

V18, N9

Politics Indiana

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Romney's debate a GOP reprieve

Strong debate against Obama could revive his flagging campaign

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - Mitt Romney effectively revived his flagging fortunes - and those of down ballot Republians - last night with a riveting debate performance against a laconic President Obama, who seemed to avoid eye contact with the nation while his opponent reached back to the campaign trail to personalize his quest.

The first presidential debate in Denver lacked the zingers and red meat politics that has characterized other debate sequences - particularly during the Republican primary when

Romney had to compete with a zany cast of characters all hewing further and further to the right. On Wednesday night, Romney not only forced Obama to defend his economic record that features an 8.3 national jobless rate - saying it has "crushed the middle class" - he offered a series of specifics.

"Gasoline prices have doubled under the president. Electric rates are up. Food prices are up," Rommey



said. "Health-care costs have gone up by \$2,500 a family. Middle-income families are being crushed."

"Look at the evidence of the last four years. It's absolutely extraordinary," he said. "We've got 23 million people out of work or stopped looking for work in this country ... economic growth this year slower than last year, and last year slower than the year before."

Continued on page 3

Romney a clear winner

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE - President Obama apparently was expecting John McCain to show up for the debate. Instead, he faced off with a combative Mitt Romney and clearly was

thrown off rhythm. When even CNN, CBS and other Democrat lean organizations declare it for Romney, it wasn't even close.

Most important for Romney was that the post-debate polling by CBS showed dramatic movement on his most persistent problem. Voters pre-debate believed the President cared about them more than Romney did by a two





"We've had \$5 million of negative ads run against us and certainly negative ads have some impact. But believe me we like where we are right now, we're going to win this race."

- Republican Senate nominee
Richard Mourdock reacting to the
Howey-DePauw Poll



Page 2

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012



Howey Politics Indiana

is a non-partisan newsletter based in Indianapolis. It was founded in 1994 in Fort Wayne.

Brian A. Howey, Publisher **Mark Schoeff Jr.,** Washington **Jack E. Howey,** editor

Subscriptions

\$350 annually HPI Weekly \$550 annually HPI Weekly and HPI Daily Wire.

Contact HPI

Howey Politics Indiana **www.howeypolitics.com** bhowey2@gmail.com

★ Howey's Cabin: 812.988.6520

© 2012, Howey Politics Indiana. All rights reserved. Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher. ❖

to one margin. Post-debate both were over 60% and just a few points separated them. If this holds, it is huge.

Romney also excited Republicans, meaning that the polls will close because he was still consolidating Republicans whereas the President has consolidated his supporters. The President has an upper ceiling whereas Romney does not. The only way the President increases his vote is to trash Romney.

Romney also had the best lines. Whereas Romney had multiple good lines such as "Look, I've got five boys. I'm used to people saying something that's not always true, but just keep on repeating it." Also, "I've been in business for 25 years. I have no idea of what you are talking about." My favorite was "trickle down government" closely followed by "but you've been President for four years" when the President said he just sent a plan over to Congress.

But in spite of all the buzz it is important to remember these key points as well:

- **1. The President,** when sticking to his memorized talking points, delivered them reasonably well. That is what matters for the follow-up advertising on student loans, health care, Medicare and Romney favoring the rich.
- **2. The President** was clearly on the ropes in the first hour, but recovered his footing somewhat and Romney never finished him off.
- **3. There was** no single key moment that will define the debate so despite all polls showing swing voters felt Romney won, it was not a knockout blow.
- **4. Obama is now** set up for a "recovery" in the next debate, similar to Reagan's recovery against Carter. He may not do it, and it is not the desired position, but over-reaction in one direction tends to mean that it is easier to recover.

Still, this fact remains: 40 million plus people saw the President

choke under pressure. From early on, he showed every sign of someone in a debate who knows he is on the ropes. His face showed it, he stumbled over words, looked like he was trying to remember his talking points, repeated himself, went on too long, and looked everything from arrogant to distressed to bored. He looked like someone who is not used to being challenged after stating his point. In that first hour it seemed as though Clint Eastwood was right: Romney was debating an empty chair. Only when Obama smiled to start the second hour did he seem to relax a bit.

Commentators can fill the country with air and ink, but this was basically a mano-a-mano face-off and the President not only lost but was crushed. That is likely to be remembered more than anything else by voters.

Republicans now seem to be underestimating Joe Biden and are overestimating Paul Ryan. I know both of them. Paul is brilliant in explaining tough conservative ideas in the best form possible. And he's likable doing it. Biden is an old school guy, a gasbag, a back-slapper who can also be very moving. He, far more than a cool aloof President, has the best chance of holding the blue collar "God, guns and country" Democrats. Fortunately for conservatives, he is also mistake prone, talks too long and, at times, is full of himself. Still the vice presidential debate is no slam dunk. Republicans would be wise not to become overconfident about it. Ryan may slam dunk him but let's wait to see if he does, not crow about something that may not happen.

My guess is that President Obama will come back to possibly win the second debate according to the media. His expectations will be lowered. The media will want to "even the score." It's the chaos of a town hall meeting. Every advantage goes to the President.

But Mitt Romney now has a



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

critical advantage: he looked the President in the eye and saw that he can "take him." It is like a basketball player against someone who is guarding him. You can see fear in the other person's eyes, or just know that they don't think they can stop you. It is the same when offensive and defensive lineman face off. Politicians in debates can feel the same thing. When you start to get behind, it first shows in your eyes, then your body mannerisms, then your voice. Winners go for the knock-out. Romney was close but did not finish it. But he knows and may do it in the last debate.

The last debate, an hour and a half on foreign policy, could be the final blow to this Administration, such as the President's proposed aid package for Egypt, what happens in the next few weeks between Israel and Iran, new revelations on Libya, and who knows what else (terrorist attack, collapse of more of Obama's model European economies) but few look very promising for the President.

His absolute nightmare would be American hostages because then it would clearly establish what is increasingly becoming true: Barack Obama is Jimmy Carter.

I believe new polls will show Romney ahead in Florida, closing in Ohio, possibly ahead in New Hampshire. Even Colorado, Nevada, Iowa and Wisconsin could be closer. The foreign policy debate, in my opinion, may be the final blow to the President's re-election campaign.

The biggest Indiana loser in the debate was Joe Donnelly. Already the ads for his campaign had switched from moderate nice guy to nasty, a sure sign of trouble. The new Mourdock ads are very effective. If Romney wins Indiana by 10 points, Donnelly is done.

Souder is a former Republican Member of Congress.

Debate, from page 1

"Going forward with the status quo is not going to cut it for the American people who are struggling today," Romney stated.

Obama repeatedly mentioned \$7 trillion in tax cuts along with \$2 trillion in additional military spending that Romney had proposed. Romney was unable to define how he would achieve a balanced budget, though he disavowed the president's premise. The Washington Post reported today: The Tax Policy Center has analyzed the specifics of

Romney's plan thus far released and concluded the numbers aren't there to make it revenue neutral.

And Obama reminded Americans that he inherited an epic mess. "When I walked into the Oval Office, I had more than a trillion-dollar deficit greeting me," Obama said. "And we know where it came from: two wars that were paid for on a credit card, two tax cuts that were not paid for, and a whole bunch of programs that were not paid for, and then a massive economic crisis. And despite that, what we've said is, yes, we had to take some initial emergency measures to

make sure we didn't slip into a Great Depression."

Romney's strong performance comes at a time when early voting is underway in many states, and a series of recent polls showed him trailing significantly in Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin and engaged in a series of dead heats in states like Florida and

Virginia. Romney may have put a dent in the "fear factor" as Americans found him to be well prepared and engaged with the middle class last night. Obama seemed to fall into a presidential rut - one that Presidents Reagan and the two Bushes faced - in this initial debate. In 2004, President George W. Bush had to grapple with the political fallout of the Iraq War. Reagan had an unsteady performance against Walter Mondale in 1984 before roaring back in the final two debates on his way to an emphatic landslide.

Had Romney presented a poor performance, it could have effectively ended the race. Now, many believe

he will experience a post-debate poll bounce that could last for a couple of weeks until the two meet again. It also could keep Super PACs like Karl Rove's Crossroads GPS engaged in the presidential race. There had been speculation that had Romney flagged, a lot of Super PAC money could be steered into Senate and House races, like the Indiana Senate race between Republican Richard Mourdock and Democrat Joe Donnelly.

