks, or months after events have taken place.

Recent meetings I've attended and conversations I've had indicate that a business recovery is in progress across Indiana. There is more laughter and less anxiety. However, there is little talk of

expanding employment. Confidence has not reached that level as yet.

This recession has cut deeply into employment statewide. In the past two years we have lost over 190,000 jobs. Our state's employment level (at 2.8 million jobs) is the lowest since 1994. As usual, there are considerable differences across the state's 14 metropolitan areas.

Anderson, Kokomo, Michigan City-LaPorte, and Muncie did not have a single year since 1990 with employment as low as in 2009. Each of the 14 metro areas had fewer jobs in 2009 than in 2007, but Elkhart-Goshen was hit hardest (down 16.8%) followed by Kokomo with a decline of 12.9%. At the same time, Columbus and Lafayette hardly felt a job decline; both were within one-half of one percent of their 2007 job levels.

Bloomington, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Lafayette were the only metro areas with more jobs in 2009 than they had ten years earlier in 1999. Evansville, Ft. Wayne, and Gary were within five percent of their 1999 levels; South Bend and Terre

Haute were within ten percent of those levels a decade ago.

How far back must these metro areas go to reach their previous peak job levels? For Bloomington, Columbus, and Lafayette the answer is to just 2008. Indianapolis has to regain its 2007 level, while Elkhart-Goshen needs to reach back to 2006 and Evansville to 2005. The journey for the rest of the metro areas is even longer.

Both Michigan City-La Porte and South Bend had their last job peaks in 2000. Gary, Kokomo, and Terre Haute must each reach back a decade to 1999. Anderson and Muncie last saw their job peaks in 1995. In each of those seven areas there is much more than the recent recession to overcome.

Nonetheless, recovery is at hand. It will be most rapid for those firms that did themselves the least damage in the recession. While most firms reduced employment, some cut deeply and lost valuable, experienced personnel. Those companies now face an up-turn handicapped by their own aggressive cost-cutting.

Some of their experienced workers have or will find jobs with former competitors. These workers are ready to take on their old companies with the special zeal of the spurned.

As new orders come in, companies that thought they were going to become lean and mean will discover they have only turned meek and weak. They have become ill-equipped to offer the service and detailed attention former customers came to expect when times were good. Customers placing new orders can be very impatient with

former suppliers who no longer offer superior attention to their demands. The pressures of a newly revitalized market can test the flexibility of those who sat through the recession and lost their initiative.

These times will test the management skills of Hoosier companies. Often it is clear how to contract. Expanding once again, however, does not necessarily mean returning to a previous arrangement of resources.

Business, a former dean at IU often said, is like playing the accordion. You must learn how to make sweet music while expanding and contracting. ❖

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

The Washington Post
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HOWEY
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Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press: Retiring Democratic U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh hit the nail on the head when explaining his decision not to seek re-election. Right now, he'd be much better at leading a charitable foundation, a university or a business than at being a lawmaker in the world's most deliberative body. It's not that Bayh wasn't a political talent, nor is it that he didn't have anything to offer. It's that the timing was wrong. Politicians of Bayh's kind are of great value when a manager is needed to helm collaborative efforts to improve the functions of government and help it work a little more efficiently at its many intersections with American life. In other words, when it's smooth sailing, Bayh is the ideal captain. Now, though, is not the time for minor tweaks. One thing on which all can agree is that the nation faces extraordinary challenges. What's broken is clear, but how to fix it is not. There are thoughtful and committed public servants on both sides of the aisle in Congress, in statehouses, in council meetings and on school boards everywhere. And it's because those people are thoughtful and committed that they bring passion to their work, especially in times like these, when they come to understand the old ways must fade and a new path must be charted. With impassioned feelings and entirely different worldviews as a starting point, it's not reasonable to expect the debate to result in a sprint to the middle ground. Nor should it be. I don't know why Bayh didn't want to stay in the Senate. But his explanation — that he's more of an executive than a legislator — makes perfect sense. ❖

Sylvia Smith, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette: For the first decade of his congressional career, Bayh had a different ambition: running for president or angling to be vice president. When the air leaked out of those goals, Bayh had to confront the reality of succeeding in a legislative body and the rampant hostility aimed at him from liberal activists and bloggers. Bayh's retirement-announcement gripes about the hyperpartisanship that blocks compromise and progress seemed disingenuous to many people because they couldn't believe he was only now noticing that an institution based on politics is political and often where ideology trumps policy. They were convinced that Bayh must have seen a poll that predicted he'd lose, or that there was a scandal a-brewing, or that the appearance of Dan Coats on the scene freaked him out, or that he or his wife has a life-threatening illness, or that he and Hillary Clinton are secretly plotting to run against President Obama in 2012. As juicy as those theories are, my guess is that Bayh's primary reason for leaving Congress after two terms is that he doesn't much like the job and that it's not getting

him to the White House. Leaving Democrats in the lurch by turning a safe seat into an iffy one wasn't compelling enough to make him rethink his departure. ❖

