



Budget brinksmanship at Statehouse



GOP hopes for a quick resolution vanish into hours of new testimony as the Tuesday deadline looms

By **KATIE COFFIN**

INDIANAPOLIS – Republican hopes for a quick end to the special session were vanquished Wednesday when Ways & Means Chairman Bill Crawford decided to take more public testimony instead of beginning negotiations on the budget bill. Hoosiers are now confronted with a special session that many expect



to go down to the midnight deadline next Tuesday. In essence, both sides are girding for a classic case of brinksmanship, with the policy battlefield being education funding for poorer urban and rural school districts that are bleeding enrollment and, subsequently, state funding. Throw in a severe recession and a jobless rate expected to approach historic levels, and with stimulus money from the Obama administration that has been a salve for a brutal reality, and you find recipe for a long, long week.

Wednesday's lengthy testimony prompted

Continued on Page 4

Mitch for president?

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Mitch Daniels for president? In 2012? It's all the buzz in the Statehouse hallways where Democrats and lobbyists speculate on the governor's true motives as the special session races toward the wall.

It was a question I asked him about on the way back from Kokomo last September. The response was expected: No. I'm flattered, but not interested.

It has been oft stated by the governor, going back to his meeting with reporters in the summer of 2007 a day before he kicked off his re-election. He emphatically stated that it would be his last campaign. Since then he has in-



“I think we reached bottom and we’re coming back up.”

- **ED NEUFELDT**, *the laidoff Monaco Coach worker who introduced President Obama in Elkhart last February. He's found a part-time job.*



HOWEY POLITICS INDIANA

is a nonpartisan news-letter based in Indianapolis and published by NewsLink Inc. It was founded in 1994 in Fort Wayne.

Brian A. Howey, publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington
Jack E. Howey, editor
Beverly Phillips, associate editor
Katie Coffin, intern

Subscriptions:

\$350 annually HPI via e-mail;
\$550 annually HPI & HPI Daily
Wire.

Call **317-254-0535**.

HOWEY POLITICS INDIANA

PO Box 40265
Indianapolis, IN 46240-0265.

Contact Us

www.howeypolitics.com

bhowey2@gmail.com

Main Office: 317-202-0210.

Howey's Mobile: 317-506-0883.

Indianapolis Fax: 317-254-0535.

Washington: 202-256-5822.

Business Office: 317-627-6746.

©2009, **HOWEY POLITICS**

INDIANA. All rights reserved.

Photocopying, Internet forwarding, faxing or reproducing in any form, in whole or part, is a violation of federal law without permission from the publisher.

voked the "Cheri Daniels' term-limits" and when HPI's Mark Schoeff Jr. asked him about it in Washington last February, Daniels responded, "No. No. No. N-O. You think you're going to catch me in an unguarded moment."

As recently as his May 15 Wall Street Journal op-ed opposing cap and trade, Daniels stated in his opening paragraph, "I'm not a candidate for any office -- now or ever again"

What is fueling the Mitch for President thing is that when you survey the potential 2012 field, there are problems. Just this past week, one potential contender - South Carolina Gov. Mark Sanford - simply disappeared for four days with wife, chief of staff and lieutenant governor openly unaware of where he was. On Wednesday, he acknowledged he has had an extramarital affair. That's a problem.

Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin? While many at the Evansville Right to Life dinner urged her to run, she and her family have become tabloid fodder. Her lightweight interviews during the 2008 campaign will not escape her. Recently Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan described Palin's style as "yammering." Next.

Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindahl? Not ready for primetime. Former Speaker Newt Gingrich? An idea machine who shoots from the hip (his criticism during the recent piracy rescue earlier this spring is an example) and has a checkered personal past. Mike Huckabee? Next.

Mitt Romney, Minnesota Gov. Tim Pawlenty or Florida Gov. Charlie Crist? All credible but it's unlikely any of them can close down the field before 2012.

And in this seeping void, with the last Washington Post-ABC poll revealing only 22 percent call themselves Republicans and the GOP's fav/unfavs at a sorry 36/56 percent, the chattering class has discovered Our Man Mitch.

