



Generational HPI Power 50 List

HPI's 20th Anniversary
rating of power and clout

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Journalists write the so-called first draft of history. Some of us join the true historians, step back and reevaluate the early takes.

With Howey Politics Indiana observing its 20th Anniversary this year, it was appropriate to take that step back, go through past

editions and make some new assessments. In this anniversary edition, we not only did that, but we did it with almost 300

HPI subscribers participating.

In the "exit interview" with Gov. Mitch Daniels, the

notion was that a decade beyond a governorship would be a good time for such an evaluation. Daniels agreed. In 2006, we conducted the most comprehensive review of Evan Bayh's governorship, and in September 2013, did the



Sens. Dick Lugar and Birch Bayh ran against each other in 1974, then served together for four years. For 50 years, there was either a Lugar or Bayh in the U.S.

same with Frank O'Bannon's.

This anniversary edition gave us a similar but broader retrospective. My professional journalism career began in 1978 when I took a job with the Warsaw Times-Union as a sports writer. But my passion for politics had

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A Hoosier political journey

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The 12-year-old Hoosier boy was just as interested in Indiana politics as this professional journalist is today.

Attending an Associated Press Managing Editors meeting with my parents at South Bend in 1968, I watched a joint appearance between U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh and his Republican challenger Bill Ruckleshaus. The newsmen thought it would be nice to let the kid ask the first question, and this is what I asked: What would you do about pollution and the environment?

Ruckleshaus observed that it was the first time the



“Aug. 11, 1994, was a most significant day in the history of Indiana politics. When you began publishing Howey Politics in Fort Wayne that day, the quality of Indiana political thought and dialogue took a bold step forward.”

- Former U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar





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subject had come up. He went on to become the first head of the Environmental Protection Agency before President Nixon fired him during the Saturday Night Massacre.

A couple of years later, Betty Rendell helped me interview Speaker Doc Bowen at the Miami County Lincoln dinner. "Are you going to run for governor?" I asked, holding a balky RCA cassette tape recorder. Doc responded, "I have to admit I've been thinking about it."

I come from newspaper and farming families: My father's side from Michigan City and Hobart in The Region; my mother's from Dearborn County near Aurora, and later from Batesville and Liberty. My two sons were born in Elkhart and Fort Wayne. I graduated from high school at Peru, and attended college in Vincennes and Bloomington. I believe I've lived in every Indiana congressional district save what is now the 4th. I live in Nashville and work in Indy. My professional career was a step up the ladder, from Peru, to Warsaw, to Elkhart, then Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. I've covered town boards, city councils, county commissioners, the General Assembly, Congress, governors and presidents.

Growing up in a newspaper environment at the Michigan City News-Dispatch and the Peru Daily Tribune, I got the news bug early in my life. Dad came home one day in 1968 and announced he had spent the day driving around with Sen. Eugene McCarthy. I would enjoy a similar day with Hillary Clinton in 1992. When I was a senior in high school, I went with Dad and Mom to the national APME convention in Orlando where President Nixon scheduled a nationally televised press conference. I was in the room when he said, "I'm not a crook." I've got a folder full of press dispatches from the media room that night.

Our close family friend was House Speaker Kermit Burrous, whom I paged for. I remember getting my picture taken with him at the House podium, and scanning the chambers to find Pat Bauer, Chet Dobis and Jeff Espich looking on. It was amazing to me they were still there when I was a 50-year-old pro.

I've watched Dan Quayle get kicked out of a McDonald's in New Castle, seen Evan and Birch Bayh eat late night ice cream in Evansville, and spent a bizarre day with former congressman Earl Landgrebe in Valparaiso, coming away thinking he was



actually a pretty cool guy and not a kook. I drank "sassperellis" with Charlie Halleck at the Tippecanoe Country Club, traded stories with Vance Hartke at French Lick, watched Dick Lugar press a button and burn a Soviet warhead motor, heard Frank McCloskey tell me on the French Lick veranda he would rather lose outright than face a recount, and took the last ride with Mitch Daniels on RV-1 after we spent time at The Reservation that morning in Milan. The governor just couldn't understand why more politicians didn't travel around the state like he did in an Elkhart-made RV.

Sometimes it was just instinctive. Gov. O'Bannon's keynoter in August 2003 at French Lick seemed, at first glance, perfunctory, but I started taking notes a few minutes in, and it turned out to be the last public speech he gave.

Seeking an interview with U.S. Senate nominee Richard Mourdock in May 2012, his campaign manager Jim Holden conveyed that this would be possible if I kissed his ass. I enjoyed covering the rest of that campaign. I had a better election cycle than Holden and Mourdock did.

In the final years of his life, I was honored to have Gov. Orr frequently ring me up on the phone just to talk and vent. He was incensed by the health care for life deal that got tacked on to a 2002 budget bill. Earlier this month I witnessed Gov. Pence drive a combine.

Howey Politics Indiana has allowed a boyhood passion to become a career, and with the support you subscribers have offered and entrusted to me, this has become a reality. I cannot thank you enough.

I also believe that over the past two decades, I've earned that trust. And one thing I've learned from politicians over the years, you have to ask for that support. Over the past 15 years as I embraced the Internet,

I watched my newspaper colleagues give away the store and the industry has been in a survival spiral.

Howey Politics embraced the Internet, cut costs with it, expanded our business model through it, and I do ask for your continued support. Providence willing, I plan to do this for the next 12 to 15 years. There will be more changes in the news media in the coming years. There will be outside interests coming in seeking your business. We've seen how that's worked out with the local mallpaper.

My commitment to my subscribers and readers is that I will continue to share my passion and love for Indiana. I, along with HPI contributors, will continue to be a steward and watchdog of the process. We may disagree on policy at times, but rest assured my aim will always be to meet those goals.

And, yes, one more thing. I'm committed to continue making this all interesting and compelling. ❖



Power 50, from page 1

me jogging with Sen. Dick Lugar around Winona Lake and another endearing afternoon with former U.S. House Minority Leader Charlie Halleck. As a student, I had interviewed Speaker Doc Bowen. So while The Howey Political Report began publishing in August 1994, I decided to take this exercise back to the origins of my own professional career and the advent of the Bowen governorship, a new period where the chief executive could run for reelection.

HPI asked our readers to not only weigh in on the governors of this era, but the U.S. senators (including

U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh stands as President George W. Bush recognizes him at the Indiana State Fairgrounds in 2003 as Rep, Chris Chocola, Gov. Frank O'Bannon, Secretary of State Rokita, Mitch Daniels, Reps. Dan Burton, Mike Pence, Julia Carson and Mayor Bart Peterson look on. (HPI Photo by Ellen M. Jackson)

William Jenner and Homer Capehart), the congressional delegation, General Assembly leaders, mayors, party leaders and lobbyists. The results of the reader surveys can be found on pages 13. We incorporated the reader survey into this generational perspective.

In going through this exercise, there were some surprises. I came to the conclusion that Gov. Robert Orr

was a more impactful chief executive than Doc Bowen, when conventional wisdom generally had Bowen as the alpha figure of that era. While the House Speaker is generally seen as the most powerful Hoosier politician in a state with a constitutionally weak governorship, I list governors and two legendary state Senate leaders, Robert Garton and Larry Borst, ranked higher than the modern Speakers, mostly because of their longevity and clout exhibited over a quarter century. I weighed the impact of Indiana versus federal leaders. In the case of Sens. Lugar and Birch Bayh, their careers on Capitol Hill impacted not only Hoosiers, but the nation and the world.

Some current officeholders, such as Gov. Mike Pence and Senate President Long, are lower on this particular list primarily because they are in the early parts of their tenures. A subsequent exercise in five or 10 years (Lord willing) could yield a different perspective.

I took into account how the Speakers during the patronage era were different than this era. I looked at how governors expended (or didn't) political capital. I looked at political organizations that created a leadership tree, as evidenced by the high rankings of Lugar, both Bayhs and Daniels.

While this exercise will provide a good read, it could also be instructive to those currently serving the public and those who aspire to.

I hope you enjoy this read. I invite you to join us from 5 to 8 tonight at the Antelope Club to celebrate HPI's 20 years of publishing. I suspect there will be some vivid conversations on the conclusions reached with this edition.

Here is the Howey Politics Indiana 20th Anniversary Power 50 List.

