



### ‘Senator, where did you sleep last night?’

As war drums beat, media joins trivial pursuit on Lugar’s residency

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - The lithe, blonde reporter from Fox 59 asked what years ago might have been the most improbable question of U.S. Sen. Richard G. Lugar: “Where did you sleep last night?”

He was surrounded by 22 women from Lugar’s Excellence in Public Service series. In another age and with another politician, the second question might have been, “and who did you sleep with?”

But with war drums beginning to beat from Tel Aviv to the Persian Gulf and gas prices spiking in historic fashion due to Iran’s intransigence over its burgeoning nuclear program, the Indiana press corps began a residency trivial pursuit. Waged initially in the blogosphere almost a year ago, then by the Indiana Democratic Party, and finally with Republican challenger Richard Mourdock, the game focuses on the place Lugar calls home. Mourdock, himself tripped up months ago by reports of an improper use of homestead credits, last week held a presser outside of Lugar’s old Indianapolis home, which the senator sold after winning his Senate seat in 1976.



U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar answers questions about his residency at the downtown Marriott in Indianapolis on Monday. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

“I slept in this hotel,” Lugar said in the hallway of the Grand Marriott in downtown Indianapolis, as 575 Republicans gathered in the nearby luncheon ballroom.

The remarks came four days before Lugar defends his candidacy over the residency issue at a 9 a.m. Friday Indiana Election Commission hearing.

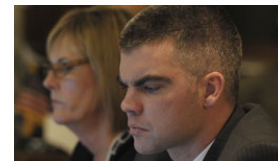
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### Rumblings on the ground

By **RUSS STILWELL**

BOONVILLE - Sometimes it’s hard to look at raw numbers and predict a scientific numerical outcome. And if you’re talking about political numbers in an unpredictable political environment, it’s anyone’s guess. Political polling is the science we most often use, but these polling creatures just don’t capture everything that folks on the ground feel in their veins and know in their hearts. Welcome to the world of Hoosier politics and the race for the Indiana House in 2012.

Some pundits are already ex-



“If you’re not against it, you’re for it.”

- **State Rep. Robert Morris, defending his remarks that the Girl Scouts is a radical, liberal organization with ties to Planned Parenthood.**



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pounding that a GOP supermajority might be in the making. Others are predicting that House Democrats will transgress from political disaster in 2010 to political catastrophe in November. And others are predicting the calamitous doom of B. Patrick Bauer and his House minority leadership.

**Add these predictions** together, throw in a dozen House Democrat retirements coupled with a Republican gerrymandered political map that has a current 60-40 GOP advantage, and it's easy to forecast such doom. But there's something that's just not right in the air, not resonating on the ground, and just isn't predictable this year.

Make no mistake about it. Indiana is a Republican state and statewide voter history is proof when we look at races where most folks don't know the candidates and mostly vote the party line. Races like state treasurer and state auditor fit the category.

House Democrats found it challenging to win with good maps and it will be far more challenging with the gerrymandered GOP maps.

Let's look at the challenges and opportunities for 2012 in the race for the House. My crystal ball isn't in full radar mode just yet, but mark my words that there will be surprises for those who predict House Democrats will be on the short side of 35 seats in 2012.

**Sometimes there** is a national wave or sentiment that carries all the way to our state legislative seats. Just look at 2010. If you had an R beside your name, you automatically picked up nearly 10 percentage points. We all know why. Folks were mad and they were angry with President Obama and the newly passed health care reform. They were questioning the economy and jobless numbers. They pulled the elephant tail and voted for a different kind of "change."

Little did they know that this pulling of the tail would set off a barrage of change that would spark a fire

that would grow into an inferno. This fire would alienate hundreds of thousands of Hoosiers like never before. Did I mention labor union members? Teachers? The poor and underprivileged? Women?

I'm referring not only to some of the more egregious and controversial Indiana legislative issues, but also those far right issues being tossed about by those who covet the Republican nomination for president.

They are pandering to the base and the right of the political electorate. That leaves the middle, women and the conventional left up for grabs. And this is how Democrats have always won in the Hoosier state, both statewide and in legislative districts!

**Despite the GOP** gerrymandering the maps, it would appear to the most strident political animal that there could be enough seats in play before this election season is over to cause the Rs more than just a little after-dinner heartburn.

John Gregg will be the strongest Democrat candidate for governor since Evan Bayh. Remember in 1996 when the underdog, then Lt. Governor Frank O'Bannon, coasted to a 52-47% victory over Steve Goldsmith, the GOP "anointed one" who was favored to win?

Hoosiers still like governors who steer their political vehicles down the middle of the road, like the Gregg campaign. Folks who drive off the road on the far right don't fare too well. And the Pence campaign needs a four-wheel-drive to keep its machine operational in that off-road, far-right lane.

This statewide campaign will have coattails for House Ds in competitive seats. Did I say Southern Indiana?

Why did Hoosiers vote for "change" and pull the elephant tail in 2010? Did the GOP have better candidates and issues? No, they had a national wave that provided a 10-point advantage.



In one Southern Indiana district the incumbent Democrat had polling numbers of 66% positive name recognition, 66% positive job performance, and single digit negatives only three weeks before the election. Those are numbers that most incumbents would be proud of and almost always win with.

**But the reelect number was under 50%.** The voters were prepared to not vote for a Democrat. This happened all over Southern Indiana and the issues were not local and state issues, they were federal issues. This incumbent lost, as did virtually all of the Democrat incumbents in this region. All had similar numbers. The Rs had unprecedentedly built in numbers from a national political tsunami.

Sometimes all the time and money we place in our political operations just cannot be overcome when a national wave occurs. Look at 1974 and the Watergate elections. How about 1994 and the Gingrich "Congressional Revolution"? If the national debate on the far right, commonly referred to as the Republican primary season, continues - a gentle wave could be emerging that just might grow into a cyclone of political consequences reminiscent of 2010 in reverse.

Unlike in 2008 when Obama and Clinton were campaigning for the middle and Reagan Democrats, the 2012 national GOP contenders are pandering to the far right with a look that would strain the neck of any casual observer.

There is one segment of our Hoosier population that is hopping mad and they can't wait to draw some political blood in the 2012 elections. Hoosier labor union members normally have a far greater registration number than the average Hoosier voter. And they normally vote in far greater percentage than the general population. They don't call it "organized labor" for nothing.

Even though the labor density of our state is only about 10-12% (20-25 if you count the spouses), their voting percentage is far greater than their numbers indicate. In a normal year labor union members and their spouses would be a third of the electorate.

**And they would split** their votes nearly 2-1 for the Democrat vs. the GOP candidate. If you add in the teachers, you have a pool of nearly 400,000 voters, or double that counting spouses. That's a lot of political power!

In a normal year (whatever that is) you would find nearly two-thirds of these voters casting ballots, a far greater percentage than the general population. But 2012 is not a normal year.

Teachers and union members are incensed with the antics of the GOP-dominated legislature and their Right to Work and anti-teacher agenda. In my 40 years in the labor movement, I have never before seen as much excitement, passion and a "ready to get even" mood.

I predict that 2012 will be an extraordinary year for

this group of activists. Their voting percentage will dramatically increase and the percentage for the GOP will fall off considerably. It's not unlikely that there will be a voting percentage upward of 80 with a nearly identical percentage voting for the Democrat candidate. In some cases they will just be voting against the GOP candidate because of their divisive positions.

Do the math. This translates into raw political power; political power that is passionate, energized and ready to take back their state. And if you add up the numbers, it could be upwards of 50% of the electorate, counting spouses.

The House Democrats have already filed 82 candidates for the 2012 ballot, far more than in recent memory. And 31 Republicans will be facing raucous primaries, many for the first time.

And let's not forget about the "love to hate him and hate to love him" Democrat leader that some folks just love to demonize. Pat Bauer may be many things to different people, but he is a workaholic who loves to win.

**There is no one who works** harder to raise dollars for his caucus. There is no one who is more loyal to his caucus members when an election is on the line. If in doubt, just ask countless numbers of existing and former House members who relied on the monies that Bauer relentlessly raised each cycle.

House Democrats lost in 2010 because the Republicans nationalized the campaign, not because of a lack of effort or some screw-up by Bauer or the campaign team. There were nearly one million personal contacts at doors and on phones for the House candidates. I'm confident that this program will only be accelerated in 2012. And you can bet that organized labor will be in full organized campaign mode too.

Yes, we all know that at the end of the day it takes good solid candidates, good issues and a respectful campaign budget to win elections. It also takes a little good fortune. For all the good fortune that the GOP had in 2010, it appears to this writer that those riches might well be a thing of the past in 2012.

Buckle up, this 2012 election is just beginning and it should be a real rollercoaster ride. There's still plenty of fight for another day and another election. ❖

**Stilwell is the former House Democratic majority leader.**



## Lugar residency, from page 1

But don't hold your breath. Residency issues create a lot of early headlines, and most political observers expected Mourdock to press the issue, though his Democratic bed partner was a new twist. But these issues don't often bear fruit. Evan Bayh was challenged on the issue by the GOP in 1986 and it didn't work. Dan Coats had to move back to Indiana from Virginia in 2010 and easily won the U.S. Senate primary. Chris Chocola, Mike Pence and Todd Rokita have won Congressional seats while residing outside their districts.

