

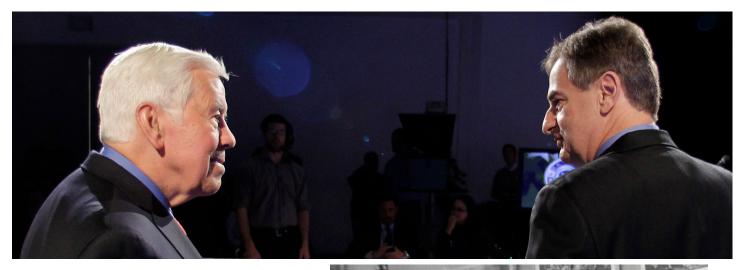
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Politics Indiana

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Lugar/Mourdock: Battle for GOP soul



Isolationist vs. internationalist roots come to a head on May 8

By BRIAN A. HOWEY



NASHVILLE, Ind. - It was interesting to see two stories published on April 19. The first was an interview the Evansville Courier & Press did with Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock, who again decried "bipartisanship," which he blames for "taking us to the brink of bankruptcy." He has vowed to use his



Senate seat, should he win, to wage a war on liberals.

As the interview went on, Mourdock was asked about the Development, Relief and Education of Alien Minors Act – the DREAM Act – which has become a lightning rod of discontent with the Tea Party worldview. Mourdock

Continued on page 4

Why Senate race is so close

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE - When you analyze the 2008 presidential primary numbers within the new congressional district lines, it is easier to understand why the Lugar-



Mourdock Senate race is basically even. Before analyzing the numbers more closely, it is important to establish a few basic points.

- **1.** Population shifts have occurred since 2008, basically skewing things slightly more to the doughnut around Indianapolis.
- **2.** Some Republicans crossed over to the Democrat primary in 2008 as





"The one thing I don't think you should say is, if asked to serve the country, 'No'. I don't think anybody should say that. But other than that, I don't want to, don't intend to, hope not to, don't expect to, and I think there are better choices."

- Gov. Mitch Daniels to Roll Call on the veepstakes



HOWEY Politics Indiana

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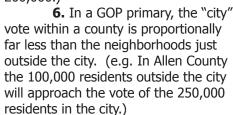
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part of Operation Chaos (though likely greatly exaggerated) and some Democrats might cross back to help Lugar in 2012 (though why they would want to potentially hurt Donnelly's chances makes this assumption likely exaggerated as well).

- **3.** The presidential race situation was similar in that McCain was the presumptive nominee and received around 78%. I suspect Romney will not do that well.
- **4.** There will be no accurate polling by district. It is hard enough to get accurate statewide polling. To do so by district would be extremely expensive.
- **5.** Remember, and don't forget, this is a primary, not a general election. Presidential years bring higher turnout beyond just the base, but still the population of the

county is not necessarily reflective of the county's importance in a primary. (e.g. Elkhart County had 50% more Republican primary voters than Lake though Lake's population is around 500,000 and Elkhart's is around 200,000.)



7. Pollsters usually mess this up fairly badly because while they take "likely voters" they miss nuances by several points. This almost always understates the vote for conservative candidates. (e.g. In almost every single 2012 primary Santorum's vote was understated by 2-5 points even with multiple polls.)

2008 primary data

Next let me separate out a few interesting points from the 2008

Indiana GOP presidential primary data.

- 1. Marion County cast the most votes (45,947) with Hamilton County second (28,503). Note: Marion's population is around 900,000 and Hamilton's around 250,000.
- **2.** The next grouping is Allen (Fort Wayne) at 20,140 and Elkhart at 16,791. Note: Elkhart's population, as I mentioned earlier, is around 200,000, nearly 70,000 fewer than St. Joe (South Bend) and just slightly more than Vanderburgh (Evansville), yet St. Joe and Vanderburgh together cast around 3,000 fewer votes than Elkhart.
- **3.** The rest of the top 10 GOP counties (ranging from 12,500 down to 8,500) are, in order: Hendricks, Johnson, Lake, Tippecanoe, Hancock and Madison. Note: Four of the top 10 GOP counties are Indianapolis

doughnut counties.

- **4.** The next five are mostly those you'd expect (St. Joe, Porter, Grant and Delaware) with the exception of Kosciusko at 13. Kosciusko polled 500 fewer votes than St. Joe with 200,000 (!) fewer people.
- **5.** The rest of the top 20 are: Morgan, Bartholomew, Howard, Boone and Vanderburgh.
- **6.** Marion with 45,747 combined with the doughnuts (possibly could have included a few more, matter of debate) at 79,925 means that over 125,000 of the 412,000 voters were directly tied to Indianapolis. Note: GOP candidates need to love doughnuts.
- **7.** Lake, Vanderburgh, and St. Joseph counties (probably the most moderate Republican in the state) add another 25,362. These counties, combined with the Indy area, will be Lugar's base (150,000).
- **8.** Allen County is up for grabs because it appears that Mourdock may swamp Lugar in the more Republican non-city areas and Lugar will solidly





HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

carry the city of Fort Wayne.

- **9.** Mourdock's strength will be the non-urban areas. Lugar's base of 150,000 plus the toss-up of Allen totals around 170,000 leaving around 240,000 where Mourdock has the best chance of prevailing.
- **10.** For all the power of Indianapolis, if you don't count the outer edges of the media market (Kokomo, Muncie, Anderson, Richmond, Columbus) the Indiana Republican Party is still not necessarily won by Indianapolis region strength. Unless
- 11. When I supported John Mutz for governor in the 1980 primary, Mike McDaniel outlined a basic strategy which was to overwhelmingly win Marion, hang on in the other big counties, and narrowly win. It was a three-way race. Mutz won, I believe, three or so counties but narrowly won the state. If you can run it up in a large base area, you can eke out elections.

Can Lugar win?

Can Lugar?

Here is my estimate by congressional district (new lines) which at least defines the battlegrounds, though neither I nor anyone else has actual poll numbers in these areas with any degree of accuracy.

- **1. Anchored by Lake and Porter**, this should be a strong Lugar district. Unfortunately for him, it will cast less than half of the votes of the 3rd District anchored by Fort Wayne. It is a must-win by a significant margin for Lugar. Can Mourdock poll in Porter?
- **2. Because of the voting** power of Elkhart, plus half of Kosciusko also exceeding St. Joe, I expect this district to be between strong Mourdock and a swamping of Lugar. If not, Mourdock will not win.
- **3. In my home district,** I expect Allen to be close but be drowned by a sea of Mourdock counties with perhaps a pocket or two of Lugar strength. It should be a solid Mourdock district but not as good as the 2nd.
- **4. This district represented** by Todd Rokita has no clear anchor, with Tippecanoe and some northern counties balanced by doughnut counties Hendricks and two-thirds of Boone mixed with Montgomery and Putnam. Rokita won a multi-candidate free-for-all in 2010, suggesting a certain lack of unity in the district. I will call this a split, maybe a slight edge for Lugar but will be one of the election night determinants.
- **5.** This district is anchored by Hamilton, with socially more conservative counties like Grant included. A wild congressional primary to succeed Dan Burton further confuses potential Senate voting. Lugar needs to run strong here but it is a little confusing how it will play out.

Hamilton County may be for him, but that may not matter. The north part of Marion, however, should be strong Lugar turf. His percentage here may determine the race.

- **6. Mike Pence's current district,** where Luke Messer leads in the race to succeed him, is like District 3, such a blend of doughnut counties, rural and then cities like Muncie, Columbus, and Richmond that projecting is hard. Districts 4 and 6 are the likely swing districts to watch.
- **7. Marion County,** the more Democrat part represented by Andre Carson. It should be strong Lugar but, once again, a far lower GOP district vote.
- **8. Mourdock's home base** anchored by Evansville is a must win by him. Vanderburgh could be close (similar dynamic to Fort Wayne) but outer areas likely strong for Mourdock. He must win here, and to win state, needs a decent margin.
- **9. Southeastern Indiana** represented by Todd Young, who formerly worked for Lugar. Monroe (Bloomington) and possibly the "sunny side of Louisville" may go Lugar, but the large number of smaller counties are likely Mourdock, tipping the district to slightly to solidly Mourdock. Not an absolute "must win" for him, but almost.

So when you analyze this by district, you have two strong Lugar (1 and 7) probably offset by two Mourdock (2 and 3). Mourdock must win in the south (8 and 9) whereas



Lugar needs to carry 4-5-6 to offset the south. Simply put, if all goes to form, Lugar's margin in 4-5-6 will likely determine the race unless Mourdock over-performs elsewhere.

Other than around Indianapolis, I doubt all the crescendo of personal attacks on Mourdock are having much impact. The "outer" areas want change and are more issue-based. I also believe that is why Lugar seems to have pivoted his strategy to the new, more positive Daniels ad. He's in serious trouble, but as the numbers show, he could still pull it out. •

Souder is a former Republican member of Congress and is a regular HPI columnist.



Page 4

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

GOP Soul, from page 1

said the DREAM Act might have been received as an act of compassion decades ago, when the number of illegal immigrants in the United States was far fewer than modern estimates of anywhere from 11 to 15 million. "If you reward bad behavior, are you going to get more or less of it in the future?" he asked.

On the same day, a true rising star of the Republi-

can Party – U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio – was urging Republicans to accept a compromise on the DREAM Act.

"We have these very talented young people in America who find themselves in limbo through no fault of their own," Rubio said of children who illegally entered the United States with their parents. "Mitt Romney is the leader of the Republican Party now. Our hope is to come up with something that he can be supportive of."