1. U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar: Rhodes Scholar. IPS School Board member. Author of the Shortridge desegregation plan. Two-term mayor who forged Unigov. Six-term U.S. senator. Leads all Hoosier candidates in history with more than 7 million votes. In gauging Indiana political figures over the past generation, Lugar's resume is unparalleled, even though he lost two Senate races. But when you fill in this structure with the highlights, the bar rises even higher. As a freshman senator, he authored legislation that allowed Chrysler to survive the oil shocks of the late 1970s and that corporation paid tens of millions of dollars in wages and taxes. His election monitoring was the catalytic factor ending the Ferdinand Marcos regime in the Philippines. He convinced President Reagan to change U.S. foreign policy to what became a precursor to the end of South African apartheid. The biggest miss here was Lugar's role in the ramp up of the Iraq invasion of 2003, which history is proving to be a debacle, though Lugar was an early voice warning of a lack of preparation for the oc-

cupation. Ultimately, this led to the rise of the ISIS threat we face today. But the chapter of Lugar's career that truly stands out is his partnership with Democrat U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn in creating the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program that secured the rusting Soviet nuclear, biological and chemical arsenals. This kept WMD out of the hands of terrorists. The highly enriched uranium once housed on missiles aimed at U.S. cities ended up providing 10% of the U.S. electric generation for a generation. That type of achievement, atop of his other efforts on fighting hunger and the diversification of energy supplies, is unprecedented for a U.S. senator.

2. Gov. Mitch Daniels: In a state where the House Speaker has the most tools when the General Assembly is in session including a simple majority veto override, Mitch



Daniels became the alpha Statehouse power center for eight years. He spent his political capital in extraordinary fashion, figuring good policy made good politics. He was President Reagan's political director, headed the Senatorial Campaign Committee, turned down Gov. Robert Orr's offer of Dan Quayle's Senate seat, before becoming President George W. Bush's budget director. Behind the scenes, he engineered a takeover of the Indiana Republican Party in 2002, then in 2003 Daniels acquired widespread populist approval with his RV1 tour of the state that in the first three-quarters of his governorship allowed him to direct, generate or co-opt the policy mantle even with the legislature in the building. On his first day, Daniels' initial executive order ending collective bargaining for state employees gave him the budget flexibility to end the smoke and mirrors that was the hallmark of the previous eight budgets. The Major Moves and telecommunications reforms of 2006 established growth in transportation and communications. When the GOP lost the House majority two years in, Daniels found consensus on health issues with legislative Democrats, resulting in the Healthy Indiana Plan. He

moved administratively on education issues, directed his energies toward regaining House majority in 2010 that allowed Republicans to control the redistricting process that ultimately forged the sprawling education reforms of 2011 as well as the current super majorities. By this time, some of Daniels populist appeal waned as the Tea Party opposed Common Core. But Daniels had created enough policy success and an aura of reforming and restructuring that he could have become a viable 2012 presidential contender. During the Daniels years, there was little doubt over who was in charge and where the ideas were flowing.

3. U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh: While he never won a U.S. Senate race with more than a 5% plurality, the former Indiana House speaker became a legendary U.S. senator. Bayh authored two of the 16 amendments to the U.S. Constitution on presidential succession and 18-year-old voting, as well as Title IX that opened collegiate sports funding for women. He parted with President Lyndon Johnson on the Vietnam War, which in a historical perspective has proven to be the correct decision. He became an enemy of President Nixon when he spearheaded two successful rejections of U.S. Supreme Court nominees. A friend of the Kennedy dynasty, Bayh saved U.S. Sen. Ted Kennedy's life when he pulled him out of a plane crash. And he sired a future Indiana governor. That is a magnificent public career that ended in 1980 with his defeat to a future U.S. vice president.

4. Gov. Robert D. Orr: He has long been perceived as the second part of the Bowen/Orr tickets of 1972 and 1976. But his experience as World War II veteran, Evansville businessman and state senator gave him a skill set and global vision that, as time has proven, has allowed Indiana to diversify its economy with a dramatic infusion of Pacific Rim investment. The initiative of the Orr/Mutz administration brought Sony to Terre Haute and Subaru to Lafayette. This was interrupted during the Bayh governorship. Orr took an ambassador post to Singapore after his second term ended, keeping him tapped into these expanding eastern economies. Today, more than 200 Japanese firms have accounted for 40% of every investment dollar in Indiana in recent years. While Orr's

first term was crippled with the severe oil shock session that required the largest tax increase in state history in 1982, at the end of his second term he forged the A-Plus education reforms that set a trend for every governor who has followed him to improve Indiana education. Orr used his Senate background to become a consensus governor.

5. Gov. Otis "Doc" Bowen: The Bremen family physician had a grandfatherly demeanor that masked a powerful political skill set in a different era. As House speakers, Bowen and his successor, Kermit Burrous, maintained an iron-fisted modus operandi based on the party patronage system. It allowed county Republican chairs to vastly influence legislators. Bowen used this system as he ruled the House and then charted a gubernatorial career. He lost his first race in 1968 to Gov. Edgar Whitcomb, then stormed back in 1972 to win the nomination as the state ushered in an era of two-term governors. He defeated former Democratic Gov. Matt Welsh that year. Bowen campaigned on a property tax reform package, which became his gubernatorial legacy after he rammed it through the two chambers on close votes, though those reforms eroded over the next decade. Bowen was a popular governor and could have had the 1980 U.S. Senate nomination. He declined, but returned to public service when President Reagan nominated him to be the first medical doctor to head the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Bowen took the helm just as the AIDS epidemic was cutting its tragic course through the population. He also engineered successful health reforms that President Reagan signed into law in the final months of his second term. Congress repealed those reforms a year later.



Sens. Evan and Birch Bayh with Joe Donnelly in January 2013; Gov. Bowen signs Lt. Gov. Orr's cast.

6. Gov. Evan Bayh: The senator's son revived what had been a depleted Indiana Democratic Party. This arc extended from managing his father's losing 1980 reelection bid, to a move back to the state in 1984 and a successful run for secretary of state in 1986 before he ended a 20-year Republican gubernatorial dynasty two years later. Bayh's governorship was buffeted by a split 50/50

House between 1989 and 1990, the rise of riverboat gaming, and a Republican-dominated Indiana Senate. He was able to forge a record excise tax cut, and his administrations focused on education, though low high school graduation rates and the "brain drain" of college graduates leaving the state was a problem. Bayh's gubernatorial tenure was always seen as a stepping stone to presidential politics. He was on several veep lists. He won two U.S. Senate terms after eight years as governor, but his Senate career was lackluster. Bayh won elections in landslide fashion, in contrast to his father's much narrower wins, but the latter's policy career towered over the son. Considered a potential 2008 presidential candidate, Bayh abruptly pulled out of that race at the end of 2006 as U.S. Sen. Barack Obama's star rose. Bayh endorsed U.S. Sen. Hillary Clinton, who lost the presidential nomination to Obama. In 2010, he returned Indiana Democrats to a path of super minority status when he shocked the political world with an 11th hour announcement he would not seek a third term.



The Bush/Quayle ticket; President Garton and Speaker Bosma.

7. Senate President Robert Garton: Arguably one of the most powerful legislators in Indiana history, the Columbus Republican first elected in 1970 restored integrity to the scandal-marred Indiana Senate in 1980 after Senate President Pro Tem Martin "Chip" Edwards was indicted and convicted of bribery. For the next 26 years, Garton led the Senate in an iron-fisted manner, but always wrapped in a veneer of civility. As a chamber leader, he kept the Senate in Republican hands for a quarter of a century under his leadership, ardently defending members who began facing primary challenges in 2002 when Sen. Steve Johnson was defeated. Two years later it was Sen. Larry Borst who fell, and finally in 2006, Garton was upset in a 58-42% landslide to Greg Walker. Garton was challenged by Right to Life and Right to Work forces upset by his moderate stance on those issues. Garton became vulnerable when he lost touch, helping to pass health care for life for legislators that became a lightning rod and set the stage for his shocking defeat.

8. Vice President Dan Quayle: In the television era of Indiana politics, as many as 10 Hoosiers were under speculation for the quadrennial "veepstakes." It was Quayle, a Huntington newspaper executive, two-term congressman and two-term U.S. senator who actually ended up on

a ticket. Quayle had earned a reputation working on defense issues in the Senate. As the 1988 race unfolded, Vice President George H.W. Bush was the heir apparent. Early that year, Quayle and his wife Marilyn began executing a strategy to position him for the ticket, and pulled it off in brilliant fashion. It culminated in the senator's appearance on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley." A few days later, Bush arrived in New Orleans and announced his selection of Quayle, who was pulled out of a sweaty audience, his political fate quickly turned over to James Baker. It was all downhill from there as Quayle had to fend off an array of stories by a news media shocked by his selection and knowing little of his background. The Bush/Quayle ticket prevailed. Leading into 1992, there was talk of dumping Quayle, but Bush was loyal and his vice president was actually the better

performer on the reelection campaign, igniting the "family values" issue designed to stoke the conservative base. The Clinton/Gore ticket prevailed and Quayle launched a brief presidential bid in 2000 before it became clear that Texas Gov. George W. Bush would prevail.

