



Mid-cycle Report: Romney coattails?

GOP expected to win Indiana’s EC votes, with down-ballot implications

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

PLAINFIELD, Ind. - Hoosier voters are facing two potential epic tossup races this fall. Nationally, all indications are that the presidential race between President Obama and Republican Mitt Romney will go down to the wire. Likewise, the U.S. Senate race between Republican Richard Mourdock and Democrat Joe Donnelly has all the characteristics of being a “Tossup” though the true character of the race won’t be known until mid-September when the third Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll – likely to be the only independent media polling this cycle – is published.

The Indiana gubernatorial and congressional fields look to be less competitive. Republican Mike Pence won’t release his fundraising totals until next Monday. Democrat John Gregg’s campaign isn’t saying. But Pence is expected



to maintain a big money advantage and time may be running out for Gregg to be able to close what polling has showed to be leads ranging from 44-31 in a March Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll, and over 20% in a couple of recent partisan Republican polls.

On the congressional front, only the 8th CD race

Continued on page 4

The second tsunami

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - The first wave of a tsunami stuns those hit, but the follow-up wave often reaches the high point because it builds upon the first devastation. I feel 2012 will have similar election impact.



In Indiana, regardless of the national trends, I believe we are looking at swinging back to huge GOP margins like Bush 43 over Gore (nearly 350,000 in a 50-50 national race), Bush 43 over Kerry (500,000), Bush 41 over Dukakis (430,000), Reagan over Mondale (530,000), and Reagan over Carter (400,000). The actual Republican vote,



“In response to the infamous words of the House leadership on the other side of he aisle at that time, we’ve now had a chance to see what’s in it and the fact remains we still don’t like it.”

- U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita
on repealing Obamacare



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even for McCain, had this variation from 1980 to 2008: 1,245,000 to 1,479,000 (2004).

The exceptions in over 30 years are two. In 1992 Ross Perot received 456,000 votes. Clinton got almost the identical number as Carter in 1980 and similar to Gore in 2000. Bush, however, dropped nearly 300,000 from the previous minimum, but he still won Indiana.

In 2008, McCain basically tied for the second largest Indiana GOP vote. But Obama was the first Democrat in modern times to top one million votes. In fact, he blew by it to 1.375 million. Total voters soared. Let me put it this way: An African-American eligible to vote who didn't probably never will. I do not think re-election is the same as the historic racial breakthrough that 2008 represented. Now Obama is mostly just a liberal.

Furthermore, young voters thought the wars were going to immediately end, not be still lingering and more of them. Not to mention that all those people who thought health care was going to be "free" are feeling a bit deceived right now.

Who will the individual mandate most impact? Young voters. I think President Obama drops down dramatically, below a million and possibly down toward 950,000 or lower like most Democrats, and maybe even down to Dukakis levels at 861,000.

This impacts down the ballot. In 2004, the Bush win made the Indiana GOP congressional delegation 7-2. It consolidated 1994 Republican gains when John Hostetler and I upset incumbents, and David McIntosh won a Democrat open seat, swinging Indiana to a Republican majority of Hoosiers in Congress. Mike Sodrel and Chris Chocola were the 2004 winners, as Todd Young will be (but as an incumbent), and likely Jackie Walorski joins the other six Republicans.

We will be back to Pete Visclosky and a different Carson as the

Democrats in the U.S. House, if both Democrats survive. In other words, the congressional ballot like the presidential ballot is likely going to have a strong pull on the gubernatorial and senate races.

In spite of all the Democrat spin, Mike Pence will win somewhere between easily and overwhelmingly. Nominating Vi Simpson was a huge Democrat mistake. John Gregg will not be able to even pretend to not be a liberal. This is a year when being a liberal is better than being the Devil, a Nazi or an actual communist by maybe two points. Nor will Mike Pence will be underfunded.

The Republicans have tilted their slate southern with, well, everybody: U.S. Senate, lieutenant governor, attorney general and superintendent of public instruction all make Mike's Columbus address look like it borders on Michigan. No wonder he moved closer to Indianapolis where the hills stop and most people live. I think it is likely that the GOP holds the south. I don't think the Indy collar is in play. That really puts pressure on Joe Donnelly to be a one-man army in populous northern Indiana.

The first historic problem is this: Democrats can survive Republican tides one way, but Joe changing his name to "Joe Bayh" probably won't work at this late date. Secondly, Birch Bayh lost to Dan Quayle in 1980, even though he was an incumbent, and Evan only narrowly defeated Rob Bowen and John Mutz. Evan smoothly avoided Dan Coats in 2010 (as Dan avoided Bayh in 1998). So even Evan Bayh would not necessarily win this year, Republican family feud or not.

The second problem is that northern Indiana is not trending Democratic. Remember, part of the reason Joe is running for Senate is that the 2nd Congressional District took lots of Republicans from my old district to pad it for Jackie Walorski. If Joe is going to fight for his life, it might as well be for the Senate.



Brad Ellsworth had a similar view, although Joe is closer to the type who can pull upsets. But he will have to fight to win his own district, will lose my home area probably widely, win Visclosky's district, lose Rokita's by a wide margin, and get wiped out in the top parts of Susan Brooks' and Luke Messer's new districts. I just don't think carrying Marion and Lake is a victory strategy.

Oh yes, what about the Lugar vote? Here is a prediction. Even if Joe gets every one of Lugar's 261,000 votes I don't think it will be enough to win. The margin is likely to be larger than that. And I think it is safe to say he won't get every Lugar vote, including Senator Lugar's as Lugar has said multiple times.

Lugar's supporters, and the half of the likely fall Republican vote that didn't vote in the primary, will likely stall around, have doubts, but somewhere between Labor Day and election day, if there are still doubts, the Repub-

licans will go from whispering "health care" to screaming "HEALTH CARE" and "SENATE CONTROL."

Obama, of course, will also be a big asset for Richard Mourdock. Mourdock will continue to benefit from media people constantly playing Colbert and not taking him seriously, as Richard continues his steady march to the Senate. The bias is so great I honestly don't think the media will ever wake up, and that bias really irritates voters.

One last comment on northern Indiana. The only state legislative race that is likely to be competitive is Democrat Win Moses in Fort Wayne, who with re-districting, for the first time represents a clearly Republican district. He is smart and an incredible fighter, who is just never really defeated. But he could be in real trouble this time. ❖

Souder is a former Republican Member of Congress.

Romney, from page 1

between freshman Republican Larry Bucshon and Democrat Dave Crooks looks to be close.

With the 2012 election cycle a little past the halfway point, here is Howey Politics Indiana's take on the major races dotting the hot and dry Hoosier landscape:

Presidential

Romney is expected to win Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes, just as John McCain was expected to in 2008 (but didn't). The difference is that Obama made nearly 50 campaign appearances in Indiana during his primary battle with Hillary Clinton and again in the fall four years ago. While First Lady Michelle Obama will be in Indianapolis on July 22, few observers expect the President to be nearly the fixture he was on the campaign trail here. The only way we will see the President much is if the Donnelly/Mourdock Senate race is in play and cued up to potentially decide majority control of the Senate.

With Indiana's jobless rate at 7.9% and standing at 8.2% nationally, the most fascinating aspect of the presidential race nationally is that Romney doesn't have a lead.

Nationally, Obama has a Real Clear Politics composite lead of 46.5% to 44.6% today.

But a Washington Post/ABC News Poll released Tuesday had the race tied at 47%. Gary Langer, writing for ABC News, observed, "Economic discontent and sub-

stantial dissatisfaction with Barack Obama's performance in office are keeping Mitt Romney competitive in the presidential race – but not by enough of a margin to overcome Obama's stronger personal profile. The result: A dead heat in voter preferences at the midsummer stage, with the prospect of an epic battle ahead."

While most Americans continue to disapprove of Obama's handling of the economy, that's not his only problem. More than half fault him on health care and immigration as well. Sixty-three percent say the country's headed in the wrong direction, an unhelpful view for an incumbent. And among groups, he's losing swing-voting independents by a record 14 percentage points.

