



Historic farewell: Lugar, Daniels exit

In the next few weeks 2 transformative Republicans leave elective office

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The next four weeks end an epic era – two for that matter – in Indiana politics as U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar and Gov. Mitch Daniels prepare to leave elective office for what they say will be the final time.

For the last half century, Lugar and Daniels, once mentor and acolyte, ushered in profound changes to the Indiana political and policy landscape. It is unlikely that any future tandem of public officials will offer the width and breadth of dramatic policy and the good politics they rendered. Together they polled almost 10 million general election votes (Lugar 7.13 million; Daniels 2.8 million).

The story of this tandem exit has an intriguing alpha/omega



Gov. Mitch Daniels in his Statehouse office on Wednesday while U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar (right) gives his farewell speech on the Senate floor a few hours earlier. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey)



quality to it. Both Lugar and Daniels were spawned out of the L. Keith Bulen political machine. But when it came to an end this year, the GOP machine came stunningly close to seizing up with potential catastrophic results for the party.

But, first, the legacies of Daniels and Lugar.

In Lugar, likely to have been the most prolific vote getter in Indiana history for the foreseeable future, his

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Debate commission tweaks

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – After the Oct. 23 debate in New Albany that probably altered the outcome of the U.S. Senate race, you can make a case that the Indiana Debate Commission provided a proper forum for discussion in the gubernatorial and Senate races that had relevance and impact.



However, this being only the second election cycle for the commission, which was created in 2007, some tweaks are in order.

In the spirit of constructive feedback, here are some thoughts to



“We found our campaign caught in the liberal media cross hairs. Never has Indiana seen a more obvious example of media bias by reporters more interested in defeating conservatives than reporting the news.” - Mourdock Campaign



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ponder:

1. Provide different formats. The three gubernatorial debates and two in the U.S. Senate race used the identical format in all five events. This included two-minute opening statements, a series of one-minute responses to viewer questions, 30-second rebuttals, and a second response. The debates then went into a middle "Lincoln-Douglas" format where a candidate could raise an issue, a counter from the other candidates, and then end with a response.

And then it was back to the one-minute responses to viewer questions and 30-second rebuttals. It ended with a brief closing statement from each

candidate. This format is an invitation for sound bites – which already dominate the campaigns via their TV and radio ads – and became duplicative, particularly in the gubernatorial debate when the second event seemed to be a rerun of the first. The candidates drove home much from their stump speeches and promoted their websites.

What would have made the Lincoln/Douglass section much better is if the moderator was empowered to step in and insist that a candidate answer a question – or, perhaps, to reframe the question to hone in on key issues that both candidates had ignored or dodged.

In multiple debate series, a varied format should include one used by Rev. Rick Warren in 2008 when he conducted two extensive "conversations" with Barack Obama and John McCain. We saw former Chief Justice Randall T. Shepard use this type of format at an IU event in August. It prompted Mike Pence, John Gregg and

Rupert Boneham into a conversation beyond the sound bite. The commission should consider a series of different formats, so that in each race there is variety that prompts the candidates into different types of responses and at varied lengths.

2. The use and treatment of journalists. The citizen questions are valuable and should be included in at least one debate in each contest. But journalists were minimized during the entire process. The biggest beef here is that the press corps was

confined to a "filing room" outside of the main venue. Essentially, we were kept from witnessing the entire event. We had no access to take into account reaction from the audience, which is a crucial part of any story involving a debate.

Journalists need to be accommodated in the main venue, far enough away from the candidates so that typing doesn't become a distraction. Secondly, journalists cover the day-to-day campaign, know the issues, and should be allowed to pose questions to candidates during the debate sequence during at least one event. As it stands right now, journalists can only ask questions after the event. So the public doesn't get to witness the journalists questioning the candidates, and the journalists don't get to witness the public during the debate.

Thirdly, while the public asked many good questions, there was some duplication, and relevant issues, such as the outside financing of the \$30 million Senate race, were never raised. Joe Donnelly and Richard Mourdock should have been placed in a position to take questions on all of the national money that spilled into their race. But with citizen questioners, it never came up.

3. The involvement of





the Libertarians.

Early last summer at an Associated Press Managing Editors event, the Libertarians pressed newspaper and radio executives for more extensive coverage of their candidates. And throughout the rest of the campaign, Andy Horning and Rupert Boneham were dutifully included in many stories. The problem is, they represent no real power. Neither of them had any chance of winning. Neither candidate had any power base in the Indiana General Assembly (which has never had a Libertarian elected into either chamber) or Congress, which has no Libertarians serving.



Libertarians are “playing politics.” They don’t raise money, build organizations that place their candidates in a position to win. Horning essentially admitted this during the press conference following the second Senate debate. Essentially, Libertarians are “fringe” candidates with the only impact on an election being whether they get their customary 3% or whether it balloons up to 5 or 6% as it did in the U.S. Senate and gubernatorial races. Too often, the Libertarian candidate becomes the jokester, injecting opinions into the format or repeat websites or ideology, though they have no realistic chance of ever governing. I challenge anyone to go back and listen to Boneham during the three gubernatorial debates and explain how anything he said had any realistic chance of becoming policy. I’m not saying bar the Libertarian candidate. They could be included in at least one event. But the debate commission could raise the bar. They could insist that a Libertarian get at least 10% in the previous election, or in a majority of public opinion polls prior to an invitation deadline date. That might incentivize the Libertarians to act like a real party. If they don’t, let the Republican and Democratic nominee have one or two events where they contrast the issues between themselves.

4. All debate images and should be available for fair use. When Republican Senate nominee Richard Mourdock uttered his now infamous “God intends” rape remark in New Albany on Oct. 23, it made national news. The weeping Mourdock provided the image of the cycle and it dominated news coverage and citizen social media. The natural progression is that the video and audio would make it into campaign advertising. When Democrat Super PACs and the Donnelly campaign used it, the Debate Commission cried foul, saying that use of the images and

sound violated participation agreements. This violates “fair use” doctrine. Anything said or seen in an Indiana Debate Commission event should be fair game for use in any form or format going forward. To restrict its use is . . . un-American. It makes no sense. If a candidate participates in a debate, anything said or done should be fair game. It becomes part of the public domain.

5. Production values. Younger viewers who use nothing but high def told me the production values were a real turnoff. I suspect in the next four years there will be great strides made by public television on this front, but it’s worth noting that people – particularly younger people – noticed. ❖

Delayed candidate reaction

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - The Oct. 23 U.S. Senate debate in New Albany changed the outcome of that race, but neither Democrat Joe Donnelly or Republican Richard Mourdock realized the implications of the latter’s “God intends” rape remark until they exited the stage.

Until the last minute, Donnelly believed Mourdock was going to duck the Indiana Debate Commission events. He believed that it was just going to be he and Libertarian Andrew Horning participating. Mourdock didn’t agree to participate until just two weeks before the first debate at WFYI-TV. The dilemma for Mourdock was that if he skipped the debates, he would have taken multiple news cycle hits (days prior, day of, days after debates), and finally decided to participate, with the New Albany debate his “Todd Akin moment” undoing. Obviously, the Mourdock campaign and its national handlers/bundlers had ample reason to be very afraid.

Donnelly didn’t fully realize the gravity of Mourdock’s “God intends” rape remark on Oct. 23 until he walked off stage and his wife flagged it as potentially devastating to the Republican. Donnelly said he didn’t leap into the Mourdock remarks during the debate because he wasn’t sure exactly what he had heard and didn’t want to react prematurely.

Simultaneously, Mourdock walked off the stage expecting “high fives” from his staff, believing he had won the debate. Neither candidate truly understood the implications of the event until the minutes between the end of the debate and their appearances before the press, with Donnelly going first, followed by Horning and then Mourdock about 25 minutes later. By this time, social media was exploding on the Internet in reaction to the remark and as the press peppered questions at both candidates about the quote, the full weight of the moment began to sink in. ❖



Lugar, Daniels, from page 1

legacy is well known but worth capsulizing. As an Indiana public school board trustee, he wrote the Shortridge Plan that would have desegregated the state's largest school system, and while it passed, it was rescinded a few years later as the issue ignited "white flight" into the Marion County townships and suburbs.