Indiana's senior senator went on to say that he requested and received the ruling of two attorneys general and "they have answered the question that I am a resident of Indiana and have been throughout my career. We have had the issue for the entire time I've served in the Senate. This is why I asked for the ruling early on when I was first elected to make sure the residency question was proper and correct."

Lugar explained that when he was elected to the Senate in 1976, he sold his Indianapolis home the following year.

"My wife Char and I wanted to make sure we did the very best job we could of being parents for our four boys," Lugar explained. "We wanted to be a family and therefore we moved to Washington as a family. They attended the public schools there. We went to their Little League games, Boy Scouts and all the things that were important so as a family we could come together. Now before we did that, we made sure this was certain with all the laws, the Constitution of Indiana and this is why we asked the opinion of the attorneys general and others to make sure this was proper. It was too expensive, at least for us, to maintain two homes, so we sold our home the following year."

When Lugar entered the Senate, that type of living arrangement was the norm.

Lugar was subsequently peppered with questions about which state his driver's license is from, whether he goes to the new and improved BMV himself. Another reporter asked him "if it wouldn't be easier" to just say he lives on his farm in Decatur Township.

"Because it wouldn't be truthful," Lugar responded. Lugar said he is the managing partner of Lugar

Stock Farms Inc., but he does not live there. The home on the property is rented to another farmer. The farm is owned by the senator, a brother, sister and son. Lugar serves as president and added, "I am responsible for its management."

HPI asked what kind of activities he does on the farm. "When I go to the farm with my son, Bob, who spends a lot of time on the farm, I usually am involved in pruning the black walnut trees that we planted about 25 years ago," Lugar said.

Now in his eighth U.S. Senate race, the issue of Lugar's residency has never come up. His first two races in 1974 and 1976 he lived in Indianapolis. In the last one, the Indiana Democratic Party didn't even bother to run a candidate against him.

Indiana senators have traditionally lived in Washington, as Sens. Lugar, Evan Bayh, Dan Coats and Dan Quayle have done. Bayh maintained a threadbare condo in Indianapolis. Coats had to quickly buy property in Indianapolis after he returned to the state in 2010 to seek a successful return to the Senate. With Coats the notable exception, once Hoosier senators finish their careers in the upper chamber, they don't return to live in Indiana, as was the case with Evan and Birch

Bayh, Vance Hartke and Quayle.

## Murdock follows Democrats

On Feb. 15, Mourdock followed the Indiana Democratic Party - which relishes a Joe Donnelly race against the GOP challenger as an easier path to victory - and took issue with Lugar's residency. Mourdock said that it is "unclear from public statements by Lugar's campaign how the senator's lack of a physical residence in Indiana complies with the requirement of Article 1, Section 3 of the U. S. Constitution," which requires a U.S. Senator to be an "inhabitant" of the state he or she represents when elected.

"We have been making the case since last year that Senator Lugar has become out of touch with Hoosier Republicans on issues like the increase in our massive national debt, wasteful earmark spending, and amnesty for illegal immigrants. Now, we know why. Sadly, Senator Lugar went to Washington, D.C., and left Indiana behind," said Mourdock.

Besides Indiana Democrats, Mourdock's other allies - Hoosiers for a Conservative Senate - will raise the issue



Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock hosts a presser outside of the home that Lugar sold in 1977, though it is still listed on his driver's license.



Friday before the Indiana Election Commission.

"The only thing constant regarding Dick Lugar's lack of Indiana residency is that he hasn't had a physical address in Indiana since 1977. The answer to where the Senator actually stays when visiting Indiana at taxpayers' expense seems to be ever-evolving," said Mourdock spokesman Chris Conner.

CFCS also pressed Gov. Mitch Daniels to intervene. The governor refused, calling it a "non-issue" on Monday.

Donnelly, appearing at the Workingman's Friend Pub in Indianapolis Monday afternoon after visits to Jeffersonville and Evansville, called Lugar's residency a "valid issue" and said that "voters will ultimately decide." Donnelly added, "I come home every weekend." He lives in Granger and said he benefits from "sitting in a restaurant in Rochester or a fish fry in LaPorte."

The circumstances are different for each of these three families; Donnelly and his wife, Jill, were empty-nesters when he was elected to Congress in 2006, Lugar had a family of six. Mourdock and his wife don't have children, but it was discovered last year that the Indiana treasurer had claimed homestead exemptions improperly on properties he owns in Indianapolis and Vanderburgh County.

## **Donnelly calls it a 'valid' issue**

The Donnelly campaign gathering at Workingman's Friend a few hours after Lugar was grilled, sees the issue as setting up the incumbent for a primary upset. Campaign manager Paul Tencher noted that U.S. Sen. John Thune of South Dakota used the issue to upset Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle by 4,508 votes in 2004. It was the first time a Senate leader had been defeated for reelection since 1952. One of the attacks the Thune campaign made on Daschle concerned a homestead exemption he and his wife Linda claimed on their new home in Washington.

Journalist Jeff Gannon explained, "I made an FOIA request in September '04. I got the document for the exemption and Tom Daschle's signature is on it, dated April 30, 2003. I'm going, well, now, isn't this interesting, a senator files an affidavit who says he is a primary resident of DC. They switched the paper work. They substituted the paperwork and it said Linda Daschle. Now they've made it worse in 2003. Six weeks before the election, something is going on there. The whole thing could have been different when I first wrote the story if Daschle says, 'You're right, I signed a bunch of papers at closing, and I shouldn't have signed that one. We signed a bunch of papers, we made a mistake.'"

Tencher and Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker believe that Lugar is vulnerable, a perception the Lugar campaign tried to squelch with an internal poll showing the senator with a 55-30 lead over Mourdock, though the campaign did not reveal any specific poll data

beyond the head-to-head. Tencher described a three-prong Mourdock strategy for tightening the race: Freedomworks is on the ground organizing the Mourdock GOTV. "Our trackers are showing 20 to 30 people showing up for their seminars," Tencher said. There is Chris Choccola's Club for Growth, which is bundling money to throw into SuperPAC-driven TV for Mourdock in March, April and May. And there is the National Rifle Association, which Tencher said is preparing to send mailers on behalf of Mourdock.

With surveys showing congressional approval at a historic 10% low (worse than Nixon during Watergate, worse than the banks during TARP) any Senate incumbent must be wary of the changing dynamic.

The Lugar residency issue isn't about a cover-up. It's about shifting politics and opponents looking for any way to soften him up.

## **Is it a relevant issue?**

Lugar was asked if the issue is relevant and whether he is surprised that it has become part of the campaign.

"That's up to the people making it an issue now," he said. "Yes I am. But in politics almost anything can become an issue."

Thus far, this has been a campaign based almost entirely on domestic issues such as earmarks, the Keystone Pipeline, budget deficits and the U.S. economy.

Whether the residency issue has legs in April or May could be determined by Israel. As the Lugar residency issue stirred over the weekend, Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak on Saturday called on world leaders to tighten sanctions on Iran before the country enters a "zone of immunity" against a physical attack to stop its nuclear program. "The world must force the Iranians to ask themselves, 'Are we ready to pay the price of isolation by most, if not all, of the world or should we decide to stop the nuclear effort?'" he said.

Barak brushed aside a Feb. 3 Washington Post article implying that U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta thinks Israel may strike Iran's nuclear installations in the coming months, with an April through June window the likely attack period.

Should such an Israel attack happen, the world could instantly become a different place. Iran would almost certainly attack Israel and try to close the Strait of Hormuz, drawing in the U.S. Gas prices around the globe would explode, with speculation rife of \$5 a gallon gas in the U.S. It is unknown how Iraq, Turkey, China, Egypt would respond.

In that crisis environment, perceptions of Lugar, the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and its incoming chairman if Republicans retake control of the Senate, would almost certainly evolve, perhaps even beyond the question of where he lays his head at night. ❖



## Does it matter where you live?

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - Election night, 1994 was one of the best nights of my life. After an upset win in the primary by a sizable margin, I was faced with defeating an incumbent who had won 62% in the last two elections and with a favorability rating of over 70%. The final result was a stunning 56-43% upset.



As we entered the cheering Republican celebration, with all the lights and television cameras, our son Nathan said: "I feel like a rock star." I gave my brief speech and immediately upon finishing, Allen County Chairman Steve Shine whispered to me that the Vice-President (that would be Dan Quayle) was on the phone and wanted to talk to me. After a brief congratulations,

Dan launched into a spiel about why we needed to move to Washington. For over 15 minutes we argued about where I should live as I missed my biggest victory party ever.

Dan's argument was simple: you won't have a private life if you live in Indiana. You will be recognized, people will always be asking you to do things and upset if you don't come. My answer included: 1.) we moved the family back to Indiana after serving as a staffer for Dan Coats for a decade; 2) we wanted our children to attend school and graduate in Indiana; 3.) I intended to commute every weekend (I spent around eight weekends in Washington in 16 years); 4) the support network in Indiana was far stronger, with family and friends; and 5) I would better identify with my district by living among the people I represented.

**Often those who desire** to live in Washington imply that it is for the children. But if you represent your district, your time will be divided about 50-50. All options are bad for the children. Secondly, I had an affair. But it is far easier to have an affair living in Washington, which is why most affairs and divorces occur among those who move there not those who live back home. I was the exception, not the rule.