In Rubio's worldview, there is the "compassion" element that Mourdock acknowledges, and the political one. "We have to get Hispanic voters to vote for our party," Rubio said, warning that recent polling "spells doom for us." Latinos backed President Obama over John McCain 67-31% in 2008 after President George W. Bush won 44% of their vote in 2004. A recent Pew Research Center poll showed Obama leading Romney 67-27%.

In 2006, three Indiana Republican congress-

men – John Hostettler, Chris Chocola and Mike Sodrel – all lost reelection campaigns. This was mostly fallout due to the disastrous turn of events in the Iraq War. But Hostettler went on a multi-city crusade calling for draconian immigration law, and he was joined in part by Sodrel and Chocola.

There were other Republicans who understood the dilemma of the Latino vote. Gov. Mitch Daniels won 37% of the vote in his 2008 reelection campaign, though he signed an Arizona-style immigration bill into law as he pondered entry into the presidential race a year ago. U.S. Rep. Mike

Pence was more aligned with President Bush on immigration reform, favoring illegals returning to "Ellis Island Centers" in their homelands, getting properly documented for return, and there would be a path to citizenship if they learned English, went to college, served in the military and took citizenship courses.

The Hoosier Latino population is growing and is not fully engaged politically. There are around 50,000 Latinos in Lake and Marion counties each, according to the 2010 U.S.

Census, but fewer than 50% of them vote, according to Democratic Party sources seeking to engage them.

The Mourdock challenge to U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar has become a soul-searching event for Indiana Republicans, who have long been part of a tug-of-war between the isolationists and the internationalists dating back to the end of World War I. The former was represented by U.S. Sen. William Ezra Jenner, who entered the Senate in 1944 and became an ally of U.S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

Sen. Jenner explained in 1954, "We have a well-organized political-action group in this country, determined to destroy our Constitution and establish a one-party state. It operates secretly, silently, continuously to transform our government without suspecting that change is under way. If I seem to be extremist, the reason is that this revolutionary clique cannot be understood, unless we accept





Indiana U.S. Sen. William Jenner (top left) with U.S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Below, U.S. Sen. Marco Rubio campaigns with Mitt Romney on Monday.

the fact that they are extremist."

In Jenner's day, the enemy was communism. To-day, it is liberalism and even moderation.

There are common threads between the Jenner years and today's Tea Party: an opposition to foreign aid, a suspicion of federal programs whether it was school lunches in the 1950s, Medicare in the 1960s, federal revenue sharing in the 1970s to today's Obamacare and an opposition to earmarks.

The Jenner wing also included U.S. Sen. Homer



HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Capehart, an ardent opponent of President Kennedy's New Frontier, of Medicare and the Peace Corps, who saw the Cuban missile crisis as a manufactured wag-the-dog exer-

cise, and who was defeated by Birch Bayh a few weeks after it ended in 1962.

The isolationist wing of the Indiana GOP gave way to what I call the "internationalists" personified by Sen. Lugar. But this worldview spanned across both parties, and Hoosier voters gave the nation a steady stream of those who engaged in the world: Democratic U.S. Reps. Lee Hamilton and Tim Roemer and Gov. Robert D. Orr, who opened up Indiana business opportunities to Asia. Roemer would serve as

Sen. Lugar and Democrat Sam Nunn, seated in the office of the Albanian Defense Minister in Tirana in 2007. The two convinced Albania to give up chemical weapon arsenals. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

ambassador to India; Orr as envoy to Singapore.

Lugar has been widely assailed for his past support of the DREAM Act. In 2010, in voting for the act, Lugar explained, "The DREAM Act would provide a select group of high achieving students with a tough but fair pathway to legal residency. In that way they can serve in our armed forces and contribute to the economic future of America. The U.S. Department of Defense supports this legislation as it will allow a greater number of high-quality individuals to volunteer for the United States armed forces. These are individuals with high school degrees and a desire to serve this country."

Business leaders see the DREAM Act as assimilating promising Latino students into American culture. The Tea Party and isolationists see it as the classic slippery slope.

It's playing out in other issues. Mourdock assailed the "bailout" of GM and tried to derail the Chrysler/ Fiat merger, a move that would have cost Indiana tens of thousands of jobs. "There's a lot of people that are em-

ployed today that wouldn't be employed," Indiana Manufacturers Association President Pat Kiely, a Republican, told the Indianapolis Star. The "purists," he said, miss the

fact that if Chrysler and GM had gone down, auto supply companies and other businesses in Indiana would have too.

The Lugar/Mourdock race has roiled the Indiana Republican Party. In the Howey/ DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll released on April 5, the two were evenly splitting the Republican vote. It also revealed that Hoosiers by a 51-44% margin favored the auto rescue. But long before there were precursors to the showdown we are witnessing today. During their debate on April 11, Mourdock said he was

urged by members of the Republican Central Committee to challenge Lugar. The campaign announced that 10 of the 18 members had endorsed him. But after the party reorganization in June 2011, seven of those who had endorsed Mourdock were gone, either to retirement or defeat. Several Mourdock lieutenants lost district races.

"We didn't believe it should be our role to tell people who to vote for," said 8th CD Vice Chairman Randy Gentry. "Our role is to encourage support for the nominees. It's not our job to choose between the primary candidates."

We're seeing a similar changeover with Indiana's two Republican National Committee positions. Versailles City Councilwoman Dee Dee Benkie and Jim Bopp Jr. – both Mourdock supporters – are giving way to Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman and, most likely, 7th CD Chairman John Hammond III, both backing Lugar. The Senate showdown didn't prompt the exits, but with Gov. Daniels and Skillman both ardently backing Lugar, it represents a shift. ❖



BATTLEGROUND POLL

HOWEY DEPAUW Politics Indiana UNIVERSITY

Page 6

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

The decline of the media through Senate race prism

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - On Wednesday afternoon at the Marrott Apartments - a grand old building Dick Lugar helped save decades ago - the press was summoned by Lugar to share a cornucopia of grievances against challenger Richard Mourdock.

There was a 14-page press release that took issue with stances Mourdock made in a 1992 Congressional race on the Fairness Doctrine that the Lugar campaign insisted was essentially opposition to "free speech for conservative talk radio."

It included a lengthy excerpt from "The Message," an Evansville newspaper for Catholics, that the Lugar campaign said showed that Mourdock was opposed to sanctions against employers who hired illegal immigrants. It also exposed a 1992 "no position" on a comprehensive nuclear test ban. Much of the gathered Statehouse press corps sat in rows of chairs, blinking as Lugar spokesman

Andy Fisher and former Star editorial writer and Indiana University spokesman Larry MacIntyre tried to make the case that Mourdock was not a "proven conservative." They accused the Mourdock campaign of a "breakin" of the Indiana Republican Party da-

tabase. WISH-TV's Jim Shella asked, "Are you questionining his character?" Lugar spokesman Andy Fisher answered, "We're questioning his conduct and his decision making."

Was this an example of "desperation?" Shella pressed. The Mourdock campaign had released a John Laughlin Poll last week showing the treasurer leading Lugar 42-41%. It got some coverage in the media, though few pressed the Mourdock campaign to release the tale-tale top lines and whether the numbers were pushed (Shella reported receiving a pro-Mourdock push poll this week and a Citizens United Poll showing Mourdock up 44-39% did not include top lines by the Washington Post today). "There's going to be a public poll released a few days before the primary," Fisher said. That was in reference to the second Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll that HPI readers will get on Friday morning, May 4, that will ultimately reveal where this barn burning race really stands.

The whole event underscored what everyone had to be thinking: the May 8 primary can't come soon enough for Lugar, who has had to resort of pitbull tactics; for the news media, which covered the residency controversy of the campaign and not much else; and for Mourdock, who had the audacity to challenge a Hoosier institution and can

only wonder whether he has enough juice and the ground game to actually pull it off.

The Howey/DePauw Poll released on April 5 had Lugar leading Mourdock 42-35%, the two splitting the GOP vote and it seeded questions as to whether the incumbent would become the fifth member of Congress to lose in a primary this cycle. As Democratic pollster Fred Yang noted, history is rife with challengers who never lead before pulling off an upset.

The Lugar campaign had been attempting to seed many stories, with few takers. There had been speculation that the Statehouse press corps - once the Indiana General Assembly had concluded in mid-March - would fully probe Mourdock's background on issues related to his personal finances, investment of public funds in junk bonds as treasurer, potential skirting of "pay-to-play" laws involving Club for Growth bundling, and on issues such as the alleged GOP database encroachment.

The Star skimmed across Mourdock's tenure at Buck Creek Coal, which included a number of safety violations, unfair labor practices and its bankruptcy. But for the most part, the media didn't fully embrace its watchdog function. The national media parachuted in and covered the

horse race aspects. Politico was here for the debate and declared Mourdock the "winner" whereas most local media saw it as a draw. The nationals were more interested in the "vanquished incumbent" story line. Howey Politics Indiana had covered Mour-

dock's meeting attendance issue, which became fodder for Lugar TV ads. FactCheck.Org, a national watchdog group funded by the Annenberg Public Policy Center, validated HPI's reporting on the fact that Mourdock had skipped 66% of the meetings of his various boards. FactCheck observed: "HPI's analysis showed that Mourdock's attendance improved in instances where he was the chairman of the board, a board secretary or an investment manager. But analyst Brian Howey told FactCheck.org that what stood out to him was the difference in Mourdock's attendance when he was running for office and when he was not."