Mark Kiesling, Times of Northwest Indiana

Few things were more certain than death, taxes and the re-election of U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh, the two-term Indiana Democrat whose centrist appeal won him a lot of Republican votes. That was true until Monday, that is, when Bayh pulled the plug on his candidacy for one of the safe seats the Democrats held. The announcement comes at a time of disenchantment with Washington's inability to pull a rabbit out of the economic hat, and Republicans are rubbing their hands with anticipation. What is Bayh's motivation? I believe him when he says, "Congress is just dysfunctional. It is not getting the people's business done nearly the way it should. I'm all about trying to help people, and I think I can do that a better way." ❖



Rich James, Post-Tribune: For just a moment, let's assume Bayh has no ulterior motive for walking away from the Senate. Let's assume that what he said Monday came from the heart -- that while he enjoys government, he no longer likes what it has become. Bayh hasn't strayed from the stances he took on the night he was elected to the Senate. Give him that. In terms of potential committee appointments -- as he headed to the Senate, Bayh said, "It's important we have someone from the Democratic Party who believes in balancing budgets, reforming taxes, keeping taxes low and growing the economy. I think that that's not only sound public policy, but I think that's the kind of political message that will strengthen our party in the years to come." Some say Bayh was too much of a moderate and too much of a centrist. Some have called him everything but a Republican. Yet, he never claimed to be a liberal. Like him or not, he stayed true to what he believed in. Some say he should have continued on and fought to make the system work. I suspect he tried and maybe found it futile. Maybe he's tired. It isn't easy to leave the Senate -- the most elite club in America. I suspect it is even harder when the seat you are giving up is the one your father, Sen. Birch Bayh, won in 1962 and held for three terms as part of the liberal Great Society. That's quite a legacy to walk away from, especially when your own political success is a result of being the son of a pretty famous guy. If the name Birch Bayh doesn't sound like someone from the Hoosier heartland, I don't know what does. So, will Evan run for governor in 2012? Of course he will. Career politicians either lose, get old or die. Evan is just 54. ❖



Wheels coming off General Assembly

INDIANAPOLIS - With only a couple weeks left to go, the wheels are starting to come off the 2010 Indiana General Assembly (Carden, Times of Northwest Indiana). For a session that began with bipartisan cooperation on state spending and a focus on ethics reform -- going so far as to hold committee hearings a month early to get a head start on the work -- lawmakers spent last week on edge, fearing the rise of potential election opponents and watching as the genial tolerance party leaders have for one another descended into bickering and spats. Now that Friday's deadline to run in the 2010 elections has passed, state lawmakers likely will no longer be spending their days checking the secretary of state's Web site to find out if they've got a primary or general election opponent. Any person looking from the Statehouse rotunda through the back windows of the House chamber at representatives' computer screens this past week would have seen the list of declared candidates displayed on many of those screens. At the same time, state lawmakers say there's been a general breakdown in decorum as eight weeks of sometimes 12-plus hour workdays begin to grate on lawmakers. "The unwillingness of the majority in the House to allow the minority to have not just a voice but an opportunity to participate in the process is really more in the 'wayback machine' here to about 20 years ago, when this chamber was run inappropriately," said state Rep. Brian Bosma, the House Republican leader. Bosma and House Speaker Patrick Bauer, D-South Bend, shouted at each other in the House for a minute or so Thursday



U.S. Rep. Mike Pence received a rollicking reaction at the CPAC Convention in Washington this week, spurring more talk of a potential presidential run in 2012. Pence, who will appear on NBC's Meet the Press on Sunday, embraced the "Party of No" criticism House Republicans have taken during the past year. "Some people around here like to call us 'the party of no,' Pence said. "I say no is way underrated here in Washington, D.C. Sometimes 'no' is just what this town needs to hear. When it comes to more borrowing, the answer is no. When it comes to more spending, the answer is no. When it comes to more bailouts, the answer is" The crowd shouted "No!" Pence then denounced President Obama's proposed health care summit, saying, "When it comes to some health care summit that is nothing more than a photo-op designed to pave the way for Obama care 2.0, the answer is no!" Pence also told Fox News that he believes Republicans have a good opportunity to pick up the U.S. Senate seat in Indiana following Evan Bayh's retirement. "I believe that we have a tremendous opportunity in Indiana to send a conservative voice to the United States Senate," Pence said. "The departure of Senator Bayh from the scene has opened up the opportunity for what is now a broad field of Republican candidates. A former senator, a state senator, there's some great and accomplished, a former congressman is in there, great and accomplished conservatives are going to come for. And while the Democrats have tapped their candidate, I like our chances in Indiana this year. I think we are going to be sending a conservative to the U.S. Senate this fall."

when Bauer refused to allow Republicans to speak on legislation that would delay an unemployment premium increase for Hoosier businesses. House Republicans had already lost one vote on the measure and would go on to lose a second vote. But the patience Bauer displayed earlier in the session in allowing Republicans to have their say before losing a vote in the Democratic-controlled House was gone.