The WP/ABC News poll came after a dismal jobs report released last Friday, the third consecutive report that with a strong, dynamic challenger should have been the death knell for the incumbent. Gallup's Frank Newport said on NPR this morning that since the bad jobs numbers were released last week, Obama has yet to see a poll decline on that subject. Gallup's three-day rolling tracking has Obama up 47-45% today.

But there is one other interesting piece of data from the WP/ABC Poll: 75% of Obama's supporters say they mainly are for him, rather than against his opponent. For Romney that shifts dramatically – just 37% of his supporters mainly are for him, while 59% say they're chiefly opposed to Obama.

The "wrong track" number, at 63%, is dangerous for Obama. But it stood at 83% in June 1992, a precursor to President George H.W. Bush's defeat that November, and was at 70% in 1996, belying President Clinton's reelection. In 2004, it stood at 55% four months before President





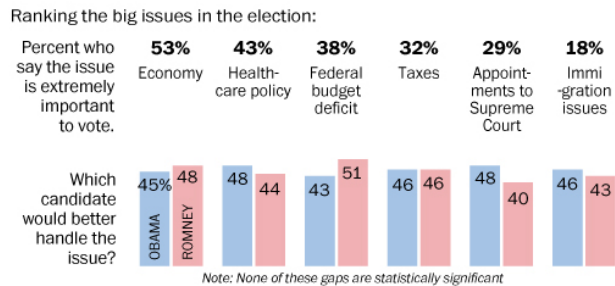
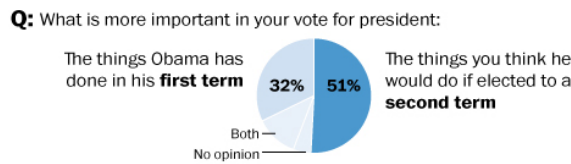
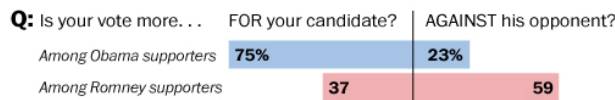
George W. Bush was reelected.

What appears to be keeping Obama in the game is that many Democrats and independents like him personally.

Greg Sargent, writing for the Washington Post's Plumline blog, observes: Obama leads on who understands the economic problems people are having, 51-40. Obama leads on who is more likely to stand up for what he believes in, 52-36. Obama leads on who has presented a clearer plan for dealing with the economy situation, 47-35. And voters appear to narrowly side with Obama's economic vision: 48% say the federal government should spend money to encourage job creation, versus 45% who say we should hold down the deficit. And this is also key: A majority say the things Obama would do in a second term are more important than what he's already done, 51-33.

That kind of data reinforces the popular perception of Romney that he has no core values, is malleable on the issues, and may lose slivers of Tea Party voters on issues like his waffling on immigration, and evangelicals who are uncomfortable with his Mormonism. In a close race, shaving a few percentage points from these types of voters could mean the difference between winning and losing.

The Weekly Standard's Bill Kristol sounded a warning on Fox News Sunday. "President Obama had three disappointing months, but he's holding his own. And if I were in the Romney campaign, that would worry me," Kristol said, citing numbers from a recent Fox News poll, which showed that just 41% of voters think the President has a clear plan for improving the economy. "Not great for an incumbent president – the economy is slow and you're only at 41-53." But the numbers were even worse for Romney, Kristol pointed out. "Do you think his challenger, Gov. Romney, has a clear plan for improving the economy or not? Yes 27, no 55. I don't think you can beat an incumbent



The Washington Post - ABC News poll

president even if the economy's slow if 27% of the voters think you as the challenger don't have a clear plan for improving the economy."

Polling shows national support for Obamacare is split. Andrew Kohut of Pew Research notes that 45% approve, 45% disagree nationally, "but Republican reaction is intensely negative. Republicans are really very angry." That intensity could help Romney. "The initial reactions are not like the subsequent reactions. The opinion grows," Kohut said.

"What has clearly happened is that Obama has dodged a bullet," Kohut said. A repeal would have left Obama with the perception that he "hasn't accomplished much." But Romney is compromised on the issue since he installed a similar program as governor of Massachusetts.

On the issue of the Bush tax cuts, Americans think it is more important to extend the Bush-era tax cuts for families earning less than \$250,000 a year, as President Obama proposed on Monday, than extending them for all taxpayers, as advocated by congressional Republicans and Romney, according to a new United Technologies/National Journal Congressional Connection Poll. The public also favors Democrats' plan to create jobs through additional spending on infrastructure and retaining public-sector employees over the Republican plan to cut taxes for businesses.

Kohut says that current Pew research identifies 32% of likely voters as Democrat (down from 36% in 2008), just 24% identify themselves as Republicans (one of the lowest levels in history) and 38% view themselves as independent, a 75-year high. "The numbers identifying with the two major parties is contracting," Kohut said. In a general election Howey/DePauw Indiana sample taken on March 26-27, 35% were Republican, 27% Democratic, 23% independent, 8% independent/leans Republican, and 7% independent/leans Democrat here in Indiana.

The forecasting models for the New York Times' FiveThirtyEight blog give Romney an 86.2% chance of carrying Indiana. But it gives Obama a 66.6% chance of



winning the election and a 10.6% chance of an Obama landslide. InTrade gives Obama a 56% chance at reelection.

Indiana Horse

Race Status: Likely Romney. **National Horse Race Status:** Tossup

U.S. Senate

For the first time as a U.S. Senate candidate, Mourdock finds himself with a sizable campaign money advantage after reports reveal he will post \$1.6 million for the second quarter, almost double the \$900,000 Democrat nominee Joe Donnelly will report on his FEC report. Indiana Democrats tweeted late Monday afternoon that Donnelly will report \$1.3 million cash on hand. It is unclear how much cash Mourdock will report. Mourdock, who toppled U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar in the May primary, has had lackluster FEC reports throughout his candidacy, but won due to almost \$4 million from national sources, including almost \$2 million from the Club for Growth.

Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker noted that while Mourdock touted the quarterly total, "They went silent when it came to cash on hand. How much of that did they spend prior to the primary?" Parker noted that Washington experts said Donnelly needed to post more than \$750,000. "He blew past that," Parker said. "Remember, Lugar never raised a million dollars in a quarter."

But the money spilling into a candidate-driven campaign may not matter much. It will be the national money from 527 Super PACs that will determine who wins.

Already Karl Rove's Crossroads GPS pumped in more than \$600,000 in June TV ads attacking Donnelly on behalf of Mourdock. Donnelly responded with a \$270,000 response paid for by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Former Indiana congressman Chris Chocola, who now heads Club for Growth, told HPI in May, "We'll continue to support Mourdock. We'll continue to bundle contributions for him. We expect him to be in a very strong position. I think there will be an attempt by some in the media and with Democrats that there will be a very competitive race. I don't think that's the case." Donnelly began airing a new ad today taking Mourdock to task for "yelling from the bleachers." It's a \$163,000 statewide buy on cable and broadcast set to run from yesterday through July 16.

So the money the campaigns actually raise isn't

Indiana

Likely Romney

FIVETHIRTYEIGHT PROJECTIONS	DEM	REP	MARGIN
Polling average	40.0	49.0	Romney +9.0
Adjusted polling average	39.0	50.0	Romney +11.0
State fundamentals	41.8	49.3	Romney +7.5
Now-cast	41.6	49.3	Romney +7.7
Projected vote share ±7.1	45.6	53.1	Romney +7.5
Chance of winning	14%	86%	

POLLS	538 WT.	DATE	DEM	REP	MARGIN
Howey/DePauw		3/27	40.0	49.0	Romney +9.0

as important as it once was. Donnelly has raised less than \$400,000 in each of the last three quarters, so this report represents an uptick for him, but it pales when compared to Mourdock's quarter, which obviously benefitted from his upset of Lugar.