But what is telling is that virtually no other news media source covered that story; rather focusing on the Lugar residency controversy and some coverage of the GOP database story - but not much else. Not only have Hoosiers witnessed a rancorous first-time challenge to a Senate incumbent in the TV age, but also the fact that not a single TV station or major newspaper could afford to poll. The fact that the role has fallen on this newsletter is a fascinating telltale on the decline of many aspects of media function, coming in tandem with the fallout of the Citizens United Supreme Court decision and the engulfing tidal wave of outside money that will likely decide this race. ❖



Page 7

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

GOP Congressional Members steer clear of Senate race

By MARK SCHOEFF JR.

WASHINGTON - Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels has made a splash by jumping into the state's hotly contested Republican Senate primary with both feet, cutting a recent television ad in which he gives a ringing endorsement of incumbent Sen. Richard Lugar.

In Washington, there's more reticence about the fierce battle between Lugar and state treasurer Richard

Mourdock. The Hoosier congressional delegation is staying out of the water.

The lawmakers say they don't want to get in the way of voters.

Rep. Todd Young (R-9th CD) follows what an aide calls the "Dan Quayle rule" - named after the state's former U.S. senator and vice president.

"Congressman Young thinks that as a Republican primary voter, his vote shouldn't count as more important than anyone else's," said spokesman Trevor

Foughty. "We have not gotten involved in any race – from the local up to the party level, including the Senate race."

In southwest Indiana, Rep. Larry Bucshon (R-8th CD) faces a primary challenge on the right from Kristi Risk. Like Bucshon, Mourdock is from the Evansville area. But their similar geography hasn't prompted Bucshon to weigh in for Mourdock.

"He's going to stay neutral in the Senate primary," said Bucshon spokesman Matthew Ballard. "The congressman is focusing on his own race and trusts Hoosier voters to make the right decision."

Rep. Marlin Stutzman (R-4th CD) joined Lugar in introducing Rural Economic Farm and Ranch Sustainability and Hunger (REFRESH) Act last fall. The measure would save an estimated \$40 billion in agriculture spending over 10 years and usher in other reforms. It is part of the mix as Congress works on a new farm bill this spring.

Despite the legislative cooperation, Stutzman is not getting involved in the Senate primary.

"No, I do not have plans to endorse either candidate," Stutzman said in an email statement. "I am comfortable letting the voters decide the outcome of the election."

Lugar's Republican Senate colleague, Dan Coats, is staying on the sidelines, too.

"Senator Coats has taken the position of not endorsing primary candidates and is leaving that decision to the voters of Indiana," communications director Tara DiJulio wrote in an email.



Sen. Lugar and Rep. Marlin Stutzman at a 2011 hearing on their Refresh Act in Fort Wayne.

In the highest profile endorsement of the race, Daniels is trying to shape voters' opinions. "I'm not for Dick Lugar for what he's done but for what he can do," Daniels says in his television ad. "Our point of view gets heard and has a better chance to win out with Dick Lugar on the job."

Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman, former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, a majority of Hoosier mayors and the Hamilton County GOP are among the others who have endorsed Lugar.

Mourdock has been endorsed by former GOP presidential candidate Herman Cain, 55 Hoosier tea party groups, billionaire publisher Steve Forbes and many county chairmen.

Washington lawmakers, however, don't want to talk about the Senate primary.

"I don't have anything for you on that," said Josh Britton, spokesman for Rep. Todd Rokita (4th CD). Rokita is not making an endorsement. •

Daniels leaves veep door open

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels (R) said no one should ever turn down an offer for the vice presidential nomination, which is why he hopes no one ever asks him to join the national ticket (Toeplitz, Roll Call).

"The one thing I don't think you should say is, if asked to serve the country, 'No'. I don't think anybody should say that," Daniels said in a wide-ranging interview with Roll Call. "But other than that, (I) don't want to, don't intend to, hope not to, don't expect to, and I think there are better choices." •



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Nine open seat primaries in 'tossup'; incumbents are safe

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - The nine Indiana House Republicans facing primary challengers all appear to be safe bets for reelection. But several of the 17 open seat primaries – some created by redistricting and others due to retirements –will feature several down-to-the-wire finishes.

Howey Politics Indiana views nine races as tossups in open seats.

Here is the most comprehensive analysis of House primary races:

HD5: This is the seat being vacated by State



Rep. Craig Fry, D-Mishawaka. The Lunchpail Republicans are backing Corey D. Stith, a heavy equipment operator. St. Joseph County Councilman Dale R. DeVon is backed by the House Republican Campaign Committee, which has

a field director on the ground. DeVon is a home builder and begins South Bend network TV. Stith's campaign has had ads on cable and radio. The winner will face Democrat Jerod Warnock, who is backed by House Minority Leader

B. Patrick Bauer and the St. Joseph County Democratic organization. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Leans DeVon

Rick Niemeyer is facing Eric L. Olson, who works with the Knights of Columbus in this open seat created by redistricting. Niemeyer has a rare pedigree for a Lake County Republican. His father was a state senator. He has high name ID and will be favored to win the seat in November. The NWI Times endorsed Niemeyer today. He will face one of three Democrats, Lon Childress, Al Cottingham, and John T. Hart, and it is a pure coin toss as to who comes out of the Democratic primary. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Niemeyer **Democrat:** Tossup

HD12: In another open seat created by redistricting, attorney William Fine faces developer Peter Karagan. Fine was also endorsed by the NWI Times in today's editions. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Tossup

HD13: Attica Clerk-Treasurer Sharon Negele (pictured, right), who almost upset State Rep. Dale Grubb, is the favor-





ite in this open seat created by redistricting. Negele is up on Lafayette TV and will be through the end of the campaign. Her primary opponent is Fountain County attorney Dan Young, who is getting support from the Indiana State Teachers Association. **Primary Horse Race Status:** Safe Negele

HD15: In another redistricted open seat, Schererville Councilman Hal Slager is unopposed in the GOP primary and will face Democrat Thomas C. O'Donnell in the general in what is expected to be a true battleground district.

HD17: Coca-Cola executive Francis K. Ellert, who came up short in his challenge against State Rep. Nancy Dembowski in 2010, is in a tight primary race against restaurant owner Timothy P. Harmon, who operates businesses in Bremen and Rochester. Ellert is strong in Culver and Plymouth and is running TV ads on South Bend network TV. This race in the redistricted open seat is likely to go down to the wire. There is no Democratic candidate, so the winner will almost certainly carry the seat in November. Primary Horse Race Status: Tossup.HD24: In another new seat, Zionsville venture capitalist Steven Braun looks to be in good shape against Mindi Fisher McMillan, a dog breeder and community activist. Braun is running cable TV and has a big direct mail campaign underway. With no Democrat filing, the primary winner will end up in the Indiana House.

Primary Horse Race Status: Likely Braun

HD37: In an open seat created when State Rep. Scott Reske opted to run for Congress, Indiana Township Association President Debbie Driskell (pictured left) is facing Todd Huston, a former treasure of the Indiana Republican Party and a former aide to Supt. Tony Bennett. Gov. Mitch Daniels has endorsed Huston and the ISTA has put \$25,000 behind Driskell. Primary Horse Race Status: Leans Huston

HD42: In an open seat created by the retirement of State Rep. Dale Grubb, three Republicans are running. HRCC is backing Alan P. Morrison, who almost upset State Rep. Clyde Kersey in 2010. HRCC has a field director on the ground for Morrison. He faces Turkey Run school teacher Jim Meece, who is receiving backing from the ISTA, and former Senate candidate Bill Webster, a heavy equipment operator out of Parke County, who is being backed by State Sen. Jim Tomes. This race could go either way. The winner will face Democrat Mark Spelbring. Primary Horse Race Status: Tossup

HD47: This Johnson County open seat created by redistricting favors County Councilman John Price. He faces Republicans Mark



Page 9 Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Meadows and John T. Young. Primary Horse Race Status: Likely Price

HD51: This redistricted open seat in Allen County will almost certainly be filled by Dr. Dennis J. Zent, who has raised a lot of money and is running radio ads on WOWO. He faces Aaron Claudy. Primary Horse Race Status: Safe Zent.

HD52: This redistricted open seat lies 75% in DeKalb County with the rest in Allen County. It is a fourway battle among banker Gary Harbaugh, Allen County Councilman Paul Moss, DeKalb County Councilman Ben Smaltz and David Powers. It will likely come down to Moss

and Smaltz. Primary Horse

Race Status: Tossup

HD55: This is an open seat created by the retirement of State Rep. Tom Knollman and features Fayette County Republican Chairman Sam Harvey, former USDA official Bob White, former Indiana Republican Party director Lora N. Williams, and Cindy Mever Ziemke, a Batesville businesswoman who owns the Brau Haus in Oldenburg. Ziemke entered the race as a slight favorite, but with the size of the field and White's strong campaign, this race is undecided.

Primary Horse Race Status: Tossup

Tim Motsinger (right) with Tim Durham. The relationship could cause problems for the candidate and the GOP this fall.

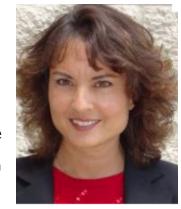
HD56: This is a

redistricted open seat that features Richmond businessman Dick Hamm, who has run for the legislature several times, educator Mark Ervin and Wayne County Commissioner Doug Williamson. The Indiana Chamber is backing Hamm.