Bulen and Mayor Lugar, who defeated Democrat incumbent John Barton in 1967, responded politically with "Unigov," the consolidation of the old Indianapolis into the surrounding townships, creating a generational bastion of Republican dominance. With the help of Unigov, Indiana Republicans controlled the governorship for 24 years (Gov. Edgar Whitcomb's term from 1969-73 was before Unigov), the Indianapolis mayor's office for three decades, forged hardy majorities in the Indiana General Assembly, and took over the state's U.S. Senate delegation with Lugar's defeat of Sen. Vance Hartke in 1976 and Dan Quayle's upset of Sen. Birch Bayh in 1980.

Lugar's Indianapolis would build upon the cascading legacy of Barton, who helped plot the I-465 belt around the the city, and it would be Lugar who would initiate planning on Market Square Arena, the Hoosier Dome, and the city's emergence as an amateur sports capitol of the nation. His blueprint would help fuel following mayoralties of Bill Hudnut, Stephen Goldsmith, Bart Peterson and Greg Ballard, as each administration worked off the evolving plans of the predecessor. Indianapolis went from being "Naptown" and "Indiana No Place" to one of the more livable and attractive cities in America.

As a U.S. senator, Lugar would play a crucial role in saving Chrysler Corporation in 1979, providing a generation of high paying jobs, innovative technology and a steady flow of taxes into the state coffers. He would prompt the toppling of the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, convince President Reagan to take steps to end apartheid in South Africa, write farm bills that leave the state's agriculture economy in perhaps its best shape ever. And, of course, there was the epic Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat

Reduction program and, for the first time in history, a nation dismantled a rival's military arsenal during peace time. In doing so, Nunn-Lugar dramatically lowered the potential for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons to end up in the hands of terror networks.

The legacy of Gov. Daniels is rooted in the Lugar organization. He interned for Mayor Lugar, served as his campaign manager in his 1976 defeat of Hartke and his tough reelection bid against U.S. Rep. Floyd Fithian during the deep 1982 recession. Daniels would follow Lugar to Washington, where he was Lugar's chief of staff, teamed

with the likes of Albert Mischler in a successful stint on the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, then moved to the Reagan White House where he served as political director. After leaving the White House, Daniels would lead the Indianapolis-based Hudson Institute, become an executive at Eli Lilly Company, then return to the White House as President George W. Bush's budget director.

Daniels returned to Indiana in 2002. After Bob Grand, Randall Tobias and Jim Kittle Jr. engineered a takeover of the Indi-

ana Republican Party, Daniels ran, strategized, directed and wrote two of the best statewide campaigns for governor, defeated an incumbent, won reelection by an 18-percent margin as Barack Obama carried the state. He forged five balanced budgets, accelerated decades of dormant highway projects with the Major Moves toll road lease, presided over telecommunications and sprawling education reforms, added 3,000 miles of bike lanes across the state, 50,000 acres to wildlife preserves, and used his political clout to neuter the state's labor unions.

Daniels observed on Wednesday, "We ran on a very explicit and very detailed agenda. We did most of it." Daniels cited "70 odd things" he promised to achieve in 2005. "I was in a hurry. We wanted to get the budget balanced and pay back the debts. We wanted to put some money in the bank. And then we wanted to start reducing taxes."

"When I look back, I have this tattered little report



Sen. Lugar answers takes a question of CHNI reporter Marueen Hayden Saturday morning at the University of Indianapolis, where Lugar announced on Friday he will resume teaching. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



card we kept for ourselves. I may have one of the last ones around. If you look at those 70 odd things in 2005, there aren't very many in the 'Did Not Succeed' column. One of them is, an appointed superintendent of public instruction. What is highly ironic is that it was the only . . . position in common between the Republican and Democratic platforms. As far as I know they didn't overlap on anything else. As a matter of good government, we should appoint the superintendent."

Asked if there was anything left for Gov.-elect Mike Pence to take from "good to great," as he campaigned this year, Daniels responded, "Sure there is. There always will be. I think we always operated around here on the notion of continuous improvement. If a department reached a certain target, we tried to raise it the next year. There's a long, long way to go."

Daniels cited the "skills gap" – the needs of high tech employers and not enough available workers as an aspect unfulfilled. "Most of the other factors, we're pretty good at, you know, cost, infrastructure, taxes and regulatory climate. We're as good as the competition or better on most of those. We clearly aren't there with match of skills and jobs. It's become more visible because of the recession and the non-recovery we're in. With that many people looking for work and that many jobs available, you've got a real problem."

He also cited the various health initiatives that he called uncontroversial but not achieved as he leaves office.

Asked how he has changed the office of governor during his eight years, Daniels said, "We did have a more activist approach, I think it's fair to say, than our recent predecessors. It's a 'to-each-his-own' situation. I felt, and it's the reason I ran in the first place, that Indiana was drifting and slipping and we needed to get in motion against a lot of big problems. As a matter of personal approach, every year, and in-between, we had new ideas, we had to define each idea, and present the state and the legislature where they were needed action items. We felt responsible to push in directions we felt were in the public

interest. There was a lot to do and we were not a very innovative state. There was a time for a lot of action, or so we thought."

As HPI observed a couple of weeks ago, the Daniels governorship can be viewed as "transformative" because of its audacious scope and conspicuous use of political capital. But it will take a decade or more to determine how effective the education and transportation reforms

were. Daniels agreed with that, saying, "Your time frame may be about right." But he said that Luke Messer's high school dropout bill in 2006 produced a 10 percent drop in those statistics, and recent college 'credit creep' legislation has prompted Purdue University to lower degree requirements in two-thirds of its degree program. "The question on a lot of reforms is, will they stick or will they be subverted," he said.

The Lugar legacy, with the exception of his roles in the Bush43 Iraq and Afghanistan wars, is already burnished.

Lugar's towering legacy

As Lugar prepares to leave office, his legacy has been effusively expressed by leaders in both parties.

Last week, President Obama called the Nunn-Lugar program "one of the country's smartest and most successful national security programs."

Obama told an audience at the Pentagon, "Early in the Cold War, Einstein warned of the danger of our wisdom not keeping pace with our technology. And with Nunn-Lugar, our wisdom began to catch up."

"And, Dick," Obama added, "I want to take this opportunity to say something else. At times, we've disagreed on matters of policy. But one thing we've always shared is a notion of what public service should be. That it ought to be more than just doing what's popular in the moment. That it ought to be about what's right for our nation, over the long term. It ought to be about problem-solving and governance, not just how we can score political points on each other or engage in obstructionism. And where compromise is not a vice and where bipartisanship is actually considered a virtue – to be rewarded, not punished. So, Dick, as you prepare to leave the Senate that you love, I think I speak on behalf of everybody here and millions



Gov. Daniels peers into his "roadmap" file at the request of reporters on Wednesday in his Statehouse office. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



of people across the country to say that your legacy will endure in a safer and more secure world, and a safer and more secure America. And we pray that this nation produces more leaders with your sense of decency and civility and integrity. We are grateful to you. Thank you very much."

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell observed on the Senate floor on Tuesday, "He has excelled at everything he's ever done. And, most incredibly, he's done it with perfectly smooth elbows. Walk into any office on Capitol Hill, and you won't find a single person who'd say a bad word about Dick Lugar. He's earned the respect and admiration of everyone who ever crossed his path. I assure you, in the world of politics, that's nothing short of a miracle. And now Dick has decided to press his luck. He's moving into the only line of work where the rivalries are even more vicious than politics. He's becoming a college professor. To a lot of liberals, he's a walking contradiction: a Republican intellectual. And he has always worn that reputation lightly."

Former Democratic congressman Lee Hamilton told HPI, "Dick Lugar had a very distinguished career in the Senate and before that. He is a true intellectual. He was a conservative who would reach out for an agreement. He's leaving a giant hole in the Senate."

Indiana Farm Bureau President Don Villwock told HPI, "Before he was a statesman, before he was a senator, before he was a big city mayor; Dick Lugar was a farmer. Throughout his long, distinguished career, he never forgot his agricultural roots and remained a steadfast friend and supporter of Hoosier farmers and rural Indiana. Much of the prosperity we in American agriculture have enjoyed these past few years is a result of the hard work of Dick Lugar. His untiring efforts to support free trade and open up markets around the world have increased demand for Indiana-grown corn, soybeans and meat products. His efforts to support renewable fuels and to wean us from dependence on foreign oil has fostered the growth of the ethanol industry in the Midwest and hence increased corn prices. Senator Lugar's leadership in writing the Freedom to Farm Bill released farmers from onerous production controls and allowed us to respond to market signals. Few, if any, other political leaders have made such a significant impact on modern agriculture."