The debate was conducted in measured, almost wonky tones. And perhaps the most riveting came when the two most compelling health care reformers

in history - Romney bringing full coverage as governor of Massachusetts and Obama with his Affordable Care Act, or "Obamacare" as he said he accepts the term - discussed the changes.

Moderator Jim Lehrer asked Romney, "You want it repealed. You want the Affordable Care Act repealed. Why?"





Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Romney responded with four points. "When you look at Obamacare, the Congressional Budget Office has said it will cost \$2,500 a year more than traditional insurance. So it's adding to cost," Romney said. "And as a matter of fact, when the president ran for office, he said that, by this year, he would have brought down the cost of insurance for each family by \$2,500 a family. Instead, it's gone up by that amount. So it's expensive. Expensive things hurt families. So that's one reason I don't want it.

"Second reason," Romney said, "it cuts \$716 billion from Medicare to pay for it. I want to put that money back in Medicare for our seniors. Number three, it puts in place an unelected board that's going to tell people ultimately what kind of treatments they can have. I don't like that idea. Fourth, a survey done of small businesses across the country said what's been the effect of Obamacare on your hiring plans? And three-quarters of them said it makes us less likely to hire people. I just don't know how the president could have come into office, facing 23 million people out of work, rising unemployment, an economic crisis at the kitchen table, and spend his energy and passion for two years fighting for Obamacare instead of fighting for jobs for the American people. It has killed jobs."

Romney said that the states should be the government units that deal with health care, not the federal government. "And the best course for health care is to do what we did in my state: craft a plan at the state level that fits the needs of the state and then let's focus on getting the costs down for people, rather than raising it with the \$2,500 additional premium."

Obama defended his new law - deeply unpopular in Indiana and deeply divided nationally - by saying, "Well, four years ago, when I was running for office, I was traveling around and having those same conversations that Governor Romney talks about. And it wasn't just that small businesses were seeing costs skyrocket and they couldn't get affordable coverage even if they wanted to provide it to their employees. It wasn't just that this was the biggest driver of our federal deficit, our overall health care costs, but it was families who were worried about going bankrupt if they got sick, millions of families, all across the country. If they had a pre-existing condition, they might not be able to get coverage at all. If they did have coverage, insurance companies might impose an arbitrary limit. And so as a consequence, they're paying their premiums, somebody gets really sick, lo and behold, they don't have enough money to pay the bills, because the insurance companies say that they've hit the limit. So we did work on this, alongside working on jobs, because this is part of making sure that middle-class families are secure in this country."

Obama then pointed to Massachusetts. "The irony is that we've seen this model work really well in Massachusetts, because Governor Romney did a good thing, working with Democrats in the state to set up what is essentially the identical model and as a consequence people are covered there," the president said. "It hasn't destroyed jobs. And as a consequence, we now have a system in which we have the opportunity to start bringing down costs, as opposed to just leaving millions of people out in the cold."

General Election: Romney vs. Obama

RCP Electoral Map | Changes in Electoral Count | Map With No Toss Ups | No Toss Up Changes

Polling Data						
Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Obama (D)	Romney (R)	Spread
RCP Average	9/25 - 10/1		-	49.1	45.9	Obama +3.2
National Journal	9/27 - 9/30	LV	4.5	47	47	Tie
NBC News/Wall St. Jrnl	9/26 - 9/30	832 LV	3.4	49	46	Obama +3
NPR	9/26 - 9/30	800 LV	4.0	51	44	Obama +7
Rasmussen Tracking	9/29 - 10/1	1500 LV	3.0	48	47	Obama +1
CNN/Opinion Research	9/28 - 9/30	783 LV	3.5	50	47	Obama +3
Gallup Tracking	9/25 - 10/1	3050 RV	2.0	50	44	Obama +6
ABC News/Wash Post	9/26 - 9/29	813 LV	4.0	49	47	Obama +2
Quinnipiac	9/25 - 9/30	1912 LV	2.2	49	45	Obama +4



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

The two also had a pointed - though respectful exchange - over taxation. Obama charged that Romney would create a \$5 trillion tax cut for the wealthy.

"I'm not looking to cut massive taxes and to reduce the revenues going to the government," Mr. Romney responded. "My number one principle is there'll be no tax cut that adds to the deficit."

Obama retorted, "For 18 months he's been running

on this tax plan, and now, five weeks before the election, he's saying that his big, bold idea is, 'never mind."

Reaction to the debate found Republicans feeling emboldened, while Democrats appeared to be disappointed.

The Weekly Standard observed, "Best debate performance by a GOP presi-

dential candidate in more than two decades." NBC's Chuck Todd, added, "Very important night for Mitt Romney. And he rose to the challenge."

Vanity Fair observed, "Has Obama ever been this off his game?" The Washington Post's "The Fix" blog noted, "Good golly. Obama looks very annoyed/unhappy."

CNN analyst David Gergen said Romney's performance was "heads and shoulders" above Obama and added, "He seized upon the moment."

Mike Barnicle said on MSNBC's "Morning Joe" today that Romney followed a strategy that allowed him to win the governor's office in Massachusetts in 2002 when he dominated the debate sequence there.

Prof. Larry Sabato's "Crystal Ball" column, observed, "It's pretty obvious who turned in a stronger performance in the first presidential debate last night. And it certainly wasn't the incumbent. This may have been Mitt Romney's best debate ever, and it almost certainly was Barack Obama's worst. The question is, will it matter and, if so, how much will it matter? Romney, who has been persistently trailing by a few points in the national polls and in the key swing states, was more concise, focused and confident than President Obama on Wednesday evening. Obama, given several opportunities to counterattack on some of Romney's points, appeared unwilling to do so, retreating to bland, small-bore, Clintonian talking points. Among the weapons that the president left on the stage was any reference to Romney's now infamous "47%" comment. Perhaps the Obama campaign had a strategic reason for not using that line of attack, but whatever the reasoning was, it sure seems like a mistake. Even the president's strongest allies didn't bother to defend his exceptionally weak performance."

Sabato added, "This was not, however, a scintillating debate. Much of the back-and-forth centered on policy disagreements and references ("Dodd-Frank") that many voters don't know or, honestly, don't care about."

New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie noted that "every time Romney had his back against the wall during the primaries, the guy comes back with a great debate performance."

U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita said, "Governor Romney offered real proposals and policies that have been proven time and again to improve economic conditions. He elevated himself above the politics of division pursued by the president, instead pledging to return to true free market principles of low taxation and a constitutionally based and limited federal government. By getting government out of the way, the private sector can create jobs, spark our economy, and get Americans back to work. The president, once again, did not acknowledge the failures of his policies and refuses

to accept any responsibility for our current economic status. For those of us who know that America's best days must be ahead of her, the choice this November is even more clear."

At one point during the debate, Romney talked about working with a legislature that was 87% Democratic, and said, "My experience, as a governor, is if I come in and lay down a piece of legislation and say: 'it's my way of the highway,' I don't get a lot done. What I do, is the same way that Tip O'Neill and Ronald Reagan worked together."

Donnelly seized on the phrase that he has used in his campaign against Mourdock saying, "Mitt Romney highlighted tonight just how far out of the mainstream Richard Mourdock's 'my way or the highway' approach to politics is by rejecting it on a national stage. I have long said I'll work with anyone if it means one more job for Indiana families, and I'm pleased to see the need for greater bipartisan cooperation in the spotlight."

Instant-reaction polls conducted by CNN and CBS News suggest that Mitt Romney was the winner of the first presidential debate (New York Times). A CNN poll of debate-watchers found Mr. Romney very clearly ahead, with 67 percent of registered voters saying he won the debate, against just 25 percent for President Obama. A CBS News poll of undecided voters who watched the debate found 46 percent siding with Mr. Romney, 22 percent for Mr. Obama and 32 percent saying it was a tie. Google, which is experimenting with online surveys, found 38.9 percent of respondents saying they thought Mr. Obama performed better in a poll it conducted during the debate, against 35.5 percent for Mr. Romney and 25.6 percent who said it was a draw. But a second poll they conducted after the debate found 47.8 percent of respondents giving Mr. Romney the advantage, against 25.4 percent for Mr. Obama. &

Page 5



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Whatever happened to GOP noblesse oblige?

By SHAW R. FRIEDMAN

LaPORTE – Much has been written over the past couple of weeks since the remarks that Mitt Romney uttered at a private fundraiser in Boca Raton in May were made public. Many observers attribute the 4- or 5-point drop that Romney has experienced since in the polls to popular revulsion over the "bone chilling cynicism and revolting smugness" that a New York Times editorial accurately stated was on display by the GOP nominee.