Chris Cillizza of the Washington Post blogged, "In a year where President Obama swept to a 192-elec-

toral-vote victory on the idea of hope and change, Daniels ran on an almost identical platform, painting himself and the Indiana GOP more broadly as the reformers and Democrats as the old guard. 'We were the party of purpose,' said Daniels."

John Aloysius Farrell, writing on the U.S. News & World Report's Thomas Jefferson Street blog, observed, "Daniels has a good sense of humor and a fine appreciation of human frailty, is both a principled conservative and a political realist (having learned his craft while working in the Reagan White House), knows government inside-out (from his years as OMB director), and thumped the Democrats pretty good last November, even as Barack Obama was carrying the state. As Michael Barone recently pointed out, Daniels is exactly the kind of Republican that could woo independent voters and conservative Democrats — maybe even young folks — back to the GOP in 2012."

In a National Review cover story featuring Daniels as "The Blade," Rich Lowry writes, "In a new Gallup Poll asking who is the national leader of the Republican party, Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels didn't even rate an asterisk. That's unsurprising. The governor of the country's 16th-most-populous state won't normally garner much national attention, especially when he's an unassuming, old-school budget cutter. It's also a shame, because more than any other Republican officeholder, Daniels points the way ahead for his bedraggled party. He's a Reaganite who is not trapped in 1980s nostalgia; he's a fiscal conservative who believes not just in limiting government, but in reforming it to address people's everyday concerns; he's a politician of principle who refuses to sell his program in off-puttingly partisan or ideological terms."

And Lowry asks a most pertinent question: As they grapple with President Barack Obama, Republicans at the national level could do worse than ask themselves: What would



Daniels do?

It became part of a spring spate of punditry, op-eds, a national Saturday Republican address, magazine covers that have fueled talk of an orchestrated "Draft Mitch" movement heading into 2012. Daniels staff eagerly transmitted the laudatory writings. As with the campaign, these are not loose sparks of high-heeled boys at work in isolation. Staff follows instructions from the man sitting under the saintly gaze of Theodore Guerin on the first floor of the Statehouse.

Fearful of even asking Daniels the presidential question again, there are self-evident truths worth stating.

There is talk that Daniels is orchestrating a "draft," and they point to 2003 when he returned from Washington and quickly elbowed 2000 nominee David McIntosh, Sens. Luke Kenley and Murray Clark out of the field. It is no easy task to do that to people who look in the mirror, see a future governor and invest time and resources to get there. There's only been one true presidential "draft" in the past century and it occurred when both parties sought to lure Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower to their tickets in 1952. In 1984, there was a potential Mario Cuomo scenario until he slammed the door. As astute as Daniels is politically, he is not in a class of generals like Washington, Jackson, Grant and Eisenhower who capture the hearts and minds of an adoring people. No one doubted State Rep. Jeff Espich's April 29 sentiment that this "governor is hard to love."

Having said that, there is the prospect of a Daniels candidacy doing what George W. Bush did in 1999 and that is to clear the field.

How would a candidate Daniels be received in Iowa and New Hampshire? I spent time on the ground in both states with Dick Lugar's 1995-96 campaign and I can say with much clarity that Daniels would be well received in both states, particularly Iowa. He could win the Hawkeye state. The guy plays the retail political game as well as any candidate I've ever seen. He would be on par with President Obama, and that's a compliment.

Could Daniels run a national campaign?

Yes. As a young man, he ran Sen. Lugar's 1982 campaign against Floyd Fithian in what was an extremely tough year for Republicans. He then went on to become President Reagan's political director and headed the Senatorial Campaign Committee in 1984.

Does he have the credentials? In addition to that

stated in the previous paragraph, Daniels is a former White House budget director who departed before Iraq and deficits went haywire, as well as a two-term governor coming off an 18 percent win, who balanced budgets and has brought limited reforms to the state. He raised \$35.5 million for his two gubernatorial races. Those are stellar credentials.