Primary Horse Race Status: Tossup

HD60: When State Rep. Ralph Foley decided to

retire with a potential showdown against Democratic State Rep. Peggy Welch, Morgan County Clerk Peggy Mayfield (pictured right) entered and has out-raised her opponents by a 4-to-1 margin. She faces Daniel Elliott, who has been endorsed by Foley, Indiana Right to Life and the Indiana Chamber. The third candidate is Keegan Clark. Primary Horse Race **Status:** Leans Mayfield



HD64: Lunchpail Republican James Amick of Princeton is a crane operator who is facing attorney Thomas W. Washburne, an Old National Bank attorney and former chief of staff for U.S. Rep. John Hostettler and a former aide to U.S. Rep. Mike Sodrel. Amick has been running ads on cable TV and Washburne is up on Princeton radio.

Primary Horse Race Status: Tossup

HD82: This is another tight race in a newly created district. State Sen. Jim Banks -who envisions himself as an emerging kingmaker – is backing young David Ober. Also in the field is Denise Lemmon, who took over the Kendallville education foundation once headed by former

legislator Matt Bell. Wesley

Ortell is a Lunchpail Republican and Mike Caywood is an educator being backed by the ISTA. Ober might have a slight edge, but because of the size and quality of the field, we feel it's too close to call. Primary Horse Race

Status: Tossup

HD92: With scandaltainted State Rep. Phil Hinkle retiring, this open seat poses a real dilemma for the GOP. Marion County Republicans slated Tim Motsinger, a former sheriff official and an ally of Jack Cottey. He also has the backing of Wayne Township officials. As a product of the machine, House

Speaker Brian Bosma has to back the slate. Brad Rider is a United Package Liquor executive who has the backing of the Indiana Chamber. Richard B. Scott is the third candidate. The problem is that when running for sheriff, Motsinger received a \$200,000 donation from indicted financier Tim Durham. The fear in some GOP quarters is if Motsinger is nominated, not only will the Durham issue put this seat into play in the fall, but the expected assaults from Democrats will go far beyond the district and potentially taint the entire ticket. The last thing Hoosier Republicans want to deal with is Tim Durham. The winner will face one of three Democrats: Brian M. Cooper of Gannett, attorney Tyjuan Garrett or Karlee D. Macer, a sales director. **Primary Horse** Race Status: Tossup

HD97: In the seat being vacated by State Rep. Mary Ann Sullivan, who is challenging State Sen. Brent Waltz, Republican A.J. Feeney-Ruiz, a former aide to Secretary of State Todd Rokita and Charlie White, and Justin Moed, an aide to Rep. Bauer, are unopposed in the primary.

HD98: The seat of retiring Wavs & Means Chair-



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

man William Crawford will be defended by Democrat Robin Shackleford. The GOP did not file a candidate in one of the most Democratic districts in the state.

HD100: The seat of retiring State Rep. John Day features Dan Forestal, who was slated by Marion County Democrats, and Zach Mulholland. The winner will face former Indianapolis Councilman Scott Keller. Primary Horse Race Status: Likely Forestal

Other key primaries

HD27: State Rep. Sheila Klinker is seeking another term and will face either Republican Chuck Hockema or Jan Payne. Payne is being backed by the Tippecanoe Republican Party and many local GOP movers and shakers. She is a former Fairfield Township assessor and works in the Tippecanoe County clerk's office.

Incumbent challenges

HRCC sources tell HPI that no incumbent Republican is polling below 50% and all are expected to be nominated. Here is the list of those facing primaries:

HD16: State Rep. Douglas Gutwein vs. Lunchpail Republican Diana J. Boersma.

HD22: State Rep. Rebecca Kubacki vs. Lunchpail Republican Jon D. Hare.

HD25: State Rep. Donald J. Lehe vs. Franklyn Voorhies.

HD29: State Rep. Kathy Kreag Richardson vs. Steven R. Powell.

HD38: State Rep. Heath VanNatter vs. David B. Brown and Stephen A. Wilson.

HD48: State Rep. Tim Neese vs. Jerry Brewton and Randall Ty Weinley.

HD83: State Rep. Kathy Heuer vs. Keith R. Potter.

HD85: State Rep. Phyllis J. Pond vs. Denny Wor-

Regret

man.

HD91: State Rep. Robert Behning vs. Michael S.

Scott. *

Gregg opens up social issue front against Pence

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg opened up the social issue front against U.S. Rep. Mike Pence on Tuesday, calling him socially "divisive" during a conference call. "During the last 12 years as a member of Congress, the only thing he seemed interested in pushing is a divisive social agenda," Gregg said. "If elected governor, it only seems to me that he'd continue down that same path, perhaps taking a cue from his friend, Gov. Bob McDonnell. What I'm wanting people to focus on is what Congressman Pence's real record is.



It's not a record of creating jobs in Washington, D.C.; it's denying women access to health care. It's a constant social agenda. He may be talking about jobs today, but the proof is in his record in Washington, D.C. I'm a pro-

should end the

day when the

largest abortion provider

life Democrat, but these kinds of bills go too far. There is a huge difference in what I'm calling an attack on women." O'Donnell addressed the Indiana Republican spring



U.S. Rep. Mike Pence (left) at a rally in Washington in which he began his war against Planned Parenthood. On Tuesday, Democrat John Gregg (right) began taking on Pence over that and other "devisive" social issues.

is the largest recipient of [Title X] federal funding," Pence said, "If Planned Parenthood wants to be involved in providing counseling services and HIV testing, they ought not be in the business of providing abortions. As long as they aspire to do that, I'll be after them."

Taking cues from Pence, Republicans in the Indiana General Assembly passed legislation in April 2011 that defunded Planned Parenthood of Indiana and Gov. Mitch Daniels signed the legislation into law.



Page 11

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Gregg, a pro-life Democrat, will try to capitalize on Pence's stances on social issues. In the Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll released on April 5, Pence is phenomenally popular with his base, supported by 78% of Republican men and 82% of Republican women. But any gubernatorial candidate needs to get support from the middle to win, and Pence's challenge is that among independent women, he got just 24% and just 35% of independent men. Among conservative independents, Pence drew 39.5%. Among Democratic men he polled 4.2% and 7.4% among Democratic women.

For most of the past year, Pence has concentrated on economic issues. "Mike is focused on jobs, the economy and education. Those are the priorities of almost every Hoosier he meets, and those are his priorities as well," said Matt Lloyd, Pence's spokesman.

Gregg proposes gas tax cut

Gregg has concentrated on economic issues, also, and on Wednesday announced a proposed plan to permanently eliminate the gas sales tax.

At a Wednedsay press conference, he said "This plan will fire up our economic engines and put more money back in Hoosier's pockets by permanently abolishing the gas sales tax. Gas isn't a luxury, it's an essential commodity like food, water or shelter. People that can't afford gas can't afford to go to work or drive their kids to school events.

"We don't need more Washington-style plans, like my opponent Congressman Pence has proposed, which primarily benefit large, out of state corporations. We need direct, immediate relief for Hoosier families and that's what I'm proposing today." He says the plan will save the average Hoosier family \$261-\$522 per year by permanently abolishing the gas tax. The plan will be paid for by instituting annual budget performance audits to ensure Hoosier tax dollars are carefully managed and maximized.

Pence has said he is considering proposing tax cuts himself (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). He has said he is looking at flattening the state's income tax so that the corporate and individual levels are the same and abolishing property taxes on businesses' equipment. "Mike Pence is not opposed to lifting the sales tax on gasoline but he believes that it is no substitute for broad-based tax reform and the kind of energy policies that will reduce prices at the pump for Hoosiers and lessen our dependence on foreign oil," said Pence spokesman Matt Lloyd.

Indiana Republican spokesman Pete Seat responded, "Speaker John Gregg offered a typical blast from the past policy proposal that spends money we don't have. Oh, but don't worry, he promises to figure out how to pay for his idea at some to be determined time. Nice try."

Senate race: Daniels ad for Lugar begins

Indiana state Treasurer Richard Mourdock has taken a slight lead on Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) in the state's Republican Senate primary, according to a new poll from a Mourdock-aligned group (Blake, Washington Post). The poll, conducted by GOP pollster Fritz Wenzel for Mourdock-supporting group Citizens United, shows Mourdock at 44 percent and Lugar at 39 percent. The poll has a margin of error of about 4 percent. Not surprisingly, the poll shows Mourdock relying heavily on tea party conservatives, winning their vote by a margin of 63 percent to 24 percent. Those voters comprised just more than one-third of the polls respondents. Lugar, meanwhile, leads among moderates 61 percent to 27 percent. The poll also shows Lugar's favorability among Republican primary voters dropping below 50 percent — to 44 percent — for the first time. His unfavorable rating has risen as well, but the polling memorandum doesn't say precisely what it is. One in four voters say they are very open to changing their minds, and only 51 percent say they are fully decided.

On the heels of HPI's analysis last week on whether Richard Mourdock's "ground game" was compatible to the Lugar campaign, two key components for the incumbent came into the light: the endorsement ad of Gov. Mitch Daniels, and the endorsement of the Hamilton County Republican Party. Both are key underpinnings for the Lugar campaign.