Obama expected to publish health plan

WASHINGTON - President Barack Obama wants to give the

federal government sweeping new authority to curb exorbitant rate hikes by the nation's health insurance companies, a White House official said Sunday night -- a proposal designed to win over skeptical voters as Obama announces his own health insurance legislation for the first time Monday (Allen, Politico). Releasing his bill ahead of Thursday's bipartisan health-care summit, Obama is seeking to play off voter anger toward recent double-digit increases by Anthem Blue Cross of California and show that his plan is designed to protect vulnerable Americans, both those with insurance and those who are seeking to obtain it.



The proposal for new federal power to rein in premium hikes wasn't included in the versions of health reform that passed the House and Senate last year, though the rest of Obama's bill is likely to cherry-pick some of the most popular parts of those bills to craft a compromise proposal that can unify his fractious party, liberals and moderates alike. The White House declined to provide further details of Obama's plan ahead of an announcement Monday, when Obama has promise to post his legislation on-line for voters to read ahead of Thursday's summit. The proposal also has a populist appeal – Obama standing up to the big insurance companies – that could put pressure on Republicans to go along, even though they have decried the Democrats' health reform efforts as a "big government takeover" of the system and generally resisted any efforts to give the government a greater role in the private insurance market.

3 Hoosier Marines killed in Afghanistan

NASHVILLE - Deborah Kleinschmidt always figured that one day her son Jeremy McQueary would regret tossing out his tee-ball trophies and Cub Scout books (Lopez, Indianapolis Star). So she fished them from the trash and boxed up those childhood treasures, keeping them for the time when he might once again appreciate such mementos. Kleinschmidt still has the boxes, but the son she saved them for has died. McQueary, a 27-year-old Marine sergeant, died Thursday in Afghanistan. The Columbus native was the third Hoosier Marine slain in fighting for the Afghan city of Marjah in the past seven days. On Friday, Lance Cpl. Joshua Birchfield, 24, was killed in action. A 2004 graduate of Westville High School in Northern Indiana, he had served as a Marine for two years. A funeral home and the local paper in Brazil also reported that Cpl. Gregory Scott Stultz,

22, died of gunshot wounds Friday in Afghanistan. The Pentagon has not formally announced the deaths of either Marine, but the bodies of all three men arrived at Dover Air Force Base in Delaware over the weekend.

They bring to 28 the number of soldiers and Marines with Indiana ties to die in Afghanistan.

"It's just very hard, but I told him I loved him every day," Kleinschmidt said Sunday of McQueary. "I always told him how proud I was of him." Her son was assigned to the 2nd Combat Engineer Battalion, 2nd Marine Division, based at Camp Lejeune, N.C. McQueary's outfit was assigned the critical task of bridging canals and clearing roads as the Marines prepared for their biggest offensive in Afghanistan. He survived two other attacks from homemade bombs before the explosion that killed him, Kleinschmidt said. Both times he had been in protected vehicles. "This time he was on foot patrol," she said.

Paul wins CPAC straw poll; Pence 5th

WASHINGTON - Rep. Ron Paul, the libertarian-leaning Texas Republican who ran a quixotic bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008, was the top vote-getter in the Conservative Political Action Conference's straw poll, capturing the support of 31 percent of those who participated in the contest (Politico). Former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney, who had won the CPAC straw poll for three consecutive years, took 22 percent of the vote. Former Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin won 7 percent and Minnesota Gov. Tim Pawlenty 6 percent. Pawlenty attended the conference; Palin did not. Rep. Mike Pence, an Indiana Republican who heads the House GOP conference, took 5 percent of the vote. Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and former Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee each won 4 percent.

Wyser losing support in prosecutors race

NOBLESVILLE - The mounting criticism of David Wyser's campaign finances is complicating his previously clear shot at becoming Hamilton County prosecutor (Indianapolis Star). Key Republican leaders have dropped their endorsements of Wyser, chief trial deputy to Marion County Prosecutor Carl Brizzi, since learning that Wyser and Brizzi accepted campaign donations from the father of a convicted murderer whose prison sentence they agreed to reduce. Although Wyser and Brizzi returned the donations and denied the money had any connection to the sentence modification, Hamilton County Commissioner Steve Dillinger said he feared it created a perception of impropriety. "I thought the perception would pretty much be impossible to overcome, and that's probably not where we need to start with the prosecutor," Dillinger said. Wyser, long the only announced candidate to succeed four-term incumbent Sonia Leerkamp, now faces two challengers for the party's nomination, which usually ensures election in the heavily Republican county. Dillinger plans to support Lee Buckingham, a Hamilton County deputy prosecutor who filed to run last week, as did Steve Stoesz, a Westfield-based attorney.

McDermott likely to face mayoral opposition

HAMMOND - Should Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.'s quest for the Democratic U.S. Senate nomination not become a reality, he could very well face serious competition in a bid for re-election as mayor (Burton, Times of Northwest Indiana). George Janiec, a Hammond tax activist who came a close second to McDermott in 2007, said he plans to run again as a Republican, while political newcomer Humberto Prado said he'll be running for mayor on the Democratic side.