What strikes some as particularly stunning is how far the modern national Republican Party seems to have fallen away from its former Reaganesque notions of a



"common citizenship" to the harsh Ayn Rand mythology of "makers" and "takers."

It appears that Romney cynically sought to stoke anger among the most well-heeled among us at this \$50,000-a-plate dinner. He was literally seeking to foment class warfare of a reverse kind that he and others of his ilk have long complained that Democrats were guilty of asserting

against the wealthy. This time, the class warfare was directed at an entire half of the nation that works for others and worries about earning enough to support their families, pay the rent or mortgage, save what they can to send the kids to college or invest for their retirement.

He was talking about seniors who rely on Social Security, about the disabled, about our veterans. By his characterization, these undeserving "freeloaders" include seniors whose Social Security pensions are too low to be taxed, disabled vets and people who are maimed on the job. It was a stunning display of ignorance and hubris. But what is even more stunning are the intellectual depths to which the national Republican Party has now fallen from its standing in the middle part of the last century. The GOP that most of us grew up with certainly preached self-reliance and independence but understood that government needed to be there to assist the common good.

Yes, Republicans in the '50s, '60s and '70s still conveyed a sense that a privileged elite were somehow destined to rule and govern, but many of those Republican conservatives back then also voiced a belief that the governing elites still had a responsibility to less fortunate citizens and to a broader common good.

Think back to Republicans like Howard Baker, Everett Dirksen, Jacob Javits, Nelson Rockefeller and yes, even Richard Nixon. At the state level, we had Republicans like Doc Bowen, Bob Orr and Richard Lugar who seemed to well understand that government had an important role in working with the private sector to help advance the public good. They each understood the need to provide a safety net for those who might suffer through no fault of their own.

Roll the clock forward and we find Republican conservatives like Mitt Romney and Chris Chocola who find the Ayn Rand-espoused vision not a marginal philosophy anymore, but central to their thinking. The Randian notion of a social Darwinism says folks are on their own and that any 'statist' solutions like Social Security and Medicare are either unconstitutional or impediments to the entrepreneurial spirit. This new breed of Republican conservative has proven itself to be self-centered, greedy and utterly indifferent to the public good.

John Kenneth Galbraith well described this socalled modern "conservative" Republican as engaged "in the search for a superior moral justification for selfishness."

Most offensive is when this language targeting the "freeloaders" comes from the manor-born like Romney or Chris Chocola. Born on third base having thought they hit triples, they hold forth in elegant dining rooms in places like Boca Raton or Washington, D.C., espousing a moral imperative to dismantle the social safety net. This new brand of Republican can sniff at the plight of the average worker while they work mightily to protect the perks, power and privilege of the wealthiest among us.

The up-by-the-bootstraps theocracy they preach is seen in all its phoniness when one realizes these are the same people who refuse to disclose their tax returns or work mightily to avoid taxes by stashing savings in the Cayman Islands or shipping jobs overseas. In their view, the wealthy somehow deserve better treatment and more deference than the rest of us. Just like in their bible, Rand's 1957 "Atlas Shrugged," a few, heroic "businessmen" are the only "makers" while the rest of us are simply parasitic "freeloaders" along for the ride. The hard, cold fact is that 96% of Americans make use of what is provided by our government - whether it's a mortgage deduction, education, business subsidy, unemployment insurance, veterans' benefit or government-built infrastructure, public safety, the courts, protection of patents, trademark and property rights, government plays a role. The other 4% are youngsters, too young to have benefitted yet, but who will likely join the 96% soon.

Sorry Mitt, none of us has just "done it on our own." Maybe at Cranbrook as a rich kid overflowing with class disdain, you simply didn't learn that. Fortunately, the voters are on to your brand of self-satisfied, smug elitism that you call Republican conservatism and they just aren't buying it. �



Page 7

HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Howey/DePauw Poll changes national outlook

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - A day after the Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll showed Democrat Joe Donnelly leading Republican Richard Mourdock in the U.S. Senate race 40-38%, the Washington Post and Roll Call both moved the Indiana race into "Tossup." The Wall Street Journal called the race a "tossup" earlier this week. HPI has rated the Senate race that way right after Mourdock



upset U.S. Sen.
Dick Lugar in the
May 6 primary,
based on March
Howey/DePauw
polling that
showed Lugar

leading Donnelly 50-29%, while Mourdock and Donnelly were tied at 35%. A series of polls since the primary taken from May through August - ranging from Global Strategies internals for Donnelly, Market Research for the pro-Mourdock Indiana Chamber of Commerce, and Rasmussen Reports - all showed the race a dead heat with neither candidate topping 44%.

Even more stunning is a National Journal Political Insider Poll published Friday that revealed GOP operatives now believe a Republican majority in the Senate is in deep jeopardy. The National Journal reported: Only 4 percent of GOP insiders rate their chances as "high," a free-fall in confidence from when National Journal Insiders were asked about Senate races in February. At the time, 66 percent of Republicans were bullish they'd win the four seats necessary to retake control. In September of 2011, 79 percent of

them thought so. Asked on a scale of 0 (no chance) to 10 (virtual certainty) to rate the GOP's chances, the party insiders averaged a score of 4.4. In February, the score was 6.9. The shift in expectations was mirrored among Democrats. Now, 59 percent of the party's insiders say the odds they will lose a Senate majority are "low." Seven months ago, only 16 percent of them were

Politics Indiana

Mourdock, Donnelly in a deadheat; Romey, Pence post comfortable leads in Howey/DePaux Poll

Mourdock, Donnelly in a deadheat; Romey, Pence post comfortable leads in Howey/DePaux Poll

My MEMA. Novel-win Casena, and the Mourton Poll of Mourton Poll

My Mema. Novel-win Casena, and the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mema. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mem. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mem. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mem. My Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mills for depolation as well as the Mills for depolation as well as the Mourton Poll

My Mills for depolation as well as the Mills for depolation as w

similarly confident.

"Impossible not to think things are trending down," one GOP insider told the National Journal. Added another, "What once looked like a great takeover chance now appears to be a fair chance." Since insiders were last asked about Senate control, several marguee races have changed. In Maine, GOP Sen. Olympia Snowe's retirement has made independent candidate Angus King the favorite. In Missouri, GOP Rep. Todd Akin's "legitimate rape" fiasco might be the only thing that saves highly vulnerable Democratic Sen. Claire McCaskill. Akin is pictured, lower right. The GOP is also struggling in two red states it once seemed certain to win: Former Democratic North Dakota Attorney General Heidi Heitkamp has run a much stronger race than expected, and Democratic Rep. Joe Donnelly remains a threat to win his campaign in Indiana. They're facing Rep. Rick Berg (pictured, lower left) and Indiana Teasurer Richard Mourdoch, respectively. "The candidate field on the GOP side leaves much to be desired," said one Republican insider.

Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb told the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette last week that the GOP rift was healing prior to the Howey/DePauw poll. "Of course, yeah," Holcomb said while waiting for Mourdock to arrive for a rally at Allen County Republican Party Head-quarters. "We've come together as a family as we have in the past. Everyone's oaring in the same direction." But the Howey/DePauw poll revealed Mourdock was leading Donnelly only 36-32% in the Republican rich doughnut counties around Indianapolis. By Saturday, Holcomb was accompanying Mourdock on a swing through Hamilton County, a place a Senate nominee would normally be concentrating on getting the vote out, not healing a breach.

Marion County Republican Chairman Kyle Walker insisted that all was well, even as a number of Republicans were abuzz that Mourdock had skipped the Marion County Lincoln dinner last week. "That's much ado about noth-





ing," Walker said.
"Our coordination couldn't be closer. I've talked to other county chairs around here and they're all seeing the same thing."

But other GOP chairs in the doughnut HPI reached out to didn't want to talk. Other county chairs



Page 8

HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

have said off the record the Mourdock campaign has not done a good job of reaching out to county organizations.

But the Journal Gazette's Brian Francisco reported: "The bad news for Mourdock is that recent research shows that supporters of divisive primary losers oftentimes split their ticket to avoid supporting their fellow partisan primary winner," IPFW political scientist Michael Wolf said in an email. "Results from 2008 in Ohio show that some Hillary Clinton supporters supported down-ballot Democrats at higher rates than they supported (Barack) Obama" for president, Wolf said.

WISH-TV reported that Howey/DePauw pollster Christine Matthews tweeted that Libertarian Andy Horning's 7% of support was coming from Republicans, presumably Lugar Republicans unwilling to support Richard Mourdock. "Since Labor Day we know that those Republicans who were certainly unhappy that Mr. Lugar was even challenged, those folks are coming our direction in big numbers," Mourdock said.