Daniels - the greatest political strategist in modern Hoosier history - wrote the ad for Lugar and then walked a Lugar Stock Farm treeline to attempt to put the race into perspective. Daniels tells Indiana voters why he supports Dick Lugar for Senate and responds to the misleading negative ads attacking the Senator's conservative record. "The truth can take a beating in campaign time and this year it's Dick Lugar on the receiving end," Gov. Daniels opens the spot. "It's funny in a way, these folks from elsewhere, here telling us who's a real Hoosier. The way he votes, the way he lives, I can't think of anyone so reflective of the thinking, principles, and ideals of our state," Gov. Daniels continues. "I'm not for Dick Lugar for what he's done, but for what he can do. Our point of view gets heard and has a better chance to win out with Dick Lugar on the job."

On Monday, Hamilton County Republican Chairman Pete Emigh threw the support of he and his team to Lugar. "Conservatism and freedom are defining Republican values in Hamilton County," Emigh said. "We endorse Dick Lugar, because he has embodied a conservative philosophy his entire career. Over the last three and half years, Senator Lugar stood up to President Obama's liberal agenda and remained committed to Indiana's conservative principles. He cast 32 votes against Obamacare and opposed the president's trillion-dollar so-called stimulus package." Emigh said he was speaking for the leadership team.



Page 12

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

In the 2008 primary, 71,450 voters participated from Hamilton County. Only Marion, Lake and Allen counties have more voters than Hamilton. Mourdock's no-show on Feb. 7 Lincoln Dinner with 550 Republicans attending created a buzz that night as he opted for a Tipton County Tea Party event and it wasn't the only time he blew off Hamilton County. On the day he received the endorsement of many Tea Party cells in Greenfield, the Hamilton County Tea Party cells gathered in Noblesville four hours after the endorsement. Mourdock also skipped that event.

The rest of the news this week centered around the Lugar campaign's litany of complaints against Mourdock.

According to WISH-TV 8 reports: "Richard Mourdock's Senate campaign is now the subject of a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission. It has to do with the accusation that the Mourdock campaign improperly downloaded information from a GOP database. The state Republican Party last week cut off the campaign's access to the database known as Salesforce. The complaint was filed by John McCane, a former mayor of Rushville, who alleges that Mourdock used a state campaign committee to pay the \$125 fee to access Salesforce and then illegally transferred information including email addresses to his federal campaign."

The Lugar campaign also charges there were discrepancies between Mourdock's required personal financial filings as a state officeholder and federal candidate are subject of an official complaint and possible government investigation. "...From 2006 through 2011, Mourdock failed to list his stock holdings in U.S. Synthetic Fuel and Global Energy, Inc., on his Indiana disclosures. Mourdock valued the stocks at \$50,000 to \$100,000 and \$100,000 to \$250,000 respectively on his federal disclosure. On his federal statements, Mourdock also indicated he owned stock in CVS Caremark Corp., Cardinal Health, Inc., Citigroup, Inc., Edwards Lifesciences Corp., Southern Company, Sysco Corporation, Colgate Palmolive, Baxter International, Inc., and Spectra Energy Corp., which according to his federal disclosure are valued at between \$1,000 and \$15,000 each. Mourdock failed to list several of these stocks on his Indiana disclosure as well..." The Gary Snyder Show posted the documents in question: Download RM Senate financial disclosure and Download RM IN financial disclosures '06-'11

Snyder reported, Mourdock's characterization of a "successful" business career would depend on one's definition of success. He writes, "I think we can all agree that no matter what one defines success as, Mourdock's time at Buck Creek Coal (7/91 to 3/92) could not qualify by any definition." Citing documents, filings and press reports, Snyder reviews Mourdock's time as President of Buck Creek Coal (Koester Coal), including 32 mine accidents, five coal dust violations, 47 health and safety violations, and three

unfair labor practice charges.

And then there was the alleged "Electronic Breakin at Party Headquarters." The Associated Press reported Mourdock's campaign is under investigation by the Indiana Republican Party after Mourdock Campaign Manager Jim Holden allegedly ordered staff to "start pillaging" proprietary Republican Party database email addresses "like a Viking raider attacking a monastery full of unarmed monks." Jennifer Ping, who chairs the party's technology and communication committee, told the AP that "Holden likely violated a user agreement with the state party when he shared a logon to the database with an outside vendor." Ping said "the party is also looking into whether Mourdock supporters tampered with information on Lugar supporters in the database early last year while it had access via an account assigned to Mourdock's 2010 campaign for treasurer."

Mourdock told WLFI-TV in Lafayette, "There was no violation of a database. We were not provided a database. The joke that was made was prior to us ever receiving access to the database and there has been no access or breach of data."

On the personal finance front, the Lugar campaign noted that Mourdock is entitled to one, and only one, homestead tax deduction. But as has been widely reported, Mourdock took two and he did so for three years. He says he didn't notice he was cheating, but Mourdock studied his tax statement closely enough to appeal his assessed value - yet didn't notice he was getting a \$45,000 deduction on the next line of his bill. Like other Indiana property owners, Mourdock received multiple 'pink forms' stating that reporting his homestead deduction was his responsibility. According to the state's Homestead Verification Fact Sheet, "homestead fraud occurs when an individual or married couple receive the benefit of more than one homestead deduction or claim the deduction on property that is not their primary residence."

FactCheck.Org assailed both Lugar's campaign and the American Action Network are airing "misleading attack ads against Mourdock." The "ads strain the facts to make Mourdock look like a tax cheat who makes bad investments and does not show up for work," the organization reported.

- The AAN ad claims that "Hoosier pensions and other funds lost millions" because of Mourdock's "big bet on junk bonds." That's an exaggeration. It's true that three state funds that purchased Chrysler debt in 2008 lost money when that company went through bankruptcy in 2009. But Mourdock didn't oversee the investments of the Indiana Teacher's Retirement Fund, which is the only one that actually lost "millions."
- Ads from both the AAN and the Lugar campaign fault Mourdock for receiving an illegal second homestead deduction on a condominium he purchased in 2006. But



HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

the previous owner of the property, not Mourdock, applied for the deduction. Mourdock claimed that he notified the county auditor's office of the illegal deduction in 2007. And the county auditor's office has actually said that it erred in not removing the credit.

• The AAN ad also says that Mourdock has "skipped 66 percent of his official board meetings." That's true, according to an analysis done by Howey Politics Indiana. In his defense, Mourdock's office says that the treasurer or his designee sits on 13 boards and commissions, and that Mourdock is nearly always represented by a senior staff member when he doesn't attend meetings personally. With the GOP primary contest scheduled for May 8, the AAN ad will reportedly run until May 4.

The Indiana Right to Life Political Action Committee is calling on Senator Richard Lugar's campaign to stop misleading Hoosier voters by stating that he has a "100% record" with National Right to Life, a claim that has appeared consistently in Lugar campaign communications (Howey Politics Indiana). "The Lugar campaign's claim is clearly designed to give the impression that he has never voted against National Right to Life, but his lifetime voting record tells another story," states Indiana Right to Life PAC chairman Mike Fichter. "The truth is that Senator Lugar has voted against National Right to Life on numerous occasions by voting for federal funding for embryo-killing research, voting for restrictions on the free speech rights of organizations like Right to Life, and voting against restrictions on the use of tissue from aborted babies. We believe Senator Lugar should be up front with voters in acknowledging that he has voted against Right to Life on some very high profile issues."

The Daily Caller reported: ... that of the 98 Obama nominations that resulted in a roll call vote, Lugar voted "no" on just six of them. Of course, not every Obama nomination is a bad one. Even Sen. Jim DeMint voted for half of Obama's nominations. But our findings show that, relative to the rest of the Republican conference, Lugar is to the left, ahead of only Collins, in terms of opposing Obama nominations that have gone through the judiciary committee. Interestingly, Lugar declined an invitation to address the Indianapolis chapter of the Federalist Society today. A statement released by his primary opponent, Indiana State Treasurer Richard Mourdock, notes that: "Lugar was only 1 of 9 Republicans to confirm Sotomayor to the Supreme Court and only 1 of 5 Republicans to confirm Kagan."

Horse Race Status: Tossup

5th CD: Residency redux

Fred Thompson, a former U.S. senator from Tennessee, starred in a fundraiser for Republican David McIntosh (WTHR-TV). McIntosh is one of several candidates seeking the Republican nomination for Indiana's Fifth District, the seat currently held by long-time incumbent

Dan Burton, who is retiring. Both men - McIntosh and Thompson - were elected to Congress in 1994. Thompson told WISH-TV 8 he is "delighted that David is offering himself up for service again."

"I think our country is at a tipping point," Thompson said. "I think we're on the brink of not becoming the United States of America that we grew up with. And we need strong, conservative, proven leadership more than any other time in the history of our country, as far as I can see."

Residency again has become an issue for a candidate seeking office in Indiana (Sikich, Indianapolis Star). This time, where David McIntosh, a Republican seeking the 5th Congressional District seat, lives and votes is raising questions. McIntosh calls it politics; his opponents say he broke the law.

The Indiana secretary of state's office has stepped in to start an investigation of whether McIntosh wrongfully voted in Indiana while owning a home in Virginia. He also held a driver's license from that state and moved his family there. Vance Poole, spokesman for the secretary of state's office, said the inquiry might not be completed before the May 8 primary. State law says voters must reside in a precinct continuously for at least 30 days before registering to vote. McIntosh has rented homes in Muncie, Anderson and Pendleton in recent years. Other Hoosier politicians recently have had to address residency concerns, including Sens. Dan Coats and Richard Lugar. Former Secretary of State Charlie White was convicted in February of voter fraud and other felony charges and was removed from office. McIntosh's case is nuanced, said David Orentlicher, a law professor at the Indiana University Robert H. McKinney School of Law. He said it appears McIntosh took steps to maintain residency, though Orentlicher was unsure whether the Virginia license would complicate his defense. Holding a license in Virginia requires residency. "If he retained a home here and maintained his voting here, I think that would support a claim that he never intended to establish a new residence elsewhere," Orentlicher said.