What if a groundswell developed around the governor? This is a guy who Gov. Robert Orr wanted to fill Vice President Dan Quayle's Senate seat back in 1988 and he turned it down. Not many political people would turn down a Senate seat. This is not a person who envisions his obit teeming with a steady climb up the foodchain. Family is paramount. He ran for governor because he believed Indiana was on course to fulfill its gloomy station as the "Mississippi of the North." It's the essence of public service.

There's another aspect to consider: The Daniels governorship has been engulfed in a second term crisis. Experts are stating that the jobless rate could reach 11.5 percent between now and 2010. This is hardly a scenario for a sitting governor to expend the huge amount of time it would take to run a presidential campaign. Hoosiers will need a full-time governor over the next three years and Daniels knows it.

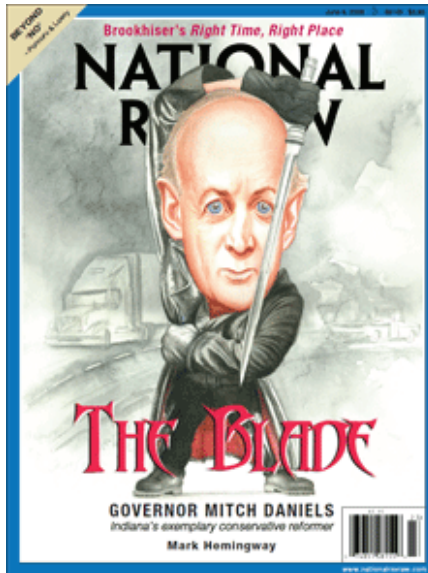
Having said all that, why is the governor's staff pushing all the punditry and why is the governor emerging as a

national voice and making all the trips to Washington?

Here is where I throw the ball to Mark Lubbers, who ran Lugar's presidential campaign and worked with Daniels during his two gubernatorial runs. Lubbers states, "MD is not running, but, obviously wants to influence and contribute. He is interested in policy, ideas and certainly in the rehab of our party. And he has the experience and knowledge to know that this is no time for people of substance to absent themselves from the public square. Remember, we (Lugar troops) went to DC in 1977 when there were even fewer Americans than today's mid 20 percent who said they were Republicans. We've lived this history before. And this is no time to cede the field. There is a certain patriotism in this that political commentators in this era of the sensational, 15-minute news cycle don't get."

Lubbers added, "The chattering class has virtually no capacity for understanding political ambition past the purely personal. Thus their only lens is 'running for president.'"

Mitch Daniels for president? Don't count on it. ❖





Brinksmanship, from page 1

Gov. Mitch Daniels to tell the Terre Haute Chamber of Commerce that it was tantamount to blackmail. "We will not be blackmailed into bankruptcy," Daniels said. "We will not be bullied into a tax increase on Hoosiers, and I hope you agree."

With Daniels deployed to points south and Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman scheduling press conferences in Fort Wayne, Marion and Lafayette Wednesday and today, the administration is intent on stoking up public opinion in its favor. Administration sources cite recent polling showing 80 percent favor holding the line on spending.

Crawford said House members need to hear from the citizens the budget affects so they can make the best decision for taxpayers.

However, Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley said he was "disappointed" in that decision because that they had already listened to an adequate amount of testimony. He said he was expecting discussion on the bills so they could begin to come to an agreement.

"This is probably part of the dance that we just have to go through. Right now we're just wasting time, and we don't have any money," Kenley said. "We need to have documents to compare that show what all the differences are [between the budgets] in terms of language and in terms of funding.

"The trick is that we don't quite know how they all play out line by line by line, and that's where we need to work at it and that's where there's room for some compromise. The difficulty is not that we don't want to be reasonable and not that we don't want to compromise, but we do have a parameter now which we hadn't totally respected in the past."

"I am frustrated," Kenley said.

Sen. Tim Skinner, D-Terre Haute, said that even though they've heard several of the testifiers multiple times already, he feels it is still a crucial component to getting a budget that's best for the people it affects.