The rattled Mourdock campaign will shift emphasis, telling Republicans that a vote for Donnelly will be a vote for Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid. U.S. Sen. Dan Coats was making that case this past week. "People elected me to go back and deal with this debt and deficit, this crisis," Coats said. "We have of people out of work and eight-plus percent of 43 months of straight unemployment just cannot stand. I can't get that done unless I have a partner there that helps us get the majority."

In the latest Howey/DePauw poll, Mourdock is polling just 60% of Lugar primary voters, but 10% of those say they could change their minds. Donnelly is polling 15% of Lugar voters. But even more dire for Mourdock is that he is only leading Donnelly 36-32% in the Republicanrich doughnut counties around Indianapolis. The scenario Mourdock is hoping for is the Lugar voters will come back into the fold if they believe Senate majority hangs in the balance with the Indiana race. But that scenario appeared to teeter last week with a series of Fox News Polls that showed Democrats with increasing Senate leads in Florida, Ohio and Virginia, all races the GOP was counting on to help retake the majority. Nelson leads Rep. Connie Mack, R-Fla., 49% to 35%, with 12 percent undecided. In Ohio, Brown leads Republican state Treasurer Josh Mandel, 47 to 40%, with 9% undecided. The Virginia race is closer, with Kaine leading former Sen. George Allen, 47 to 43%, within the poll's margin of error. Polls in Missouri and Massachusetts show Republican U.S. Rep. Todd Akin and U.S. Sen. Scott Brown trailing.

The Washington Post reported on Friday: The Howey survey was conducted by pollsters who know Indiana well — Democratic pollster Fred Yang and Republican pollster Christine Matthews. Recent Democratic polls from Donnelly's campaign and a super PAC supporting him tell a similar story. Meanwhile, Republicans haven't leaked polls

in response to the Democratic releases, suggesting that what they are seeing may not be all that different from what Democrats are touting.

Roll Call reported: The Senate map is much less fluid, yet this is the time when some races begin to fade in terms of their competitiveness and others become more so. In recent weeks we've seen the New Mexico Senate contest move to the less competitive category, while Connecticut and Indiana are now fully in play. We are still monitoring developments in Connecticut (and could make another ratings change there soon), but new polling in Indiana confirmed for us that a ratings change was due. We are making the following ratings changes today: Indiana Senate: Leans Republican to Tossup: After months of Democratic polls showed a tied race, a new bipartisan poll from Howey Politics Indiana showed Rep. Joe Donnelly (D) leading state Treasurer Richard Mourdock (R) by 2 points. And that's after conservative groups started dropping sixfigure weekly ad buys in the state. Game on.

By Wednesday, the Club For Growth announced it was pumping in another \$500,000 into the race. In the Indiana ad, a narrator warns that electing Donnelly "would mean a U.S. Senate controlled by liberals, with more taxes and debt from Washington, and less for Indiana." Club for Growth spokesman Barney Keller wouldn't concede to Politico Republicans are back on their heels in Indiana and Arizona, two seats the GOP believed would be easily kept in their column. "In both races, the Democratic candidate is running from his support of job-killing tax increases and ObamaCare. The purpose of these ads is to make sure voters know that a vote for Donnelly and Carmona mean a Senate controlled by liberals and more of the same failed policies that have harmed economic growth."

Mourdock reacted to the Howey/DePauw poll, telling the Times of Northwest Indiana's Dan Carden, "We've had \$5 million of negative ads run against us and certainly negative ads have some impact. But believe me we like where we are right now, we're going to win this race." Mourdock told WISH-TV's Jim Shella, "We know we're going to be working till 6 pm in the Central time zones of Indiana on Election Day. We're very confident we're gonna win this race, very confident." And deputy campaign manager Brose McVey told the Louisville Courier-Journal, that Democrats and groups that support them have spent more than \$4 million vilifying Mourdock and have yet to push Donnelly above 40 percent. McVey said that neither Pence nor Romney is facing such scrutiny in Indiana, he said. Plus both of those Republicans were already well-known, while Mourdock and Donnelly are still introducing themselves to voters. "There's a lot of race left," McVey said. "Voters are starting to pay attention and now they're going to see our ads. When we introduce Richard Mourdock and voters see he's not the person that Democrats are painting him as, we feel good about where



Page 9 Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

that will take us."

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Donnelly reacted to the Howey/DePauw Poll, telling the NWI Times, "Our tradition is Richard Lugar, our tradition is Evan Bayh, where we work together and where we don't worry about politics," Donnelly said. "I feel honored with where we are."

While cross tabs show Mourdock's favorables stood at 45.5% with Republicans, only 18.4% of independents – the voting block likely to determine this race – viewed him favorably while 32.4% were unfavorable. In comparison, 33.6% of independent voters found Pence favorable, and only 16% unfavorable. The difference is that

Pence hasn't had anywhere close to the amount of negative advertising aimed at him compared to Mourdock.

While Mourdock had been ducking the press and more than a dozen joint appearances with the other nominees - even rejecting a Wall Street Journal and Chicago Tribune interviews - he now appears to be coming out of his shell. He conducted an interview with the Associated Press's Tom LoBianco last week and he has agreed to the Indiana Debate Commission events on Oct. 15 in Indianapolis and Oct. 23 at IUSE in New Albany. Horse Race Status: Tossup *

Gregg's right to work quote riles some Dems

INDIANAPOLIS – The right-to-work issue brought more consternation for Democrats and the John Gregg gubernatorial campaign this week. In an interview with The Associated Press, Gregg said he wouldn't try to repeal new right-to-work or school voucher laws because of the nearly impossible chance of getting the Republican-dominated General Assembly to reverse course on two of its top priorities.

"I'm not a fan of vouchers, I don't support vouchers. It's in place and the legislature is going to be predominantly and overwhelmingly controlled by the Republicans," Gregg said. "I don't support them, but it's obvious that's the law and as governor you support the law."

But Gregg appeared to backtrack, following with



a statement to AP saying he would sign a repeal of either law if it reached his desk but refused to say whether he would fight to move the repeal through the legislature. "I have consistently opposed the so-called right-to-work law as well as the use of taxpayer dollars to

subsidize private schools. As governor, I will proudly sign a bill that repeals these misguided laws if such a bill comes to my desk," he wrote.

Gregg got into hot water over the issue in 2011 shortly after he began exploring a candidacy, calling it "divisive," angering some Democrats. That happened this time, too. Former House Minority Leader Patrick Bauer called Gregg's comments Tuesday an example of Democrats presenting voters with a watered-down alternative to the Republican party: "Republican Light."

"I think we have to maintain our courage to show

where we would make a difference, not how we would be the same. Because the same's not good for people, regular people, working people," Bauer said. "We have to show we would treat people better and treat people differently."

And Gregg was second-guessed over his TV ad strategy. Ray Scheele, Ball State political scientist, told WISH-TV that Gregg isn't giving voters a reason to vote for him, only reasons to vote against Pence. "He's going to have to start talking some real issues and where he plans to take Indiana," says Scheele, "and thus far that hasn't happened in his television." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Pence

4th CD: Rokita outspends Nelson

U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, who was Indiana's secretary of state from 2003 to 2011, is expected to cruise to re-election in the 4th Congressional District, which was redrawn last year and is now possibly the most Republican-leaning district in the state (NWI Times). His Democratic opponent, Tara Nelson of Lafayette, had \$383 in her campaign account at the end of June. Rokita's war chest topped \$700,000. Last month, Rokita gave \$100,000 in campaign funds to the National Republican Congressional Committee.

Horse Race Status: Safe Rokita

5th CD: Farm Bureau endorses Brooks

Republican nominee Susan Brooks was formally endorsed by the Indiana Farm Bureau's political action committee, Indiana Farm Bureau ELECT. Indiana Farm Bureau President Don Villwock said that the decision was based on Brooks' experience and positions on state and federal issues that impact Indiana's agriculture climate. Endorsement criteria also include the candidate's support and understanding for Farm Bureau, farmers, agriculture, and rural issues. "Susan Brooks demonstrated a keen understanding of the challenges faced by Indiana's farmers," said Villwock. "She understands the urgent need to restore certainty to the Hoosier farm and to increase competition for our agricultural products around the world by address-



Page 10

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

ing needed federal tax and regulatory reforms. She is committed to listening to Hoosier farmers and serving as their advocate in Washington."