The media was appalled that in 1995 no freshman Republican wanted to admit moving to Washington. We forced our leadership to adopt a "family friendly" schedule for us: come in Tuesday, work as late as possible on Tuesday and Wednesday nights, but let us out by late Thursday night if possible (our large group from the West Coast could take red-eye flights). When necessary, we worked

Mondays and Fridays but the key thing was to stop this 10-4 stuff that those who lived in Washington desired. My pitch to Majority Leader Dick Armey was this: the freshmen are the ones with the swing seats and we are the ones with the youngest children. He agreed.

**The challenge Senator** Richard Lugar faces is two-fold. The first claim, from Joe Donnelly and Richard Murdock, is that Lugar is out of touch with Indiana. I actually counted my nights in Indiana versus my nights in Washington in two different and separated years. They were only off by one night from being exactly the same number in both places. Where you live is a choice not a necessity. It has been reported that Senator Lugar spent 325 nights in Indiana in 21 years (1990 to 2011). I spent over 240 nights in Indiana every year over nearly 16 years (just under 4,000 nights). Joe Donnelly commuted. I know because we rode together many, many weeks. Sometimes through Cincinnati, other times through Detroit. Sometimes we needed to get rental cars because there weren't late connections into Fort Wayne or South Bend. However, to be fair, the expectations for Senators with six year terms is substantially different than for House Members. In the old days, when the state legislatures selected the Senators, I imagine it was a little more intense.

The second question, the legal one, is about legal requirements. The United States Constitution is clear: a member shall "when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen." A critical decision of the 9th Circuit in 2000 ruled that to be the ceiling requirement, not the floor, over-turning a state residency law. One judge even wrote: "The burdens of residency may very well deter candidates from running for Congress." The only requirement is for the original election. The stated presumption was that if the people didn't like it that their elected representative had "gone Washington" they would defeat them.

Many keep their home and rent in the Washington area, but that is very expensive. For an efficiency across the river (no bedrooms) I was paying around \$1,400 when I left office in 2010. Others have homes in both places, if they bought long ago or have personal wealth. Currently the majority buy in Washington, and then have some sort of a "cover" back home. Most have an apartment that they rent out and never use. Some use their parent's residence. Tim Roemer creatively declared his district office his Indiana residence.

**Senator Lugar was** very unusual by apparently continuing to vote in the precinct of a property he sold, rather than where he actually owns a farm (the house is rented, but it is a house that he owns, just less convenient). From what I can tell, the real question isn't federal eligibility for office (the state has no jurisdiction) but rather his voting for state and local offices when it wasn't his precinct even by lax definitions. At the end of the day, though,



that's nit-picking since other Hoosier legislators don't really live here either.

I hope the election board decides, like in the Santorum case, to look at the bigger picture. There was not deliberate fraud in either case. The intent was followed.

So let the voters choose who Indiana voters favor, not the power brokers. ❖

**Souder is a former Republican Member of Congress.**

## Earmarks debate between Lugar, Mourdock and born again deficit hawk Chris Chocola

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. - A cornerstone to Richard Mourdock's Republican primary challenge to U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar has been his vociferous opposition to congressional earmarks.

"Sen. Lugar has become so out of touch with Hoosier voters he doesn't understand the need to end a practice that lends itself to abuse and corruption at taxpayers' expense and which continues to add to our national debt," Mourdock says in a TV ad. "Dick Lugar won't vote to end wasteful spending and earmarks. I will."

On Feb. 14, the Club for Growth, headed by former Indiana congressman Chris Chocola, endorsed Mourdock in large part because Lugar was one of 13 Republican senators who refused to support a permanent earmark ban. In an op-ed article for the National Review, Chocola reasoned, "Earmarks, also known as pork-barrel spending, are considered a 'gateway drug' to corruption and bigger government in Washington. They got that well-deserved title because there's a history of both Republicans and Democrats using earmarks as a currency to buy votes for all sorts of bad policies. Sometimes, members of Congress have actually taken bribes in exchange for obtaining earmarks. The system was abused so badly that Americans shamed both parties into passing a temporary ban on the practice."

And Lugar's stance: Ceding congressional earmarks to the executive branch is simply populist showboating. "Congress is being asked to debate a congressional earmark spending resolution which will save no money even while giving the impression that the Congress is attempting to meet the public demand to reduce spending," Lugar

observed in 2010.

"Instead of surrendering Constitutional authority to Washington bureaucrats and the Obama administration, Congress should focus on reducing spending on both entitlement and discretionary programs. Providing the Obama administration with greater authority to direct spending does not accomplish this goal, and eliminating earmarks does not reduce spending. The Constitution explicitly states that it is the responsibility of Congress to make decisions on the appropriation of federal taxpayer funds. Earmarks should be considered and treated like amendments to any underlying spending bill. Members should have the opportunity to offer earmarks, review them, and offer motions to strike or modify them."

Here's the reality of earmarks: If Congress eliminated 100% of them in fiscal year 2010, it would have cut the federal budget by less than .5%. The Citizens Against Government Waste notes that U.S. Treasury statistics revealed in 2010 the federal government spent \$3.46 trillion while running a deficit of \$1.29 trillion. The Office of Management and Budget reported that earmarks accounted for \$11.1 billion. In 2009, it was \$15.96 billion, or 0.56% of federal spending and 1.38% of the federal deficit.

Washington Post blogger Greg Sargent observed in his Plumline column, "Conservatives target earmarks because, in isolation, they're often hard to defend, and they're an easy symbol of Washington greed to rail against. The problem is that while they are frequent fodder for political rhetoric, they account for less than 1% of the federal budget. Republicans remain steadfastly committed to preserving the Bush tax cuts for the rich and they've been laughably demure on what federal programs they would actually cut. But they've managed to get into a heated argument among themselves over whether or not to cut a miniscule part of the federal budget."

On Monday, Lugar was asked about earmarks and he described his process. When a mayor or university requests funding, the Lugar office posts the request on its website and seeks feedback. "It is a totally transparent situation in which many people have a say," Lugar explained.

Asked how much money would be saved if earmarks are permanently banned, Lugar said nothing would be saved. "The money is still there. The bureaucrats are





going to spend the money. It is a bogus issue."

Now, is Lugar a typical incumbent who can't pull the trigger on spending cuts?

No.

He and U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman introduced the Rural Economic Farm and Ranch Sustainability and Hunger Act (REFRESH) which would cut \$40 billion from federal spending. Specifically, it would reform farm programs, cutting \$16 billion, a 24.5% reduction. Conservation programs would be updated and streamlined for a savings of \$11.3 billion, a 17.6% reduction. Nutrition program eligibility loopholes would be closed saving \$13.9 billion, only a 2% reduction. Roughly two-thirds of the savings would come from farm and conservation programs, and a third from nutrition programs, which represent three-fourths of the USDA budget.

"This bill provides good farm and nutrition policy and saves \$40 billion," Lugar said. "Farm Bill politics has long frustrated reform efforts by myself and others. The current urgency to meet our deficit reduction targets gives us the chance to make smart changes."

Stutzman, a Howe farmer, observed, "Farmers recognize the need to tackle our nation's crippling \$14.7 trillion debt. So, our bill saves taxpayers \$40 billion. Long before I came to Washington, I've opposed the direct payments that handcuff farmers and manipulate markets. Today, I'm happy to introduce legislation with Senator Lugar that ends those direct payments. After talking with Hoosier farmers, we've proposed genuine safety nets, options that give confidence and expand opportunities for farmers, not outdated systems that restrict their options."

Republicans like U.S. Rep. Mike Pence, and Mourdock and the Club for Growth, have pressed for the end of earmarks. It's interesting, however, that Pence's 6th Congressional District ranked 42nd out of 435 districts in farm subsidies between 1995 and 2010, receiving \$1.24 billion, according to the Environmental Working Group. The 8th CD was tops in Indiana, ranking 40th at \$1.438 billion, the 4th CD was 55th at \$1 billion, the 2nd CD 57th at \$939 million, the 5th CD was 61st at \$818 million, the 9th CD ranked 65th at \$751 million, the 3rd CD ranked 73rd at \$652 million, and the 1st CD was 85th at \$524 million.

What was Chocola's record during his two terms in Congress from 2003 to 2007? He's become a born again deficit hawk. In May 2006, he voted for the Tax Relief Extension Reconciliation Act, which extended the Bush tax cuts set to expire over the next seven years. The Bush tax cuts, passed in 2003, helped take the budget surplus Bush inherited from President Clinton into a \$400 billion deficit. The Iraq and Afghanistan wars, the Medicare prescription drug plan passed in 2004, the Great Recession of 2008-09 and the various federal bailouts ended the Bush presidency with a \$1.4 trillion deficit.

Rep. Chocola backed the Medicare prescription drug plan, saying in 2004, "I don't know that there will be a more important vote." The Associated Press reported the plan added \$300 billion to the federal deficit. Yuval Levin at National Review noted that our "health-entitlement explosion" will account for "basically 100%" of our debt problem.