"We can still gain some information out of what they have to say and maybe, and hopefully, they're coming to us with their gravest concerns now," Skinner said. "You know, we're right down to the wire. A lot of the wishes that they may have had early on, they've kind of put some

of those by the wayside and hopefully we're going to hear about what they actually need."

Even without Kenley's and other Republicans' blessing, several college presidents and other educators spent Wednesday morning testifying. Purdue University President France Córdova said they are trying to be "good fiscal stewards." For example, they've restructured their debt and are "holding the line on salaries."

"We will live with any budget, and we will manage well," she said.

Rep. Jeff Espich, R-Uniondale, however, questioned how the legislature could spend more when Hoosier families are bringing in less. "We're not going to do right by you, we don't have the money. We're not going to do right by students, we don't have the money," Espich said.

In Crawford County Community Schools, Superintendent Mark Eastridge said they are really struggling to make ends meet. He said they have eliminated some programs and jobs, bypassed pay raises, and continue looking for ways to cut their operating budget. He said he even had a principal from one of the schools doing ground work in hopes of earning a part-time science teacher for his school because Eastridge had let the grounds crew go.

"We know what needs to be done, but the resources are not there at this point," Eastridge said.

Kenley reiterated they just simply do not have the money to fund everything they want.

"We're just not thinking in reality that we've had a ...15 percent reduction in revenue, and we've got to deal with that fact," Kenley said. "Reductions are what's driving this budget, and we need to get on the same page."

Rep. John Day, D-Indianapolis, testified in support of a one-year budget like the House Democrats proposed. About 30 states now use a one-year budget, and based on their example, Day said he didn't think it would necessitate a

full-time legislature. "We have a 19th Century model in the 21st Century," he said.

Kenley said this wasn't the time to switch because Indiana is better off financially than most of the states Day mentioned; plus the stimulus money is a two-year deal in line with a two-year budget.

Skinner said he was unsure of when negotiations would begin in committee, but he believed testimony would continue today. He said delaying negotiations "might be a bit dangerous, because it just gets us closer to that deadline, but I just think that these people have a huge stake in



Ways & Means Chairman Bill Crawford decided to open up the budget to days of testimony this week as the deadline looms. (HPI Photo by Katie Coffin).



what we're about to do. And so if they have anything at all to say that we may be able to do to help make a decision, then we're obligated to listen to it."

Gov. Daniels has made his parameters clear for this budget, and though they aren't ideal, Kenley thinks it's the best they can do considering the loss of revenue. "The governor's message is clear, simple and direct. Criticisms aside of him, he's proving to be a good financial manager of the state's resources," Kenley said. "He's got the same priority that we all have - K-12 education and higher education, and he's doing everything he can to prepare within the means that he has available and that needs to be accepted ... because it's the same position we have."

Since the House Democrats passed up the opportunity Tuesday to pass the Senate budget and end the special session, legislators predict a long week of conference committee work ahead. Skinner said there's still a lot to work out.

"I have confidence that we're going to get this thing wrapped up, I do have confidence we're going to do that," said Skinner, an advising conferee for the Democrats. "There may be a few barbs exchanged along the way, but in the end we know we have this job to do and we're going to do that. Both sides are just going to have to sit down and compromise."

"I can see it going right down to the wire," Skinner predicted. "As a matter of fact, I don't know if there's any way out of that. I just think there's enough things yet to be said and enough things that are still on the table that going through that stuff is going to take a little bit of time."

And when it comes down to the proverbial "wire," Daniels said Democratic lawmakers who agree with a more conservative budget should "cross the boss and vote their conscience." ❖

Daniels makes his case against 'boss' Bauer

TERRE HAUTE - Gov. Mitch Daniels is making his case for fiscal responsibility during a swing through southern Indiana on Wednesday.

"You have to say one thing about the Speaker: he's the most powerful boss we've seen, legislatively. No one ever crosses the boss," Daniels said in remarks similar to those he made in an HPI Interview in March.