Democratic nominee Scott Reske Monday expressed disappointment in Congress' failure to act on the 2012 Farm Bill before leaving for the pre-election recess. "This is yet another example of Congress' failure to put politics aside and come up with a solution," said Reske, who faces Republican Susan Brooks. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Brooks

6th CD: Debate on Obamacare, earmarks

Republican Luke Messer and Libertarian Rex Bell called for the repeal of Obamacare, while Democrat Brad Bookout said the law is "something that we need to work the bugs out of" (Muncie Star Press). "Unconstitutional or not, the bill and the law should be repealed," said Messer, a Shelbyville attorney. "The outrage that you see across our country to this law is because most Americans understand once the government gets control of your health care, they are in large measure in control of your life." Bookout, an economic development consultant from Yorktown, said Obamacare was not the perfect solution. "But is it better than what we have? Yes. Is it something that we need to work the bugs out of? I think that's our job as congressmen." Horse Race Status: Safe Messer

8th CD: Bucshon links Crooks to Obama

U.S Rep. Larry Bucshon released a new campaign ad calling attention to career politician Dave Crooks' endorsement of Barack Obama and his failed economic policies, including Obamacare. The ad states: "Career politician Dave Crooks endorsed President Obama in 2008, even referred to him as 'My guy Obama,' and has supported the President's liberal agenda at every turn. Now, Dave Crooks is attempting to hide from his record because he knows it is inconsistent with the 8th District. Crooks has failed to offer a plan to turn the economy around, get people back to work, or save Medicare. Instead, Crooks would rather falsely attack Dr. Bucshon's record in Congress to distract voters from his support of the President and his failed policies. Crooks can't hide from this record and he can't avoid the facts. Hoosiers can't afford to elect a rubberstand to President Obama and Nancy Pelosi like Dave Crooks." Horse Race Status: Leans Bucshon

Indiana General Assembly

Chamber endorses Sullivan, Hale

The Indiana Chamber of Commerce announced its endorsement of State Rep. Mary Ann Sullivan (D-Indianapolis) in her general election challenge to incumbent

State Sen. Brent Waltz (R-Greenwood) for SD36. The endorsement was made by Indiana Business for Responsive Government (IBRG), the nonpartisan political program of the Indiana Chamber. It came on the same day the Greater Indianapolis Chamber endorsed Sullivan along with Democrat Christina Hale in her challenge to State Rep. Cindy Noe, R-Indianapolis. "It is not an exaggeration to describe Mary Ann Sullivan as one of the hardest-working, openminded, and honorable members of the General Assembly," said Kevin Brinegar, president of the Indiana Chamber of Commerce. "Sullivan is passionate about public service and public policy work. She has earned significant, bipartisan support among business and community leaders who believe it is time for a change in representation in Senate District 36." Horse Race Status: Leans Waltz

The Indv Chamber BAC/PAC also made these endorsements: Steven Braun (R), District 24; Jeffrey Thompson (R), District 28; Kathy Kreag Richardson (R), District 29; Eric Turner (R), District 32; Terri Jo Austin (D), District 36; Todd Huston (R), District 37; Heath VanNatter (R), District 38; Jerry Torr (R), District 39; Sean Eberhart (R), District 57; Ed DeLaney (D), District 86; Christina Hale (D), District 87; Brian Bosma (R), District 88; Cindy Kirchhofer (R), District 89; Mike Speedy (R), District 90; Robert Behning (R), District 91; David Frizzell (R), District 93; Cherrish Pryor (D), District 94; John Bartlett (D), District 95; Gregory Porter (D), District 96; Robin Shackleford (D), District 98; and Scott Keller (R), District 100. The Indy Chamber BAC/PAC voted to make the following endorsements for Indiana State Senate races: Luke Kenley (R), District 20; Scott Schneider (R), District 30; Patricia Miller (R), District 32; Greg Taylor (D), District 33; Jean Breaux (D), District 34; Jean Leising (R), District 42.

HD19: Indiana GOP gubernatorial candidate Mike Pence stepped out of his red pickup and into a warm reception Saturday outside Pinnacle Hospital (NWI Times). The primary purpose of Pence's stop was to endorse Ron Johnson, Republican candidate for State Rep. District 19. "He (Johnson) has traveled the world and he has a heart for those who are hurting," Pence said. Johnson, who is the senior pastor at Living Stones Church in Crown Point, said if elected he will emphasize educational excellence and improvements to the economy. "This is an election we cannot afford to lose," Johnson said. He said as state representative he would push to keep government limited. "We're big people; we don't need the government to tell us what to do," Johnson said. Johnson also spoke about his anti-abortion stance and his opposition to the government picking up the tab for abortions. "Are you going to recreate life or a uterus of death with pregnancy treated like a disease? I thought children were a gift from God and not a disease," Johnson said. Horse Race Status: Tossup ❖

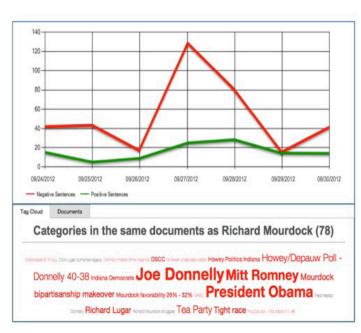


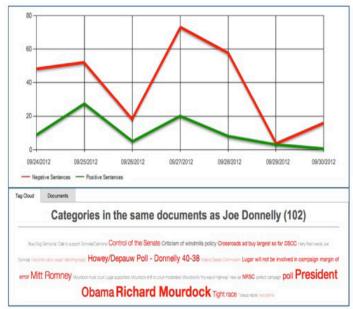
Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

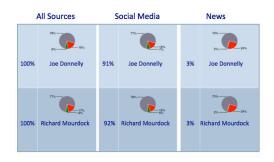


Richard Mourdock / Joe Donnelly September 24 – September 30, 2012

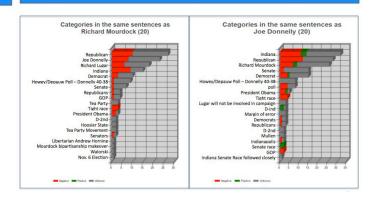




Richard Mourdock / Joe Donnelly September 24 – September 30, 2012



Richard Mourdock / Joe Donnelly September 24 – September 30, 2012





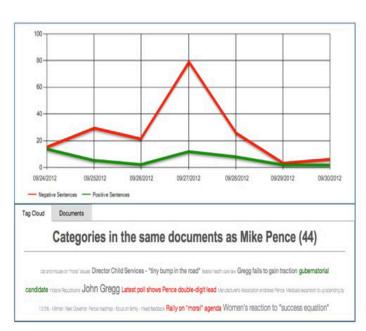
Page 12

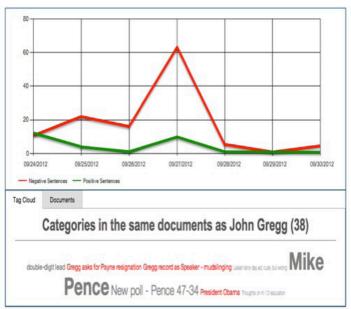
HOWEY Politics Indiana

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Mike Pence / John Gregg September 24 – September 30, 2012

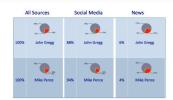




Mike Pence / John Gregg September 24 – September 30, 2012



Mike Pence / John Gregg September 24 – September 30, 2012





Page 13

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

A scandal waiting to happen with finance

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

GREENCASTLE, Ind. – Last summer, when the conservative Americans for Prosperity dumped \$700,000 into Indiana on a TV ad attacking Democrat U.S. Senate candidate Joe Donnelly, I posted a story on the Howey Politics Indiana website talking about the how the Super PAC was running the ad "on behalf" of Republican Senate nominee Richard Mourdock.

AFP's Adam Nicholson called me out on this, challenging the phrase "on behalf of," insisting that it was erro-



neous. With an air of indignation, he said that Americans for Prosperity was only spending \$70,000 to urge Donnelly to change his voting habits, in this case on health care reform.

To which I thought, "yeah, right."

Was I born yesterday? Do I have "STUPID" stamped across my forehead. Is there a post-it note on my fanny that says "kick me"?

What we are witnessing in Indiana this year is a wholesale nationalization and out-sourcing of a U.S. Senate race. And this is not an attack on just the Republicans and their super PACs, or the Democrats. The entire system is so deeply flawed that I can sense a scandal brewing at some point.

As of this past week, outside PACs have dumped more than \$5 million in the general Indiana Senate race with dozens of ads aimed at Donnelly and Mourdock. A total of \$10.3 million has been spent.