The stunning aspect of Lugar's exit is that his own beloved Indiana Republican Party turned its back on him in 2012 as

the GOP opted for rigid orthodoxy, ideological purity, an expressed disdain for the national security blanket Lugar helped weave and the prosperity that came to the agricultural sector via farm bills he helped write. It prompted a scene on May 4 at Lugar's Broad Ripple campaign headquarters that would have been unfathomable just a few years ago when Lugar pleaded for votes from farmers, veterans, African-Americans, Latinos, independents, Jews and Democrats. "I believe that right now, if a majority of Hoosiers were to vote in an election – that is, all Hoosiers regardless of party, Republicans, Democrats, independents– I would win," Lugar said. "I'm not asking anybody to cross over. I'm just saying positively, 'Register your vote, because if you do not, I may not be able to continue serving you. At this point, help.'"

And it was as if Indiana Republicans shook off science and its internationalist bearings that came about from the era that produced Lugar, Doc Bowen and Gov. Robert Orr, and flung itself into a ditch where "bipartisanship" became a dirty word. Howey/DePauw Indiana Battleground Polling in March showed that Lugar would have had a much better chance of holding on to the Senate seat that eventual nominee Richard Mourdock not only lost, but blew with his "God intends" rape remark on Oct. 23.

The GOP in a ditch could have long-lasting ramifications. Republican pollster Frank Luntz observed on Tuesday in Indianapolis that because of Mourdock and Todd Akin, suffering a similar self-inflicted wound in Missouri that predated Mourdock's blunder, Republicans are unlikely to reclaim a Senate majority in 2014.

Exits tied and comingled

As the 2012 election recedes into history, the tandem elective public service exits of Daniels and Lugar are intriguing because of not only the origins, but the ending.

There is an alpha/omega bookend to the surreal way the story ends.

Deep behind the scenes at the Crystal River Walk Yacht Club in Broad Ripple on primary election night, there was palpable tension between Gov. Daniels and Marty Morris, Lugar's chief of staff who was chosen for that role a generation ago by the former. In the initial raw flash of defeat, the sentiment was this: The governor was the one person who might have convinced



Sen. Lugar and Gov. Daniels at the spring GOP dinner in Carmel.



Mourdock not to challenge Lugar.

But Gov. Daniels' king-making abilities were not as durable as his own gubernatorial policy record. While forging a landslide reelection win in 2008 despite the Obama onslaught, Daniels had failed to coattail in a Republican House, which delayed his education reforms by two years and doomed the Kernan-Shepard reforms as time ran out. At the Indiana Republican Convention earlier that year, delegates rebuked his choice of Valparaiso Mayor Jon Costas, nominating Greg Zoeller for attorney general, though Daniels prevailed in getting the previously obscure Tony Bennett the nod for superintendent of public instruction.

Daniels could have told Mourdock that a challenge to the patriarch could have been a career-ending proposition. But there was no such action. While Daniels endorsed Lugar, as well as wrote and recorded late TV ads on his behalf, he also praised Mourdock. The Indiana treasurer garnered one of the only name references in his book "Keeping the Republic" over the Chrysler/Fiat litigation and Daniels often cited Mourdock's political bravery for taking that stand. Sources tell HPI that a Wall Street Journal op-ed article penned by Daniels originally was to be co-written with Mourdock.

How could even a benign sanctioning of Mourdock's challenge to Lugar take place?

Consider the other atmospheric at the time. As Mourdock announced his candidacy, Daniels was still flirting with a presidential candidacy. Mourdock was the emerging darling of the Tea Party movement and the two agreed on the Chrysler/Fiat challenge. Daniels had also declared a "truce" on social issues, though months later he would sign some of the most far-reaching abortion restrictions in the country as well as the defunding of Planned Parenthood.

And the Indiana Republican Party, under the clear control of Gov. Daniels, played both sides, saying "no" to no one, even after seven of 11 Mourdock endorsers from the 2010 Indiana Republican Central Committee were no longer on the state committee in the spring of 2011, due to either defeat or retirement. There would be even further push back in 2012 when John Hammond III, a Daniels ally, defeated Jim Bopp Jr. (an early Mourdock backer) for a seat

on the Republican National Committee.

A key black mark on the Daniels administration, the loss and recovery of \$500 million in state funds, was off limits to the Lugar campaign in its primary race against Mourdock. There was too much of a potential for bleed-over into the gubernatorial realm. Mourdock was never held accountable as the so-called "chief financial officer" of the state.

Asked by HPI on Wednesday if the governor wished the primary challenge hadn't taken place between

Richard Lugar Election Record

1964	IPS School Board	Won general
1967	Indianapolis Mayor (v. John Barton)	Won general, 53-47%, 72,278 votes
1971	Indianapolis Mayor (v. John Neff)	Won general, 60-40%, 155,164 votes
1974	U.S. Senate (v. Birch Bayh)	Lost general, 46-51%, 814,117 votes
1976	U.S. Senate (v. Vance Hartke)	Won general, 59-30%, 1,273,833 votes
1982	U.S. Senate (v. Floyd Fithian)	Won general, 54-46%, 978,301 votes
1988	U.S. Senate (v. Jack Wickes)	Won general, 68-32%, 1,430,525 votes
1994	U.S. Senate (v. Jim Jontz)	Won general, 67-31% 1,039,625 votes
1996	Presidency	Lost IA, NH
2000	U.S. Senate (v. David Johnson)	Won general, 67-32%, 1,427,944 votes
2006	U.S. Senate (no Dem opponent)	Won general, 87-13%, 1,171,553 votes
2012	U.S. Senate (v. R. Mourdock)	Lost primary, 39-61%, 262,388 votes

Total Mayoral general election votes: 227,442
Total U.S. Senate general election votes: 7,135,898
Total Senate Roll Call Votes: 13,000
Total Senate colleagues: Over 300
Total Senate interns: Over 1,0000

Lugar and Mourdock, Daniels answered, "Sure. I wish something different had happened. Either that he had decided that six terms, that that was the natural time to step aside, or that he'd been renominated and reelected. But really nothing will change, the value of things he did, or the affection and esteem in which he'll always be held."

But one thing did change: A Republican Senate seat for 36 years is now in the Democratic hands of Joe Donnelly.

The fact that Daniels didn't implore Mourdock to back off the challenge to Lugar had a vast array of unintended consequences that were damaging to the Indiana GOP. Mourdock's debate blunder put the Mike Pence campaign in a late precarious position, with Pence's own internal tracking showing significant damage. The Mourdock damage extended as far as Mitt Romney's presidential campaign, which lost traction with not only female voters, but Republican women.

And feeling the wrath of the GOP female defections was Supt. Bennett, who was upset by Democrat Glenda



Ritz, in part because of the social media campaign on her behalf, but also as a rebuke from rural Republicans to Daniels for his support of Costas in 2008, and Tea Party revulsion of core curriculum standards that Bennett embraced.

Daniels and Pence had openly embraced Mourdock after his upset primary win over Lugar in May. But within weeks, Daniels would leave the political stage with his acceptance of the Purdue University presidency. He became, in his own words, politically "celibate." Mourdock and Bennett would not have political access to the most important Republican voice of the day. They were on their own.

And Pence, Mourdock and Bennett would also be running without the most prolific Republican vote getter in

Hoosier history – Sen. Lugar.

There was a reason there were long lines on election day in places like Carmel, Zionsville, Brownsburg and Nashville: Normally straight voting Republicans were splitting their tickets. There weren't more people showing up, it was just taking them longer to vote.

There would not only be no Lugar coattails, but a keen, unmistakable Mourdock drag on the ticket that came embarrassingly close to becoming an epic Republican catastrophe. ❖

Lugar's Senate floor farewell includes advice, warnings and optimism

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar's Senate floor farewell included warnings for Americans on future terror attacks and world hunger, and he called for the upper chamber to work in a better spirit of bipartisanship.

The address came 36 years after he entered the Senate following his 1977 defeat of U.S. Sen. Vance Hartke. Two years earlier, Lugar had lost to U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh.

Lugar said, "In my experience, it is difficult to conceive of a better platform from which to devote oneself to public service and the search for solutions to national and international problems." That remark came less than

a week after South Carolina U.S. Sen. Jim DeMint resigned in order to take the helm of the Heritage Foundation, believing that the advocacy group will provide a better format to push a conservative, Tea Party agenda.