In December 2010 The Christian Science Monitor reported, "In 2011 the extension of the Bush tax cuts to all Americans would result in a \$200 billion to \$300 billion cost to the U.S. Treasury compared to what had been expected. Extending the cuts to households making over \$250,000 a year accounts for \$32 billion of that. Over 10 years, the total revenue loss from the tax cuts comes to \$3.9 trillion, according to the U.S. Treasury."

As a congressman, Chocola was an earmark aficionado at a time when the federal deficits were exploding. In an Aug. 24, 2006, a South Bend Tribune article on earmarks and Notre Dame University, Chocola said it is constructive to allow members of Congress to work with people they represent to determine wise investments for the community. "I'm happy to defend anything that I would request," he said.

On Feb. 19, 2004, Chocola also personally delivered a \$1 million check for the Hoosier Heartland Highway. "This interchange will offer the citizens of Logansport a gateway to the economic benefits of the Hoosier Heartland project, which is certain to rev the city's economic engine," Chocola said.

And in 2006, Chocola said in BizVoice Magazine, "The only thing that I think the American people will relate to is total repeal of earmarks. We can have that debate, but the bottom line is not only defending your earmarks but arguing that most of the earmarks that are requested, if they are taken out, they will really not reduce spending. That money will be spent anyway, and it will be spent in an arbitrary formula or by some bureaucrat either in Indianapolis or in Washington, D.C. So having the opportunity as a member of Congress to do that rather than have that money be spent some other way, you can make an argument (that) is a good thing to do."

Chocola refused Howey Politics Indiana interview requests. Club for Growth spokesman Barney Keller told me, "The Club for Growth has always been opposed to earmarks, so why should it surprise anyone that the president of the Club for Growth would attack Richard Lugar for voting against an earmark ban? Chris Chocola isn't on the ballot in Indiana, Senator Lugar is."

While Mourdock is an ardent purist on an earmark ban that will have negligible impact on the deficits, his key patron, Chocola, who will fund much of his race against Lugar with bundled SuperPAC money from donors whose identity will be shielded from voters, appears to subscribe to the theory of "do what I say, not what I do." ❖





## All eyes on Michigan, Mitt (and Mitch)

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - As the Republican presidential spectacle careened into a barn burning scenario in Michigan, the nation's lonely eyes turned once again to one Gov. Mitchell E. Daniels Jr.

On Monday morning, the Politico swarm, using Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb as a conspicuous source, reported of the "growing calls for an alternative to Mitt Romney." It came a few days after Romney's strange, strange pronouncement of love for the Wolverine State, a state where the "trees are just the right height" while he professed his love of "cars."

Holcomb, the man behind those green "Run, Mitch, Run" signs from the 2011 GOP Spring Dinner, said the "whispers" had become "shouts" and "knocks on the door have become fist pounding."

But just before Lugar's Excellence in Public Services series luncheon, Daniels slammed the door almost 99% shut. "I'm not running," Daniels told HPI. "I never have been and I will not now."

Asked to give his "General Sherman" speech, Daniels wouldn't go as far, saying, "No, I'm not going to run."

It seemed like an emphatic statement, but not quite Sherman's unmistakable sentiment that he uttered twice, in 1871 and 1884, when he said, "I will not accept if nominated and will not serve if elected." Thirteen years before, he had similarly asserted, "I hereby state, and mean all that I say, that I never have been and never will be a candidate for President; that if nominated by either party, I should peremptorily decline; and even if unanimously elected I should decline to serve."

The dream of Daniels admirers is for a contested Republican National Convention to occur in Tampa beginning Aug. 27 (near the height of hurricane season), and for neither Romney, Santorum or Newt Gingrich to secure



Gov. Mitch Daniels tells reporters "no" one more time on Monday.

the nomination after multiple ballots. In that case a draft movement could be aimed at Daniels, New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie or Jeb Bush, but all have rejected the notion.

"I really would not be interested," said Daniels. "I would be interested in finding someone who can present a really credible and winning alternative to what in the nation's going on right now. I still think it's very unlikely. These things have a way of resolving themselves, and I think this one will too, before we get to the convention."

**Last December, Daniels** talked of a contested GOP primary arriving in Indiana on May. 8, saying, "Maybe, yeah. I thought it was terrific last time in every way." That was in reference to the Obama/Clinton primary in 2008. "It got a lot of people engaged, got the attention of this state and brought a few dollars to this state. It was great to matter. If it can happen again, there are reasons to think it might. If this field stays a little fragmented, there's no winner-take-all voting for the first couple of months, yeah, we might matter and that would be good."

And what about a brokered convention, if no nominee emerges by June? "The formula has been, you need someone to lock it up early and then they can raise money

for this and that," Daniels said in December. "But I said, 'Well, but only if the person locks it up early, and only if it's the best person to carry the flag.' Soooo, probably won't happen. Prob-

## Michigan Republican Presidential Primary

February 28 (Hybrid Primary) 30 Delegates | 2008 Michigan Results: Romney +9.2%

Polling Data								
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Santorum	Romney	Paul	Gingrich	Spread
<b>RCP Average</b>	<b>2/17 - 2/20</b>	--	--	<b>33.8</b>	<b>33.0</b>	<b>11.4</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>Santorum +0.8</b>
NBC News/Marist	2/19 - 2/20	715 LV	3.7	35	37	13	8	Romney +2
Rasmussen Reports	2/20 - 2/20	750 LV	4.0	38	34	10	9	Santorum +4
Mitchell/Rosetta Stone	2/20 - 2/20	420 LV	4.7	30	32	7	9	Romney +2
WeAskAmerica	2/19 - 2/19	1025 LV	3.1	29	29	12	10	Tie
PPP (D)	2/17 - 2/19	602 LV	4.0	37	33	15	10	Santorum +4

[See All Michigan Republican Presidential Primary Polling Data](#)



ably won't. The requirement is for delegates to vote one ballot for whoever won the primary means the primaries once again settle all of this. But wouldn't a genuine convention be fascinating? Absolutely. Would it lead to the strongest nominee? Maybe. The people there would be looking for the strongest nominee. It would probably not be a nominee with one-issue zealotry. So I could imagine that being good for a party and a national standpoint."

And Daniels has an aversion to the term "brokered convention," explaining, "I told someone today I would never use that term. I don't think it would be brokered, it would be a truly deliberative convention. I can't say for sure, but maybe. Maybe it would be good for the country."

Recent polls from Michigan show presumed GOP frontrunner Romney trailing Santorum by 4% in a PPP poll and by as much as 14% in recent days. On Wednesday, NBC/Marist had the race at a statistical tie, with Romney leading Santorum 37-35%. Daniels wouldn't speculate that the Romney candidacy would implode if he lost his home state of Michigan.

"I don't know," Daniels said. "Obviously people are saying that. You overlap that with a field that hasn't shown an ability to win in the fall."

Daniels wasn't the only Republican to express doubts. U.S. Sen. John McCain fretted about President Obama's successful reelection, saying on ABC's *This Week*, "I think there's reason to be concerned about it." U.S. Rep. Ron Paul, a presidential candidate with no chance at the GOP nomination, said on CNN's "State of the Nation" Sunday that Santorum doesn't have a prayer at defeating Obama. "I don't see how that's possible," Paul said.

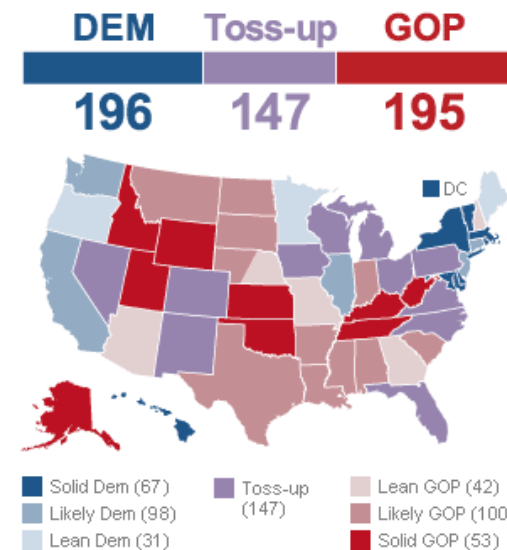
**Daniels said the concern** over the GOP field is rooted in people's "very sincere alarm over the direction of the country."

So all eyes will be on Michigan next Tuesday. A Romney loss will make the GOP establishment more jittery than it is now.

From an Indiana perspective, it will be fascinating to watch how the issue of the domestic auto resurrection plays out in the race. Last week, General Motors announced record profits. Chrysler's year-to-year profits are up 25%.

## Map: Battleground states

The NBC News Political Unit looks at the general election playing field ahead of 2012 – which states are trending red, and which blue?



In 2008, Romney penned a *New York Times* op-ed titled "Let Detroit Go Bankrupt." The NYT observed this over the weekend: "Yet more than three years later, the position he took still leaves many of his allies in the business world befuddled. It has also opened up an awkward distance between Mr. Romney and some top Republicans in his native state who insist that the \$80 billion assistance plan completed by the Obama administration, expanding on steps taken by President George W. Bush, was the only viable path to save the carmakers from ruin."

The Michigan Republican primary electorate is expected to be very conservative, defined at least as much by the kinds of conservatives who recoil at government bailouts and are suspicious of union power as it is by those with a more direct stake in the auto industry's rebound.