9. State Sen. Larry Borst: The Greenwood Republican is the bookend legislative titan to Garton, the pair in our view are the most powerful legislative tandem in history. An ally of legendary Marion County Republican Chairman L. Keith Bulen, in 1965, Borst co-founded the Republican Action Committee that paved the way for Richard Lugar's 1967 Indianapolis mayoral win. Elected to the House in 1966, Borst moved to the Senate two years later. He assumed the helm of the Senate Finance Committee in 1973 and with the exception of two years (1975-76 when Democrats took control), was the most powerful chairman in state history until his primary defeat in 2004 by Brent Waltz by less than 50 votes. During his chairmanship, there wasn't a budget bill or tax policy that didn't have Borst's stamp. As powerful as the Garton/Borst team was, the state allowed its banking industry to be overtaken by outside corporations, but Borst paved the way for the casino gaming industry to establish itself in 1993.

10. Speaker Brian Bosma: The Indianapolis Republican is in his second stint as Speaker, considered the most powerful government post in the state while the General Assembly is in session. Under Bosma's helm, he was instrumental in guiding through some of the most

audacious reform legislation in modern history, ranging from Major Moves to the education reforms of 2011. Some of this was initiated by Gov. Mitch Daniels, though later in that governorship, Bosma asserted his mojo and successfully pushed for Right to Work legislation. Over the past two years, he has adroitly worked with a super majority caucus that grappled with the marriage issue and presented his power when he moved the legislation from a deadlocked committee to allow it to be heard on the floor. Bosma has broken the mold in several ways, appointing Democrat committee chairs. He was also instrumental in transparency efforts, bringing webcasts to sessions and committee meetings. He is considered to be a future gubernatorial candidate.

11. Speakers Paul Mannweiler and Michael K. Phillips:

In this "speakers tier" of this generational Power 50, Mannweiler acted as a bridge between the patronage era when Doc Bowen and Kermit Burrous relied on the party structure to enforce the "iron-fisted" nature of the job. Mannweiler emerged as a leader during Gov. Evan Bayh's era that ended the patronage system. He was a three-term speaker, serving under the final years of Gov. Orr when his A-Plus education program passed through the House, then as co-speaker with Michael K. Phillips from 1988 to 1990 during the historic first 50/50 split. His final stint came after the 1994 GOP tidal wave through 1996. He retired in 2000 and joined Bose Public Affairs. Phillips served as co-speaker and during the periods when Democrats reclaimed the chamber. The co-speaker era was described by Rep. Richard Mangus as "It's like having two steering wheels and two people trying to turn them." His assumption of the gavel for the 1991 redistricting allowed Democrats to be competitive the following decade. But Phillips was washed out during the 1994 tidal wave, following Republican Speaker J. Roberts Dailey, who was upset in 1986.

12. Speaker John Gregg: The Knox County Democrat upset Republican State Rep. Bill Roach in 1986, quickly ascended to majority leader in 1990 and minority leader from 1994 to 96. On the night that Speaker Phillips was upset, Gregg and his lieutenants worked the phones overnight and out-maneuvered B. Patrick Bauer to take the caucus helm. Gregg then served as Speaker from 1996 through 2002 when he retired from the House. He reemerged a decade later to win the 2012 Democratic gubernatorial nomination, losing by just under 3% to Gov. Mike Pence. Gregg is expected to seek the nomination in 2016.

13. Speaker B. Patrick Bauer: The South Bend Democrat was elected to the House in 1970 and is the longest-serving legislator in the nation. He is a two-time Speaker, taking the helm from Gregg in 2002 through 2004 after serving as Ways & Means chair, when Demo-

crats lost majority in the Daniels-era wave. He regained the speakership in 2006 and became a sparring partner for Daniels over the next four years. As Speaker, he did everything he could to delay passage of a constitutional marriage amendment, which is no longer an issue that will be considered in the House, Speaker Bosma announced on Tuesday. He got under Daniels' skin to the point where the governor described him as a "car bomber." After chamber control returned to the Republicans in 2010, Bauer led a five-week walkout with his caucus fleeing to Illinois in an effort to kill Right-to-Work legislation. That July, Democrats removed him as caucus leader.

14. U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton: For 34 years Hamilton represented the 9th CD. He chaired the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran



(1987). In that chair, Hamilton decided not to press impeachment proceedings against President Reagan as part of the Iran-Contra scandal, saying he did not think such a trial would be good for the country. Following the Sept. 11, 2001, terror attacks, Hamilton served on the 911 Commission and in 2006 on the Iraq Study Group, cementing

his legacy as a pre-eminent American elder statesman. He now heads Indiana University's Center on Congress.

15. Indianapolis Mayor Bill Hudnut: He was the longest-serving mayor of the state's capital city, winning four terms from 1976 to 1992. He also served one term in Congress, defeating his good friend Andy Jacobs Jr., before Jacobs won the office back. While Mayor Lugar created Unigov that consolidated many city and county services while ensuring Indianapolis would be a GOP stronghold for a generation, Hudnut ushered in an era that began to recreate the downtown, first as an amateur sports center, and then built the Hoosier Dome that attracted the Colts to the city. Indianapolis also hosted the 1987 Pan American Games and built the Indiana Convention Center and the Indiana University School of Medicine. In 1990, Hudnut ran for secretary of state as a prelude to a 1992 gubernatorial bid, but lost to Democrat Joe Hogsett, essentially ending his political career. But the Indianapolis of today would not be a reality without Hudnut at the helm for so long.

16. Gov. Frank O'Bannon: The Senate minority leader pulled off one of the biggest upsets in modern Indiana politics, defeating Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Gold-

smith in 1996. Eight years prior, O'Bannon forged a partnership with Evan Bayh for a Democratic ticket that won the office for the first time since 1964, with the Corydon senator agreeing to the number two spot to the much younger Bayh. As governor, O'Bannon had two extraordinary sessions, his first in 1997 when he engineered a deal that built a fieldhouse for the NBA Indiana Pacers while increasing workers' comp benefits, and a property reform package during a special session, though its impact lasted for only a short time. O'Bannon had to deal with a court challenge to the state's tax system, and then a recession. Toward the end of his term, he faced a rebellion of House Democrats. O'Bannon died of a stroke in September 2003.

17. Gov. Mike Pence: The fledgling governor is a work in progress, which is why he is on this part of this generational list. Pence is an expert communicator, having built a profitable TV/radio broadcast enterprise. After two unsuccessful bids in Congress, he won the 6th CD seat in 2000 and rose to the No. 3 position in the Republican conference after he contested John Boehner for the speakership. He parted ways with President George W. Bush on No Child Left Behind and the Medicare prescription drug expansion, which has earned him support among those advocating smaller government. Prior to his gubernatorial run, Pence was seen as a potential presidential or vice presidential nominee, but in 2011 he opted to seek the Indiana governorship, winning in 2012, though he was the first governor in half a century to win without a majority vote. While Pence has highlighted a series of tax cuts and is now eyeing a tax restructuring initiative, his efforts to match education with the needs of regional workforces has found wide bipartisan support in the General Assembly, and his regional work councils are beginning to meet the needs of Hoosier employers. Pence has placed much of his focus on keeping the state on a sound fiscal footing, though his \$2 billion surplus has many urging him to take on some of the state's persistent problems ranging from methamphetamine to health issues. He is awaiting a federal signoff on the Healthy Indiana Plan 2.0 which would bring between



Gov. Pence on a farm near Salem, and (below) Sen. Dan Coats.

300,000 and 600,000 into health insurance coverage. After his second biennial session this coming winter, Pence will make a decision on whether to seek reelection or launch a presidential bid. At age 55, Pence is young enough that he has the potential to have a national impact over the next decade or two.

18. Chairman L. Keith Bulen: Five of the people cited above had integral ties to Bulen, the man who took control of the Marion County Republican Party following the LBJ landslide of 1964 and forged one of the greatest GOP machines in modern history. "I could not have been elected without him," Lugar said. He was the driving force behind Unigov, ensuring a generation of Republican mayors, and it became bedrock in the five consecutive GOP gubernatorial turns. "There was an aura around him that has never been matched by anybody in Indiana politics that I've seen," Indiana GOP Chairman Mike McDaniel said upon Bulen's death in 1999. After giving up the Marion County chair in 1972, Bulen was Midwest coordinator of Ronald Reagan's presidential campaigns in 1976 and 1980. In 1980, he was deputy chairman of Reagan's national campaign committee and was East Coast political director, and directed Reagan's nominating convention of 1980. "He could have gotten anybody elected, he had that much of a following and he was that good," former Republican Chairman Rex Early said. "He was the best."

19. U.S. Sen. Dan Coats: Indiana's senior senator emerged as a key aide to then U.S. Rep. Dan Quayle, followed him into the U.S. House in 1980 and into the U.S. Senate when Gov. Orr appointed him to fill Vice President Quayle's term. Coats won tough reelection bids in 1990 and 1992 against Baron Hill and Joe Hogsett, then abruptly retired from the Senate in 1996 with Gov. Bayh waiting in the wings. President George W. Bush appointed him ambassador to Germany; taking that position just hours before the Sept. 11 terror attacks, Coats became a critical component of the Bush response. Coats reemerged in 2010, announcing he would challenge Sen. Bayh, who then abruptly walked away from the reelection bid. Coats' Senate career has focused on a balanced budget amendment, defense and intelligence issues and he has sought a "grand bargain" with President Obama over tax and spending issues.