Lugar said the Senate "is one of the Founders' most important creations."

"But," he added, "I do believe that as an institution

we have not lived up to the expectations of our constituents to make excellence in governance our top priority."

Lugar warned, "The potential catastrophe remains of a major terrorist attack on American soil employing weapons of mass destruction. If that happens, in addition to the lives lost, our expectations for economic growth and budget balancing could be set back by a decade or more."

It was a reiteration of warnings he had given since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, which made the United States the world's sole super power for a generation, but also produced asymmetrical warfare, culminating with the Sept. 11 attacks on New York City, the Pentagon and civilian airliners.

During his 1995-96 presidential campaign, Lugar consistently warned of "the destruction of an American city in our lifetime" by terror networks.

The Soviet collapse prompted one of the most landmark pieces of legislation ever - the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Act that allowed the U.S.

to systemically scrap the arsenal that once aimed thousands of missiles at hundreds of American cities and military bases.

Lugar's Senate career ended with his defeat by Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock last May. Mourdock's rallying cry was to denounce "bipartisanship" and "compromise."

Lugar observed, "It takes courage to declare dozens or even hundreds of





positions and stand for office, knowing that with each position, you are displeasing some group of voters. But we do our country a disservice if we mistake the act of taking positions for governance. They are not the same thing. Governance requires adaptation to shifting circumstances. It often requires finding common ground with Americans who have a different vision than your own. It requires leaders who believe, like Edmund Burke, that their first responsibility to their constituents is to apply their best judgment."

Lugar continued, "My hope is that Senators will devote much more of their energies to governance. In a perfect world, we would not only govern, we would execute a coherent strategy. That is a very high bar for any legislative body to clear. But we must aspire to it in cooperation with the President because we are facing fundamental changes in the world order that will deeply affect America's security and standard of living."

Having served two stints as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Lugar sees the emergence of China and India as nations potentially ending the "sole super power" era in the United States.

"The list of such changes is long, but it starts in Asia with the rise of China and India as economic, political, and military powers," he said. "More broadly, we face the specter of global resource constraints, especially deficiencies of energy and food that could stimulate conflict and deepen poverty. We have made startling gains in domestic energy production, but we remain highly vulnerable to our dependency on oil."

Lugar also warned of a "global food crisis," explaining, "Whereas research is opening many new frontiers in the energy sphere, the productivity of global agriculture will not keep up with projected food demand unless many countries change their policies. This starts with a much wider embrace of agriculture technology, including genetically modified techniques. The risks of climate change intensify this imperative."

Lugar called on President Obama to invite Republicans into the Oval Office to discuss foreign policy dilemmas.

Lugar said he was "optimistic about our country's future." He said the U.S. will "serve as an inspiration" for peace and economic security."

U.S. Sen. Dan Coats spoke after Lugar, citing his colleague's eight years as mayor of Indianapolis. "When I think of the numerous positive changes in Indianapolis over 40 years, I think of the influence of Dick Lugar."

"It was a natural progression after serving as mayor, Dick Lugar would go to the Senate," said Coats. "Without question, Sen. Lugar is the kind of lawmaker who brings parties together, find common ground and pass legislation."

He cited Lugar's two terms as heading the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "His signature piece of legislation is the cooperative threat reduction, more commonly known as Nunn-Lugar. His experiences led him to champion the landmark legislation that deactivated nuclear warheads. It is a contribution Americans can never give enough thanks," Coats said.

Lugar said he will "leave the Senate for new pursuits that will allow me to devote much deeper attention to a number of issues that have been a part of my Senate service. Among these are preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and developing more efficient ways to feed the world."

He announced that he will teach at the University of Indianapolis and the university's Lugar Academy will develop an internship program in Washington. Lugar is also expected to have his papers stored at Indiana University's Center on Congress, headed by his long-time friend and colleague, former Congressman Lee Hamilton.

Despite the dilemmas facing the U.S., Lugar, who served with more than 300 Senators, had more than 1,000 student interns, and cast more than 13,000 roll call votes, said he remained "optimistic."

"Amidst all these security risks, we must maintain the competitiveness of the United States in the international economy," he explained. "We should see education, energy efficiency, access to global markets, the attraction of immigrant entrepreneurs, and other factors as national security issues...We still can flourish in this global marketplace if we nurture the competitive genius of the American people that has allowed us time and again to reinvent our economy."

"But we must deal with failures of governance that have delayed resolutions to obvious problems. No rational strategy for our long term growth and security," Lugar continued, citing for a potential "failure to restrain current entitlement spending. And no attempt to gain the maximum strategic advantage from our human resource potential should fail to enact comprehensive immigration reform that resolves the status of undocumented immigrants and encourages the most talented immigrants to contribute to America's future."

Lugar offered advice to President Obama. "It is vital that the President and Congress establish a closer working relationship, especially on national security. This cooperation depends both on Congressional leaders who are willing to set aside partisan advantage and on Administration officials who understand that the benefits of having the support of Congress is worth the effort it takes to secure it." ♦



Daniels conducts his 'exit interview'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Mitch Daniels conducted the first of his "exit interviews" with Indiana news media on Wednesday.

Here are some of the topics covered:

HPI: You talked about not achieving an appointed superintendent of public instruction. Would it make sense to combine state auditor and treasurer into an appointed comptroller position so that all executive branch financial matters stop at your desk?

Daniels: Yeah, I think it very well might. We've made changes before. We used to elect the clerk of the court not too long ago. I think maybe so. There may be an argument for having offices so each watches the other. But there are states that do have comptrollers and they do have combined functions.

Tom LoBianco, Associated Press (pictured with Daniels): Are there things you didn't achieve?

Daniels: Recently we added the word that I had quickly had to take back. I'll have to get the list out and see.

Lesley Weidenbener, Statehouse File: One of the things you wanted to do was raise personal income. Why do you think that's been so stubborn?

Daniels: We're swimming up stream. It will be awhile before we know if anything substantially is happening. We have been more dependent on manufacturing jobs than any state in the nation. That's a strength in certain times and it's a challenge and a real problem during a recession. As you remember, we are well under state and national averages for unemployment in '08 and then we got hit as hard as any place by the slow down. Now, I've been increasingly mindful the need to, in a variety of contexts, qualify these numbers by cost of living. We are a stunningly low cost place. This comes to the fore every time we recruit a new business. It's a positive, not a negative thing. But it means, of course, every newspaper represented here pays less than what they'd pay if you were in New York City. A lot of what we've done is lower the cost, at least a little bit. For instance, the lowest property taxes and we have some



of the most affordable housing. That's a good thing when someone is trying to get talent to move here. They usually use pay for entry level jobs and affordable housing. When we lower the cost of doing business, it does lower the cost of living, which tells you you have to take it into account. It's not good enough. There are people in Illinois who are making a lot more than people in Indiana and they are a lot poorer. I'm an optimist when it comes to the Midwest. I never thought that would be an easy tanker to turn, and it hasn't been.

HPI: How long do you think it's going to be before you know how successful your education reforms have been?

Daniels: Your time frame is probably about right. I never give up that certain things can't have a near term effect. The drop out bill we passed in '06 or '07 has made a very immediate impact. I don't know what else could have

caused it. We had a 10% improvement in graduation rates. I think a couple of points of that may be the over use of these waivers. But mathematically that can't explain it. There's one. Some things you don't have to take 10 years. I'll give you another one. The credit creep bill we passed this year, I'm real eager to see all the schools, we don't have the takes from all the schools yet, but at Purdue University, two-thirds of the degree programs brought their

demands down to 120 hours. That's going to mean a lot of kids finishing a semester sooner. That means less expense. That didn't take 10 years. I hope we're going to see a similar pattern. I think the social promotion bill that says that students have to be able to read before passing third grade, assuming it's not undone, has a chance at making a short term measurable impact. Those are exceptions. I agree with you. We finally got full day kindergarten done after decades and I think it will make a real difference. On a lot of the reforms we did, the first question is whether they'll stick or whether they'll some how be subverted. And if they stick, they have to be well implemented. So those are big ifs.

Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press: Where does I-69 rank on your list of accomplishments?