McIntosh is trying to avoid questions about his residency (Shella, WISH-TV). The 5th District Republican called a Statehouse news conference to talk about Planned Parenthood funding earlier this week while accusing his opponents of avoiding the real issues. Meantime, fraud investigator Greg Wright and his attorney, John Sturgill, called for a special prosecutor to look into their allegations that McIntosh committed voter fraud in the last two elections. Afterward Shella asked McIntosh about related issues including whether his children go to school in Virginia. Here is the exchange: McIntosh: "My kids are not the issue in this campaign." Shella: "Do you pay taxes in Virginia?" McIntosh: "I pay taxes in Indiana, I pay taxes in Virginia..." Shella: "You work in Washington, DC." McIntosh: "Right now I'm working in Indiana." Shella: "Running for



Page 14

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Congress." McIntosh: "Running for Congress and serving on boards here in Indiana that keep me busy. Thank you I'm gonna go." And with that, he walked away ending the interview.

McIntosh's 5th CD campaign is running a

new TV ad.

Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold will begin his final push to the May 8th Primary by rollerblading through Broad Ripple. Seybold plans to rollerblade through 35 cities and towns throughtout the 5th District before the May 8th Primary. **Horse Race Status:** Leans McIntosh

6th CD: 2nd Messer TV ad

Luke Messer has begun airing his second campaign commercial. Here's the ad text (noting voice-overs). Voice-over: Everywhere you go, from Muncie to Madison, Hoosiers are Republicans are rallying around a proven leader. Luke Messer: I will stand up to Barack Obama and fight his policies that are hurting America. Voice-over: Luke Messer, a pro-life conservative. Luke Messer: We have to stop the reckless spending, balance the budget and repeal Obamacare. Voice-over: Like Mike Pence, Luke Messer believes in conservative principles: Smaller government, a strong defense and family values. Luke Messer: I'm Luke Messer and I approve this message. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Messer

8th CD: Risk presses Bucshon

The Democratic Congressional Committee moved 8th CD Democratic challenger Dave Crooks into its Red to Blue program on Tuesday (Mark Schoeff Jr, Howey Politics Indiana), putting the district in its sights for a takeover. The designation means that the DCCC will provide "financial, communications, grassroots and strategic support" to Crooks as he takes on freshman incumbent Republican Rep. Larry Bucshon. Tapping Crooks for the Red-to-Blue category is partly recognition of where his campaign is - he has \$394,262 cash on hand compared to Bucshon's \$407,114 as of March 31 – and the potential that the DCCC sees in Crooks. "This is a great step for our campaign to stand up for Hoosier seniors and middle-class families," Crooks said in a statement. "It shows that our momentum is growing, and that we're becoming increasingly competitive and have the grassroots support necessary to win in November." The Bucshon campaign is not particularly concerned about the development, noting that 2010 challenger Trent Van Haaften was also part of the Red-to-Blue program in a race that Bucshon won by nearly 20 points. "I don't see this having an impact on our race, and if it does, it will be marginal," said a Bucshon aide. "Having the DCCC come in further ties (Crooks) to the Democratic machine." Portraying himself as a pragmatic conservative who has

kept his promises in Washington, D.C.

Bucshon faces Owen County conservative activist Kristi Risk in a May 8 GOP primary election. In 2010, he narrowly defeated Risk in an eight-candidate race in which only a plurality of votes was needed to win (Langhorne, Evansville Courier & Press). This time, Risk has the benefit of being Bucshon's only opponent - and Bucshon has the advantage of incumbency. In an interview with Courier & Press editors, Bucshon cast his contest with Risk as a choice between his realistic and responsible approach to implementing conservative reform and Risk's misplaced pursuit of ideological purity. "You're in a position (as a member of Congress) that you want to stick to your moral and ethical values and your conservative principles, but you also have to recognize the fact that you cannot stick to an ideological position which clearly is not tenable for the country or for the constituents so that you can pound your chest and say, 'I stuck by this ideology," he said. Risk has said Bucshon should have taken a courageous stand against last year's debt-ceiling compromise approved by Congress, weathering the inevitable criticism to insist on deep spending cuts to reduce the national debt now. She says the debt-ceiling deal, which Bucshon supported, only delays a day of reckoning when the federal government will have no choice but to "cut everything because there's no money." Horse Race Status: Likely Bucshon

9th CD: George wants bridges

9th CD Democratic candidate Jonathan George is advocating building new Ohio River bridges. George writes: "I believe Indiana needs six new bridges across the Ohio River between Cincinnati and Evansville. Bridges are expensive, but they bring prosperity. A new bridge across the Ohio River is about a \$1.3B project. Most importantly, they are delivering the project below budget and preserving 1,400 jobs by avoiding a complete bridge closure." The U.S. Chamber and the National Federation of Independent Business endorsed Rep. Todd Young. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

Obama, Romney tied in Fox News Poll

President Obama and presumptive GOP nominee Mitt Romney are locked in a dead heat, with voters showing doubts either can fix the struggling economy, a new national poll finds. Obama and Romney both receive 46 percent support from registered voters, according to a Fox News poll released on Wednesday. But on what is likely to be the central issue of the 2012 race, a majority of voters say neither candidate has a "clear plan for fixing the economy." Sixty-one percent of voters surveyed said Obama did not have a plan to aid the economy, with 36 percent expressing confidence in his policies. •



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Indiana Democrats' hard tack to the left

By MIKE O'BRIEN

PLAINFIELD - While the electorate's attention is appropriately focused on the upcoming primary election, last week's release of first quarter campaign finance reports offer a glance at how the state's top races will be positioned for the general election campaign.

Different conclusions can be reached about the



fundraising performance of individual candidates, but even a generous reading of Democrat finance reports for governor and the Indiana House is like reading the political obituary of a party that has turned inward and now exclusively represents a single constituency: organized labor.

The Indiana Democratic Party's 2012 election strategy initially focused on drafting candidates who claimed to represent the vast electoral middle. Their goal was to paint Republicans as

extremists operating on the fringe of the electorate. But in the context of the past two years of activity around Rightto-Work legislation, it has become nearly impossible to sell that message to voters as the Indiana Democratic Party has narrowly defined itself as a party that exists to protect unions and little else.

Democrat gubernatorial candidate John Gregg originally embraced the middle and positioned himself as a moderate option for independent voters. He quickly abandoned that angle when it became clear his union benefactors had little interest in anything but hardline rhetoric. During the legislative session, Gregg called on Democrats to "move beyond" the Right-to-Work debate and "show up for work." Democrats aggressively opposed that message; Gregg has since embraced the left wing of his party and found religion in the union halls of Democrat strongholds.

Of the paltry \$584,000 Gregg raised in the first quarter of 2012, a full 55% came from the deep pockets of unions. Gregg collected \$325,500 from political action committees, 95% of which came from unions. Gregg's limited appeal to a dwindling voter base was dwarfed by Republican Mike Pence, who raised a record-setting \$1.8 million from a broad base of donors and has nearly \$5 million cash on hand.

The outlook isn't any brighter for Indiana House

Democrats. Led by Minority Leader Pat Bauer, the 40-member House Democratic caucus started the year at a four-to-one fundraising disadvantage. Through the first quarter of 2012, House Democrats raised just \$568,000, of which 95% came in big chunks from unions who made their donations during the legislative session.

Any debate over whether Indiana Democrats have abandoned their middle-of-the-road approach for 2012 was settled when House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi was selected as the keynote speaker for the party's marquee fundraising dinner. What have Republicans done to deserve such good fortune? Were President Obama and Senator Reid unavailable?

Less of a major party, Indiana Democrats have become a marginalized coalition of rust-belt communities that survive on the dwindling dues of union workers. A party that intended to market itself across the middle is deeply in hock to unions that represent the Democrat donor base on a single issue that has already been decided.

This is Jill Long Thompson territory. The 2008 Democrat nominee was financed primarily by public sector unions and was forced to declare that, if elected, she would cancel state contracts and rapidly grow the size of state government after restoring union control over the state workforce. What taxpayer wouldn't love that message? She barely collected 40% of the vote.

This may only be the beginning.

The same national unions that arrived in Indiana during the 2011 and 2012 legislative sessions are spending most of their time in Wisconsin campaigning for the June 5th recall of Republican Governor Scott Walker. A report in Politico on March 9th disclosed big labor's plans for "revenge" on GOP governors who have taken swift action to free public and private sector workforces from union control.

When labor is finished with their \$35 million effort to unseat Gov. Walker, they'll pack up and head south to Indiana. Their goal is to send a message to states interested in following Indiana's lead that there are consequences for taking on unions. This is good news for the inflatable rat industry, but bad news for any Democrat who hoped their party would appeal broadly to voters on top issues. What the first quarter campaign finance reports reveal is that embracing unions at the exclusion of all others on November 6th may send the Indiana Democratic Party into the wilderness for a generation. Even if they recognize the risks of this strategy, considering unions are paying nearly the entire bill for the 2012 election, Democrats may have no other option. ❖

O'Brien is Hendricks County Republican chairman. He will write a monthly column for Howey Politics Indiana.



HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

A book on education worth reading

By MORTON J. MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS - Rarely do I find a book that I can suggest to all my friends. "College Acceleration: Innovating Through the New American Research High School" by Eric Ban is such a book. Those who are politically progressive or conservative will find this book challenging. Those who already know everything about education will learn something. Those who are fed up with books about education will discover hope.

Dr. Eric Ban is the principal at the Crown Point High School (CPHS) in Lake County, Indiana. His degrees are secondary to his vision and his experiences. His brief book should be read by members of the state legislature, every school board member, and most parents, teachers and students.

Before I get into the book, let me note that Crown Point is home to many successful, upwardly mobile subur-



banites. It enjoys a median house-hold income of \$61,200 compared to the state's \$45,400. But it is not Carmel where the figure is \$87,100. If Ban's ideas for changing the local public high school would not work in Crown Point, it is unlikely that they would work anywhere. Alternatively, if his ideas are potent in Crown Point, they should be equally effective in many other settings.

To over-simplify Ban's detailed outline for successful education endeavors, he proposes a system

to garner respect. Respect for the unique characteristics of students. Respect for the professionalism of teachers. Respect for the thoughts and concerns of the community.

The book is the result of Ban's four year experience as principal at CPHS. During this time he has instituted a rigorous program whereby high school students earn college credit for taking college level courses. This saves families thousands of dollars and reduces the amount of time students are suppressed by the national educational establishment.

Behind this achievement is a program encouraging teachers to do research on teaching. Just as the best doctors often engage in clinical research, teachers are enlisted to search for improved techniques that allow each student to exceed his/her presumed potential.

Ban is not interested in college-bound students alone. His program begins with a careful assessment of

each student entering CPHS. To demonstrate the CPHS commitment, the transition to high school is directed by a principal specifically for freshmen.

Twenty-first century learning at CPHS includes learning plans for each student and full acceptance of contemporary technology to advance individualization of learning. Not every student is directed toward college. But all should receive "rigorous and relevant" instruction "to become critical thinkers succeeding in a competitive world economy."

Some readers will find Eric Ban overly organized. Others may deny the novelty of this or that facet of his approach to education. The strength of this slim volume, however, is its meticulous organization within a framework of ordinary conversation. The reader discovers a structure for familiar and new ideas without struggling with the jargon of the education educator.

Most importantly, Ban's system is driven by performance data without sacrificing important interrelationships among all parties to the educational process. Without the strident tone of a revolutionary tome, "College Acceleration" enlivens the discussion of how to improve education in these difficult times. *

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

Perry endorse Romney

AUSTIN - Texas Gov. Rick Perry endorsed likely GOP presidential nominee Mitt Romney on Wednesday after campaign aides to Newt Gingrich, whom he endorsed earlier, confirmed he plans to end his bid next week.

Perry, who also ran for the nomination but ended his campaign in January, said in a statement: "Mitt Romney has earned the Republican presidential nomination through hard work, a strong organization, and a disciplined message of restoring America after nearly four years of failed, job-killing policies from President Obama and his administration.

" ... Mitt's vision and record of private-sector success will put America back on the path of job creation, economic opportunity, and limited government."

Perry had endorsed Gingrich after he ended his own presidential bid just days before the South Carolina primary. At the time, he said Gingrich was a "conservative visionary who can transform the future of our country." The former House speaker won South Carolina, but his campaign largely faltered after that and Gingrich suspended his campaign on Wednesday.



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

HHH would be appalled by Region bus dilemma

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE - Lake County Democrats ought to take a cue from former presidential candidate Hubert H. Humphrey.

He had a passion for people that I have rarely heard from a politician.

I have been reminded in recent days – through

television ads emanating from Chicago – of what Humphrey stood for.



In response to Illinois Gov. Pat Quinn's proposed cuts to social service agencies, the potentially impacted groups have been running ads that quote a comment Humphrey made in 1976. He said, "The moral test of a government is how it treats those who are at the dawn of life, the children; those who are in the twilight of life, the aged; and

those who are in the shadow of life, the sick, the needy and the handicapped."

Those are words that politicians ought to embrace today – particularly those in Lake County where a crisis is looming. And a perfect storm is forming. Here's the deal.

Bus service in Lake County will expire June 30 because local and state officials haven't identified a future funding source. That will impact fixed route, paratransit and express to Chicago service. That's 40,000 rides monthly.

Meanwhile, bus service in Gary and East Chicago limps along terribly underfunded.

Is there hope for bus service in Lake County? Not if you listen to the Democrats running for two county commissioner seats. You haven't heard any of them even mention the word "bus."

But the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority provided hope for the future of bus service last week, probably much to the chagrin of those commissioner candidates.

What the RDA said was that it will provide the money to head off the targeted end of service on June 30.

But there is a catch that politicians probably didn't want to hear. The RDA said it will assist if a permanent funding source can be implemented before July 1.

RDA executive director Bill Hanna said, "Our role, if a permanent source of funding can be found, will be to assist in avoiding a shutdown while a new source of revenue is put in place."

That, of course, is going to mean a tax of some sort – perhaps an income tax or a wheel tax. Or maybe something else is the answer. Lake County is the only county in the state without a local income tax.

Although it is up to the county council to put a tax in place, it also has to be approved by the county commissioners.

The council approved an income tax a few years back, but two of the three commissioners – including Gerry Scheub, who is seeking re-election in the 2nd District – vetoed the ordinance. The council didn't have the necessary five votes to override the veto.

The Democratic commissioner races include Scheub and former Sheriff Roy Dominguez in the 2nd District and former Commissioner Peter Katic, county Councilman Mike Repay and North Township board member Richard Novak in the 1st District.

So, what is it that these candidates are going to do to make life better in Lake County? It's hard to say because quality of life isn't the focus of the campaign.

Like George H.W. Bush in 1988, the commissioner candidates are saying, "Read my lips, no new taxes." One of the candidates even has the "no new taxes" theme shooting out of the top of a yard sign like an antenna.

The "no new taxes" pledge is all about getting elected or re-elected. It's not so much about a love for the people of Lake County.

So, as these candidates talk about no new taxes, the second largest county in the state – and the most urban – is on the brink of not having any bus service to speak of.

It is kind of a crime to think more about getting elected than about the people who are about to lose their only means of transportation. Unfortunately, the young, the elderly and the needy – the ones who most depend on bus service – don't have much of a voice when it comes to lobbying for government services.

If Hubert Humphrey were looking on today, he would be ashamed. Lake County Democrats should be as well. $\mbox{\Large \star}$

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



Page 18

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Chocola's assault against Lugar

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - Don't invite Chris Chocola and Dick Lugar to the same party.

They sure don't get along now in the Republican Party.



Chocola, former Republican congressman from Indiana's 2nd District, is president of the Club for Growth, a national organization that bundles donations from its conservative supporters - an estimated 75,000 - and seeks to defeat Republicans accused of drifting from the Club's definition of conservative.

Sen. Lugar, long the most popular Republican official in Indiana, is being hit with a bundle of negative TV ads sponsored by the

Club. The objective: Muddy up Lugar enough to enable Tea Party backed Richard Mourdock, the state treasurer, to defeat Lugar in the May 8 Republican primary.

Lugar knows that his real opponent is Chocola, not Mourdock, who would have no chance against the senator without millions of dollars of help from the Club and other national sources of funding. So, Lugar hit back last week in a letter to Chocola.

He suggested that the Club could be circumventing federal laws against "pay-to-play" deals in bundling money for Mourdock from donors who could be interested in "billions of dollars of Hoosier taxpayers' money" that the state treasurer manages and invests. He asked Chocola to release immediately the names of Club donors from the past two years.

Chocola brushed it off as nonsense. And a Club spokesman repeated the taunt that Lugar is a "RINO," standing for "Republican in Name Only."

Appropriation earmarks Lugar has supported are cited.

The Lugar campaign claims, however, that Chocola is a hypocrite because Chocola supported earmarks, even bragging about them, when he was in Congress.

A PAC supporting Lugar directly attacked Chocola in a TV ad, calling him a former congressman "with a flawed record who heads a D.C.-based operation."

The Lugar campaign also hit back at Freedom-Works, another super PAC sponsoring ads attacking Lugar as not conservative enough, noting that some things com-

plained of were also supported by Ronald Reagan. In initiating all the attacks on Lugar, his opponents have of course trampled on what Reagan called the Eleventh Commandment: "Thou shalt not speak ill of thy fellow Republicans."

But negative works. It's working to diminish what once was a sure-bet, Lugar reelection. And the Lugar campaign's response, in kind, is the best defense against losing to Mourdock in the primary.

Why is Chocola, for whom Lugar had in the past campaigned, targeting Lugar for defeat? Why has the Club for Growth also run TV ads targeting Republican Congressman Fred Upton in Michigan's 6th District? He and Chocola served together in House Republican ranks, representing adjoining Michiana districts.

Is it personal? Chocola getting back at fellow Republicans he served with and didn't like?

Well, there never was any love lost between Chocola and Upton. But the Club for Growth is more interested in purification than personalities. It wants to be rid of Republicans it finds sometimes deviating from its definition of "pro-growth" conservatism. And its views don't match those of some other groups often regarded as "progrowth," such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Indiana Chamber of Commerce and Indiana Manufacturers Association - all of which endorse Lugar.

The Club evaluates voting records, keeping score, looking for primary elections where there's a good chance to knock off a Republican not evaluated high in Club scoring or found to be willing to compromise with Democrats. The Club's clout was shown in 2010 when it brought defeat of Sen. Bob Bennett of Utah, a three-term Republican who had been generally regarded as a staunch conservative. The Club joined with Tea Party forces to deprive Bennett of the Republican nomination for reelection in the Utah Republican State Convention.