20. East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick: If there was a Democratic counterweight to Bulen, it was Mayor Pastrick. He was mayor of East Chicago for 33 years and chaired the Lake County Democratic machine for almost as long. The difference between Bulen and Pastrick was a wide array of the latter's lieutenants who were convicted of

corruption, though Pastrick evaded any criminal charges. But he was a go-to figure for Indiana Democrats seeking a bulwark of votes to offset Republican power centers of Indianapolis, the doughnut counties and Fort Wayne. Pastrick gave up the Democrat chair to long-time nemesis Stephen Stiglitz, and then an Indiana Supreme Court decision overturned Pastrick's 2003 reelection bid over a sidewalk paving scandal, and Pastrick finally lost an election. But for a generation, the East Chicago Democrat was a critical figure for any Hoosier Democrat running statewide.

21. Bob Margraf: The former South Bend LaSalle literature teacher rose to become one of the most powerful lobbyists at the Indiana Statehouse, becoming the Indiana State Teachers Association's chief lobbyist. John Ketzenberger would observe that Margraf "saw politics in three dimensions and used that to the advantage of the ISTA and Democrats. Margraf helped spearhead the defeat of House Speaker J. Roberts Dailey, a nearly unthinkable outcome at the time, and it was the linchpin in a long-term strategy that led Democrats to control of the Indiana House for the better part of 20 years. It also meant the teachers union was well positioned to ensure that favorable funding formulas and friendly legislation were in play at the end of every session. Margraf's research and logic made sense, though, so it rarely came across as a naked power play."



22. Senate President David Long: The Fort Wayne Republican rose to the president's job after Sen. Garton's primary defeat in 2006, forging a coalition of female senators and moderates. His early tenure was marked by elevating many of these female senators to leadership jobs, breaking the "Old Men's Club" reputation of the Senate. Long has managed a steep learning curve into the position, calmly dealing with a sizable social conservative contingent in his super majority caucus. He proved to be an able partner of Gov. Daniels and now Pence in passing an array of education and labor issues.

23. U.S. Rep. John Brademas: The South Bend Democrat served as majority whip of the U.S. House from 1977 to 1980 and was seen as a future Speaker, until his upset loss to Republican John Hiler in the Reagan landslide election of 1980. He later became president of New York University. Brademas was elected to the House in 1959

and focused his efforts on education and labor issues. He was cosponsor of the 1965 legislation creating the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

24. Gov. Joe Kernan: The former South Bend mayor and lieutenant governor served the final months of Gov. O'Bannon's term. As governor, his greatest legacy may have been breaking the gender barrier when he chose Kathy Davis for lieutenant governor. She became the first woman in state history for that post and on a gubernatorial ticket. Kernan might have had a greater legacy as governor, but in a dispute with O'Bannon over the selection of a Democratic Party chair, he shocked the political world in late 2002 by saying he would not run. O'Bannon's death prompted him to reconsider, but the time lost in building a campaign and fundraising gave Republican Mitch Daniels the inside track, thus Kernan became the first sitting governor to lose the office. Kernan was a Vietnam War prisoner of war, held by the North Vietnamese for five years after the Navy pilot was shot down.

25. Chairman Gordon Durnil: He served eight years as Indiana Republican state chairman, longer than anyone in state history in the final two terms of the Republican gubernatorial dynasty. Durnil served in a management position in 38 Indiana Republican statewide campaigns; his 33 victories in those campaigns include those of presidents Nixon, Reagan and Bush, Gov. Robert Orr and senators Lugar, Quayle and Coats.

26. Jim Bopp Jr.: The Terre Haute attorney has played a huge role in rewriting post-Watergate election law. He was a driving force between the Citizens United and the McCutcheon cases. The 2007 Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission case upheld the First Amendment rights of individuals acting through corporations and labor unions to participate in the political process, and it struck down what Citizens United described as "an oppressive thicket of statutes restricting and even criminalizing their political speech." The case arose in 2007, when Citizens United, a grass-roots membership organization, sought to broadcast a film critical of Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton. The Federal Election Commis-

sion deemed the film too critical to be shown in the weeks before an election. The McCutcheon case earlier this year involved challenging the limits of how much individuals could contribute in a given election cycle. Hoosiers saw the fruits of the Citizens United case as more than \$50 million spilled into the 2012 U.S. Senate race where Treasurer Richard Mourdock defeated Sen. Lugar in the Republican primary, then lost to Democrat Joe Donnelly in November. More than half of that money came from bundled super PACs. Bopp was an early supporter of Mourdock.

27. U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly: The Democrat won an epic Senate race in 2012 after Republican-led redistricting prompted him to forego reelection in the 2nd CD for a challenge to Sen. Lugar. However, Treasurer Richard Mourdock was preparing to challenge Lugar in the primary fueled by the Tea Party which didn't see Lugar as sufficiently conservative, and Indiana Democrat polling revealed Lugar had major problems with the GOP base. So it was a calculated gamble that paid off for Donnelly, who had lost his first congressional race to U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola, only to defeat him two years later in the 2006 Democratic wave election. Mourdock defeated Lugar in the primary, then watched the treasurer conduct a week's worth of disastrous TV interviews. By the end of the summer, Mourdock would only appear with GOP senators or handlers and he balked at taking part in Indiana Debate Commission events. He finally agreed to do two, with the second in New Albany yielding the epic blunder remarks on rape. Ironically, it was Chocola's Club For Growth that emboldened Mourdock, polled for him and partially funded his campaign that created the opening for U.S. Sen. Donnelly.

28. U.S. Rep. Tim Roemer: The South Bend Democrat had been a Senate aide, had married a senator's daughter, and in 1990 returned home to challenge U.S. Rep. John Hiler. Roemer pulled off the upset, then settled into a 12-year House career that ended with him serving on the 911 Commission which made recommendations after the terror assaults on the U.S. homeland. Roemer was an early supporter of Barack Obama's presidential bid and that yielded him an ambassadorship to India.

29. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky: The dean of the Indiana congressional delegation was a former staffer to U.S. Rep. Adam Benjamin, who died in office. Gary Democrat Katie Hall succeeded Benjamin to become the first Hoosier African-American to serve in Congress. But in 1984, Visclosky defeated Rep. Hall 34-33% in a four-way Democratic primary, and that launched his lengthy congressional career. He was one of 126 Democrats to oppose the Iraq War Resolution in 2002. Visclosky heads the congressional steel caucus. He has been a driving force behind the Marquette Plan to redevelop the industrialized Lake Michigan shoreline, and has advocated expansion of

the South Shore line.

30. U.S. Rep. Andy Jacobs Jr.: If there was a conscience of the Indiana congressional delegation, it was Jacobs, a fiscally conservative Democrat who opposed U.S. military interventions. He served with the Marines in the Korean War and was almost killed by Chinese soldiers, a fact he would personally point out to a later Chinese ambassador to the U.S. It was Jacobs who coined the phrases "war wimp" and "chicken hawks," defining members of Congress willing to send sons into battle while they avoided military service themselves.

31. U.S. Rep. Julia Carson: The former state representative, senator and Center Township trustee, Carson became the most prominent elected African-American official in Indianapolis, establishing a dynastic political organization that led to the election of her grandson, U.S. Rep. Andre Carson.



32. Fort Wayne Mayor Paul

Helmke: The three-term mayor took office in 1987 by defeating Democrat Mayor Win Moses. His tenure was marked by battling the crack cocaine crisis that engulfed his city. He initiated a significant annexation process that grew Fort Wayne and would head the U.S. Conference of Mayors. Helmke won the 1998 U.S. Senate nomination, but lost to former Gov. Bayh. In 2002, he unsuccessfully challenged U.S. Rep. Mark Souder. He later headed the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence.

33. Speaker J. Roberts Dailey: The Muncie Republican was Speaker for six years after Kermit Burrous gave up the post in 1980 to run for lieutenant governor. Dailey was a significant obstacle to an Indiana lottery, and was defeated for reelection in 1986, losing to Democrat Marc Carmichael in one of the biggest legislative upsets in modern times.

34. U.S. Sen. Vance Hartke: The former Evansville mayor became one of the few mayors to advance his political career, winning a U.S. Senate seat in 1958. He would hold it for three terms before Lugar defeated him in 1976. In 1970, Hartke defeated U.S. Rep. Richard Roubush by fewer than 5,000 votes. Hartke was one of the first Senate Democrats to oppose the Vietnam War.