Mourdock's campaign is a tale of contradictions. He won a landslide 61-39% primary despite a lack of fundraising prowess. His campaign has made a series of "amateur hour" stunts ranging from being banned from the Indiana Republican Party data base, to the posting of four different "presponses" to

the U.S. Supreme Court's Obamacare ruling that earned the candidate a dubious spot on "The Colbert Report."

But the outside money is poised to spill in. For Chocola's Club for Growth, a Mourdock loss would be devastating, pushing Indiana into the Tea Party Hall of Busts along with 2010 Senate races in Nevada and Delaware that prevented a GOP Senate majority. Thus, we find the GOP Senate nominee poised for possible victory despite him and his campaign.

Democrats have an ample supply of fodder, ranging from Mourdock's assault on the concept of "bipartisanship" that played well to the Tea Party crowd, but perhaps not so much to independent voters. Indiana Democrats have a library of tracker video with Mourdock making controversial claims, ranging from his vote against raising the debt ceiling, to positions on legislatures appointing U.S. senators, Social Security and Medicare. This past week, Indiana Democrats, who helped Mourdock win the nomination by stoking the Lugar residency issue, have come at Mourdock hard on his legal challenge to the Chrysler/Fiat merger.

On Tuesday, Democrats suggested that Mourdock might have violated Indiana's open records law for political purposes and filed a complaint with the Indiana public access counselor. Mourdock claimed to have provided full disclosure of the costs of his suit to liquidate Chrysler, but changed his story just one hour after being criticized for those costs. Mourdock, in response to a Democratic request filed in May, released "all legal invoices and any related billing documentation" from his lawsuit to force the liquidation of Chrysler on June 29. Those documents included two invoices placing the cost of his suit at \$2.8 million.

According to a letter from the treasurer's office, Mourdock subsequently "sorted through additional billing documentation" and on July 9, faxing Chairman Parker a



July 2009 letter stating that the treasurer would only be responsible for \$2.05 million in legal fees less than an hour after a press conference focused on the full cost of Mourdock's lawsuit. Six months later, Mourdock's Wall Street law firm sent him a second \$2.8 million invoice.

"Richard Mourdock is hiding something, and it's apparent that he has violated the spirit and letter of the law," said Parker.

"How hard is it to produce a full accounting of the cost of his politically motivated lawsuit? Mourdock failed to comply with our open records request and falsely claimed that they were making all billing documentation available. He's shown bad faith with the public interest and bad judgment with their tax dollars. Hoosier taxpayers deserve nothing less than a full and open explanation of how much Mourdock's suit cost and why he filed it."

Donnelly is expected to make the 2009 auto rescue by the Obama administration the cornerstone of his campaign against Mourdock. But this is no slam dunk. Mourdock led the ticket in 2010 in Howard County, home of the nation's largest Chrysler industrial complex, and again in the primary against Lugar. Many Hoosier Republicans at least appear to be prepared to vote ideology as opposed to economic interests.

But the March Howey/DePauw Poll revealed that by a 51-44% edge, a majority of general election voters – and more than 60% of independents – backed the auto rescue.

This race could come down to whether Donnelly and the Democrats can stoke up that issue and draw independent voters.

The crosscurrent is Donnelly's vote for the Affordable Care Act or "Obamacare." Mourdock uses that vote against Donnelly every chance he gets and polling has shown Obamacare wildly unpopular with Hoosier voters. Many observers believed that Donnelly would have been in better position if Chief Justice Roberts had voted to strike down the individual mandate, shifting the fall election to what might replace Obamacare. Republicans have no active plan to do so. Now Donnelly will be left to defend his vote. He will try to make the case that while Obamacare as a whole is unpopular, many components of the law actually draw considerable support. But that will be tough to do



Democrat Joe Donnelly began running his second post-primary TV ad this week, themed "nothing gets done by yelling from the bleachers."

in 30- and 60-second sound bites.

It is unclear whether Mourdock has done a sufficient job of reaching out to Lugar voters, who by a 57-12% margin in the April and May Howey/DePauw Poll disapproved of Mourdock. The 261,000 Lugar voters constituted 39% of the primary. In a close race, losing even a few percent of them could hurt Mourdock's chances.

Parler told HPI

that Donnelly's report "will raise eyebrows" with some prominent Republican contributors listed.

The nominee's trump card there could be if his race is seen as a determinant factor in which party controls the U.S. Senate. In that scenario, most Lugar voters, including the senator himself, would hold their nose and pull the Mourdock lever. That could be a double-edged sword, drawing in more Democratic Super PAC money on behalf of Donnelly.

Every poll since the Howey/DePauw survey in March (tied at 35%) has shown this race to be a draw. But early polls can be illusions. The critical point in this race will come after Labor Day when new polls will reveal where the race stands. If Donnelly can hang around within 2 or 3 percentage points – or actually lead – then the race could go down to the wire. If he falls behind, as Chocola predicts, then that portends to a very bad year for Indiana Democrats.

Watch for waves of national money to be spent on the Senate race in August and early September from Super PACs on both sides. At this point, we give a slight edge of Mourdock, though not enough to pull it out of the "tossup" zone. Horse Race Status: Tossup

Governor

If there is to be a competitive gubernatorial race, then early next week will be a huge moment for the John Gregg campaign. He is going to have to show some robust fundraising after his lackluster \$584,000 first quarter, somewhere in the \$2 million range. Parker told HPI after the primary that more money flows in the second quarter to uncontested primary candidates.

Thus far Pence has owned the skies. The India-



Indianapolis Star reported that Pence has spent \$1.4 million on his three TV ads in May and June. Parker explained, "John Gregg will never outspend Pence." He said that while Pence had a three-to-one cash advantage at

the end of March, that will be a more important number to come out next week. "The most important number will be the cash-on-hand number," Parker said, adding he expects Gregg to go up on TV before Labor Day. "That's when the race will begin." Gregg and running mate Vi Simpson have conducted an intense earned media campaign, tag-teaming across the state and in key media markets. But such efforts pale in comparison to Pence building his name ID in Northern Indiana and defining himself.

On the issues front, Pence has discussed jobs and vocational education, along with a regulatory moratorium. Gregg and Simpson have come out with jobs and Department of Child Services proposals.

Pence had a miscue when reports emanating from a House Republican Conference Committee revealed that he had compared the Supreme Court ruling on Obamacare to the 911 terror attacks. Pence quickly apologized, saying, "I never intended to minimize any tragedy our nation has faced, and I apologize." But he refused to describe in detail what he called an "unfortunate statement."

Gregg milked the controversy for earned media, saying, "Congressman Pence is a perfect example of what is wrong with politics today. He has the right to disagree with the Supreme Court, we all do. But for him to compare a disagreement over healthcare to the deaths of 3,000 Americans goes far beyond the bounds of common decency. To compare our legislative and judicial process to a terrorist attack is deeply disturbing and wrong. Congressman Pence is out of touch and clearly does not have the temperament or judgment Indiana needs. He just disqualified himself from this race."

That could be fodder for Gregg TV ads this fall, if he has the funds to capture the gross rating points he needs to put a dent in the warm and cozy Pence biography.

Horse Race Status: Likely Pence ❖



Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Gregg will release crucial 2nd quarter fundraising numbers sometime in the next few days.

Obamacare gets a 33rd repeal vote in House

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - More than 30 U.S. House votes have taken place to repeal Obamacare. The one on Wednesday officially making the issue an LP (long play) passed virtually by party lines – 244-185 – with Hoosier Republicans rhetorically lining up to assail the law, while U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly voted once again with the minority.

It was strictly a show vote, designed for TV ads this summer and fall. The repeal has no chance of passing the U.S. Senate.

But Hoosier Republicans took to the well of the House and stated their case.