On Mourdock's "behalf," we've seen the Club For Growth cue up \$792,000 against Donnelly, Crossroads GPS \$966,000, and the National Republican Senatorial Committee \$713,000. On Donnelly's "behalf," there have been \$980,000 from the Democratic Senatorial Committee, \$502,000 from Majority PAC and \$500,000 from Center Forward.

The candidates, their campaigns, surrogates and the Super PACs eye the heavens, halos appear above their heads, and in choirboy voices rising above the shattered cookie jar, they insist there is no coordination. The PACs just decide on their own when and how they will spend. Donnelly, Mourdock and their campaign teams only learn of a Club For Growth or the Democratic front Center Forward

TV ad when it shows up during the 6 o'clock news.

If you believe that, I'll send the Tooth Fairy and Easter Bunny over to sell you a bridge in the Arizona desert.

Just a few election cycles ago, the majority of U.S. Senate or U.S. House campaign funds were accrued and spent by the campaigns themselves. They would file Federal Election Commission reports on a quarterly basis, and even a caveman could go to the World Wide Web, pull down the candidate or campaign report, and file through the pages, seeing who donated to the campaign, what amount they contributed and when, and how the campaign spent the money. In the final month of the campaign, this reporting is accelerated, so the average citizen can see on almost a daily basis how the money is flowing in and out.

Certainly, PAC spending on a congressional race has been there for decades. But in this election cycle, we are watching Super PACs – many headquarters in New York or Washington – vastly outspending the candidates' campaigns.

If you could subpoena all the emails, texts, phone calls and Facebook messages between the candidates and their campaigns, and these Super PACs, an investigative reporter probably wouldn't find any direct communications. But what I believe is happening is the candidate's campaign manager's third cousin's stepbrother may have the lines of communications open. The messages and strategies are being conveyed well below the surface.

Today, it's opaque obfuscation.

During Mourdock's challenge to Sen. Dick Lugar in the Republican primary last April, Lugar raised questions about transparency, saying in a letter to Club For Growth's Chris Chocola, "the rules are intended to make certain that citizens can trust elected officials, such as state treasurers, who manage and invest public funds. My concern is that a significant number of your donors may be prohibited from contributing directly to the Richard Mourdock campaign because of the federal anti-pay-to-play rules, such as Municipal Securities Rulemaking Board Rule g-37 and Securities and Exchange Rule 206(4)-5."

Chocola responded to the Lugar letter, telling me, "Every bundled contribution we've made to Mourdock is disclosed. It's a fallacy for people to report it's not transparent. Every 527 contribution is disclosed. That's just factual. You may find their records on the website of the Federal Elections Commission, www.Fec.Gov. As you undoubtedly know, there are other organizations that are actively involved in the Indiana Senate race. One such group, which is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on your behalf, is called the American Action Network. The American Action Network does not disclose its donors."

During this episode, I went to the FEC site and spent several hours pouring over 527 contributions. As



Page 14

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

a political writer who has done this many times over the years, figuring out who is donating to whom on these reports is vastly more complex than the traditional candidate/campaign FEC reports, which are relatively easy to figure out.

A caveman, let alone an average citizen, would be flummoxed by this reporting system. If you don't believe me, try it yourself.

While the news media are reporting the overall

527 amounts – many of these Super PACs will disclose the amounts via press releases – there has been very little coverage of who the funders of the Super PACs are.

An Indiana Senate seat is going to change hands. It may very well change parties by Nov. 6. And Hoosier voters are going to have very little data on who paid for it. •

Howey is publisher of Howey Politics Indiana.

Indiana's economy shows some strength

By MORTON J. MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS - The data are in from the federal Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA). Indiana had a good year in fiscal 2012 (the 12 months ending in June this year).

We have known for several weeks that the state surplus looks good. Part of that is due to stringent economies forced by the state budget process. The balance is due to an improved economy, confirmed by BEA, which boosted state revenues.



How good was the economy in fiscal 2012? This state, like most others, uses personal income as its best indicator of economic health. During the year which began in July 2011, BEA reports Indiana's personal income advanced by 4.2 percent. The nation by contrast, grew by only 3.3 percent.

Indiana led all 5 states in the Great Lakes region. Michigan and Ohio also exceeded the national growth rate, but Illinois and Wisconsin did not. As the

fiscal year ended, Indiana ranked 11th in the nation in the rate of growth for personal income.

Where did this growth come from? It did not come from unemployment compensation which fell by 31 percent as jobs were gained by some and other Hoosiers exhausted their eligibility for assistance while out of work. The growth did not come from state and local government employment where the budget crisis allowed total earnings by workers in this sector to increase by a mere 0.3 percent.

Let's not be coy. Indiana's growth in personal income came largely from an 8.9 percent increase in earnings paid to workers in durable goods manufacturing.

When you think of durable goods manufacturing

and couple it with Indiana, Ohio and Michigan, what do you get? I come up with manufacturing for the automobile industry, the giant which continues to dominate the economies of those three states.

We all know what happened. Two of the three domestic titans were failing and in danger of going out of business, leaving hundreds of thousands of workers across the nation in danger of losing their jobs. In an unprecedented step, the federal government took charge, restructured the anemic firms and prevented an economic meltdown.

Yes, Indiana's good economic performance in fiscal 2012 may be the result of the federal restructuring program that saved General Motors and Chrysler. This is ironic since prominent Hoosier politicians opposed that program as bad economics and morally questionable government intervention in the private market place.

Whether or not the federal action was philosophically sound, it worked. Today's auto industry is stronger than before and an economic catastrophe has been averted. Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio are the beneficiaries of the federal intervention although few of our political leaders are willing to acknowledge their misguided opposition.

The next time you hear how well Indiana is doing, it is worth asking, what aspects or sectors of our economy are doing well and why that is happening. As in the farm yard, the rooster doing the crowing may not be responsible for the increase in egg production. •

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



Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Gregg ads intriguing to start, but don't branch out

By BLAIR ENGLEHART

INDIANAPOLIS - What a wonderful time of the year to be in the advertising business. We can't get through a day without someone asking us about the onslaught of political ads that have hit the airwaves. "Did you



see the new John Gregg ad?" "What do you think of Donnelly's ads?" "Do you think Pence's ads are effective?" "What about Mourdock?"

Yes, this is one of two times during the year when we're in our glory (the other being the Super Bowl).

There are standards by which to measure political ads. Personally, I've long considered President Reagan's "Morning in America" ad from the

1984 campaign to be the gold standard. It had everything: emotion, contrast, intriguing cinematography, and memorable, truthful messaging. You have to wonder what President Reagan might say if he saw today's political ads. Would he think they were effective? Or would he think that, in many cases, they're pandering to a public that some of the campaigns apparently think are undereducated, underinformed and unconcerned about the facts?

In general, it's hard for one creative person to criticize another's work, because we don't know what's gone on in planning sessions, what pressures are working with and against the campaigns, and what the candidate is willing to do and to not do to make a point. But that doesn't stop all of us from being armchair quarterbacks. And at the end of the day, when judging campaign ads, we have to come back to this fundamental question: Are they effective in reaching their target audience and persuading voters to get out and vote for the candidate? Nothing else matters.

Howey Politics Indiana has provided me with the opportunity to give my analysis of current advertising campaigns for statewide candidates. I'm basing my comments on my long-time experience in marketing and advertising, my background in consulting with political campaigns, and, to be honest, my personal taste.

Today, I want to begin with John Gregg for Governor campaign. John is a well-respected man with excellent credentials for the job of Governor. Yet, the first thing I thought when I saw his first ad was: "Well, ok, this is going to be interesting." That first ad, if you recall, was about John and his life in the small town of Sandborn in Southern Indiana. It was a branding spot for Gregg – and,

as such, seemed to effectively position him as a small-town man with strong family values. Watching that ad, I came away thinking that it was an intriguing start – and I looked forward to how he would branch out to represent his ideas, his experience and the values of the Democrat party.

Unfortunately, the ads really haven't branched out.

They're still based in Sandborn, a great little town that may represent all the other great little towns in Indiana but seem to have misfired when addressing more urban audiences, at least from the comments I've seen on the Internet, in print, and through various commentary and discussions shows. A "hometown" approach may work well in a local or even regional race, but these ads apparently are not having a significant effect on a large number of voters, according to recent poll results.

John Gregg also has a great deal of experience in state government. Yet, his experience has been down-played (or ignored) throughout his television ads. Again, from my vantage point, this seems like a miscalculation at a time that people want leaders who know how to lead.