35. Lt. Gov. John Mutz: He was the most powerful lieutenant governor in modern times, working in tandem

with Gov. Orr to open the state for Pacific Rim investment. Mutz was also the best man to lose the governorship when he faced Evan Bayh in 1988 as the Republican machine began to seize up. Mutz has played a key role as a GOP elder over the past generation.

36. Speaker Kermit Burrous: For eight years, the farmer from Mexico, Ind., kept the House in order for his friend and mentor, Gov. Bowen. He left the House in 1980 to run for lieutenant governor, losing to Mutz.

37. Secretary of State Larry Conrad: A staffer to Sen. Birch Bayh, Conrad played a key role in drafting the two amendments to the U.S. Constitution. He won the secretary of state's post in 1972, setting up a showdown with Gov. Bowen in 1976, which he lost. Conrad and his wife Mary Lou became the heart and soul the Indiana Democratic Party and its annual Indiana Democratic Editorial Convention at French Lick.

38. Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson: The Democrat ended the GOP Indianapolis mayoral dynasty in 1999, defeating former secretary of state Sue Anne Gilroy, becoming the first member of his party to head city hall since 1963. Peterson merged the city police department with the Marion County sheriff's department to create the Indianapolis Metropolitan PD, pushed a life science strategy and was given authority by the Indiana General Assembly to oversee charter schools in the city. Peterson laid the groundwork for the new Lucas Oil Stadium, the expansion of the convention center, the new airport and the city's first Super Bowl bid. He was upset in 2007 by Republican Greg Ballard after he rammed through an income tax hike he needed to balance the city's books.

39. U.S. Rep. Frank McCloskey: After winning one of the closest congressional elections in history over Republican Rick McIntyre in 1984 (he wasn't seated until the following spring) McCloskey played a huge role in the Balkan wars of the early 1990s, urging President Clinton to bomb Serbia. The former Bloomington mayor went on a 1991 factfinding mission to Voćin, Croatia, and witnessed the aftermath of a massacre. He helped broker a peace between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which led to the eventual Dayton Accords that ended that genocidal war. McCloskey was defeated for reelection by Republican John Hostettler in the 1994 tidal wave year.

40. Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith: The former Marion County prosecutor succeeded his nemesis Mayor Hudnut in that office in 1991, then dramatically revamped Indianapolis government with the help of political allies such as Mitch Daniels. He became a national advocate for outsourcing government work, but few Indiana mayors and municipalities followed his lead. He won the 1996 Republican gubernatorial nomination, but was

defeated by Frank O'Bannon in one of the biggest upsets in modern times. Goldsmith has since been an adviser to New York Mayor Bloomberg and Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard.

41. Republican Chairman Jim Kittle Jr.: If this Indianapolis businessman hadn't won control of the Indiana Republican Party, Daniels would not have returned to Indiana to run for governor. Kittle was part of a business alliance that included Bob Grand and Lilly CEO Randy



Tobias, who formed a shadow party called "The Phoenix Group" after expressing dissatisfaction with longtime GOP Chairman Mike McDaniel. When McDaniel stepped down, Kittle waged a two-month campaign, defeating John Earnest for the chair in 2002, paving the way for the Daniels candidacy. He

modernized the GOP operations.

42. Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard: The so-called "accidental mayor" hitched himself to a populist wave upset with Mayor Peterson over an income tax hike. The mostly unknown Marine colonel was out-spent by Peterson 10 to 1 but pulled off a 5,000-vote upset in 2007. In that race and his successful reelection in 2011, Ballard did not run a negative ad. He has transformed the city as a green entity, putting hybrid vehicles into the city fleet, opening up bicycle lanes and share programs. He oversaw the 2012 Super Bowl operations, as well as the expansion of the convention center and the new airport.

43. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.: The son of a Republican mayor, McDermott is a Navy veteran, a Notre Dame law grad who has since become a three-term mayor of this industrial city adjacent to Chicago. He led the Lake County Democratic Party for five years and now is positioning for a potential 2016 gubernatorial run. He has been an advocate of a number of the Kernan-Shepard government reforms, favors combining the myriad of Lake County cities into the state's second largest municipality, and used casino revenue to fund college scholarships for city residents.

44. Pat Kiely: He is currently president of the Indiana Manufacturers Association, but he was a powerful House Ways & Means chair during the Orr and Bayh administrations. He remains influential in legislature and Republican politics and was a confidante of Gov. Daniels.

45. DNC Chairman Joe Andrew: He became state chairman under Gov. Evan Bayh and was later elected Democratic national chairman under President Clinton. When Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan stunned Democrats by declining to run in late 2002, Andrew stepped in, selected billionaire Bren Simon as his running mate, battled State Sen. Vi Simpson for the nomination in the months before Gov. O'Bannon died. Simon abruptly left the ticket, Kernan reentered the race and the Andrew era ended.

46. Carmel Mayor Jim Brainard: The five-term Republican has transformed what was once simply an Indianapolis suburb into a vibrant, arts-oriented city. He led the way to remake the Keystone Parkway, eliminating dozens of stoplights, and installed an array of trendsetting roundabouts. Brainard has been controversial and council Republicans have been sharply critical of his spending and financial arrangements for the Palladium.

47. State Sen. Luke Kenley and Brandt Hershman: With Chairman Borst's defeat in 2004, Senate President Garton divided the Senate finance portfolio, with Kenley taking appropriations and Hershman the budget. The two place their stamps on all budget and tax matters in the post-Borst/Garton era.

48. Chairman Rex Early: The patriarch of Indiana Republicans, he took the chair when the party was broke in the early 1990s, and restored its fiscal health. Early ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1996, and later used his influence to help defeat Borst and Garton over the next decade.



49. Chairman Robin Winston: He was an O'Bannon era political operative, who directed the party in 1998 when it held onto the Indiana House despite the pending impeachment of President Clinton. Winston is the only African-American to lead an Indiana political party.

50. Chairwoman Ann DeLaney: She was the first female to head a political party, appointed after Gov. Bayh was elected to office. ❖

**For a Celebration that's been
20 Years in the Making!**



**Join Brian Howey as he celebrates
20 Years of Howey Politics Indiana.**

Drinks and Appetizers

*Special Presentations at 6:30 pm by
John Gregg
Rex Early*

Plus Other Surprises!

Date: THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2014

Time: 5:00 PM to 8:00 PM
Presentations at 6:30 pm

Place: The Antelope Club
615 North Delaware Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204

HPI readers survey

In the survey we took of HPI subscribers, 273 people participated. Here is how they rated the various categories:

Indiana Governors

1. Mitch Daniels
2. Otis "Doc" Bowen
3. Evan Bayh
4. Robert Orr
5. Frank O'Bannon
6. Mike Pence
7. Joe Kernan



U.S. Senators

1. Richard Lugar (pictured)
2. Birch Bayh
3. Evan Bayh
4. Dan Coats
5. Dan Quayle
6. Joe Donnelly
7. Vance Hartke
8. Homer Capehart
9. William Jenner



U.S. Representatives

1. Lee Hamilton
2. Andy Jacobs, Jr.
3. Pete Visclosky
4. (tie) Susan Brooks
4. (tie) Mike Pence
6. Todd Young
7. Julia Carson
8. (tie) John Brademas (pictured)
8. (tie) John Myers
10. (tie) Tim Roemer
10. (tie) Mark Souder



Highlights: 51 individuals received votes.

Indiana State Senators

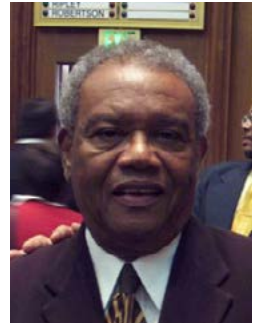
1. Luke Kenley
2. David Long
3. Bob Garton
4. Larry Borst
5. Vi Simpson
6. Brandt Hershman
7. (tie) Jim Merritt
7. (tie) Patricia Miller
9. (tie) Tim Lanane
9. (tie) Teresa Lubbers
9. (tie) Frank O'Bannon



Highlights: 89 individuals received votes.

Indiana State Representatives

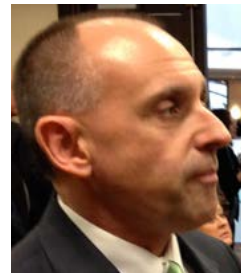
1. Brian Bosma
2. Pat Bauer
3. Paul Mannweiler
4. (tie) Jeff Espich
4. (tie) John Gregg
6. Bill Crawford (pictured)
7. Michael K. Phillips
8. Jerry Torr
9. J. Roberts Dailey
10. (tie) Pat Kiely
10. (tie) Eric Turner



Highlights: 116 individuals received votes.