"ObamaCare is not merely a government takeover of health care, but – as many of us insisted during debates on this floor two years ago – ObamaCare is a massive tax increase on everyday Americans and small business owners," said U.S. Rep. Mike Pence. "And it must be repealed. Every day in Indiana I hear people tell me that ObamaCare is stifling our recovery. If it is not repealed in full, Hoosiers will face higher health care costs and increased taxes. The medical device tax alone could cost Indiana more than 2,000 jobs.

"But the issue before us today is not just about economic growth. It is about freedom. ObamaCare erodes the freedom of every American, opening the door for the federal government to legislate, regulate and mandate nearly every aspect of our daily lives under the guise of its taxing power. Left unchanged, ObamaCare will change this country forever."

U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon, facing a competitive race against former Democratic legislator Dave Crooks, explained, "I truly believe in my heart this law will not stand. For, in the end, the fate of our freedoms rests not in the hands of a president, a Congress or a court. For we are, and have always been, and shall ever remain, a government of the people, and by the people, and for the people. And while this Congress this week will vote to repeal this bill, I believe the American people will have their say on a day this fall."

Bucshon, a Newburgh heart surgeon, added, "It is necessary to repeal this near government takeover of our nation's health care system. Eliminating the massive tax increase on the middle class and restoring the \$575 billion cut from Medicare are only two of the numerous and critical reasons Obamacare needs to be repealed. After the law is fully repealed we can focus on patient-centered, market-based reforms that lower costs and prevent government bureaucrats from coming between you and your doctor."



U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman said, "The patient-doctor relationship is built on trust, not government complexity. Unfortunately, the President's health care law puts unelected bureaucrats, like the Independent Payment Advisory Board, between patients and their doctors. Americans deserve choices, not top-down controls."

Another freshman, U.S. Rep. Todd Young, cut to the chase. "Simply put, this law is bad public policy," said Young. "It has not done anything to control the cost of health care, it interferes with the doctor-patient relationship, and it is damaging to our economy at a time we can least afford it. Washington needs to address the very real problems that confront the American people – primarily the cost of, and access to, medical care. This vote to repeal the law is a first step toward replacing Obamacare with measures that actually control costs and increase access to care while preserving the best health care delivery system in the world. I look forward to working on those issues, and –in contrast to how this law came about –in an open, public, and bipartisan way."

And U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita explained, "The facts are clear: ObamaCare will add trillions of dollars in new taxes, increase our \$16 trillion national debt by hundreds of billions of dollars, cause millions of Americans to lose their health insurance, destroy jobs, increase health premiums, impose new costs on states, and penalize American innovation. The American people must continue to make their voices heard. Washington bureaucrats do not know best. Personal health care decisions should be made between individuals and their doctors. That's why we must fully repeal ObamaCare and pass step-by-step, innovative reforms such as my State Health Flexibility Act."

Outgoing U.S. Rep. Dan Burton explained, "With



the Supreme Court's decision to uphold President Obama's health care tax, it is imperative for the Congress to act swiftly to reverse this deeply flawed law. Not only does it represent a blatant government intrusion into personal lives, but it also stands to become the largest middle class tax increase in American history. With our national debt at nearly \$16 trillion, it would be irresponsible for us not to repeal a piece of legislation that stands to fiscally break the back of our embattled economy."

First CD Republican Joel Phelps joined in, saying of Democrat U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky, "Once again, Representative Pete Visclosky missed an opportunity to reverse his previous votes in favor of the oppressive new taxes this legislation will force on the people of Indiana. His votes are examples of poor decision-making that result from three decades living in Washington, out of touch with those of us who live in Indiana's 1st Congressional District. Obamacare will not reduce health care costs, eliminate waste, improve quality of care, or protect seniors and the low income uninsured."

Donnelly, one of the last Democrats to vote for the measure in March 2010, said, "The health care law includes good provisions that are already helping Hoosiers. Seniors are paying less for prescription drugs and children with pre-existing conditions like diabetes and rheumatoid arthritis now have health coverage for the first time. Repealing the health care law would undo these benefits and negatively impact millions of lives across the country."

That prompted GOP Senate nominee Richard Mourdock to say that Donnelly "sided with the president and against Hoosiers and Indiana business."

The cameras rolled. There was outrage expressed. There was far more focus on the dangers of a law, most of which hasn't even gone into effect yet. While there was some talk about what might "replace" the repealed law, that was not the focus on Wednesday.

The focus was clearly on Nov. 6. ❖



Pence begins 4th TV ad beginning today

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Republican Mike Pence will begin airing his fourth TV today, highlighting what he calls "Indiana's extraordinary commitment to military service."

The Pence campaign said the commercial is designed to "honor Hoosiers' dedication to serve."

Pence says in the opening frames, "Indiana has the fourth largest National Guard in America. When our nation calls, Indiana's sons and daughters answer. Their service and sacrifice is a blessing to America."

Indiana is the 16th largest state by population, so Hoosiers are answering the call to serve at a higher rate than in many other states.

Pence has visited military personnel serving in Iraq and Afghanistan 10 times since 2003, including visits to Baghdad, Mosul, and Kabul.



The ad will begin airing

Thursday morning at 5 a.m. on television and cable stations statewide. It also will be available at www.mikepence.com.

The John Gregg campaign observed, "Four ads and he hasn't mentioned the word 'jobs' once," said spokesman Daniel Altman.

Pence's Democratic opponent, John Gregg, spent the week detailing his reforms for the Department of Child Services.

"We need to make the protection of our children a top priority," Gregg said. "In recent years, the Department of Child Services has failed to provide necessary services for Hoosier families. Our children are our greatest resource, and as Governor I will fight to ensure that every Hoosier child has the opportunity to grow up in a safe and loving home."

"As Governor, I will ensure that DCS is always working in the best interests of the child," Gregg said. "That means providing prevention services that can keep children out of the juvenile justice system. That means helping families that want to adopt children with mental health issues and it means making children a priority."

On Wednesday, Gregg made stops in South Bend, Hancock County and Porter County, while Vi Simpson held a presser in Terre Haute.

"They were pounding the pavement," said Altman. "We've got both of them out and they are getting much exposure."

Altman noted that while the Pence campaign has articulated an emphasis on children, including the nominee's June 9 Republican Convention speech. Pence cited "improving the health, safety and well-being of Hoosier families, especially children" among the issues he would emphasize.

But the Gregg campaign noted that one day later, Pence did not bother to show up for two committee votes for the Child Protection Act of 2012.

The Pence campaign noted that the candidate has taken up residency in McCordsville. Sources tell HPI that the home the Pences own in Columbus has been rented out. The campaign described the move to McCordsville as one for "personal and professional" reasons.

It is close to the campaign headquarters in Carmel as well as Indianapolis International Airport. "Columbus is home for the Pences, but family needs and professional convenience made this move necessary," according to Pence spokeswoman Christy Denault.

Pence has lived in Arlington, Va., since 2002. "We are glad to hear that Congressman Pence is finally moving back to Indiana," said Daniel Altman, Gregg spokesman.

"As a gesture of good will, the Gregg campaign will pay to send the first moving truck to Pence's real home, in Virginia."

Two days before Gov. Mitch Daniels was chosen to be the next president of Purdue University, his "Aiming Higher" political action committee wrote two \$25,000 checks (Indianapolis Star). One went to Pence and one went to Tony Bennett, who is seeking re-election as superintendent of public instruction. Call them parting gifts.

They could be the last candidate donations Daniels makes for a while. Moments after Purdue trustees elected Daniels on June 21 to take over the university's

helm when his tenure as governor ends in January, Daniels said he would no longer be involved in partisan politics. "No campaigning," Daniels said. "No commenting about anybody's campaign in the state, out of the state, anywhere at all. No fundraising. Nothing." The only exception, he said, would be if he felt compelled to defend his own administra-



Mike Pence filed a recent ad in front of his family home in Columbus, but the campaign announced last week that the Pence family is moving to McCordsville.



tion's record.