"He gets attacked and mischaracterized for wanting to let Detroit die, and that's not the case," said Speaker Jase Bolger of the Michigan House, a Republican who represents a district near Battle Creek on the state's conservative western side. He said Romney's opposition to the auto rescue on principle could do the candidate more good than harm among primary voters. "Autos are such an important part of Michigan's heritage, but many people saw this as a government intervention that wasn't going to cure the problem," Bolger added.

**Santorum took issue** with Romney over bailouts at the Detroit Economic Club. "Governor Romney supported the bailout of Wall Street and decided not to support the bailout of Detroit," he said. "My feeling was that we should not support - the government should not be involved in bailouts, period. I think that's a much more consistent position."

Polls show Obama with a big lead over all Republicans in Michigan. The auto recovery will almost certainly become a big issue in Indiana, where conventional wisdom is that Obama cannot repeat his 2008 win. In 2010, Indiana Democrats barely raised the issue and suffered historic defeats. Gubernatorial candidate John Gregg and U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly will almost certainly take the GOP to task over the issue this cycle.

So what happens to Romney in Michigan next Tuesday and in Ohio on Super Tuesday (March 6) will offer some interesting telltales for the Hoosier dynamic. ❖



## Election Commission to hear challenges to Lugar, Obama, Wallace, Santorum

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Facing the Indiana Election Commission at 9 a.m. Friday after 48 challenges for primary ballots, the names include Barack Obama, Richard Lugar, Rick Santorum and Jim Wallace.

Sources close to the Rick Santorum presidential campaign tell Howey Politics Indiana the campaign is gathering affidavits from eight people whose signatures were disqualified by Marion County Election officials - including two Marion County judges. More than 900 signatures were gathered in the 7th CD, but the campaign is short eight after election officials disqualified hundreds. Sources say that the story Howey Politics Indiana and

the South Bend Tribune broke over suspicious presidential petition signature forgeries from the 2008 Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama campaigns in St. Joseph County have prompted extra scrutiny on this year's presidential petitions.

The Election Commission will hear the challenges and the proceedings will be webstreamed at [www.in.gov/legislative/2441.htm](http://www.in.gov/legislative/2441.htm).

Santorum campaign spokesman Hogan Gidley said the campaign is "very confident that we are going to be on the ballot in Indiana. We are confident we've provided enough signatures. We're confident that the system will play out and we'll be on the ballot. It's a fact." Four voters - Jerry Bickle of Columbia City, Philip A. Smith of Indianapolis, Reynaldo M. Farias of Noblesville and Christopher C. Watson of West Lafayette - filed challenges with the Indiana Election Division saying Santorum did not meet the state's ballot requirements.

Wallace fell short 111 signatures in the 7th CD. He is expected to represent himself on Friday. Former Daniels' administration official Mitch Roob filed the challenge to Wallace's candidacy. Shortly after the Feb. 10 filing deadline, the campaign of Mike Pence expressed indifference about Wallace staying on the ballot. The campaign's outlook may have changed with reports that members of Congress seeking higher office are finding themselves in unexpectedly tough campaigns. The New York Times reported on Thursday that races where House incumbents are seeking higher office are much closer than anticipated.

It cited the North Dakota Senate race where Republican U.S. Rep. Rick Berg is in a tossup race against Heidi Heitkamp. The seat had been expected to be an easy pickup for the GOP. "We go through periods when Congress is much less popular than other times, but Congressional approval ratings right now are so abysmally bad, so unbelievably bad, it has to rub off on members seeking higher office," said Stuart Rothenberg of the Rothenberg Political Report.

Candidates may be challenged on several grounds including (but not limited to) constitutional and statutory eligibility requirements such as age, citizenship and residency, formal requirements for filing declaration of candidacy, and submission of the minimum number of certified petition signatures for offices which require petitions. The Election Commission is also scheduled to hear challenges to the filings of the following candidates for seats in the Indiana House of Representatives - District 13: Stephen Aichner (R); District 21: Randy Connor (R); District 24: Maurice Fuller (D); District 47: Leonard Compton (R); District 58: Christopher Grider (D).

### **U.S. Senate: Debate set for April 11**

The Indiana Debate Commission will host Sen. Richard Lugar and State Treasurer Richard Mourdock in a Republican primary debate on Wednesday, April 11. The first debate of the year hosted by the commission - and the only primary debate - will be take place at the PBS-affiliate WFYI in Indianapolis. Lugar said at a press conference in Indianapolis on Monday that he planned to participate in the statewide debate. Details on format, moderator and broadcast time will be announced at a later time, said Max Jones, president of the commission and editor of the Terre Haute Tribune-Star.

Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock received a boost last week when he was endorsed by the political action committee of the Club for Growth, a fiscally conservative organization in Washington, D.C. (Francisco, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The Club for Growth is headed by Chris Chocoma, who lost his House seat to Donnelly in the 2006 election. The group said its endorsement "may mean that Mourdock will receive hundreds of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions." "Do I think it's a game-changer? Absolutely," Mourdock said Wednesday during a visit to Fort Wayne. "Is it a positive sign of momentum? Absolutely. We see it already with what we have in fundraising off the website and even the calls I've been getting."

Faced with continued criticism for not owning a home in Indiana, Lugar has begun airing television ads labeling Mourdock, a mudslinger (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). Tuesday saw all three candidates - Lugar, Mourdock and Democrat U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly - taking aim at each other, in some cases with outside help. The





ad features an announcer praising Lugar, and then being interrupted by the splat of mud against the screen. There are then eight more splats, and the announcer calls Mourdock "typical" and "desperate," and criticizes him for missing meetings of boards that oversee state funds. It was one of two ads Lugar's campaign launched Tuesday. The other, which touts the senator's 17 votes for a constitutional balanced budget amendment, uses the word "serious" three times to describe his efforts to reduce spending. The ad came the week after Mourdock stood outside the Indianapolis home that Lugar owned when he was mayor of the city, but sold in 1977 - the year after he was elected to the Senate. Since then, Lugar has lived in McLean, Va., though he has maintained his voter registration at his old Indianapolis address. That's something two Indiana attorneys general have said is legal - and that he maintains his previous residence for the duration of his service. The Indiana Democratic Party took aim again at Lugar on Tuesday over that issue. They said documents for the family farm Lugar has managed show it is registered in Virginia, and lists Lugar's official Senate office in Indianapolis as the registered agent for the property. "The one thing Senator Lugar has maintained in Indiana as he kept his residency here for 'political purposes' was this farm," said Indiana Democratic Party Chairman Dan Parker. "However, the farm appears to have made the move to Virginia as well." Lugar political director David Willkie said the six-term senator's campaign is ready to respond to the criticism - and called Mourdock, who has launched failed congressional bids in the 8th District, a serial campaigner. "While Senator Lugar is a gentleman, if attacked he will defend himself, and the incessant mud thrown by Mr. Mourdock certainly warrants a response," Willkie said. "Since Mr. Mourdock, after 11 campaigns, has learned nothing but silly season antics, we are more than ready and willing to deal with our opponent's deceptive and negative attacks."

Mourdock, said Wednesday he's not surprised that Lugar has decided to run negative ads (Terre Haute Tribune-Star). "I am surprised he launched them a full 10 weeks ahead of the election," Mourdock said while attending a fundraising event at the Country Club of Terre Haute. "You expect something like that in the last three or four weeks." Lugar "is out there 10 weeks ahead because his polling is obviously showing we are doing very well," said Mourdock, Indiana's treasurer. "Normally you don't want to give your opponent any name recognition. "You don't even want to tell voters there is an opponent." According to Mourdock, "It tells me he has to destroy me."

Donnelly talked about the domestic auto revival, crediting President Obama, but he broke ranks with the administration on the Keystone XL Pipeline. "I think the Keystone Pipeline is a good idea," Donnelly said at a "kitchen table" discussion at the Workingman's Friend

pub in Indianapolis. "I agree with the president, but not on everything." Obama rejected construction of the pipeline several weeks ago. It was included by House Republicans in the payroll tax extension bill. Lugar is a major proponent of the pipeline saying it will create 20,000 jobs and add to U.S. energy security. Donnelly emphasized jobs, telling constituents at the table that when talking with American GIs in Khost, Afghanistan, they were most concerned about the American economy. "Make sure there are jobs back home," Donnelly was told. He talked of a General Motors electronics plant across a Kokomo highway from a Chrysler transmission plant "There were 4,000 jobs at stake in Kokomo," Donnelly said. "The jobless rate was 21% in Elkhart. He recounted how Toyota officials pressed the Indiana delegation to save the America auto industry because of the need to preserve the American auto supplier network. "All across the state we had jobs that were at risk," Donnelly said. Now, he said, "Chrysler sales are up 25% year to year, and GM just announced its most profitable year. GM workers will be getting a \$7,000 bonus. That's a Mom or a Dad coming home with a paycheck." Donnelly quoted Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight as saying, "The future is the brightest it's been in decades." Donnelly and Indiana Democrats have pressed Lugar's residency issue because they prefer to face Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock, who attempted to derail the Chrysler-Fiat merger.