Perhaps most noticeably to me, Gregg's ads have not effectively promoted the Democrat party's traditional platform of inclusion. According to City-Data.com, Sandborn has 415 residents. Of those residents, 407 are white. Basing an advertising campaign in or around the town of Sandborn limits the opportunities to show a true depiction of the racial make up of either the State of Indiana or the Democrat party. This has been evident in these commercials. And, based on my totally unscientific survey of friends and colleagues, the lack of diversity is being noticed within the African-American community. Unfavorably.

So how successful are John Gregg's ads? Well, the true measurement comes on November 6th. But from what I'm seeing and hearing, his ads may be cute and folksy and have some downhome charm; however, they don't seem to be effectively communicating his stance on the issues and how he is different from his opponent.

From what I know, there are real differences between John Gregg and Mike Pence when it comes to the issues. It would get much more interesting if Gregg would use his television campaign to more directly address those differences and present himself as an experienced and trusted leader.

As it is, he's coming across as a nice guy from Southern Indiana – and that's about all. If you want to hang out at a bar, or a friend's house, or at the Clip 'n Curl, he's the man to invite. But if you want an effective Governor? Well, he needs to make that case. •

Englehart is president of The Englehart Group, a strategic marketing communications firm located in Indianapolis.



Page 16

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Are Gregg's TV ads a spoof? Or just brilliant?

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND - The "guy with two first names" wants to add the title "Governor" before those names.

But what's with kids pouring water on his umbrella for a TV ad, a spoof really on political ads?

Will that ad and the one showing women

under the hair dryers at an old-style beauty parlor in a



tiny Southern Indiana town help Democrat John Gregg to pull an upset for governor or just help to cinch victory for his better-funded Republican opponent, Mike Pence?

"Where's your umbrella?" Couldn't help it. That was my greeting for Gregg as he arrived last week to meet with The Tribune Editorial Board.

Gregg was not annoyed but pleased, not surprised but used to comments like that wherever he travels in campaigning

these days.

Gregg's TV ads are different. Very different. "I hate them," says a long-time Democratic activist who thinks Gregg is wasting his limited resources on nonsense.

An e-mail response from a political analyst who knows Indiana well brings a longer and more positive evaluation: "The Gregg ads have a sophisticated folksiness that deliver a wry message of differentiation. John Gregg comes across without pretense but there's a punch to what he says."

"Sophisticated folksiness." Or just corny? Downhome message. Or self-portrait as a bumpkin?

"A punch to what he says." Or a message lost amid portrayal of Hoosier small-town life that most Indiana voters never knew? A way to focus on differences with Pence. Or just letting Pence float to victory on fluffy TV?

Gregg, shown well behind in the polls as the campaign began and lacking the resources to compete with Pence in TV ad volume, had to try something different. That different?

It's controversial. And that's good for Gregg in terms of grabbing attention. With myriad political ads on TV causing viewers to ignore many of them, something different can capture attention, even bring discussion of whether "the guy with two first names running for governor" is wasting his money or striking it rich in building

positive and desperately needed name recognition.

Gregg's strategy mirrors Gov. Mitch Daniels' approach in his first campaign as Daniels traveled all around the state in a white RV, sampling pork tenderloin sandwiches and building an image of being a down-home Hoosier.

Home for Gregg is tiny Sandborn, about a third of a square mile in size and with a 2010 Census population of 415. That's where the TV commercials were filmed.

The first was a dud featuring a local guy called "Hobo." Then came the attention-getting beauty parlor spot featuring the women, including Gregg's mom, with some swipes at Pence on women's concerns. A third focused on a hard-working, underpaid minister, contrasting him with Pence, described as getting a congressional salary but having no bills passed and missing committee votes.

Now, the umbrella.

Under his umbrella, as kids pour water on it in a "cheap special effects way," Gregg claims Pence "wants to drain the rainy day fund," endangering future funding for schools.

Pence says he wants no such thing and would instead seek to build state reserves.

So, does the umbrella bit get voters to focus on Gregg's contention that Pence's fiscal policies would be bad for the state?

It's a negative spot, hitting at Pence, but with humor, a technique that voters like more than the flat-out attack rhetoric of many ads.

But do voters know about the state's "rainy day fund" and, if so, are they fearful that it will be depleted and lead to more severe school cutbacks in another economic downturn?

Also, what of Gregg's image? He is no rube. He has been speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives, president of Vincennes University and successful in law practice and other activities.

There is danger, however, that he could come across in the TV spots as a bumpkin, not what voters think of in picturing a governor. Pence looks like a governor should.

Gregg does go beyond his down-home image in the umbrella spot at the close, saying of fiscal policy attributed to Pence: "As a former university president, I think that's a bad idea."

Are his ads a bad idea? Or brilliant? The evaluation, in dispute now, will be clarified by the voters on Nov. 6. •

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



Page 17

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Jesse Gomez and Kernan-Shepard

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – I've got to think that when Gov. Mitch Daniels named the Kernan-Shepard Commission to study local government in Indiana he had Lake County in mind. After all, government collectively is the largest employer in the county.

There are 19 municipalities and 14 school districts. That amounts to an egregious duplication of services. Not surprisingly, all the turmoil over turf has resulted in a mini-

mal amount of change.



Kernan-Shepard said there is too much local government and made almost 30 recommendations on how that can be changed. The code words were elimination and consolidation of government and elected officials. Unfortunately for Lake County residents, Kernan-Shepard crashed on take-off.

Yet, there is one shining example.

Hammond Mayor Thomas

McDermott Jr., who also is county Democratic chairman, is trying to reduce the amount of government in his city. Whether he is doing it to save money or because it is the right thing to do is a bit unclear. Doesn't matter. At least he's trying.

He eliminated the city's health department during his first term in office and relied on the county to provide the services. It was a bold move that almost cost him reelection.

McDermott has another consolidation on the front burner. He is going to seek legislation in the upcoming General Assembly to require the Lake County public library system to take over operation of the Hammond Public Library.

McDermott's right. Hammond is one of seven library systems in the county. The best case scenario is to have the Lake County system take over all library operations in the county.

Besides Lake County and Hammond, there are library systems in Whiting, Gary, Crown Point, East Chicago and Lowell. They aren't all needed. Gary just closed its main branch because of funding difficulties. Crown Point just built a multi-million-dollar library because, well, because it wanted to do so.

Anna Grandfield, Lake County Public Library director, doesn't want to take over the Hammond system, telling the Times of Northwest Indiana that it would mean a

reduction in services for the patrons of the county system. Grandfield said the county system should take over all library systems in the county or none at all. That's not going to happen, especially given the Taj Mahal just built in Crown Point. And Gary doesn't like any organization taking over anything in Gary.

Because the all-or-none stance isn't going to work, McDermott deserves kudos for what he will try to get done in the upcoming Legislature. And speaking of kudos, Gov. Mitch Daniels is deserving of some praise. Daniels has pardoned former East Chicago city councilman Jesse Gomez, allowing him to run for the city's first elected school board this fall. Gomez is one of the good guys. For three decades he has fought the powers that be in East Chicago in an effort to get things right. He also has fought for an elected school board for two decades.

Until the current change in law, the mayor appointed the school board. Once appointed, political powerbroker Thomas Cappas was given the freedom to control the schools. Unfortunately for the kids in East Chicago, Cappas ran the schools into the ground because he diverted too many education dollars to the formation of his patronage army. Gomez was a city councilman from 1992 to 1995 and again from 2005 to 2007.

He was blocked from seeking re-election in 2007. The General Assembly in 2005 passed a law saying that anyone convicted of a felony would be ineligible to serve in elected office even if a judge had reduced the felony to a misdemeanor. Such was the case with Gomez who pleaded guilty to possession of a tiny bit of marijuana almost 30 years ago. The felony charge was reduced to a misdemeanor.

The irony of the 2005 law, which was sponsored by Rep. Chester Dobis, D-Merrillville, is that it wasn't intended to penalize Gomez. Nope, Dobis was going after Merrillville Councilman David Uzelac, who had a felony theft conviction reduced to a misdemeanor in the 1980s.