The three candidates for governor will meet in three debates this fall (Indianapolis Star). The Indiana Debate Commission, which has hosted Indiana political debates since 2008, said the candidates -- Democrat John Gregg, Republican Mike Pence and Libertarian Rupert Boneham -- have agreed to participate. No dates or locations have been selected. Operators of venues who want to host one of the debates can apply online at <http://indianadebate.commission.com/venue>. The deadline to apply to host a debate is July 27. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Pence

Congress

1st CD: Freedomworks eyes Visclosky

The latest Republican challenger to U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky is riding the Tea Party's disdain for career politicians into another unlikely victory this year (Dolan, NWI Times). "I think it's an exciting time to be here in Indiana. Indiana in a lot of ways is ground zero for the 2012 elections," Matt Kibbe, president and CEO of FreedomWorks for America, said Monday prior to speaking at a fundraiser for Joel Phelps at Innsbrook Country Club. "Grass-root activists on the ground are winning races professionals said we couldn't win. You saw that in the fight between (Richard) Mourdock and (Dick) Lugar. To me that's exciting because that puts more power in the hands of voters, and I think that network of activists is very much alive and looking for a fight," Kibbe said. FreedomWorks is a Washington, D.C.-based political action committee focusing the Tea Party movement's energy into campaigns to defeat moderate Republicans as well as Democrats for the overall goals of less government. It is expected to raise millions of dollars this year to defeat President Barack Obama and put conservatives in control of both houses of Congress. It helped mobilize the vote that ousted Lugar, the longtime U.S. Senator, in the May Republican primary and gave the victory to Mourdock, the state treasurer. Phelps is hoping for a similar upset in the Nov. 6 general election of Visclosky, who has trounced 24 opponents in both parties and captured an average of 64 percent of the vote since his first election in 1984. Phelps said the job is daunting but "I would challenge the premise that this year is any tougher than before. We believe he's been in there too long. The people in Northwest Indiana understand it's time for somebody new." Kibbe said Visclosky's money, incumbency and name recognition don't matter as much as in the past. "The power of this activist-driven movement is that it's not Republican or Democrat. It's driven by concern that government has gotten too big and there is too much Washington keeping us from economic recovery. There are a lot of disappointed Democrats with buyer's remorse," Kibbe said. Kibbe said FreedomWorks trains Tea Party members in the basics of

getting out the vote. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Visclosky

9th CD: Young posts \$311k

U.S. Rep. Todd Young was the only congressional candidate in Indiana to have reported \$1 million raised before May's primary. Don't expect him to give up his spot as the fundraising leader when quarterly FEC reports are filed this weekend. HPI has learned exclusively that Young raised \$311,000 from April to May, including well over \$260,000 in the period since the primary that the report covers. The previous best quarter for Young was \$225,000, indicating that the money machine is gearing up ahead of the November general election. For the cycle he's raised \$1.25 million, with nearly \$900,000 on hand. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Young

Indiana General Assembly

SD5: Medicare issue surfaces vs. Charbonneau

Democratic Indiana Senate candidate Deb Porter on Wednesday blasted state Sen. Ed Charbonneau, R-Valparaiso, for his support of a state law that could someday end Medicare for Hoosier seniors (Carden, NWI Times). Earlier this year the Republican-controlled General Assembly approved Indiana's participation in the Health Care Compact. The proposed multistate agreement, which requires Congressional consent to take effect, would allow states to determine eligibility and services covered under federally funded health programs. Porter said Charbonneau's vote in favor of House Enrolled Act 1269 jeopardizes "vital health care services and programs for our most vulnerable citizens." "Medicare is a promise that we made to our seniors and one that we need to keep," said Porter, a Valparaiso teacher. "It is unfair to change the rules on the people who have paid into this program for decades." The new law specifically bars Indiana from taking over Medicare under the Health Care Compact until the Legislature agrees to do so. Porter campaign spokeswoman Kristen Knuth said there's no reason to doubt Charbonneau would vote again in favor of a policy he's supported before. Charbonneau said Porter's attack is a "desperate attempt by a floundering campaign to gain attention by frightening elderly Hoosiers with misrepresentation, falsehoods and political foolishness." "What the bill does is express Indiana's frustration with Obamacare and its costly expansion of the Medicaid program for the poor," Charbonneau said. "The alternative I supported is to explore a compact among states which would allow us to use programs, such as the highly successful and cost-effective Healthy Indiana Plan, pool our resources, innovate, solve problems, save dollars and save lives — free from federal government influence." ❖



The GOP's race problem

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON - Mitt Romney's appearance before the NAACP Wednesday is a reminder of how thoroughly the Republican Party has alienated non-white voters in America over the past 40 years. It's safe to say a party that was once replete with political leaders who were vocally progressive on matters of race, including Romney's father, is no longer the party of Lincoln.

Romney's speech was not even targeted to the members of the NAACP, the oldest and largest non-partisan civil rights group in the country. Nor was it designed to woo African American voters in general. Rather it was intended as a message to the Republican base that although as President he might reach out to groups beyond his natural constituency, Romney will not compromise conservative Republican orthodoxy.

Unfortunately for Romney's presidential chances, it was a missed opportunity to begin bridging a widening gulf between a party whose base is older whites and an America that is rapidly increasing its racial diversity. In an election in which Romney can't seem to climb above President Barack Obama no matter how bad the economic news, any inroads into Obama's support could prove the difference between winning



and losing.

Though Romney did speak to the NAACP in general terms about education and black unemployment, he failed to address key issues that prevent the GOP from attracting any new African American voters. In particular, the Republican Party's manic pursuit of voter identification laws that unquestionably will have the effect of disenfranchising tens of thousands of black, Latino, and low-income voters have hardened negative feelings toward the GOP among non-whites, particularly blacks. Those negative impressions were further solidified by the recent Republican-led congressional contempt citation of Eric Holder, the first African American Attorney General in U.S. history, which many blacks believe was racially motivated.

The alienation of black voters from the GOP is the product of a deliberate political strategy that is directly traceable to the 1968 presidential campaign when Richard Nixon adopted his infamous "southern strategy." Nixon's southern strategy was originally designed to enable him to overcome the threat of independent presidential candidate

George Wallace in the South by exploiting racial fears without appearing to be overtly racist, as Wallace often was.

Nixon, who was worried Wallace's appeal in the South would tilt the election to Hubert Humphrey, also cut a deal with Strom Thurman to gain the support of the southern political establishment in exchange for a promise of southern Supreme Court nominations and tough "law and order" policies. Nixon's southern strategy became the template for the Republican Party as it has continued to exploit racial fears in order to win the white vote, mostly through what former Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater called "coded" language.

Republicans have been largely following the same racially charged formula when it comes to Hispanic voters, as evidenced by the vindictively narrow views expressed during the Republican presidential debates. Romney's language about the need for undocumented immigrants to "self-deport" compared with Obama's recent executive order to stop deporting young undocumented immigrants helps explain why Obama is leading Romney among Latinos 70 percent to 16 percent.

The long-term demographics in America spell big trouble for a Republican Party whose base is quickly shrinking. A Quinnipiac University poll of Florida voters in late June showed Romney winning voters over 55, white voters and men. All other demographic groups broke for Obama: women, black and Latino voters, and voters 54 and younger. The survey gave Obama a 4-point lead overall.

A critical reason Romney is unable to surge past Obama despite continuing poor economic news is tied to the rapid rise in non-white voters over the past 20 years. Between 1992 and 2008, the number of non-white voters doubled from 13 percent to 26 percent. Political scientists are predicting that number will approach 30 percent in 2012. To put this change in perspective applying today's voting patterns and demographics, Ronald Reagan's landslide in 1984 over Walter Mondale would have been a squeaker. Republicans can no longer afford to write off minority voters.

At the NAACP conference, Romney could have exploited the President's weakness on the economy by offering specifics that would have appealed to some African Americans. For example, he could have recycled some of Jack Kemp's ideas about "black capitalism" while expressing some of Kemp's empathy for the poor. Kemp wanted to use creative capitalism rather than a "safety net" to free lower-income Americans from a system that trapped them in poverty.