Goodland Town Council President Jim Butler today announced his support for Lugar's reelection. Butler's endorsement follows that of Elwood Mayor Ron Arnold who on Friday threw his support behind Lugar's campaign. Butler and Arnold swell the number of current Indiana mayors and town board presidents campaigning for Lugar to 25. At least 11 former Hoosier mayors are also actively supporting Lugar. "Senator Lugar is a respected statesman - a rare commodity in today's political environment. We need his wisdom and integrity to represent Hoosiers in Washington, D.C., as well as our country to the rest of the world. I strongly encourage all my fellow citizens to vigorously support Dick Lugar in his bid for reelection," Butler said.

**Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans Lugar

## **Governor: Jeffers joins Gregg campaign**

Tim Jeffers has joined the John Gregg gubernatorial campaign as deputy campaign manager. He will assist Campaign Manager Rebecca Pearcey. Other key appointments to the Gregg campaign include Elizabeth Murphy and Courtney Stone on finance, former Indianapolis deputy mayor Steve Campbell on policy development, Kasey Kendrick for scheduling, and Mark Putnam managing media.

Gregg raised eyebrows when he made a money appeal on Friday, but not for his campaign. Despite trailing Republican Mike Pence \$5 million to \$1.7 million, Gregg sent an email to supporters asking them to contribute to



the Wisconsin recall of Republican Gov. Scott Walker. "Join me and help give Wisconsin a governor they deserve - contribute to the Wisconsin Solidarity money bomb today," Gregg wrote to supporters. "There are some fights worth picking - and this is one. Scott Walker is one of the most destructive politicians I've ever seen. Let's give Wisconsinites a hand and put him out to pasture. Act Blue." Walker is being recalled after a controversial showdown in 2011 over collective bargaining in the Badger State.

Wallace announced the appointment of Robert Starkey as Director of Operations and Michelle Wietbrock as Fundraising Coordinator. "We are pleased to have Bob and Michelle join our team. They bring substantial experience in their respective areas, they add to the senior management of our campaign and will contribute strongly to our growing Team Wallace effort," said Wallace regarding the newest members of his team.

The pollster for Republican Indiana gubernatorial candidate Mike Pence is also polling on behalf of FreedomWorks, which is polling on behalf of Mourdock. FreedomWorks filed an independent expenditure of \$25,000 for an Indiana poll in mid-February conducted by The Polling Company. The Polling Company is run by Kellyanne Conway, who polls for Pence.

The Indiana Democratic Party last week launched [www.TheMikePenceShow.com](http://www.TheMikePenceShow.com), a new site dedicated to U.S. Rep. Mike Pence's record in Washington as he ramps up his bid for Indiana Governor. The first episode focuses on the Congressman's "strident partisan stances on critical issues and his lack of experience as an executive." Democratic Chairman Dan Parker said, "Congressman Pence is part of the problem in Washington: He spouts off the latest partisan talking points but accomplishes little. He's been trying to rewrite that do-nothing record in his bid for Indiana Governor, but we're not going to let him get away with it. He's a showhorse through and through. Trouble is, we need a workhorse in the Governor's Office if we have any hope of turning around our economy and creating good-paying jobs for Hoosiers. Indiana needs a leader, not a D.C. creature in search of higher office."

In the 2000 gubernatorial campaign, Indiana Democrats kept a daily score of missed votes by then U.S. Rep. David McIntosh, who was challenging Gov. Frank O'Bannon, who won reelection by 14%. From 1994 through 2000, Pence hosted "The Mike Pence" radio and TV shows in Indianapolis. Pence is facing Jim Wallace in the Republican primary. The winner will face Democrat John Gregg, whose past media experience includes hosting a WIBC radio show. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Pence

## **5th CD: Brooks 'on the radar'**

The National Republican Congressional Committee

announced Susan Brooks as an 'On the Radar' candidate, the important second step in the 'Young Guns' program. "We are looking forward to working with Susan Brooks, who has already proven herself by meeting rigorous benchmarks in the 'Young Guns' program that will position her campaign for victory," said NRCC Chairman Pete Sessions (R-TX). "Susan Brooks' dedication and experience enables her to advocate effectively for pro-growth policies and fight the failed status quo in Washington. This will stand in stark contrast to the Obama-Pelosi record of spending, borrowing and taxing that Indiana families and small businesses know has failed."

The Englehart Group has been hired to serve as communications counsel for the Wayne Seybold for Indiana campaign. Seybold is running for Congressman in Indiana's 5th Congressional District. "Over more than two terms as Mayor of Marion, Indiana, Wayne has propelled that city from underachiever to nationally recognized success story," said Blair Englehart, President of The Englehart Group. "We're pleased to be able to assist him with his communications, website and media initiatives in this important race." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans McIntosh

## **6th CD: Walker endorses Bates**

State Sen. Greg Walker endorsed Don Bates Jr. for Congress. Walker said, "Hoosiers are searching for leaders who share our vision for the future. A vision that respects our rich heritage of personal liberty, and personal responsibility. Don Bates Jr. has the appreciation for the values that made us a great nation, and will stand strong, upholding the principles necessary to make the tough decisions ahead." **Primary Horse Race Status:** Likely Messer

## **8th CD: Bucshon kicks off campaign**

Casting himself as a political combatant of President Barack Obama during a "fork-in-the-road" election year, 8th District U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon launched his bid for a second term Tuesday (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). Bucshon, a Republican from Newburgh, started what will be nine months of campaigning in one of Indiana's only competitive districts, surrounded by about 30 supporters at the Meadows Banquet Center in Terre Haute, at the northern tip of the 8th District. "The choice is going to be very clear: This president and his allies are promoting failed policies," he said. "There will be a contrast between what I believe in and what the president and what my opponent believe in."

## **9th CD: Sipes endorses Winningham**

Robert Winningham, an economic development director and former aide to longtime U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton, announced that he has received the endorsement of former State Sen. Connie Sipes. "Robert is the type of indi-



vidual that knows how to get things done," stated Sipes. "I worked closely with him on area projects such as the Ohio River Greenway." 9th congressional district candidate Shelli Yoder spoke to members of Indiana University's College Democrats. "This campaign is about letting everybody have a sense that they can get involved in making a difference, in turning this economy around, that it's not just top down. It's bottom up," she said. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup

**Indiana House:** About 70 people attended a meet-

and-greet campaign event Monday for James R. Mann II, who is running on the Democratic ticket for the Indiana House of Representatives District 46 seat (Loughlin, Terre Haute Tribune-Star). In the primary, he is running against Democrats Charles "Chuck" Toth of Terre Haute and Larry D. Barker of Ellettsville. Republican incumbent Bob Heaton is unopposed. Mann, a social studies teacher at Terre Haute South Vigo High School, is running for office for the first time. "Teachers are going to have to get united and realize they can make a difference. They can be heard," Mann said. ❖

## Hope is found in history

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - I've been trying to escape the partisan politics now dominating our state and our country. My efforts have not been successful.

The Right to Work brouhaha brought out the most vicious in-fighting Hoosiers have seen in some time.



The Obama health care plan in its many dimensions clangs the fire bell of partisan dispute.

The Keystone XL pipeline, that will move Canadian oil to the Texas Gulf shore for export, splits friend from friend.

Birth control and abortion remain scorching topics for arguments among co-religionists.

I want out of the fierce environment in which these issues have become tests of loyalty. I am tired of the discord and irresponsible irrationality associated with these and other contemporary issues. I am disgusted when labeled by the ignorant and expected to cower by the arrogant.

At first I tried to hide in a British series of TV dramas based on the lives of seven Prime Ministers from the late 17th through the mid-20th centuries. It was diverting, but the same rancid party politics were at play. Then it was conflict between the Lords and the Commons, the Catholics and the Protestants, the Irish and the English, or labor and capital.

**The interests of the party** (Tory, Whig, Liberal or Labour) infected and ultimately overcame the principles of individuals. This same disease exists today in Indiana's General Assembly and the Congress of the United States. Votes are by disunited blocs that gather under the banners of Democrats or Republicans, appropriately characterized by donkeys and elephants.

My circumstances, however, changed for the better when the Winter 2012 issue of *Traces* arrived from the Indiana Historical Society. First, this is a magazine. It feels good to hold and is convenient to read. It is well-illustrated and intelligently written without the stultification of more formal journals.

**Second, it covers a broad range** of Indiana and Midwestern history with an appeal to generalists and specialists alike. Third, it does not present a self-conscious picture of Indiana as a place populated by superior beings. It does highlight those who deserve recognition whether or not they achieved high distinction.

The current issue features Mladen Sekulovich of Gary on the cover. Known to the world as Karl Malden, this effective character actor went from our state's steel mills to the top in Hollywood, winning an Oscar in 1952. Also featured in this issue is Aaron Fisher from Princeton in Gibson County who was Indiana's most highly decorated black soldier in WWI. In addition there are stories of Lincoln's 1859 brief visits to Greensburg and Shelbyville, and the bright toys made at the Auburn Rubber Company.

These writings gave me an afternoon of comfort and renewed hope for Indiana. Our citizens have shown a capability to compete in the world with the limited education they can secure in this state of persistent hostility to knowledge.

**While the General Assembly** and candidates for higher offices talk of early childhood education, they disable our schools at all levels by suggesting that education is merely for the purpose of generating income. The idea that knowledge improves judgment and enhances civility is unknown at the State House.