Daniels: If I'm in Southwest Indiana, it's No. 1, right? I-69 is the largest but I don't separate it from the overall problem. The overall achievement of catching Indiana up and really building infrastructure the state needed and had waited too long for is one that I would rank very, very high. No. 1, it's really important in saving lives, saving time, saving money, it is attracting jobs and that's what it was all about. Secondly, as Brian just did, I'm frequently asked about what lasts and what doesn't last, I have no



way of knowing. A great business climate can be undone. Triple A credit ratings might not last. Education reform might or might not last. But those roads and bridges will be there for 100 years. They are concreted public assets - literally - that will pay a return for a long, long time. Sort of like the conservation we've done, the land we've protected, the wetlands, that is not going to be undone.

Bradner also asked about the future of transportation funding.

Daniels: The broader question, we've spent 10 years in the sunshine, so to speak. We're building at all time record rates and as people keep noticing, we're going to rejoin the rest of the other 49 states after awhile at normal funding levels. I think the big part of the answer, as it's been for us, is other people's money. Public/private arrangements. Look at how we're building the East End Bridge over the Ohio. It's going to get built faster and cheaper and it will be built on someone else's capital because there's not enough gas tax money right now. It's going to be paid for with user fees. Sometimes that can be the answer. Only in America do we think the only way you can build a road is with gas taxes.

HPI: Should Indiana end the death penalty?

Daniels: It was seven or eight. There was a rush at the beginning. I've said before even though I hadn't held office, in a general sense two things you don't think about are soldiers' funerals and death sentences. Anybody who says they don't feel at least some ambivalence about that subject I don't understand. If you don't feel conflicted about it on one side or the other, maybe you should think a little harder. Where I came to rest on that one sometime ago, it was not for me or any one person to make that judgment. That it needs to express the moral sentiments of the state through the democratic process. For now, at least in this moment, the last I've seen, a very large majority of our fellow citizens feel that at least occasionally, in the most heinous of cases that that penalty can be appropriate. It's not for me to substitute any view I might have for that. Everyone has to come to their conclusion. Let me say one more thing: as a practical matter, the subject is diminishing because . . . I'm not sure when the last time any Indiana court or judge or jury lowered the death penalty on somebody. There are still criminals in the queue, I guess, but the last one came to us was two years, three years ago. There is none coming at us that I know of. Future governors may have none, or few, to deal with.

HPI: Is there an inherent conflict in taking life in the beginning with the sweeping abortion restrictions you've signed, and the death penalty?

Daniels: Yeah, the Catholic Church thinks so. That's their position. I think those who do see the distinction between innocent life and guilty adult lives. I'm back to the point where honest people with complete and equal

sincerity can come to different places on a question like that. I never got to the point that never, never, never under any circumstances should the state have that as a possible penalty. I never got to that point. If I had, I don't think it would have been for me or any one person to substitute his judgment for that of the elected representatives and the public behind them, unless that person ran for office explicitly saying that. At least say that in advance.

Bradner: Recent polls have shown societal changes in gay marriage. In 2004 you had expressed some possible support for civil unions and backed off that a little. Has your attitude changed?

Daniels: These are judgments that I believe that people of this state have the right to make. I don't believe the court should make it for them. Precisely because they go to basic values. There are no black letter rules about this. I think they are appropriate for the democratic process.

HPI: Give us an overview of the health of individual Hoosiers?

Daniels: This probably belongs on the list of answers ... here is we just didn't get enough done. Three months in we started the INShape program. We had celebrities and athletes. I told everybody that day of all the changes we try to bring, and all the initiatives we launch, this will be the least controversial and the hardest. I don't know anybody who doesn't think this wasn't a good thing to work on. It's hard to move large numbers of people to change the habits of a lifetime. The recent data we've seen is pretty discouraging. They had smoking at 26%, but the last data we had it was closer to 20%.

Susan Guyett, Reuters: Has right to work hurt the unions?

Daniels: No, I'm not aware that it has. That's not its intention.

Guyett: Has right to work helped Indiana?

Daniels: We've talked to a lot of companies and right to work has definitely helped Indiana. I've tried to be careful not to overclaim for this. It's a plus?

LoBianco: What's your proudest accomplishment?

Daniels: This is the who's your favorite daughter question. I think the best way I can answer this is to say there are several. Opening doors to building a better business climate. Because that was always the central goal. If it does have staying power, it will lead to all the other good things. It will lead to jobs, therefore to revenues to do the things governments should do. It will underpin the success of the state. If it lasts, establishing Indiana as more of a leadership state at least in certain areas, I hope I've changed the culture inside state government to excellence, efficiency and good service, and outside, change the culture and expectations of higher expectations. An expectation of innovation. ❖



Hamilton sees Hoosier voters desiring for the 'old days'

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

BLOOMINGTON - Richard Lugar and Mitch Daniels aren't the only recent elected officials who have opted for careers elsewhere.

Former Sen. Evan Bayh is now ensconced in the world of finance after deciding not to run again in 2010, and former Congressman Lee Hamilton directs the Indiana University Center on Congress after leaving the House in 1998.

Hamilton last spent time with Lugar in the final weeks of the Republican primary when he was on the ropes against Indiana Treasurer Richard Mourdock. "He felt it was drifting against him," Hamilton said from his IU SPEA office in Bloomington last Monday. "I was really disappointed he was beaten in the primary, and not just beaten. That's an astounding thing. Only about 16 to 17 percent voted in that primary. It's a good example of what can happen in a low turnout election."

Hamilton was a partner with Lugar on many foreign policy issues during the two decades they served together in Congress. And he believes Lugar fell victim to an aspect of the Hoosier condition that has puzzled reformers and innovators.

"In both parties, there is a resistance to the way the country is evolving," said Hamilton, who almost became a casualty himself in 1994 when he narrowly edged out Republican Jean Leising in what became known as the Republican "tsunami."

"**There is a desire for the good old days,**" Hamilton said. "Many Hoosiers see a drift of power to people and groups they don't fully understand or know. So there's a theme of 'let's get our country back.' I ran into that in this election."

Hamilton said he believes there has been a racial sentiment with the first African-American president that "bubbles and seethes beneath the surface." This is particularly true, he observed, in Southern Indiana "which was settled by Southerners. There have been those vestiges

that have not been removed."

Hamilton said this staccato tide not only defeated Lugar, but also Education Supt. Tony Bennett, who lost to Democrat Glenda Ritz on Nov. 6. "He was calling for change in the education structure and to conservatives, they saw it as 'he's taking away local control from my school board,'" Hamilton said.

Another aspect of Lugar's loss was his willingness to be a "Member who wanted to make the place work. It was not to put forward an ideological position."

Mourdock's energies came from Republican activists who opposed President Obama's Supreme Court nominees and didn't want any Republican to compromise with the president.

Gone are the days when two ideological opposites – President Reagan and House Speaker Tip O'Neill – hammered out deals. "They understood that at the end of the day, you don't shut the place down. And that's not easy. There was a trust in each other."

That is missing between Obama and House Speaker John Boehner, and complicated by House Republicans who won big margins in their individual districts and want to stick to their guns on taxes and entitlement reform.

"Obama is not a shmoozer," Hamilton acknowledged.

Hamilton said that Reagan's true power was television. When he helped get constituents into a Reagan speech, "they almost always came back disappointed. Ronald Reagan never spoke to the audience. He spoke to the cameras. His first question to aides when he entered the room was, 'Where's the camera?' He was an actor."

That story is fascinating because Obama was almost upset by not playing to the camera in his first debate against Mitt Romney. Obama was looking at the audience, and TV viewers panned him for looking disinterested and out of touch.

Obama bounced back in the second debate by playing to the camera.

And, as they say, the rest is history. ❖



Former congressman and 9/11 Commissioner Lee Hamilton now heads the Indiana University Center on Congress in Bloomington. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



Working for and believing in Lugar

By **MARK SCHOEFF JR.**

WASHINGTON - Over the two decades that I've been in Washington, I've encountered scores of students and young people who aspire to a vocation in politics. When they ask me for advice on how to navigate Capitol Hill, I always begin with the same guidance: believe in the person for whom you're working.

I am surprised by the number of congressional staffers who are lukewarm toward their bosses. It's clear that they're serving on his or her staff because they love politics and they want to be part of that compelling game in a place where the stakes can be the highest. Their member of Congress is sort of a vehicle to get them to where they want to be.



Although that approach can satisfy a political ambition, it also can lead to a cynical place. Instead, I advise them to do what I did – join the staff of someone whose public service you believe is critical to the country.