Romney seems incapable to formulate a message that includes minority voters because he has no real connection to them. Romney's identity is to the nation's wealthiest 1 percent. His politics are the Republican politics of the past 40 years rather than the politics of a multi-eth-



nic American future.

Rather than bait the NAACP audience over a health care reform law that is popular with African Americans, Romney might have done better extending an olive branch by promising, for example, that he will be a President who like his father George Romney will stand up for the right to vote. Or he could have put to rest for the country once and for all the obsession of some in his party with disputing

Obama's Hawaiian birthplace.

Instead, Romney proved he is incapable of the kind of presidential vision and leadership the country clearly craves. ❖

Sautter is a Democratic consultant based in Washington.

Employment snapshots challenge policy discussion

By MORTON J. MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS - Every month we get snapshots of employment from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Indiana Department of Workforce Development. One snapshot tells us how many people are employed and how many are unemployed. Another tells us how many jobs there are in our many economies.

The difference between people employed and number of jobs is due to two factors. First, these are surveys of different entities. The number employed is based on a survey of households; the number of jobs is based on a survey of employers. Second, one person may hold more than one job.



The snapshot of jobs tells us interesting and important differences among 14 metropolitan areas within the state. For example, in May, nearly one-third of all private sector jobs in Indiana are in the Indianapolis metro area. The next largest metro area (Gary, i.e. Lake

and Porter counties) has less than one third the number of private sector jobs as does Indianapolis.

Elkhart-Goshen (37.8) and Columbus (37.7) lead the state in average number of hours worked per week. Bloomington and Lafayette (29.5 and 31.8 hours respectively) trail the state. Part-time employment of the significant college populations probably accounts for these results.

Columbus has average hourly earnings of \$25.90, highest in the state, while Elkhart-Goshen ranks ninth at \$19.99. The statewide average is \$21.11. Gary is the second highest (\$23.74) with Anderson the lowest at \$16.81.

When average hourly earnings are multiplied by average weekly hours, we get average weekly earnings. Columbus wins this category by a wide margin at \$976 while second place goes to Gary at \$836. The statewide

average is \$730 with Anderson last at \$566.

The 14 Indiana metro areas pictured in these monthly reports (Louisville and Cincinnati areas are not shown) represent 79 percent of jobs in the state with 83 percent of the total private sector earnings.

How does Indiana compare with other states? Our statewide average hourly earnings are 10 percent below the national figure, ranking 32nd in the country. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Washington lead the nation with average hourly earnings above \$27. Arkansas trails the nation at \$17.95 per hour.

The average work week for Hoosiers in the private sector is 34.6 hours, only marginally above the 34.3 national figure. The resulting average weekly earnings for Indiana is \$730 compared to \$801 nationally.

In this year of gubernatorial and legislative elections, the data reported here deserve attention. The economic discussions so far have been focused on the number of jobs and the corporate income tax. Most candidates want to increase the number of jobs and eliminate the corporate income tax. This is blatant nonsense, foolish pandering, and dependence on obsolete economic thinking.

Indiana does not need more jobs. We need jobs that pay better. With better paying jobs, fewer people would have to work, fewer people would hold two jobs to make ends meet, and fewer households would have two adults in the work force.

Indiana needs higher paying jobs. Eliminating the corporate income tax does not promise to raise workers' incomes. A more profitable company does not necessarily pay more in wages than its competitors. We will have a workforce that is worth more when the products and services it produces are worth more in the global marketplace.

This requires businesses that are industry leaders with management aggressively seeking new products, new processes and new markets. Worker training is always desirable, but without imaginative, progressive management, Indiana will continue to be a below average, mediocre state. ❖

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



Taking a stab at defending Richard Mourdock

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND - Because of a silly mistake in releasing four differing responses to the Supreme Court health care decision - before the decision was announced - the national news media and late-night comedians portray Indiana's Richard Mourdock as a fool.

Somebody needs to defend Mourdock, the Tea Party favorite who won the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate.

So, I will. As best I can.

Comedy Central's Stephen Colbert was one who mocked Mourdock, seeking no doubt to make our Hoosier politician the 2012 joke equivalent of Delaware loser Christine "I Am Not a Witch" O'Donnell. Clearly unfair. Christine never sought to kill Chrysler.



The flap is all about the four responses - or what Colbert sarcastically calls "presponses" - mistakenly released by Mourdock's campaign on YouTube. And quickly taken down, though not quick enough.

Preparing for four possibilities for Court rulings, Mourdock, standing in front of an attractive brick wall, had these four different opening statements:

1. "Well, we've had our brief moment of celebration because the Supreme Court ruled that Obamacare is in fact unconstitutional." (Credit Mourdock with clairvoyance. There was a brief moment of celebration by Obamacare opponents when CNN and Fox News initially headlined that it was ruled unconstitutional.)

2. "Well, the Supreme Court has done what none of us really thought could happen. They ruled Obamacare constitutional." (Alas, no clairvoyance here. Not a word about Chief Justice Roberts being the one to do what none of us really thought could happen.)

3. "The Supreme Court struck down part but not all of the health care bill." (Murdock's campaign was just following the Boy Scout motto, "Be Prepared.")

4. "The United States Supreme Court has done what none of us expected. They found an answer on the health care issue which basically led them to no decision at all." (Murdock perhaps was thinking of Congress, where so often there is no decision at all.)

In defending Mourdock from the columnists, commentators, comedians and bloggers who made fun of him, I suggest that he intentionally gave them something silly to distract them from something he feared as potentially more serious, more damaging, the reports on June auto sales.

You see, as a thrifty state treasurer, Mourdock went to court, spending millions of taxpayer money in seeking to scuttle the federal effort to save Chrysler. He opposed the recovery plan for General Motors, too. Now, nasty critics point to how Chrysler, a major Indiana employer, has expanded its workforce and facilities, leading Indiana's manufacturing recovery effort and helping the state increase revenue to build a surplus.

By skillfully focusing attention on those four health care "presponses," Mourdock avoided having to respond to the Chrysler report. But he surely had four possible responses prepared, with opening statements something like this:

1. "Well, we've had our brief moment of celebration because Chrysler's June sales plummeted. But we must fight on now against renewed efforts by left-wingers like Nancy Pelosi, Dick Lugar and Chief Justice Roberts to support another Chrysler comeback before the election." (Unfortunately, there was not even a brief celebration. Nothing but bad news. Chrysler's June sales were up a robust 20 percent, way above analysts' expectations, for the best June since 2007. General Motors also had a big 15.5 percent increase.)

2. "Well, Chrysler has done what none of us really thought could happen. June sales were up quite a bit. (No clairvoyance. He didn't see how American auto workers and management really could cooperate for success.)

3. "The American auto companies did have some good increases, but only part of them." (Murdock would be left pointing out that Ford was up only a healthy 7 percent.)

4. The auto companies did what none of us expected. They refused to issue June reports, a decision leaving us basically with no information at all." (He would portray this, if it had happened, as a plot by the auto companies and the United Auto Workers to withhold good news about plummeting sales until after the election.)

The comedians may laugh at Mourdock. But he could have the last laugh. They portray him as a fool. But that doesn't mean that Indiana voters will reject him. Haven't we sent fools to Congress before? ❖

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



Stop local government chaos; fill out a form

By **LARRY DeBOER**

WEST LAFAYETTE - There's potential for chaos in Indiana local government in 2013. Indiana taxpayers can prevent this chaos. All we have to do is send in a form.

Here's the story.

Homeowners receive some terrific breaks under Indiana's property tax system. First, the \$45,000 standard deduction is subtracted from the taxable assessed value of homesteads. Then what remains is reduced another 35 percent by the supplemental homestead deduction. Some counties have homestead credits, which are percentage reductions in homestead tax bills. Local governments replace this lost property tax revenue with local income tax revenue. Finally, homesteads are subject to a tax cap at 1 percent of the original assessed value. When all the tax breaks are applied, the tax bill on a mid-valued house can be cut in half, and then



some.