Indiana Mayors

1. Bill Hudnut, Indianapolis
2. Richard Lugar, Indianapolis
3. Steve Goldsmith, Indianapolis
4. Greg Ballard, Indianapolis
5. Bart Peterson, Indianapolis
6. Jim Brainard, Carmel
7. Paul Helmke, Fort Wayne
8. Greg Goodnight, Kokomo (pictured)
9. Wayne Seybold, Marion
10. Mark Kruzan, Bloomington



Highlights: 87 individuals received votes.

Indiana Political Leaders

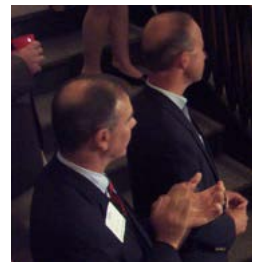
1. Rex Early
2. Eric Holcomb
3. Jennifer Hallowell (pictured)
4. (tie) Keith Bulen
4. (tie) Anne Hathaway
6. Murray Clark
7. Jim Kittle
8. Mike McDaniel
9. Bob Grand
10. Robin Winston



Highlights: 133 individuals received votes.

Indiana Lobbyists

1. John Hammond (pictured)
2. Bob Grand
3. Joe Loftus
4. Jim Purucker
5. (tie) Pat Kiely
5. (tie) Mike O'Brien
7. (tie) Brian Burdick
7. (tie) Lesa Dietrick
7. (tie) Mike McDaniel
10. (tie) Kevin Brinegar, Chip Garver, Bill Moreau, Joe Smith, Kip Tew



Highlights: 107 individuals received votes ❖

Classic Howey Politics 'Quotes of the week'

"What a complete charlatan. I was always taught such conduct could be grounds for disbarment."

– State Sen. **Mike Delph**, Tweeting about Attorney General Greg Zoeller, April 23, 2013.

"The red line means going to war. This is very dangerous because we may be aiding people who will use the arms against us and our allies."

– Former Sen. **Dick Lugar** on Syrian chemical attack, Aug. 22, 2013.

"We're not going to be disrespected. We have to get something out of this. And I don't know what that even is."

– U.S. Rep. **Marlin Stutzman**, to the Washington Examiner, Oct. 3, 2013.

"We will not let the Republicans press a crown of thorns upon the brow of working families in Indiana."

– State Rep. **Terry Goodin**, during the Right to Work debate, Jan. 9, 2012.

"This is now three months to go before an election. We need to be united and fight together and not fight each other."

– State Rep. **B. Patrick Bauer** after being removed as leader of his caucus, July 26, 2012.

"The problem in America isn't Planned Parenthood. It's unplanned parenthood."

– **John Gregg**, April 21, 2011.

"The president really preempted the relationship."

– Sen. **Dick Lugar**, on President Obama touting his friendship in 2008, May 26, 2011.

"Some of them in Congress right now of this Tea Party movement would love to see you and me hanging on a tree."

– U.S. Rep. **Andre Carson**, Sept. 1, 2011.

"No, not at all. Nor does the printing look like mine."

– Former Gov. **Joe Kernan**, asked by the South Bend Tribune to authenticate his Obama ballot petition signature, Oct. 13, 2011.

"Passing a Right to Work law is the single most important action our lawmakers can take to put more Hoosiers back to work."

– Indiana Chamber President **Kevin Brinegar**, Dec. 1, 2011.

"What happened here at this plant and changes we are seeing at this plant in Kokomo, you are showing us the way forward."

– **President Obama**, Dec. 2, 2010.

"It wasn't our organization. I'm convinced that organizations win elections and candidates lose them. And this candidate lost."

– Senate President Pro Tem **Robert D. Garton**, May 4, 2006.

"Drill here. Drill more. Drill now."

– U.S. Rep. **Mike Pence**, Sept, 11, 2008.

"Um, all of them, any of them that have been in front of me all these years."

– Alaska Gov. **Sarah Palin**, asked by CBS anchor Katie Couric on what news sources she reads. Oct. 2, 2008.



"Change just won and won big in Indiana. This is less an endorsement than an instruction. This is less a victory than an assignment."

– Gov. **Mitch Daniels**, Nov. 6, 2008.

"Congratulations, again."

– Chief Justice **John G. Roberts**, after swearing in President Obama for a second time out of an "abundance of caution," Jan. 22, 2009.

"You are entitled to all the lousy, crummy, graft-ridden government you want and are willing to pay for."

– Gov. **Mitch Daniels**, speaking of Lake County in Griffith, March 12, 2009.

"It was the last state we deliberated on and the state we wanted the most was Indiana."

– **David Plouffe**, speaking at DePauw University on the Obama campaign selecting 18 battleground states in the summer of 2008, Feb. 5, 2009.

"He was a devoted father. I'd see him, night after night, getting into his car to make the two-hour drive back to his family."

– State Rep. **Randy Borrer**, in a tribute to the late **John Okeson** (pictured), April 9, 2009.



"So what lobbyists for various special interests say and what their members actually think are not always synonymous."

– Gov. **Mitch Daniels**, Nov. 1, 2007.

"Ballard shouldn't have an inaugural ball. He should have an amnesty ball."

– Former Indiana Republican Chairman **Mike McDaniel** on the lack of GOP support for the mayor-elect, Nov. 7, 2007.

"If constitutional property tax caps are ultimately approved, they will have unintended consequences that cannot be anticipated today."

– **Steve Johnson** of the Indiana Fiscal Policy Institute, Nov. 15, 2007.

"Indiana is a better place because of Daniels, and it's rare I find a Republican worthy of such praise."

– Post-Tribune columnist **Rich James**, Dec. 6, 2007

"That's like selling a farm to pay for a combine."

– **Jill Long Thompson**, criticizing the Indiana Toll Road lease, April 17, 2008.

"As a team, we achieved our primary objective: Making the BMV a better place to do business for all Hoosiers."

– Outgoing BMV Commissioner **Joel Silverman**, Sept. 28, 2006.

"I'll trade you the clerk's office for the prosecutor."

– Marion County Democratic Chairman **Ed Treacy** to GOP Chairman Mike Murphy after watching the film "By the People," Aug. 24, 2006.

"You can order the butter now, because with the polls I've seen, both Hostettler and Woodruff are toast."

– Former House Speaker **John Gregg**, Sept. 14, 2006.

"Tell John Gregg you don't heat the grease until the bass is in the boat."

– **Rex Early**, in response to John Gregg, Sept. 21, 2006 (Hostettler and Woodruff both lost).

"There are some sectors we are not covering as well as we'd like to. Accountability reporting, city and county government."

– IndyStar Editor **Dennis Ryerson**, June 7, 2007.

"We're winning the war in Iraq. We've never lost a tactical engagement."

– U.S. Rep. **Mike Pence**, after returning from a two-day tour of Iraq, Sept. 8, 2005.

"Any golfer will tell you that if Chris is playing scratch golf, then he's working on his game constantly. If he wants to join the PGA, then quit Congress."

– **Joe Donnelly**, on U.S. Rep. **Chris Chocola** cited by Golf Digest as the best in Congress, Sept. 29, 2005.

"As it's been pointed out to me on many occasions, reformers are burned at the stake and then statues are built to memorialize them later on."

– Indianapolis Mayor **Bart Peterson**, Nov. 17, 2005.

"It is intolerable that a court in this free society would ask a person to censure the prayer they offer in the tradition of their faith."

– House Speaker **Brian Bosma**, following a federal court ruling on prayer in the Indiana House, Dec. 8, 2005.

"We are now in the unnatural state of Eastern Time."

– Rep. **B. Patrick Bauer**, after the federal government rejected St. Joe County's petition to move to Central Time, Jan. 19, 2006.



"The question goes through your mind, 'Am I walking into a freight train? Or am I going to be one of those politicians who had no plan?'"

– State Rep. **Jackie Walorski**, after casting the 51st House vote for Major Moves, March 16, 2006.

"It's crazy, man. It's not anything like it was the first time I was here."

– Sgt. **Rickey Jones** of Kokomo, in a letter to his family prior to being killed by a roadside bomb in Iraq, March 9, 2006.

"We would all have been annihilated. That has to begin to sink in."

– U.S. Sen. **Dick Lugar**, to the National Press Club, if the 9/11 jets had contained nuclear weapons, Aug. 12, 2004.

"Julia Carson will not go down!"

– U.S. Rep. **Julia Carson** when her voting machine lever didn't work, Nov. 11, 2002

"Over the next two weeks, federal prosecutors promise to lay out the wriggling innards of East Chicago's Democratic machine."

– Post-Tribune reporter **Steve Walsh**, on the Side walk 6 trial, Oct. 14, 2004.

"Enough is enough. At some point, politics as usual has to end, and that's exactly why I think I was elected."

– State Rep. **Billy Bright**, April 21, 2005.

"I don't believe in the big tent. I don't believe that you get to be that big offending a large portion of your base."

– **Micah Clark** of the American Family Association of Indiana, June 23, 2005.

"My days as the Lone Ranger are over with. I need my posse."