That's what I experienced in my more than five years on the staff of Sen. Richard Lugar. I was hired as Lugar's deputy press secretary in 1992 and was promoted to press secretary in 1995. I was in each position for almost exactly two-and-a-half years.

I was fortunate enough to work for Lugar during one of the most exciting times of his career. Among other things, from 1992-97, he chaired the Senate Agriculture Committee and championed an original and creative farm bill that would fundamentally reform U.S. ag policy and reduce federal spending.

I had a front-row seat as Lugar continued to build the Nunn-Lugar program that has eliminated thousands of weapons of mass destruction in the former Soviet Union and around the world.

In addition, Lugar ran for president in 1995-96, when he offered the country a substantive agenda to make it safer and more prosperous. He was prescient during that campaign in warning that we must prepare for a terrorist attack on our own soil.

Protecting Americans against our worst nightmare was always at the forefront of Lugar's agenda. One of the most memorable moments of my career was also one of my longest days on Capitol Hill. I arrived as usual around 7:30 a.m. near the end of my time on Lugar's staff in May 1997. Lugar, by the way, was always in the office even earlier. That particular day was the one that Lugar managed

the vote on a chemical weapons treaty. I headed home just before midnight.

Across those hours, Lugar spoke on the Senate floor and did the tough political work required to secure a victory for the weapons agreement. It wasn't a sexy issue. In fact, despite the news releases we launched through the day, I doubt many reporters – or their audiences – were paying particularly close attention to what Lugar was doing.

That effort, however, illuminates the essence of Lugar's public service. He was putting everything he had into making the world safer for America. It took commitment, diligence, skill and great intellectual capacity – everything that Lugar offers to Hoosiers and all Americans every day.

One of my favorite occasions while working for Lugar was to be invited into his office when he would tell the staff his decision on a particular issue. It would give us our marching orders for explaining his stance to reporters, constituents and colleagues. During those moments, it was a privilege it was to see true leadership firsthand.

I had little to do with Lugar's success during my time on his staff. I just tried to make a positive contribution to helping communicate the importance of his work. One of the ironies of being a press secretary is that it's best to work for a politician who doesn't actually need one.

The reward of working for Lugar was not what I accomplished but rather the history that I witnessed. My rule for a good job is one in which you write something and learn something every day. Both goals were satisfied during my Lugar tenure.

One reason that my experience was such a good one is because Lugar was consistently out in front on issues. He would dissect and eloquently describe how to address them. That's how he continues to operate at the end of his Senate career. In his valedictory speech on Dec. 12, Lugar was incisive in analyzing what has gone wrong with politics and leadership in Washington.

"[W]e do our country a disservice, if we mistake the act of taking positions for governance," Lugar said. "They are not the same thing. Governance requires adaptation to shifting circumstances. It often requires finding common ground with Americans who have a different vision than your own."

Lugar excelled in practicing that type of governance. We can only hope that his congressional colleagues listen and do likewise.

Lugar said that he hesitated "to describe our current state as the most partisan ever." But without Lugar in the Senate, we're at risk of devolving further into divisiveness.

For Lugar's University of Indianapolis students who aspire to work in politics, I have a piece of advice: Choose a boss like your professor. ❖



Time to ponder the 2013 HPI Power 50 List

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - It's time to begin thinking about the 2013 Howey Politics Indiana Power 50 list.

It's our annual exercise to determine who will likely have the most clout in the coming year.

With a new gubernatorial administration, power realigned in the General Assembly, vast changes in the Congressional delegation and state and national budget issues on the front burner, Howey Politics Indiana's 2013 "Power 50" list will be intriguing. As we do every year at this time, we invite HPI subscribers to weigh in with nominations, observations, or submit their own list.

The new Power 50 will be published in the first week in January. It is designed to weigh who will likely have access to the levers of power and who will actually use them. Submit your nominations to us at bhowey2@gmail.com.

Here's the 2012 Power 50 and as you can see there will be some major changes coming in the 2013 list.

2012 Power 50

1. U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar
2. Gov. Mitch Daniels
3. U.S. Rep. Mike Pence
4. House Speaker Brian Bosma
5. Senate President David Long
6. John Gregg
7. U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly
8. House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer
9. Dean White
10. Jim Bopp Jr.
11. State Sen. Luke Kenley
12. U.S. Sen. Dan Coats
13. Ways & Means Chairman Jeff Espich
14. Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb

15. Treasurer Richard Mourdock
16. Senate Majority Leader Connie Lawson
17. Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard
18. Indianapolis Councilman Vop Osili
19. U.S. Rep. Todd Young
20. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita
21. U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman
22. State Sen. Carlin Yoder
23. Chris Chocola
24. Democratic Chairman Dan Parker
25. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.
26. Supt. Tony Bennett
27. AFL-CIO President Nancy Guyott
28. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry
29. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke
30. Chris Atkins
31. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon
32. South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg
33. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight
34. Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold
35. Attorney General Greg Zoeller
36. State Sen. Jim Banks
37. Dan Dumezich
38. Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman
39. Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson
40. Dr. Woody Meyers
41. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
42. U.S. Rep. Andre Carson
43. U.S. Rep. Dan Burton
44. Luke Messer and Jackie Walorski
45. Jennifer Hallowell
46. Evan Bayh
47. Indiana Chamber President Kevin Brinegar
48. Marty Morris
49. State Rep. Charlie Brown
50. State Sen. Mike Delph

Honorable Mention

- Judge Rosenberg & The Supremes
 Ken Faulk
 Senate Minority Leader Vi Simpson
 Jim Wallace
 Susan Brooks
 David McIntosh
 Dave Crooks
 Tim Roemer
 Joe Loftus & Steve Goldsmith
 Monica Boyer
 Vanderburgh Sheriff Eric Williams
 J. Cameron Carter
 Robert Enlow
 Don Villwock
- Joe Champion
 Bill Smith
 Curt Smith
 Gary Welsh
 Craig Dunn



HPI Power 50: Can we figure it out?
 The 'rubber match' in 2012 comes as real doubt festers on the political process

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY** in Indianapolis and **MARK SCHOEFF JR.** in Washington

The 2012 Howey Politics Indiana Power 50 is the most troubling compilation this publication has brought into the public purview in the 30 years we've existed. The political process is an elderly broken, we are not sure the nation can survive in a way we know and recognize it today. We need a steady stream of commentary — ranging from the safer Mitt Daniels, to the wild-eyed Pat Buchanan, to the globe-trotting Thomas Friedman — warning of a financial cataclysm that will leave a very different America for our children and grandchildren. We've gone from a nation created by the "Greatest Generation" — our father and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers — to the stewardship of my 9-9-g-generation, the baby boomers.

Continued on page 4

An open letter to Dan Parker

By **SHAW R. FRIEDMAN**
 LAFORTE. This is an open letter to Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker.

Dear Dan:

"We close you're going to be around this year and those of us who desperately wanted a change in state party leadership and those who were satisfied with the status quo are going to have to find a way to "peacefully co-exist" if we are going to elect a Democratic governor in 2012. As Joel Milne, who was the choice to be state chairman by 12 of the 28 elected district chairs and vice-chairs put it so

"We refuse to let the most controversial public policy bill of the decade be railroaded through and the public denied a fair and adequate input."

- House Minority Leader
B. Patrick Bauer



Krull and the Lake County GOP

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Republican and Democratic precinct committeemen made a couple of significant statements Saturday when they filled two vacancies on the Lake County Council.

South county Republicans embraced the old guard when they selected Eldon Strong to replace Rick Niemeyer on the council. Niemeyer left last month to take a seat in the Indiana House.



The election of Strong, who is the Center Township (Crown Point) trustee, was a slap at the Tea Party folks, including Lake County Republican Chairwoman Kim Krull.

Not only did Strong win, but he defeated Crown Point Republican Chairman James Cuffia. After the May primary, Cuffia said that Richard Murdock's victory over Richard Lugar represented the future of the party.

Yeah, one win does not make a season.

Strong's win also was a blow to Krull, who more than likely will face a challenge when county Republicans elect a new chairman in March.

Krull was one of the first to come out against Lugar, who she deemed too liberal for those who regularly gather for afternoon tea to blame everyone but themselves for the re-election of President Obama.

Anyway, Krull was euphoric on primary night when Mourdock sent the finest senator the state has ever had to the showers.

Six months later, Krull cried a bevy of tears when Democrat Joe Donnelly defeated her beloved Mourdock.