A homestead is defined as an owner-occupied primary residence. Homeowners can only have one primary residence, so they can qualify for only one set of homestead tax breaks. Second homes or vacation homes are classified as non-homestead residential property, and they don't get the tax breaks.

The state suspects that some people are getting homestead deductions and credits they aren't supposed to get. People who own more than one home, sometimes in more than one county, may be getting homestead tax breaks on more than one house.

To catch these errors, the state has authorized counties to send homestead verification forms to homeowners. These are pink forms that were included with tax bills. The form asks homeowners to show that their house is eligible for homestead tax breaks. The counties will use this information to look for people who are claiming more than one homestead. The state's Department of Local Government Finance has a lot of information about these forms on their website, at <http://www.in.gov/dlgf/8455.htm>.

The forms first went out a couple of years ago. For taxes in 2013, county auditors can use this information to cancel the homestead status for homes that don't qualify. People who have not submitted their forms can lose their homestead tax breaks, too.

A lot of people don't bother with forms, but ignoring this form could cost them their homestead deductions and credits.

Tax rates could be affected if a lot of homeowners don't submit their forms. Without those big homestead deductions, a county's total assessed value would be higher. Tax rates would then be set lower to raise the necessary revenue. Qualified homestead owners would pay less in taxes at those lower rates. So would owners of rental housing, farmland and businesses. Counties with homestead credits funded by local income taxes would provide more tax relief to fewer homesteads. Credit rates would be set higher. Qualified homestead owners would see even lower tax bills.

Now here's the chaos for local governments.

Homeowners who lose their homestead tax breaks will notice that their 2013 tax bills are really high. The law allows homeowners to appeal to their county auditor to have their deductions reinstated for 2013. You can read the law at <http://www.in.gov/legislative/ic/code>. The code citation is IC 6-1.1-12-17.8.

Failure to submit the form need not have tax consequences for homeowners. But there would be budget consequences for local governments. When the deductions are reinstated, 2013 tax bills will have been mailed. Tax rates and homestead credit rates will have been set. They cannot be changed.

Reinstated deductions would be subtracted from total assessed value. With less assessed value, those fixed low tax rates would deliver less revenue than local governments budgeted. Counties, cities, schools and other local governments would find themselves short of funds. More homeowners would be eligible for homestead credits at those fixed high rates. There wouldn't be enough local income tax revenue to replace those credits, so local governments would again receive less revenue than budgeted.

The law requires counties to send notice to homeowners before deductions are cancelled. It's a really good idea for those notices to be sent well before tax rates are set.

What's the chaos in store for 2013? Some very unhappy homeowners appealing their tax bills. Tax rates set too low, and homestead credits set too high. Local governments struggling to handle revenue shortfalls.

It doesn't have to be, though. All we have to do is send in a form. ❖

DeBoer is a professor of agricultural economics at Purdue University.



Hoosier governors

By **RICH JAMES**

MERRILLVILLE – A friend called the other day and said she had just heard Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg on the phone.

"This guy can't be elected governor," she said. "He sounds like a county bumpkin."

"No," I said, "he's actually a very bright and witty man. He's not a bumpkin. He's a Hoosier. He hails from southern Indiana, a little place called Sanborn. It's just up the road a piece from Vincennes, if that helps."

"I'm sure Gregg sounds perfectly normal to the folks who live downstate. He may sound like the guy next door to just about everyone south of the Kankakee River.

"While those of us in Lake County are Hoosiers, we don't much sound like it. That's partly why they call us Region Rats.

"Many of those in Indianapolis don't sound like Hoosiers either. That's why they pronounce the state capital as Indanapolis.

"Gregg's speech may sound somewhat bumpkin, but don't be fooled – you don't get elected speaker of the House if you don't have a lot on the ball. Gregg does." That conversation led me to think about the men elected governor since I've been following the sport. That dates back to Otis R. Bowen, who was best known as Doc. He was a country doctor who I suspect made house calls. While he didn't sound like Gregg, he was a Hoosier through and through.

Doc Bowen made you feel good about being a Hoosier. People felt comfortable knowing there was a doctor sitting in the governor's office. It was almost as if he would show up if you got sick. Doc beat Matt Welsh in 1972 and Larry Conrad in 1976. Conrad was one of those likeable Hoosiers but found out you can't beat a legend. When Doc left office, his lieutenant governor, Bob Orr, was elected governor in 1980.

Although he was from Evansville, Orr wasn't cut out of that Hoosier mold, but rather looked like a governor - a tall, slim man with silver hair. Orr defeated Democrat John Hillenbrand, a millionaire casket maker who I once saw pour Worcestershire sauce on cottage cheese. In 1984, Orr defeated state Sen. Wayne Townsend, a bright and likeable man who lacked that special something that's needed to be elected governor.

Gubernatorial politics changed in 1988 when Evan Bayh defeated Republican John Mutz. Mutz may have been

the brightest man I ever encountered in Indiana politics. But, he wasn't a real Hoosier. He was an Indianapolis businessman.

Bayh remains an enigma to the gubernatorial scene. While he was young and good looking, he too, didn't have a streak of Hoosier in him.

I suspect a couple things happened. After 20 years of Republican governors, I think the state was ready for a Democrat.

But I think the bigger reason was that many felt guilty about defeating Evan's father, Sen. Birch Bayh, in 1980. And they quickly learned that Dan Quayle was a real mistake. An empty suit if you will.

Nevertheless, voters thought there might be some of Birch – a real Hoosier - in Evan. There wasn't. Birch, by the way, was from Shirkieville, which isn't all that far from Sanborn.

In 1992, Bayh defeated Republican Attorney General Linley Pearson, a nice man but not steeped in Hoosierism.

In 1996 Frank O'Bannon, who by rights should have been the governor candidate in 1988 but instead graciously stepped aside and took the lieutenant governor's post, was elected governor. I watched O'Bannon serve as minority leader of the Indiana Senate for six years. I have never met a finer man in Indiana government. And yes, O'Bannon, from Corydon in southern Indiana was a Hoosier. O'Bannon defeated Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith, an extremely bright man who didn't have an inkling of what it meant to be a Hoosier.

In 2000, O'Bannon was easily re-elected, defeating U.S. Rep. David McIntosh, who was a flop in Congress and not much of a Hoosier.

When O'Bannon died in office, Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan took over and lost to Mitch Daniels in 2004. But Daniels already had been traversing Indiana trying to shed his Eli Lilly executive image and establish himself as a Hoosier. He ate a lot of country fried steak and peach cobbler while selling himself to Hoosiers. He got the job done. He became a likeable guy until his politics got to be ultra conservative.

In 2008, Daniels was easily re-elected over Jill Long Thompson, who was little more than a sacrificial lamb for Democrats who knew they couldn't beat Daniels.