But I retain hope that the people of Gary, Princeton, Auburn, Shelbyville and Greensburg will demand reform in the legislature, will denounce state government dominance over all other governments and institutions, and will conduct reasoned discussions of truly important issues. ❖

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



## Defining the opponent in the 2nd CD

By **JACK COLWELL**

**SOUTH BEND** - In this era when 30-second TV ads define candidates in ways that influence voters - sometimes deciding elections with negative portrayals - it can be important to strike first.



Get voters unhappy with your opponent before the opponent makes them unhappy about you.

In Indiana's 2nd Congressional District, the way Republican Jackie Walorski and Democrat Brendan Mullen are defined, could determine which of those expected nominees goes to Congress. National congressional committees and outside "independent" expenditure groups could do as much as or more than the candidates themselves in the

defining.

The National Republican Congressional Committee has begun, hitting Mullen with a Web video that calls him a "DC insider" and tells in rhyme and with colorful drawings that Mullen and his wife own homes in Washington.

The ad jingle relates:

"The homes that they own sit right in DC. Not one, not two, you guessed it, all three."

Mullen, a South Bend native and a West Point graduate who played football for the Army and then went on to serve as an officer with assignments including Iraq and at the DMZ in Korea, would like voters to concentrate the image of someone who wants now to serve their country with "Hoosier values" in Congress.

Not so fast, says Andrea Bozek, regional press secretary for the National Republican Congressional Committee.

She describes Mullen as "a terribly flawed candidate" who only recently returned to the 2nd District with national Democratic support to run against Walorski, defined by the NRCC spokeswoman as a true "grass-roots" campaigner.

**While the Republican Internet** ad was less costly than a TV buy, Bozek says it was carefully produced.

"We actually went out and took pictures of the houses," she relates, so the drawings resemble the actual structures.

They do, agrees Mullen, who calls it amusing that Republicans, claiming to honor business success, seek to make a negative out of owning property - in modest areas,

he says - obtained through his success in starting a small business and his wife's success as an attorney. He says two properties were their separate places and the third is the place they bought when they were married.

The negative sought, however, is through mentioning a Washington connection and noting that Mullen lived there for a time after leaving military service, not returning immediately to South Bend.

**Mullen defines the return** to South Bend with his family - one child and another expected in August - as not just to run for Congress but to live in a place where they want the kids to grow up.

Haley Morris, Midwest Regional press secretary for the Democratic Congressional Committee, also has a not-so-fast message when it comes to the way Walorski wants to be defined.

Morris describes Walorski as a "career politician" who would be "a loyal vote" for a House Republican agenda that is increasingly unpopular with voters.

"Indiana voters already rejected career politician Jackie Walorski and her Washington Republican allies for not sharing Hoosier values," Morris says, referring to Walorski's loss in the 2010 congressional race.

Walorski, like Mullen, has a self-definition preferred over the image the opposition would paint.

She would like voters to regard her service in the Indiana General Assembly, not as that of a "career politician," but rather of someone who supported economic policies of Gov. Mitch Daniels and wants now to take "Hoosier values" to Congress.

The DCCC has no TV spot or Web video yet.

But Democrats in the district seek to rekindle negatives that they believe hurt Walorski in the 2010 campaign: Her "pit bull" image in legislative debate and her Tea Party support. A lot of conservatives would of course call those positive.

**At the recent Jefferson-Jackson** Day dinner in St. Joseph County, Indiana House Democratic Leader B. Patrick Bauer drew laughter and applause in describing Walorski at the legislative microphone, swinging her arms "and yelling at me." Bauer quipped: "Made me look like a nice guy."

Well, neither side wants the opposition congressional candidate to be defined as "nice." There will indeed be focus on issues, appealing to many voters, and on those definitions, often decisive for many others. ❖

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



## Waiting for the bus, and the tax to pay for it

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE - I vividly recall sitting at my old perch across the street from four motels just west of Westfield Southlake Mall.

Every day, especially early and late, a bus would pull up across the street and middle-age and older ladies would get off and head into the motels.

You could tell by their dress that they were maids. Virtually all of them were black.

And just like the household maids in "The Help," you had a feeling these women were just trying to eke out a living to support children and grandchildren.

In the winter they would stand on the corner in the cold waiting for the bus. The more fortunate office workers would get into warm cars to head home.

Every time I saw them, I wondered what their lives would

be like if they didn't have access to a bus to take them to work.

And, I always thought that society had an obligation to help the less fortunate, especially those who went the extra mile to help themselves.

And just recently as I thought about those who cleaned up after others, I thought of Speros Batistatos, the president and CEO of the South Shore Convention and Visitors Authority. Batistatos is a well-meaning chap who is pretty good at what he does. He said his job is to put "heads into beds" like those motels across the street. But Batistatos contended that there wasn't much of a need for buses, especially if the funding source was a food and beverage tax that he coveted to use to build a convention center.

**I wondered who would clean** the rooms Batistatos filled if the maids couldn't take the bus to work. The maids face a new and imminent threat today.

The Regional Bus Authority that operates much of the bus service in Lake County is almost out of money. And the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority, which most recently funded the buses, no longer can afford to do so.

There clearly is a need for bus service in Lake County. Study after study has told us that. Dennis Rittenmeyer, the recently retired president of Calumet College of

St. Joseph, headed a 10-year quest to bring bus service to Lake County.

He left in frustration, saying the opposition was racially charged, even though whites as well as blacks need bus service.

**What Rittenmeyer couldn't** extract from local elected officials and area legislators was a commitment to find a permanent funding source for bus service.

Little has changed today as legislators - as we speak - continue to wrestle with the issue of funding bus service.

Cal Bellamy, an attorney and retired chairman of Bank Calumet, is one of the most highly respected public figures in the area.

Bellamy has taken up the bus cause and proposed that a portion of the local casino tax revenue be used to fund buses.

Bellamy's effort was an attempt to avoid talking about a new tax to finance the service. Not surprisingly, those who receive the casino revenue didn't cotton to the idea of giving up some of it. So Lake County is back to the dreaded "T" word that for years has been avoided by the majority as if it were a plague.

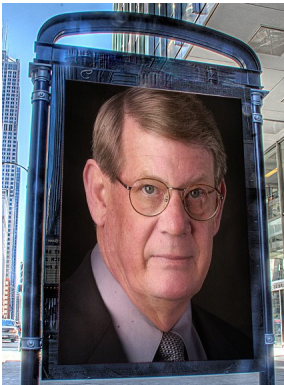
Most Northwest Indiana legislators don't want to authorize a tax and most local elected officials are scared to death to enact one.

So serious is the concern for political fallout that the majority of the county council and county commissioners would rather live under a state-mandated levy freeze than become the last county in the state to adopt a local option income tax.

**If it was a wheel tax or food** and beverage tax - as opposed to an income tax - it likely would get the same reception from the council and commissioners.

While no one really wants to vote for a tax, sometimes that is necessary to fulfill the vow of public service. Just ask the maids who have just as much right to government services as does the corporate executive who climbs into a clean hotel bed. ❖

**Rich James is the former editorial page editor and columnist**







**Frank Gray, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette:** Someone should take Bob Morris' computer away from him. This week, Morris, a state representative from Fort Wayne, refused to support a resolution recognizing 100 years of Girl Scouting, saying that the Girl Scouts were a radicalized organization and nothing but an arm of Planned Parenthood that promotes abortion. That conclusion, he said, was based on what he called some Web-based research. I presume he is referring to a single article that was written a couple of years ago in which a writer claims that the Girl Scouts distributed a brochure from Planned Parenthood during a meeting at the U.N. promoting various types of sex, abortion and homosexuality. The article, which contains some over-the-top passages from the alleged brochure, has been picked up by a number of other websites, so it's gotten a bit of attention. The article is pretty shocking, but then, it's easy to write shocking things when you aren't bound by the truth. That's right. The article isn't true. Hear that, Bob? The Girl Scouts of the USA is aware of the article, and in a Q&A on its website says that it has never had anything to do with such a brochure and never distributed such a brochure. I called the Girl Scouts' national office for some further comment. Did such a brochure even exist? Has anyone ever seen such a brochure? Or is this completely made up? Once again, the only answer I got was that the Scouts have never had anything to do with or distributed such a brochure. Figuring out what is true, what is made up and what is an out-and-out lie is up to the individual. Morris, relying on the Internet, fell for one of the big lies to be found there and turned into a Girl Scout hater. ❖

**Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press:** As a legislative session dominated by the right-to-work debate nears its early-March close, Indiana lawmakers seem to have lost the energy to do much else. A lower-than-usual number of bills are still alive. Those that are haven't been the subject of much partisan wrangling, and the hottest-button social issues are dying quickly. It all shows that the General Assembly is sputtering toward a low-key conclusion. "I think everyone's a bit more emotionally drained," House Speaker Brian Bosma, R-Indianapolis, said last week. "We are in the mindset to get done and get home." In some ways, the inaction — especially after right to work's passage — is no surprise. The General Assembly approved a two-year budget during 2011's long, four-month session, so they faced no must-do items during this year's short, 10-week one. In part due to the slow finish, some long-term questions are looming larger. As House Ways and Means Chairman Jeff Espich, R-Uniondale, and his Democratic counterpart, Rep. Bill Crawford, D-