Chocola said the Club was displeased that Bennett reached across the aisle to join in offering a bipartisan compromise on health care legislation.

Critics of such "purification" tactics point to situations such as in Nevada and Delaware in 2010, where Republicans with seemingly strong chances of winning Senate seats were upset by Tea Party favorites who went on to lose in the fall.

Chocola and Lugar differ on what is good for the party and the nation.

On primary election night, whose party will it be? Chocola's? Or Lugar's? �

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



Page 19

frontlines. .

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Allysia Finley, wall Street Journal: 'You can't beat up on Grandpa. You shouldn't beat up on Grandpa. But still, there comes a time when it's time." So declares Richard Mourdock, the Indiana treasurer who is trying to unseat 80-year-old Sen. Dick Lugar in the May 8 GOP primary. It's hard to find a better symbol of the "Washington establishment" than Mr. Lugar, who has lived in D.C. since he was first sworn into office in 1977. But the avuncular senator is beloved by many Hoosiers—and for the very reason that tea partiers want to send him home: He's a statesman, not a warrior. An early test of the tea party's strength this year will be whether Mr. Mourdock can unseat the iconic incumbent. At 60, the challenger is no spring chicken, nor is he a national rock star like freshman Florida Sen. Marco Rubio. But he's "capable, competent, and conservative," as he says. Mr. Mourdock spent 30 years in the energy business as a geologist, executive and consultant. A heightened sense of civic pride spurred him to run for Vanderburgh County commissioner in 1995. Ten years later, impressed by his business background and political service, Gov. Mitch Daniels recruited him to run for treasurer. "I am Indiana known as a hard-working politician," says Mr. Mourdock. "I go everywhere in Indiana to help the local Republican parties." Some of Mr. Lugar's backers also warn that a Mourdock victory could put a safe Republican Senate seat in play this fall. Democrats, the argument goes, can paint him as "extreme" for wanting to eliminate the Departments of Energy, Commerce, Education, and Housing and Urban Development, as they did two years ago with Republican candidates Sharron Angle in Nevada and Christine O'Donnell in Delaware. "I hope they do," Mr. Mourdock laughs. Being defined as a small government extremist, he thinks, works to his advantage. Mr. Mourdock isn't endearing himself to the party's elders by picking a fight with Grandpa. But Republicans need fighters in the Senate, not diplomats. Indiana's gutsy and articulate tea partier is just the kind of guy Republicans need on the

Mark Kiesling, NWI Times: Sometimes I wonder if certain readers have trouble understanding the English language. Normally, I refrain from reading the online comments that are attached to my columns, but I was interested in seeing the reaction to the column on Florida teen Trayvon Martin's killing. Martin died at the hands of a self-appointed neighborhood watch fellow named George Zimmerman, who is part white and part Latino. My take on it was that out-of-towners like the Rev. Jesse Jackson, of Chicago, and the Rev. Al Sharpton, of New York City, would have been better served protesting the murders of black teens in their own backyards. But some of the readers apparently missed the point. Of course they all hide behind

screen names like cowards, but it was interesting to see their comments. "Trayvon was killed and bozo Markie Mark is OK with Zimmerman getting away without an investigation," one wrote. That's not what I said. I clearly said I was not defending Zimmerman, and I wrote the column after he had been charged with Martin's killing. "A lot of the killings in Gary, East Chicago, etc., were a product of gang activity, not unarmed 17-year-olds in a gated community." Really? Please. Gang bangers in Gary, East Chicago, Chicago kill any number of innocent black kids every year because they don't really care where their bullets land. *

Andrea Neal, Indiana Policy Review: The next governor will have a unique opportunity to refine Indiana's reputation and mold its future. That's true of every governor, of course, but it will be even more so for John Gregg or Mike Pence because one of them will oversee Indiana's

bicentennial. Two hundred years of statehood is a big deal, and both candidates want to capitalize on it. "I couldn't be more excited about the prospect of being governor in the years approaching and celebrating our bicentennial," said Pence. "You have to remember I'm a history major from Hanover College. I love this stuff." "I was 12 when Indiana had our sesquicentennial — 150 years,"

Gregg recalled. "I remember my dad grew a beard, my little hometown had a festival. And some people tried to dress in pioneer garb and stuff like that, which was really fun." The winner of the Nov. 6 election will inherit a 13-member bicentennial commission assembled by Gov. Mitch Daniels and chaired by outgoing Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman, a Republican, and former U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton, a Democrat. The commission has met twice but has no money or staff, so it's angling for a line item in the next biennial budget. Skillman and Hamilton are in contact with Pence and Gregg, respectively, about the commission's plans, which are centering on the theme of "Hoosier Homecoming." While the trust will be part of the Daniels legacy, Gregg and Pence are both history buffs eager to put education at the forefront. Gregg envisions statewide activities and local flavor. "I'd like to see different towns celebrating their heritage, whatever it was, in different ways. "Indianapolis has a rich automotive industry going back to the turn of the last century. Maybe they'd focus on the automotive industry. Maybe you take a town like Kokomo that had the first gaslights, and you make something out of that." Pence is considering curriculum enhancement, much to the delight of cultural and historical institutions whose mission is to educate citizens about Hoosier heritage. "One of the things I want to think hard about is when and how we teach history to our children because I think there is an argument for teaching Indiana history in a more fulsome way later in the education process." >



Page 20

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, April 26, 2012

Township won't collect taxes

AUBURN - A township trustee in northeastern Indiana won't be collecting any property taxes this year, saying the township has plenty of money in the bank. DeKalb County's Union Township ended 2011 with \$257,000 in operating fund reserves and about \$157,000 in its poor relief fund, enough to last more than five years without collecting taxes, Trustee Craig Bassett told The Star of Auburn for a story Wednesday. Those surpluses have been built up over many years and changes in state rules enable the township not to collect taxes, Bas-

sett said. "Now,
we can lower
or zero our tax
levy for a fund
without being
locked into that
levy forever," he
said. The large

surpluses held by some of the roughly 1,000 township governments around the state have come under fire from Gov. Mitch Daniels and others who have unsuccessfully pushed in recent years for legislators to consolidate or eliminate townships. Bassett said he would support more limits on township tax revenues. "I personally would like to see the maximum amount of money in the bank to be no more than two years' worth of assistance and general costs," he said. "So we have some work ahead of us to get us there, but I believe by doing this, it helps."

Sachem award for Ian Rolland

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mitch Daniels today presented civic leader and former chairman and CEO of Lincoln National Corp. Ian Rolland of Fort Wayne with the 2012 Sachem Award, the state's highest honor, at a ceremony at the State House. "Ian Rolland has achieved excellence at everything he has ever attempted, no question in that regard. The reason we are here today is because he has led the sort of life you'd like your kids to emulate," said Daniels.

Newt drops out of presidential race

WASHINGTON - Newt Gingrich will halt his bid for the presidency next week with an endorsement of presumptive GOP candidate Mitt Romney, ending a frenetic campaign that has left him with an uncertain political future (Wall Street Journal). Mr. Gingrich earlier had vowed to continue his run until the Republican convention in August. But he decided to pull the plug after a weak showing in Tuesday's primaries in five Eastern states. He spent two weeks in Delaware in a final effort to revive interest in his bid, but lost there decisively to Mr. Romney, 57% to 27%. Mr. Gingrich will offer his backing for Mr. Romney at an event in Washington next week, his spokesman said Wednesday.

Brooks chides missing McIntosh

MARION - With less than two weeks before the primary, six of the seven candidates for the Republican nomination in Indiana's 5th district met in Marion Wednesday night, and it did not take long for the one missing candidate to be on the defensive (WIBC). Former Congressman David McIntosh was absent due to a fundraising event in Carmel with former Tennessee Senator Fred Thompson. McIntosh's residency has recently come into question, with some backers of other candidates charging he lives in Virginia and is not officially

a 5th District resident. While all the candidates agreed residency should be an issue, former U.S. Attorney Susan Brooks was the only one to single out McIntosh. "Mr. McIntosh says he lives in Anderson. Well, I would submit he's staying in Anderson," Brooks says. "He's renting in Anderson. It is not illegal for him to live in Virginia which he has for many years. It's a nice state. Maybe he should've run in Virginia." Other candidates then began to chime in. "You need to live to serve and to work in your community so that you actually know what the people need and want," said Jack Lugar.

Lugar calls for action on farm bill

WASHINGTON - Sen. Dick Lugar (R-IN) called for prompt consideration of the farm bill and more progress on reforms. The Senate Agriculture Committee mark-up of the farm bill, which had been scheduled for today, was postponed late last night. "As a former Chairman of the Agriculture Committee, I recognize the challenge of writing a farm bill, but as a farmer, I know that the agriculture community needs policy certainty," Lugar said. "Now is the time to press forward with fiscally-responsible reforms for farm and nutrition policy. Hoosier farmers need a good farm bill, not political impasses," Lugar said. Lugar has proposed 11 amendments that were set for consideration during the mark-up. These included amendments to repeal the sugar program, close loopholes in the food stamp program, help Hoosiers save money on their electric bills, and enable private investment in rural energy. Lugar is the Senate author of an alternative farm bill known as the Rural Economic Farm and Ranch Sustainability and Hunger (REFRESH) Act. REFRESH would save taxpayers \$40 billion – well more than the \$26 billion in savings in the draft bill.