So now we have Gregg, the country lawyer, against Mike Pence. Pence, who is part of the radical right, will talk about Hoosier values but not really understand what that means. Can Gregg win? It will be an uphill fight. But he may just be the most Hoosier governor candidate in the last 40 years. ❖

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





Doug Ross, NWI Times: As much as I try to connect the dots on major issues, sometimes those dots seem to connect themselves. That has been happening on illegal immigration lately. Some of these recent developments you already know about, such as President Barack Obama announcing that young illegal immigrants wouldn't be deported unless they committed a crime. The DREAM Act, previously promoted by U.S. Sens. Dick Durbin, D-Ill., and Dick Lugar, R-Ind., would create a path to citizenship for young illegal immigrants who came here not of their own will but because their parents brought them. Send them back to their home country? The United States is all they've ever known. The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling on the Arizona immigration case last week is still fresh in people's minds. State Sen. Mike Delph, R-Carmel, is elated that Indiana sent the feds a \$131 million bill late last week to cover the cost of state services used by illegal immigrants since July 1, 2011. It's purely a poke in the feds' eye in frustration over federal immigration enforcement here. That same law prohibits local police from checking the citizenship status of crime victims and witnesses. Which brings us to East Chicago Police Chief Mark Becker. Becker spoke with the The Times Editorial Board on Thursday. We discussed the problems of controlling crime in a city with perhaps a thousand illegal immigrants. It's not the problem you might think. Sure, there are illegal immigrants who commit violent crimes, but the more prevalent and intriguing problem is the victimization of illegal immigrants. When you think about it, this makes sense. Illegal immigrants are afraid to report crimes for fear they will be deported, so they stay quiet. And because they don't report the crimes, the criminals know they can continue to victimize these people with little fear of repercussion. Becker, a former FBI agent, says he is more concerned about fighting crime than about residents' legal status. But reaching out to them is difficult. It's going to take time to build trust among illegal immigrants, so Becker is reaching out to the appropriate organizations. Eventually, someone will get to know Becker well enough to discover his integrity. Then others will follow the lead and start reporting crimes. ❖

Larry Riley, Muncie Star Press: I've heard some of the jokes about the future of Indiana's land grant university with an upcoming former state governor as the institution's president. Routes to and through campus will be made toll roads to generate revenue, then leased for 75 years to get the cash up front and pay off all school debt. The admissions process will be outsourced to IBM and totally automated. An excise tax on all alcohol consumed on or near campus to pay for all varsity sports and public safety officers. Future tuition hikes to be capped at 1 percent for seniors, 2 percent for juniors and 3 percent for all others.



Kidding aside, I think his selection by Purdue's trustees — yes, I know he appointed most of them — was as brilliant a move as it was dramatic. Perhaps Promethean in creative originality. Not everyone agrees. Protesters demonstrated on the Memorial Mall of the campus in West Lafayette last weekend, and a former university education dean withdrew in protest a \$1 million gift she was in the process of bestowing on Purdue. Yet who can deny the precarious state of public higher education today in the United States, a status spotlighted by the debacle of firing, then rehiring, the president of the University of Virginia two weeks ago. All over the question of leadership in a time of technological change, financial constraints, and demands for accountability for educational outcomes. The failure of Purdue's board of trustees to find acceptable candidates for the presidency in what I heard were two initial searches — where the usual candidates would have been vetted by the standard headhunter consultants — is itself telling and disturbing.

That led to somebody's brainstorm: consider Mitch Daniels as a prospect. The man has had at least three remarkable careers, not counting one of fatherhood during a marriage and divorce and remarriage (to the same woman) so challenging that it could well be the primary reason he backed off a presidential campaign bid. In his current position, he's been willing to be a lightning rod for change: change in the model of state and local governance, change in taxes to limit government growth, change in the relationship between state employees and their employer, the people of Indiana. ❖

Dan Carpenter, Indianapolis Star: What if I were governor and had to decide what to do with \$2 billion? I could put back \$300 million I cut from education and rehire laid-off teachers. I could restore the \$300 million the Department of Child Services "voluntarily" returned to the state treasury and address the many areas of suffering where more help cries out to be delivered. I could treat a whole family of underfed needs. Early childhood education. The 21st Century Scholars program. Food banks, when hundreds of thousands are at risk of hunger. Home health care for the elderly and disabled, which has thousands on the waiting list when it costs a fraction of what taxpayers will expend on nursing homes. A longer list with all of the above, in fact, comes courtesy of the Indiana Coalition for Human Services, which dares to ask at what price we gained the \$2 billion surplus Gov. Mitch Daniels is proudly declaring -- and the \$300 million in taxpayer refunds it triggers. The governor makes it simple. He's run a tight ship, and the law says his surplus compels him to delight the taxpayers with \$100 to \$200 a shot. But is this grownup behavior? Won't taxpayers get the bill for education and health care, if not now then later and bigger? ❖



Crown Point to challenge 911 law

CROWN POINT - Crown Point officials rejected an interlocal agreement for a countywide consolidation of E-911 services and authorized its city attorney to challenge the merger's constitutionality (Erler, NWI Times). Mayor David Uran said the consolidation unfairly calls on cities and towns to spend more on police and fire emergency communications with little return in quality of service. "We've already got the best equipment and the best personnel," Uran said of the city's own emergency dispatch center. "For us to diminish service and pay more is absolutely asinine." The General Assembly mandated communities consolidate into no fewer than two public safety call centers by Dec. 31, 2014. Lake County officials have proposed a \$30 million model for replacing 18 community dispatch units with two major call centers and new communications gear. Cities and towns signing the interlocal agreement would have to commit millions of tax dollars from their future budgets to a unified communications system. Failure to meet the consolidation deadline would mean the loss of nearly \$4 million in state subsidies now keeping emergency communications up and running.



Stutzman balks on farm bill

WASHINGTON - The House Agriculture Committee approved the 2012 farm bill early Thursday morning in a 35-11 vote (The Hill). The strong vote — which took place just before 1 a.m. — on the \$957 billion farm subsi-

dy and nutrition measure was a major victory for Chairman Frank Lucas (R-Okla.) and ranking member Rep. Collin Peterson (D-Minn.) who had risked angering factions in their own parties to forge a compromise bill. Earlier in the marathon markup, which began at 10 am on Wednesday, conservatives and liberals had brawled over the \$16.5 billion in cuts to food stamps in the bill. The final 11 dissenters included both Democrats and Republicans. They were GOP Reps. Bob Goodlatte (Va.), Marlin Stutzman (Ind.), Bob Gibbs (Ohio) and Tim Huelskamp (Kan.); and Democratic Reps. Joe Baca (Calif.), David Scott (Ga.), Chellie Pingree (Maine), Joe Courtney (Conn.), Marcia Fudge (Ohio), Terri Sewell (Ala.) and Jim McGovern (Mass.).

Berry to outline Indiana finances

INDIANAPOLIS - Auditor Tim Berry is releasing more details on how Indiana built an estimated \$2 billion in cash reserves (Evansville Courier & Press). Berry is set to release detailed fiscal data Thursday as part of his annual closeout of the state budget. Indiana built extensive cash reserves over the last two years through deep budget cuts and improved tax collections. Gov. Mitch Daniels touted estimates last week that he said would trigger his automatic tax refund and grant taxpayers a credit of roughly \$100 each. The budget wrap-up is also expected to account for more than a half-billion dollars in tax collection mistakes discovered by the Daniels administration over the last year.

Zoeller pushes back fair deadline

INDIANAPOLIS - Attorney General Greg Zoeller is giving victims of the Indiana State Fair stage col-

lapse more time to decide whether to accept a portion of \$6 million in state money that's linked to a settlement with the owner and manufacturer of the stage. Zoeller said Wednesday he's pushing back the deadline for victims to accept the money to August 1. Tony Patterson, who leads a group of lawyers representing the victims, says it wants plaintiffs to have more time to review the deal.

St. Joe River at historic low level

SOUTH BEND - Some gauges along the St. Joseph River show the it has never been this low in recorded history (South Bend Tribune). It stood at 4.33 feet in Niles Wednesday, setting a new record low. And in Elkhart it tied with the record low. The National Weather Service tells us the river is severely strained right now trying to meet all the irrigation and municipal water needs. That's the situation with surface water, but we're in much better shape with water underground.

Rokita questions dam water release

MONTICELLO - U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita sent a letter Wednesday to the Fish and Wildlife Service, saying he worries that releasing water from Lake Freeman into the Tippecanoe River near Monticello could hurt businesses that rely on tourism to the lake. The agency ordered over the weekend that Northern Indiana Public Service Co. maintain a minimum flow through its hydroelectric dam. Wildlife service supervisor Scott Pruitt tells the Journal & Courier the lake hasn't dropped by the 1 foot or more that was projected. He says NIPSCO rarely drops the dam's water flow below the minimum.