– Senate Finance Chairman **Larry Borst** when he essentially pulled the plug on tax restructuring, March 15, 2002

"I'm trying to move the state forward. Some things are more important than re-election."

– State Rep. **Troy Woodruff**, after his vote to break the DST deadlock, May 4, 2005.

"Only in America do people have the opportunity to be wrong on an issue."

– **Eric Miller** of Advance America, at a Statehouse pro-marriage-amendment rally, March 10, 2005.

"If they think they have to destroy Frank O'Bannon to be successful, they need to know they're playing with a boomerang."

– Strategist **Bill Schreiber**, Aug. 24, 1995

"I apologize to all the witches who were insulted when I associated them with Sue Anne Gilroy."

– Indiana Democratic Chairman **Joe Andrew** after the Gilroy campaign called for an apology for his calling the secretary of state a witch, Nov. 5, 1998

"For the past three years I've been CEO of Indianapolis. Now I'd like to privatize all of Indiana."

- Indianapolis Mayor **Stephen Goldsmith**, Nov. 9, 1995

"We are not soft on crime. We are erect on crime."

- Elkhart Mayor **James Perron**, Elkhart Truth, Sept. 1, 1995

"The difference between being state chairman with your governor in office and one without is the difference between ice cream and shit."

- Former Indiana Republican Chairman **Rex Early**, Dec. 13, 2001

"The governor looked like he had practiced the F- words in front of a mirror."

- State Rep. **Win Moses**, May 4, 1995

"You're losing air down here."

- U.S. Rep. **John Hostettler**, April 27, 1995, to a woman hissing at him at a town meeting.



"Running for sheriff was easy. You talked about crime and everyone was against it."

- State Rep. **Dale Sturtz**, Sept. 29, 1994

"The only thing I don't like about politics is the campaigning."

- 2nd CD Democratic candidate **Ron Gyure**, March 23, 2000 (he lost)

"It's a gun toting, Bible-packing, God-fearing, blue-collar, family district."

- State Rep. **Russ Stilwell**, Evansville Courier & Press, Oct. 22, 1998

"They saw qualifications. They didn't see race."

- Grant County Sheriff **Oatess Archey**, Jan. 7, 1999

"Whichever party can figure out how to most effectively and efficiently communicate through the Internet will be the party

that will dominate the future."

- Democratic National Chairman **Joe Andrew**, June 10, 1999

"And I'm a drunk, but my liver's been good to me."

- **L. Keith Bulen**, to Bill Shaw of the Indianapolis Star, Aug. 21, 1999

"We came. We met. We went home."

- Senate President **Bob Garton**, Feb. 19, 1998

"I can win this by just standing still and doing nothing."

- **Virginia Blankenbaker**, May 7, 1998. She lost to Gary Hofmeister, 44-37%

"I've been lucky in my marriage. My husband has the aspect that, pretty much, he'd be dead if he did anything like that."

- **Susan Bayh**, on the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Sept. 24, 1998

"If you walk down the middle of the road long enough, you'll get run over."

- **Chris Chocola**, May 11, 2000

"You want to bully some more?"

- Gov. **Frank O'Bannon** to David McIntosh, who interrupted him during a televised debate, Oct. 12, 2000

"Our nation has been savaged by its own Supreme Court."

- Rep. **Julia Carson**, Dec. 13, 2000

"I had to stop by the ATM machine this morning because I thought I might have to buy my own lunch today."

- State Rep. **David Wolkins**, March 21, 2001

"We need to be a party that stands for more than the sum of our resentments."

- U.S. Sen. **Evan Bayh**, Nov. 18, 2004

"King Kong falls off a very tall building and hits the ground with a very big thud."

Brent Waltz, to State Rep. Woody Burton, who said that Sen. Borst's reelection campaign was coming on like 'King Kong', Feb. 19, 2004 ❖

Little money traction for CD challengers

INDIANAPOLIS – Once again, this quarter showed that challengers aren't gaining any traction in fundraising. Add to that the lack of general activity from challengers, and it isn't likely they'll get much traction at the ballot box, either.



As the saying goes, "In politics, money only matters when you don't have any." Case in point: Eight of the nine incumbents have already raised over \$1 million for the cycle, while challengers in eight of the nine races have raised less than \$100K. The only

challenger to get past that threshold, Joe Bock in the 2nd District, has seen Rep. Jackie Walorski more than double his total haul (\$1.84 million to \$743K).

Rep. Todd Young is the big winner for this quarter, bringing in \$355K. Rep. Susan Brooks wasn't far behind at \$340K, followed closely by Walorski at \$323K. Those three out-distanced the pack, with the next highest coming in at \$259K. For the cycle, Young looks poised to be the first (and likely only) candidate to cross the \$2 million mark, and currently sits at \$1.97 million. Todd Rokita continues to maintain the largest war chest, with \$1.17 million in the bank, though Young and Brooks aren't far behind with over \$900K each.

While this election looks certain to be a status quo election at the Congressional level in Indiana, it could also have implications for future cycles. Because of the lack of any strong challengers, the incumbents have been able to quietly raise and stash cash--and lots of it. That means a relatively young crop of Hoosier legislators will be able to start the 2016 cycle with large campaign bank accounts, a huge advantage that continues to make it unlikely that top tier challengers will be willing to throw their hats into the ring.

CD1: Rep. Pete Visclosky (D): \$89K Raised Quarter, \$814K Raised Cycle, \$223K COH; Mark Leyva (R): No Report Filed; Donna Dunn (L): No Report Filed. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Visclosky

CD2: Rep. Jackie Walorski (R): \$323K Raised Quarter, \$1.84M Raised Cycle, \$545K COH; Joe Bock (D): \$209K Raised Quarter, \$743K Raised Cycle, \$78K COH, \$30K Debt Jeff Peterman (L): No Report Filed. **Horse Race Status:** Likely Walorski

CD3: Rep. Marlin Stutzman (R): \$251K Raised Quarter, \$1.28M Raised Cycle, \$608K COH; Justin Kuhnle (D): No Report Filed; Scott Wise (L): No Report Filed. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Stutzman

CD4: Rep. Todd Rokita (R): \$210K Raised

Quarter, \$1.34M Raised Cycle, \$1.17M COH; John Dale (D): \$15k Raised Quarter, \$15K Raised Cycle, \$2562 COH.

Horse Race Status: Safe Rokita

CD5: Rep. Susan Brooks (R): \$340K Raised Quarter, \$1.57M Raised Cycle, \$907K COH; Shawn Denney (D): No Report Filed; John Krom (L): No Report Filed.

Horse Race Status: Safe Brooks

CD6: Rep. Luke Messer (R): \$259K Raised Quarter, \$1.19M Raised Cycle, \$534K COH; Susan Hall Heitzman (D): \$2K Raised Quarter, \$2K Raised Cycle, \$241 COH; Eric Miller (L): No Report Filed. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Messer

CD7: Rep. Andre Carson (D): \$199K Raised Quarter, \$1.06M Raised Cycle, \$712K COH; Catherine "Cat" Ping (R): No Report Filed; Chris Mayo: No Report Filed.

Horse Race Status: Safe Carson

CD8: Rep. Larry Bucshon (R): \$173K Raised Quarter, \$1.05M Raised Cycle, \$543K COH, \$16K Debt Tom Spangler (D): \$11K Raised Quarter, \$24K Raised Cycle, \$6K COH. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Bucshon

CD9: Rep. Todd Young (R) : \$355K Raised Quarter, \$1.97M Raised Cycle, \$931K COH; Bill Bailey (D): \$48K Raised Quarter, \$91K Raised Cycle, \$13K COH, \$22K Debt Mike Frey (L): No Report Filed. **Horse Race Status:** Safe Young

Senate: Purple, red-lite, or redder? By LARRY SABATO and KYLE KONDYK

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. - Democrats know they will lose net seats, and they hope somehow the math works out to a narrow 51-49 or a 50-seat "Biden majority." Stranger things have happened, but almost all the lucky breaks would have to go blue. While Democrats have the one-up bonus of just needing 50 seats for a Senate majority, Republicans have many more practical pathways to 51. We've compared it in a general way to 2012, when President Obama had many more ways to accumulate 270 electoral votes than did Mitt Romney. In the zero-sum game of politics, maybe it is payback time.

But Republicans aren't there yet, and the hardest 19 days of the election stretch before us. Early miscalculations, shortcomings, and gaffes can be corrected or forgotten; late ones can be fatal in a heated battle.