Indianapolis, retire, 80 years of legislative experience and nearly two decades of fiscal leadership leave with them. Bigger than that, perhaps, is the future of House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer, D-South Bend. Since Republicans control every statewide office and hold a supermajority in the state Senate his ability to break a quorum is the only ounce of power Democrats in Indiana have. Potential successors include Rep. Scott Pelath, D-Michigan City, and former Rep. Trent Van Haften, D-Mount Vernon, who is running for his old seat. But Bauer is running again. No one has challenged his leadership post yet, and it's tough to see a credible effort to unseat him being launched at this stage. Still, with a 40-seat caucus poised to shrink through 12 retirements and a tough new legislative map, that could change. ❖

**Mark Kiesling, NWI Times:** Do the right thing. That was not only the name of a pretty decent Spike Lee film but also what I am urging Dan Domezich to do. Do not block Rick Santorum from being on the Indiana Republican primary ballot. Why would he? Domezich, of Schererville, is not only one of the top fundraisers for GOP candidate Mitt Romney but also supported Romney four years ago when he first ran in the primary, only to lose to John McCain. Domezich and other prominent Republican supporters in Indiana, including Bob Grand (my former high school class president) backed Romney big time four years ago. Grand, now a top-name lawyer in Indianapolis, hosted a party with Domezich that saw tickets go for \$1,000 apiece. Yeah, not everyone from my high school got stuck in Da Region, but some of us actually like living here. "I think (Romney) alone has the ability we need to turn the United States economy around," Domezich told Times reporter Bill Dolan. That doesn't sound like a ringing endorsement for the socially right-wing Santorum, who has scored an impressive number of victories in the 2012 Republican primaries. And it's not. "We need a president who understands business and how to stimulate growth in the economy," Domezich said. "I think Mitt Romney is that guy." What this says to me is that Domezich, who heads not only Romney's Indiana campaign but also the Indiana Election Commission, is already a key player in whether or not 5 million Hoosiers (give or take) will even be able to cast a vote for Santorum. From what I can garner, even Santorum supporters believe Domezich will allow Santorum to get onto the ballot despite a challenge to the number of signatures he was able to get on his Indiana election petitions. "I know (Domezich) and believe him to be a man of integrity," said state Sen. Mike Delph, a backer of Santorum. "I know he will do the right thing." I think he will. If he is as confident in his candidate as he says he is, why would Domezich fear a Santorum challenge? ❖





## Gridiron returns with humor, cookies

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana political establishment - the past two governors, lieutenant governors, chief justice, speaker of the House and the 2012 gubernatorial field - gathered at the Indiana Roof Ballroom Wednesday night for an evening of ribald humor and Girl Scout cookies.

"I am humbled to be with you," said Republican gubernatorial candidate Mike Pence. "In fact, I'm humiliated."

Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg talked about his fellow IU law school classmates Pence and Speaker Brian Bosma, who was the scholar of the class.

Gregg noted that he and Pence are running for governor and said of Bosma, "He gets up and goes to work with Pat Bauer every day." Bosma poked fun of Libertarian candidate Rupert Boneham, saying that unlike normal "grassroots efforts" in the campaign, "Yours are based on grass."

Former Gov. Joe Kernan and Chief Justice Randall T. Shepard bantered across the stage about their Kernan-Shepard Commission on Local Government Reform. "We're a team, Joe, everyone knows about the Shepard-Kernan Commission." Kernan responded, "Yes, the Kernan-Shepard Commission." Later, Kernan chided the retiring chief justice, saying, "I've been hearing all over town you're seeing other commissions."

Just about everyone poked fun at State Rep. Bob Morris, who over the weekend described the Girl Scouts as a "radicalized organization." Bosma took the stage wearing a Girl Scout merit badge sash and talked about



Mike Pence (from left), Rupert Boneham, Jim Wallace, John Gregg and former Gov. Joe Kernan leave the Indiana Roof Ballroom stage after the revived Indianapolis Gridiron Wednesday night. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

"Girl Scout Troop 69." Each table had a box of Girl Scout cookies labeled "Radicalized Contents."

Gov. Mitch Daniels noted that this was the first Indianapolis Gridiron since 2003. "I understand why it's the only annual event held every nine years. See everyone in '21."

But it was Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman that landed the nicest zinger. "It's hard to be in Mitch Daniels' shadow," Skillman said. "The sun has to be just right." More than 700 people turned out for the event, which was a fundraiser for the Indiana Fiscal Policy Institute. Shown above (from left) are Mike Pence, Rupert Boneham, Jim Wallace, John Gregg and Joe Kernan exiting the stage after the finale.

## Smoking ban heads to full Senate

INDIANAPOLIS - A statewide smoking ban, with exemptions, is

headed to the full Senate for the first time after a committee heard almost four hours of testimony Wednesday and approved the bill 8-2 (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). "This bill gets us not all the way there. The conundrum is how long do we wait?" said Sen. Tim Lanane, D-Anderson. House Bill 1149 covers hotels, businesses, restaurants, bowling alleys and other public buildings. And it allows local ordinances to be more restrictive than state law. It does include exemptions for the state's casinos, cigar and hookah bars; retail tobacco shops; and private clubs that have voted to retain smoking provided minors aren't allowed. It also gives bars and taverns an 18-month delay to prepare for implementation.

## Right to Work faces legal action

HAMMOND - The Office of



the Indiana Attorney General will defend the state's new Right to Work statute, House Enrolled Act 1001, from a legal challenge filed today in U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Indiana. Our office has not yet been served with the lawsuit. By law, the Attorney General represents state government officials named in civil lawsuits – including the Governor and Commissioner of Labor – and also defends from legal challenges the statutes passed by the Indiana General Assembly. Attorney General Greg Zoeller today issued this statement: "Legal challenges are part of the process to test whether laws are constitutional. Though we respect the right of private plaintiffs to disagree with this new law, the State's position is that the Legislature was within its authority to create a new policy concerning mandatory union dues. My office's duty is to defend the laws the Legislature passes and we will do so diligently here," Zoeller said.

## **Romney, Santorum trade charges**

MESA, Ariz. - Primed for a fight, Mitt Romney and Rick Santorum traded fiery accusations about health care, spending earmarks and federal bailouts Wednesday night in the 20th and possibly final debate of the roller-coaster race for the Republican presidential nomination (Associated Press). Santorum, surging in the race, also took his lumps from the audience, which booed when he said he had voted several years ago for the No Child Left Behind education legislation even though he had opposed it. The most animated clash of the evening focused on health care in the United States. Santorum said that Romney had used government money to "fund a federal takeover of health care in Massachusetts," a reference to the state law that was enacted during Romney's term as governor. The law

includes a requirement for individuals to purchase coverage that is similar to the one in Obama's landmark federal law that Romney and other Republicans have vowed to repeal. In rebuttal, Romney said Santorum, a former Pennsylvania senator, actually bore responsibility for passage of the health care law that Obama won from a Democratic-controlled Congress in 2010, even though he wasn't in office at the time. Romney said that in a primary battle in 2004, Santorum had supported then-Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, who later switched parties and voted for the law Obama wanted. "He voted for Obamacare. If you had not supported him, if we had said no to Arlen Specter, we would not have Obamacare," Romney contended.

## **Time zone bill stalls**

INDIANAPOLIS - The latest push to move all of Indiana to the Central time zone has stalled after lawmakers decided not to vote on the measure, effectively killing the issue until next year. WRTV-TV reports the House Transportation Committee discussed a resolution Wednesday that would have urged the federal government to hold hearings on switching the entire state from Eastern time to Central time. Indiana Chamber of Commerce Vice President Cameron Carter said the business community supports the "status quo."

## **Supreme Court nominees to 3**

INDIANAPOLIS - A state judicial panel plans to narrow the search for the next Indiana Supreme Court justice to three people. Four judges and three lawyers are among the seven semifinalists that the Judicial Nominating Commission was set to interview Thursday. Following the

interviews, the panel planned to meet privately and then hold a public vote to determine the three finalists to fill the vacancy being created by the pending retirement of Chief Justice Randall Shepard. Gov. Mitch Daniels will select a new justice from among the three finalists. The seven semifinalists include three women: Marion Superior Court Judge Robyn Moberly, Floyd Superior Court Judge Maria Granger, and Indianapolis attorney Jane Siegel. Shepard has called for more diversity.

## **Charlie faces sentencing today**

NOBLESVILLE - Charlie White's words might come back to haunt him today at his sentencing hearing on six felony convictions (Indianapolis Star). Indiana's former secretary of state blasted a Hamilton County jury's decision to convict him of theft and multiple counts of perjury and voter fraud in an interview with Fox News on Feb. 5, just one day after the jury returned its verdict. Special Prosecutor Dan Sigler said Wednesday he will argue that White's comments should weigh against him. White plans to give a statement during the sentencing hearing. "I think that Charlie will acknowledge that he was not in the best frame of mind when he did that interview," attorney Carl Brizzi said. "I honestly think that he regrets some of the statements that he made."

## **Police entry bill advances**

INDIANAPOLIS - An Indiana House committee passed a bill Wednesday that would give Hoosiers broad authority to physically resist police entry into their homes if officers are acting illegally. The Courts and Criminal Code Committee passed the bill 9-3, and it moves to the full House.