Clearly, the Strong victory was a plus for Niemeyer, who also has served as a township trustee for many years. There are those within the party who feel Niemeyer might take on Krull for the chairmanship. Niemeyer wanted the chairmanship when the late John Curley was elected to his last term a few years ago.

Other than Strong's election, the biggest news to come out of the Republican caucus centered on the total vote.

It seems that 59 committeemen signed in to vote but when the numbers were tabulated, 62 had voted. Apparently Republicans no longer can criticize Democrats

who at election time say, "Vote early and vote often." Strong, by the way, won by 11 votes.

And then there was the election to replace Mike Repay on the council. Repay becomes county commissioner on Jan. 1.

Since Hammond represents the bulk of that council district, Mayor Tom McDermott, who also is county Democratic chairman, was the key player in the outcome. David Hamm, a former fire chief and three-term member of the Hammond City Council, defeated Phil Golden, a Hammond committeeman, 35-23.

The outcome strengthens McDermott's position in Hammond. Repay, who has risen quickly in county Democratic politics, backed Golden as his replacement. Hamm said coming to grips with the county's financial situation will be his priority. And that is where McDermott will play a big role.

McDermott, as do municipal leaders around the county, badly wants the County Council to adopt a local option income tax.

Putting the tax in place will result in the lifting of the levy freeze that has strangled the county's many taxing units since 2007. The General Assembly imposed the freeze until such time when the county becomes the last in the state to adopt an income tax.

A few years ago, the County Council enacted the income tax but didn't have the necessary five votes to override the county commissioner's veto.

The council hasn't again tried to enact the tax knowing that Niemeyer and Repay were in opposition. Strong is basic ally against tax increases, but hasn't flat-out opposed the income tax.

Hamm has left the door open on the income tax. With Hamm pretty well beholden to McDermott, it's likely a pretty good bet that Hamm will become the fifth vote needed for an override.

And, who knows, Strong could become the sixth vote. ❖

James is the former editorial page editor for the Post-Tribune.



Don't fear the fiscal cliff (the world ends Dec. 21)

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND - Fear not the fiscal cliff. It won't be looming there on Jan. 1. Nothing will be there. The world ends on Dec. 21.



Warnings abound on the Internet. The end is near, with fewer days left than shopping days for Christmas. The certainty of the end of the world as we know it is prophesied by the Mayans.

The Mayans had a great ancient civilization somewhere in Central America and Mexico. Before Christ, they developed advanced mathematical and astronomical skills. Their third-graders scored higher on ISTEP tests than our kids today.

Doomsday warnings are based on the Mayan calendar ending on Dec. 21, 2012. Like just about now. Calendar ends. World ends. Simple logic.

Don't believe it? That's your problem. Survivalist groups are preparing for what could be left at the end of our so-called civilization. They stock up on guns and groceries, especially guns to kill off other survivalists. It's all President Obama's fault.

With all those stimulus funds, why didn't Obama spend to create a new Mayan calendar?

Why did he never raise the issue of the calendar and thus the world ending on Dec. 21? Sure, dodging the issue enabled him to win a second term. But what good is a new term in a new year that won't arrive?

Usually when a calendar ends, like at the end of a year, you have a new one, starting again with January. Now it's too late. If only the Mayans had been hired to draw up a new one back when their calendar marked their Fourth of July holiday.

Obama fiddled with taxing the super rich while the days burned away on the Mayan calendar. He never proposed a cent for a new Mayan calendar to carry us through this year of doom and beyond.

Well, Donald Trump and other enlightened conspiracy theorists know why. Obama was born not an American citizen, but in the Mayan empire. As a Mayan believer, he will not tamper with their sacred calendar.

Republicans also cannot escape blame.

Did Mitt Romney ever warn during the campaign about the end of the Mayan calendar? No. He just warned about Big Bird.

Does John Boehner warn even now about going over the Mayan cliff? No. He still blabbers about a fiscal cliff that won't mean a thing after Dec. 21.

Paul Ryan did show some sense. He proposed a budget eliminating Medicare as we know it. Smart move. After Dec. 21 there won't be many, if any, older citizens around to seek medical care.

Doubts about the dire prophesy? Here's proof: The government denies the world will end this year. And you know you can't trust the government.

Federal bureaucrats at NASA actually put out this statement: "The world will not end in 2012. Our planet has been getting along just fine for more than 4 billion years, and credible scientists worldwide know of no threat associated with 2012."

Ha! First, they have the date of creation of the world all wrong. And then they cite "credible scientists."

These are the same "credible scientists" making up all that stuff about global warming. Instead of whining about Arctic ice melting away, they should have been warning about final days on the Mayan calendar ticking away. The scientists are as wrong on the Dec. 21 end of the world as they are on global warming bringing climate change.

Some critics of Mayan culture say it wasn't so great. Mayans cultivated corn. But critics say they never turned it into ethanol. Yeah, but importing oil from the Middle East wasn't so important back then.

Other critics complain that they sacrificed virgins. No big deal. Ancient writings show one of their politicians explaining it away as "something that God intended to happen."

Critics of the Mayans and the end-of-world meaning of their calendar are wrong.

But don't look just at the bad in this Dec. 21 cataclysmic end of our world. Think of all the good.

No need to fight mall traffic to buy presents for Christmas.

No more 30-second political ads on television ever again.

No need to fear the Jan. 1 fiscal cliff or that Notre Dame could lose in a bowl game scheduled after the Mayan calendar and time both run out. ♦

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



The fiscal cliff is unknowable terrain

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - Facts about the past or present are often hard to interpret. Facts about the future rarely exist, which leaves us with fantasies (forecasts) of pleasant anticipation or fearful apprehension.

The fiscal cliff is our best current example. The facts are if the Congress does not act by January 1, federal tax rates will return to higher levels and federal expenditures will fall.

The apprehensive fantasy is that a sudden rise in tax rates and a drop in spending will cause consumers and investors to cut back on their economic activities, leading to worse unemployment. The economy contracts.

The cheery fantasy sees investors and consumers so delighted with a more balanced federal budget, so relieved that the political impasse is over, that they go on a spending spree that not only overcomes the cutbacks, it exceeds them, stimulating a boom. The economy grows.



Which of these two scenarios is more likely?

If these were "normal" times, the more optimistic view might be tenable. It would work like this:

A more balanced federal budget (not even a surplus) would reduce the need for federal borrowing. This would reduce the role of the Treasury in the money market and decrease the demand for loanable funds. With loan demand down, interest rates would fall and private borrowers (consumers and investors) would respond positively to the lower rates. They would borrow more, spend what they borrow, and stimulate economic growth.

However, increased private borrowing and spending would have to offset the federal reduction in spending and the increase in tax revenues. That requires an almost euphoric private sector. This might happen, if the fall in interest rates was a big one.

Can interest rates fall further? They now are so low that additional declines may be just a happy hallucination.

The more skeptical approach says raising taxes and cutting spending will reduce the deficit and ease pressure on the rising debt. Yet there is little benefit to this action, if we want to create more jobs. Instead we should be very selective in raising taxes and most careful about cutting spending.

If the private sector will not respond with gusto to lower interest rates, if those rates can not fall much further, then the answer to our economic woes continues to be low taxes and high spending by the federal government.

The fiscal cliff is right around the corner. No one wants to take that leap into the unknown.

The President offers a modest proposal raising taxes on only the top 2 percent of earners in this country. His spending cuts, like the proposals from the Republicans, are spaced into the future to have little impact on the immediate year ahead. Both sides are trying to do as little as possible now and leaving the big issues for later.

That may be the best policy. Sometimes wisdom demands putting off to tomorrow what you could do today. ❖

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

Poll shows Boehner bungling

WASHINGTON - House Speaker John Boehner is getting poor reviews on his handling of the fiscal cliff negotiations, according to a poll released Wednesday, with even Republicans failing to give him majority support.

Fifty-four percent of Americans disapprove of Boehner's handling of the talks, according to an ABC/Washington Post poll. While two-thirds of Democrats disagree with Boehner's approach, his support is weak among both independents and GOP voters. A bare plurality of Republicans approve of the Speaker's approach, 39 percent to 37 percent. Fifty-three percent of independents disapprove, and only 24 percent approve. President Barack Obama gets slightly better grades from independents: 51 percent disapprove of his approach, and 42 percent approve. But he has nearly unanimous support among Democrats, with a whopping 79 percent approving. Overall, 47 percent of voters approve of Obama's handling of the negotiations and 46 percent disapprove.