For now, the Crystal Ball is right where we have been for a long time -- thinking that the math and the map look likely to produce a modest Republican Senate majority of one to three seats. Exactly which seats could constitute this majority remains unsettled. At this point everyone has consigned West Virginia and Montana to the GOP gains column, yet we'd all thought South Dakota was in that category, too. Arkansas is probably the fourth state to fall, with Rep. Tom Cotton (R) still favored to beat Sen. Mark Pryor (D). The fifth seat might well be Alaska, where Republican Dan Sullivan has had a consistent (of late) lead over freshman Sen. Mark Begich (D). ❖

Mark Bennett, Terre Haute Tribune-Star: Robert Downey Jr. and Robert Duvall deliver powerful, Oscar-caliber performances in the new movie, "The Judge." And tiny Shelburne Falls, Mass., deserves an Academy Award for its portrayal of small-town Indiana in the film. Cast as fictional Carlenville, Ind., Shelburne Falls could easily be Rockville, with a coffee shop, a news stand, a handful of pizza places and book shops, a museum, a high school and a drug store with a soda fountain. "The Judge" features Downey as Hank Palmer, a cocky Chicago lawyer who returns to his hometown for the first time in 20 years to attend his mother's funeral and winds up defending his father — a longtime local judge (played by Duvall), who's fair to all except his son, Hank — on a charge of murdering a parolee he'd once sent to prison. Downey and Duvall create palpable tension that alternately explodes, simmers and finally ebbs poignantly. The Wabash River even gets a mention. Our official state river is portrayed by Deerfield River, the stream that meanders through rural northwestern Massachusetts. The Wabash's stand-in gets prominent play in "The Judge," rolling over the scenic falls visible through the windows of the Flying Deer Diner, where Hank gets reacquainted with the eatery's owner, his high school girlfriend. Like me, real Hoosiers watching this compelling drama will undoubtedly ask themselves, "Why didn't they film it in Indiana?" The answer may seem, well, ironic. Indiana, which touts its "business-friendly" climate, offers no tax incentives to attract film companies to shoot on-location here. Massachusetts does, as do 37 other states. Thus, movies written with Indiana settings use other states, disguised as Hoosier places, for their actual backdrops. In 2011, the makers of "Arthur Newman: Golf Pro," starring Oscar winner Colin Firth, dressed up Raleigh, N.C., as Terre Haute. Last year, producers of "The Judge" took its filming to the Massachusetts countryside. And later this year, Pittsburgh will portray Indianapolis for a movie based on the blockbuster book "The Fault in Our Stars."



David Brooks, New York Times: I happened to be in the U.S. Capitol when the Citizens United decision came down four years ago. Democratic lawmakers greeted the decision with a mutually reinforcing mixture of fury and fear. The decision, everyone agreed, would unleash a tsunami of corporate and plutocratic money into politics, giving Republicans a huge spending advantage. "This is the end of our party," wailed one Democrat, aware he was going a tad over the top. Things haven't worked out as expected. In 2012, Mitt Romney did not have a spending advantage over Barack Obama. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, very few publicly traded corporations made political donations. During the 2012 campaign cycle, news articles began appearing in local papers reporting that it was sometimes Democratic groups who were making the most of the post-Citizens United land-

scape. The Center for Public Integrity looked at campaigns in 38 states in 2012. Democratic-leaning groups outspent Republicans by more than \$8 million. This year, the same sorts of articles are appearing. A Politico analysis in September found that the 15 top Democratic-aligned committees outraised the 15 top Republican ones by \$164 million. Based on data from the Center for Responsive Politics, Democrats have more money than Republicans in most of the tightest Senate races: Colorado, Alaska, Arkansas, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Carolina, New Hampshire and Virginia. Karl Rove has been shaking the Republican donor base, arguing that his groups are being outspent. A September study by his "super PAC," American Crossroads, found that Democratic candidates have reserved \$109 million in television advertising time before Election Day, while Republicans have reserved \$85 million. So was the furor about Citizens United misplaced? Will Democrats end up winning the political spending wars, thanks to their own plutocratic donor base? Well, the situation is complicated. The first thing we know about the post-Citizens United era is that it has accelerated a

pre-existing trend: Each year more money flows into campaigns. Spending this cycle is more than double what it was at this point in 2010 and four times higher than it was in early October 2006. Second, the decision has not scared away small donors, as many feared. A study by Douglas M. Spencer and Abby K. Wood suggested that smaller donors were just as likely to be active after the decision as before. Third, many of Democrats' apparent advantages in spending this year are temporary. A major wave of Republican money is expected over the next few weeks. Democrats do have an advantage in the donations made to super PACs, which have to report their donors. But Republicans have an advantage in donations made to 501(c)(4) groups, which can keep the names of donors secret. The final and most important effect of Citizens United is that it will reduce the influence of money on electoral outcomes. Yes, that's right. Reduce.

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier: John Dale, short on recognition and three weeks from the end of a shoestring campaign, isn't in much of a position to force the hand of U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita, the two-term Republican he's trying to replace. But the West Point Democrat thought this would be the week he'd get a half-hour of airtime, side-by-side with the congressman in a televised debate that would have gone out across the northern half of the sprawling 4th District. WLFI-TV18 had a slot set aside for Tuesday night. A panel was reserved for questions. But scheduling just couldn't work out. That, at least, was the party line from Rokita's campaign. Instead Rokita made plans for the Republican Elephant Stampede, an annual Howard County GOP fundraiser held at Kokomo's Elite Banquet and Conference Center.

SBOE delays A-F vote

INDIANAPOLIS – The State Board of Education on Wednesday delayed the expected release of new A-F accountability grades after questions arose about the reliability of some data for a handful of schools (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The ratings had been sent under an embargo to all schools and media with the expectation that the board would approve the grades at its meeting Wednesday. But several school officials came forward at the meeting with requests that corrections be made due to data errors, and they said the Indiana Department of Education was not helpful in responding to questions and concerns. Board members seemed uncomfortable with issuing grades that would be corrected later. And they learned that a comparative analysis by the Legislative Services Agency was not complete. “It makes sense to take a step back and make sure all the grades we approve have been given a proper once-over,” board member Andrea Neal said. “It’s just a couple of weeks. What’s the harm?” Ironically, one year ago, members of the board went around Democratic Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz to ask Republican legislative leaders to have the Legislative Services Agency issue the grades because the Department of Education was taking too long.

SBOE changes charter grades

INDIANAPOLIS - Before the breakdown on the grades, the board did vote to change the model used to calculate individual rankings for two specific charter schools (Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). The first was Christel House Academy in Indianapolis,

which is the school at the center of the grade-changing scandal by former Superintendent of Public Instruction Tony Bennett in 2012. The school is run by a Republican donor. Christel House recently had its first senior class and argued that since it doesn’t have graduation rates or other benchmarks yet, high school data should not be used. This includes testing for



10th-graders in which a large number of students failed English and math assessments. The board agreed, moving the charter school’s configuration to just elementary and middle schools. That

will increase Christel House’s grade from a D to a B when approved in a few weeks. It is essentially the same thing Bennett did in 2012. The board last year, though, did not make the change, and Christel House received an F. A similar alteration was made for Carpe Diem charter in Indianapolis, but its grade isn’t expected to change. “We need to have the most fair grade possible,” Oliver said. “I want to stay out of this political discourse. We aren’t trying to finesse the rules. That’s baloney.”

Indy EMS says its ready for Ebola

INDIANAPOLIS – No cases of Ebola have been reported in Indiana but that doesn’t mean first responders aren’t ready. 24-Hour News 8 caught up with the Public Information Officer for the Indianapolis Emergency Medical Services, who gave us an inside look at their preparations. In a step by step demonstration, Carl Rochelle suited up to respond to a potential Ebola patient. “So putting it on, our main concern is that we don’t want to tear or breach the suit,” said Rochelle. It’s a process all of the first responders with IEMS have had to get very familiar with lately. “Currently we’re in the continued planning and preparation phases,” said Rochelle. With yet another case of Ebola confirmed in

Texas, health officials in Indiana making sure they’re on the same page and ready. “We are gathering the information from the guidelines the CDC has put out, gathering information from colleagues and partners all over the country,” said MESH Coalition CEO, Tim Stephens.

AG questions gay marriage validity

INDIANAPOLIS - he Indiana attorney general’s office is warning same-sex couples who got married in a narrow window in June that their marriages may not be valid. When U.S. District Court Judge Richard Young ruled Indiana’s gay marriage ban unconstitutional in June, he didn’t stay the effects of his ruling. The 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals halted the ruling two days later, but in those two days, hundreds of same sex couples across the state got marriage licenses. In order for a marriage to be valid, it must be solemnized within 60 days. A memo from the attorney general’s office says if same-sex couples didn’t follow one of those first two steps – a real possibility, given the complicated legal status surrounding those marriages during the lawsuit – couples should get new licenses to ensure their marriages are valid.

Walker tied in Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE - The Wisconsin governor’s race is again a dead heat. Gov. Scott Walker is tied with Democrat Mary Burke at 47 percent among likely voters in a poll released Wednesday afternoon by Marquette University Law School (Politico). Just two weeks ago, the same poll — considered the most reliable survey in the Badger State — had Walker up 5 points, 50 percent to 45 percent.