It won't be easy for Gomez in that there are 24 candidates for nine school board seats in November. For the good of East Chicago, Gomez ought to be elected. And the residents ought to thank Daniels, who himself had a problem when he pleaded guilty to drug possession while a student at Princeton. I wonder that went through the governor's mind when he signed that pardon. •

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



Indiana

Page 18

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press: If the lines of battle in Indiana's U.S. Senate race weren't already not clear, witness how Democratic U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly fielded an easy question last week — and how Republican state Treasurer Richard Mourdock's camp reacted to his answer. Asked whether he would consider supporting a Republican instead of a Democrat for the Senate majority leader post, Donnelly answered: "I'd consider voting for the best person." It was the kind of brushoff answer that occurred because Donnelly can't yet know for certain who the candidates will be and, more importantly, might not want to give opponents fresh ammunition to tie him to current Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, D-Nev. And Republicans went ballistic. Eric Holcomb, the Indiana Republican Party's chairman, said last week that Donnelly should "cease with the distortions of reality here and come clean." Mourdock's campaign, the state party and national Republicans all pushed the attack. Since then,

Clarified he would, indeed, vote for the Democratic leader to become Senate majority leader. She explained his answer to that question by saying: "We are glad to hear that Mourdock concedes that Joe Donnelly will be elected by Hoosier voters and will be casting a leadership vote but Joe is not so presumptious." The back

vote, but Joe is not so presumptuous." The back-and-forth was not unusual, though, in this campaign. All along, it has driven Republicans crazy that Donnelly campaigns as a centrist. The way they see it, such a claim rings hollow when Donnelly has voted with his party on some of the most contentious issues of his era. Though his voting record ranks him among his party's more conservative members, he has supported measures — especially the health care law and the economic stimulus — that ranked at the very top of Democrats' priority list. It annoys Republicans that Donnelly now says he wants to eliminate a medical device tax included in the health care law. In their view, he turned down the chance to back up that stance by opposing the law in the first place. It irks Republicans, too, that he voted to make U.S. Rep. Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif., the House speaker in 2006 and 2008, but then switched to supporting U.S. Rep. Heath Shuler, D-N.C., for minority leader before a tough 2010 election. They see it as a nakedly political move and view his answer to the question about the Senate majority leader in the same light. It matters. Consider that a new Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Poll showed Hoosier voters are, by a 55 percent to 37 percent margin, more likely to support the candidate who would repeal and replace the health care law. As a result, Mourdock and his Republican backers are working hard to undermine the middle-of-the-road brand that Donnelly is developing through his television advertisements. On this one, they have a fair point. The idea that Donnelly wouldn't ultimately back Reid for Senate majority leader — or at least make the decision to support someone else only after being positive Reid had the support he needed — is unrealistic. After all, the two parties are locked in an incredibly tight battle for control of the Senate, and national Democrats have worked hard to boost Donnelly because they know Indiana's seat could help tip the balance either way. ❖

Kenneth Tomlinson, Weekly Standard:

Three-term Indiana Democrat Rep. Joe Donnelly voted for Obamacare. He voted for Obama's waste-filled \$787 billion stimulus package. He is a down-the-line supporter of card check, the measure that would allow union organizers to bypass secret ballot elections. To those who have followed his political career that is no surprise: The Center for Responsible Politics documents Donnelly has received better than \$1.1 million in labor contributions. So in his race

for the U.S. Senate against conservative Indiana Republican treasurer Richard Mourdock, how can Donnelly present himself as he does in his latest television ads as "the Hoosier common sense middle ground" between "the far left and the Tea Party right"? Critics say, the same way he explains his position on House speaker Nancy Pelosi. After launching his campaign for the Senate, Donnelly

declared that in 2011 he voted against Pelosi for speaker. But in 2007 and 2009 he acknowledged he voted for Pelosi. He voted against Pelosi after he voted for her. Donnelly supported the Obama administration's repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" after years of opposing repeal. He opposed the Bush surge in Iraq, but he was for the Obama surge in Afghanistan. Donnelly gets consistently low scores from conservative voting index ratings. •

Doug Ross, NWI Times: Everyone knows certain colors have to be mixed to get just the right shade. That applies to politics as well as printing. The most recent Howey/Depauw Battleground Poll, released last week, showed Republican Mitt Romney ahead of Democrat Barack Obama, 52-40, in the presidential race. But the numbers behind those top numbers are more telling for the political parties' long-range prospects. Howey Politics Indiana Publisher Brian Howey reported Obama has 95.2 percent of the African-American vote and 71.8 of the "non-white" vote that includes Hispanics and Asians. Romney has 56.3 percent of the white vote, but only 17.3 percent of the non-white vote and no African-American support. Now look at the long-term population trends. Rachel Justis of Indiana University's Indiana Business Research crunched Census numbers that show Indiana's minority population grew 30 times as fast as its white population between 2000 and 2010. You can expect that trend to continue. �



Page 19

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Oct. 4, 2012

Lottery awards private contract

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana's lottery commission voted Wednesday to hire a private company to run the lottery's marketing, sales and distribution services in the hopes that it will boost the game's profits by about \$100 million a year (NWI Times). The commission voted 3-0, with two members absent, to approve a 15-year contract with Rhode Island-based GTECH that is expected to make \$1.7 billion in profit over five years — a \$500 million increase over state projections. GTECH already provides and maintains vending machines for the Hoosier Lottery.

In exchange for running the lottery's marketing and other services, GTECH will be paid a management fee that



hasn't yet been determined as well as a share of the lottery profits. The state received \$188 million in lottery proceeds last year. Officials expect profits to increase by about \$500 million above what they otherwise would have been over the first five years of the contract, said Karl Browning, the Hoosier Lottery's executive director. Over the 15-year life of the contract, the amount of money the lottery nets the state is expected to increase by 50 percent over projections, he said. "I can't find a scenario in which no matter what, the taxpayer isn't better off," Browning said. GTECH could earn a \$1 bonus for every dollar over a revenue threshold set by the state, but it would have to pay the state if the threshold isn't met, Browning said. GTECH's bid was selected over a proposal from New York-based Scientific Games, which currently provides the central online lottery system, terminals and instant tickets for the Hoosier Lottery. Two foreign companies dropped out

of the bidding last month. Browning said Wednesday that he believed the use of revenue thresholds would motivate the contractor to make accurate forecasts to maximize its profits. "The idea was to create a risk-sharing arrangement," Browning said. Gov. Mitch Daniels, who has championed corporate involvement in government services, praised the commission's decision. "In eight years, this may be the easiest and most obvious decision the state has had to make," Daniels said in a statement. "With this contract, the only question is how much more money Indiana will receive than under the current system."

Bucshon, Crooks have dualing ads

EVANSVILLE - Indiana's 8th District U.S. House candidates took aim at each other as they launched a new set of television advertisements Wednesday (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). Republican U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon's new spot sought to tie his Democratic challenger, former state Rep. Dave Crooks, as a supporter of President Barack Obama and his key initiatives, including the health care law. Crooks, meanwhile, continued to press Bucshon on the issue of foreign trade. He said Obama and Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney are both closer to his position on dealing with China than they are to Bucshon's. Bucshon's ad attacks Crooks, saying he has referred to the president as "My Guy Obama." It's an effort to undermine Crooks' attempt to cast himself as a fiscal conservative. "That explains why Dave Crooks is falsely attacking conservative Dr. Larry Bucshon to hide Crooks' endorsement of Obama and his support of 'Obamacare' even though it cuts Medicare, raises taxes and cost Indiana jobs," a narrator says. Crooks said in an interview on WNIN-PBS9 that he would have

voted against the health care law, but Republicans have called that a reversal of the stance Crooks took on his radio show — episodes of which are no longer available online. "Liberal Dave Crooks — government run health care, higher taxes, less jobs," the narrator says, concluding: "Dave Crooks, he's not our guy." Crooks' spot, meanwhile, is another attempt to bash Bucshon for opposing tariffs on China to penalize the nation for manipulating its currency to increase exports — and, Crooks says, lure American businesses overseas. "China," a narrator starts. "Their exports to the U.S. — \$400 billion last year. How do they do it? They set their currency rates low to make the price of Chinese products cheaper."

Hershman to meet with Congress

INDIANAPOLIS — A Northwest Indiana state senator has been chosen by the National Conference of State Legislatures to lead its work on state-level employment and business issues. As co-chairman of NCSL's Labor and Economic Development Committee, state Sen. Brandt Hershman, R-Wheatfield, will meet with members of Congress to discuss jobs and other related topics. The three-term Hoosier senator said he plans to also share what has worked in Indiana with legislators from other states.

Buyer to lobby for tobacco firm

ZIONSVILLE - Numerous news outlets, including the Washington Post, are reporting that former Indiana Congressman Steve Buyer is working as a consultant and lobbyist for the parent company of R. J. Reynolds. He is promoting the use of smokeless tobacco, according to the reports.