Obama also has a strong claim to the ideological center in the poll. Fifty-three percent of moderates approve of his approach, while only 22 percent said the same of Boehner's work.

The poll of 1,018 adults was conducted from Dec. 5 to Dec. 9. It has a margin of error of plus or minus four percentage points. ❖



Maureen Dowd, New York Times: My mom would periodically call to warn me in a dire tone, "Do you know why the Incas are extinct?" Her maize hazing left me with a deeply ingrained fear of being part of a civilization that was obviously engaging in behavior that would lead to its extinction. Too bad the Republican Party didn't have my mom to keep it on its toes. Then it might not have gone all Apocalypto on us — becoming the first civilization in modern history to spiral the way of the Incas, Aztecs and Mayans. The Mayans were right, as it turns out, when they predicted the world would end in 2012. It was just a select world: the G.O.P. universe of arrogant, uptight, entitled, bossy, retrogressive white guys. Just another vanishing tribe that fought the cultural and demographic tides of history. Someday, it will be the subject of a National Geographic special, or a Mel Gibson movie, where archaeologists piece together who the lost tribe was, where it came from, and what happened to it. The experts will sift through the ruins of the Reagan Presidential Library, Dick Cheney's shotgun casings, Orca poll monitoring hieroglyphics, remnants of triumphal rants by Dick Morris on Fox News, faded photos of Clint Eastwood and an empty chair, and scraps of ancient tape in which a tall, stiff man, his name long forgotten, gnashes his teeth about the 47 percent of moochers and the "gifts" they got. Instead of smallpox, plagues, drought and Conquistadors, the Republican decline will be traced to a stubborn refusal to adapt to a world where poor people and sick people and black people and brown people and female people and gay people count. As the historian Will Durant observed, "A great civilization is not conquered from without until it has destroyed itself from within." ❖

Charles Krauthammer, Fox News: This is an adjustment to reality. The fact is that, you know, in the glory days the 40s, the 50s, the 60's, the UAW was able to give its workers the highest wages, benefits in the world. That was because of an anomaly that we were only industrial country that came out of second World War intact. Europe was on its knees, Germany and Japan were rubble. So, we thought that was the natural order of things. It wasn't. And when the other industrial countries recovered, we got world competition as we have. We ran into bankruptcies, Chrysler now twice. We see that in the southern states where the transplants are without the unions. They weren't the ones who went bankrupt last in 2008 and 2009. So it really is a choice. It's a tough choice, and I sympathize with the unions, but the fact is that in the global economy where you have to compete on wages and other elements, of the units of production, you can you either have, you know, high wages with low employment or

you can, as Obama would say, spread around the wealth. The fact is that in the right-to-work states, unemployment is 6.9%. And in the other states the non-right-to-work, it's 8.7%. So you can choose to have fewer workers who enjoy higher, inflated, unnatural, if you like, wages, uncompetitive wages. Or you can have competitive wages and more people employed, more people with the dignity of a job and less unemployment, more taxation and more activity. I think it's the right choice but I understand how it's a wrenching choice. ❖

Stuart Rothenberg, Roll Call: Luckiest Candidate of 2012: There are a handful of obvious candidates. Missouri Sen. Claire McCaskill had no chance of winning a second term — until Republican challenger Rep. Todd Akin popularized the term "legitimate rape." Akin could have spent the entire general election in Finland and beaten McCaskill, and even after his self-inflicted injury, he could have resurrected GOP chances of winning the seat by dropping out. McCaskill is lucky he didn't. Similarly, Indiana Democratic Rep. Joe Donnelly had little or no chance of getting elected to the Senate this year — until Richard Mourdock made yet another campaign error, in answering a question about rape and abortion. Donnelly ran a good race, but he wouldn't have defeated Sen. Richard G. Lugar or any minimally appealing mainstream Republican. ❖

William Nangle, NWI Times: It appears the idea of government existing to create jobs is alive and well in Lake County. The Interfaith Federation is the latest voice demanding more local jobs. It wants the Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority to fashion its projects to assure more Hammond, East Chicago and Gary residents get jobs. Apparently, never mind qualifications. Or perhaps never mind rewarding contracts for a level playing field of bidding. And never mind employment needs in the balance of the region. The Interfaith group has long suffered the cause of those less fortunate. It's been a help in many ways. But it appears to now be a steamroller going in one direction — favored treatment for residents of the region's urban corridor. I agree the needs there are great, but the RDA was formed to benefit the region, not just one geographic area. Of course, the Interfaith Federation is not alone in wanting government to create jobs. Leaders of the Gary Fair Share Jobs Project are nipping at Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson's heels, unhappy more Gary residents weren't hired for a sewer job in the Glen Ryan subdivision. Emboldened by his recent re-election, the county official made it clear he wants the project — if it ever gets off the ground — to favor local tradesmen. ❖





Bennett lands Florida post

TALLAHASSEE - Indiana's recently ousted state school superintendent was named to a new job Wednesday as Florida's education commissioner, a choice that drew applause from Gov. Rick Scott and criticism from the leader of Florida's statewide teachers union (Associated Press). The State Board of Education unanimously selected Tony Bennett, a Republican who lost a bid for re-election in Indiana last month, from a slate of three finalists at its regular meeting in Tampa. "Tony's experience in being a teacher, a superintendent, a coach and a statewide elected leader brought a lot more real time, real recent experience in terms of where we need to get to," board member Kathleen Shanahan said. She also cited Bennett's leadership in the implementation of Common Core State Standards and a related battery of tests. Florida is among 45 states, the District of Columbia and three territories that have agreed to adopt the national standards. In a statement, Scott said, "Tony has a great record of achievement in Indiana, and I am confident he will be a tireless advocate for Florida's students."



BSU poll shows pot decrim support

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana may be in a mood to ease its marijuana laws. That's one conclusion from the new WISH-TV / Ball State University Hoosier Survey. The pollsters found 53% of the people surveyed said they favor decriminalizing marijuana in

Indiana. 41% would object to such a change.

Indy city fleet to go electric, nat gas

INDIANAPOLIS - Indianapolis is taking a big step in its goal to go green. Mayor Greg Ballard says he plans to replace the entire city-fleet, including police cars, with electric, plug-in hybrids and vehicles powered by natural gas by 2025. Ballard said the switch will eventually save the city \$6-\$10 million a year.

Daniels discusses gay marriage

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mitch Daniels said Wednesday he has been hearing from companies that fear that a measure that would put Indiana's ban on same-sex marriage into the state constitution might also prevent firms from offering benefits to gay couples (Associated Press). The measure was approved by lawmakers last year and could come up for a vote again next year. If approved twice, it would go before voters in 2014. The language in the constitutional ban would go further than barring marriage. It would bar "a legal status identical or substantially similar to that of marriage for unmarried individuals," potentially prohibiting benefits for gay couples typically associated with marriage. Daniels says he heard from companies on the issue as recently as Wednesday morning but gave little specifics. Daniels has never taken a position on the issue and declined Wednesday to say whether he supports the ban. "They wouldn't want their ability to offer benefits and that sort of thing limited. They think it's fair. They think it's important at least in case of some of their employees," he said.

Carter supports legalized pot

WASHINGTON - Former President Jimmy Carter said he is in favor of legalizing marijuana during a public panel that CNN aired Tuesday. CNN anchor Suzanne Malveaux asked Carter whether he supported marijuana's legalization during a forum hosted by The Captain Planet Foundation on Friday in Georgia. "I'm in favor of it. I think it's OK," Carter told Malveaux.

Donnelly on ag, armed services

WASHINGTON - Senator-elect Joe Donnelly received his committee assignments for the 113th Congress. Senator-elect Donnelly will serve on the Armed Services, Agriculture, and Aging Committees. "I am pleased to have the opportunity to serve the diverse needs of Hoosiers, especially our men and women in uniform, agricultural community, and seniors," said Senator-elect Donnelly. "I look forward to working on all issues important to our state as Indiana's next U.S. Senator."

Walorski on armed services

WASHINGTON - Second District U.S. Rep.-elect Jackie Walorski, R-Jimtown, has been appointed to the House Armed Services Committee for the 113th Congress, according to a news release. "It's a privilege to be appointed to such a prestigious committee, and I'm confident it will largely benefit Hoosiers in the 2nd District," Walorski said in a statement.