"In the next few days, we will decide between solvency and bankruptcy. We will decide between low taxes and high taxes," Daniels said. "I would like them to know that Indiana is unique right now in being in the black with a saving account and not having to raise taxes or slashed education. I would like them to know that if we make the right decision it will stay that way."

Daniels concluded by saying if state government is shut down because a budget is not passed, that fault can be placed entirely on Speaker Bauer.

"We've worked awfully hard for five years to create a situation where Indiana is not in the red like all these other states. It would just be unconscionable to throw that away in order to satisfy one man and the special interests he's fronting for."

State Rep. Clyde Kersey disagrees. Kersey told WTHI-TV in Terre Haute that Democrats and Republicans simply have philosophical differences on how this budget should be crafted.

"Most of the corporations in Indiana will lose money. And we calculate about 4,000 teachers will be laid off if the Senate version is passed," said Kersey.

"If Indiana manages a small increase as I've proposed and the Senate added, it'll be the best deal education gets anywhere in America," counters Daniels.

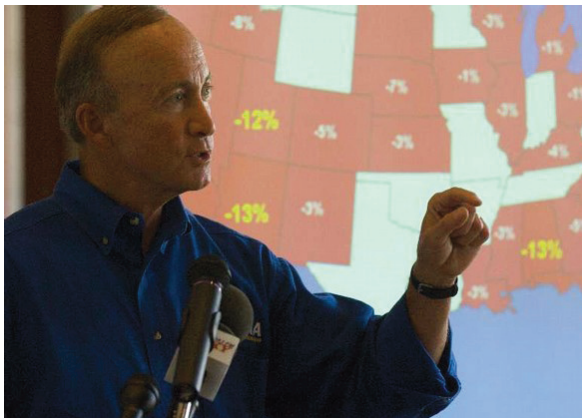
Also, the Governor opposes a Democratic proposal to use \$200 million from the state reserve fund.

Kersey says times like this are exactly why that fund exists.

"We have a 10.6 unemployment in Indiana. 335,000 Hoosiers are out of work. So we think we're there. We think we're at the point to dip into the rainy day fund," Kersey points out.

Both Daniels and Kersey agree a budget will be passed by June 30th.

And both sides will compromise to get it done. ❖



Gov. Mitch Daniels speaking at a news conference at the Old Post Office in Evansville Wednesday, making his case against "boss" Bauer. (Evansville Courier & Press Photo)

These remarks were originally broadcast by WTWO-TV and WTHI-TV in Terre Haute.



First big 5th CD threshold nears

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - This is the homestretch for the first real test of the 5th CD Republican challengers: who can show money prowess?

All four challengers were scrambling to add to their totals by the June 30 FEC deadline in their attempt to defeat U.S. Rep. Dan Burton. By July 15 when the reports become public, the field of Luke Messer, State Rep. Mike Murphy, Dr. John McGoff and Brose McVey will begin to show some order.

Messer figures to post some robust numbers due to the \$100,000 he raked in during a fundraiser at the



home of former Indiana GOP Chairman Jim Kittle Jr. in April. He gathered in another \$20,000 at a fete in his hometown of Shelbyville and told HPI he's had a number of other smaller events that will add significantly to his totals.

On Wednesday, Kittle sent out an e-mail on behalf of Messer. "I worked with Luke every day for five years when he served as my executive director of the state Republican Party during our last great comeback," Kittle wrote. "And, I know first-hand that Luke is a leader with the intellect, vision, integrity, and work ethic that have distinguished our best Republican elected officials."

Messer told HPI that he believes he can post one of the best quarterly reports in modern Indiana history, saying that only Baron Hill's 2006 challenger campaign trying to regain his 9th CD seat will better his totals.

The June 30 reports should answer several intriguing questions:

Will McVey's decision to forgo PAC money hamper his funding ability? During the first reporting period, McVey - who was the first announced challenger - had \$21,665.

Will the Indiana General Assembly's special session put a crimp in Murphy's posting? It's expected that Murphy will be able to tap into a deep base he developed while serving as Marion County Republican chairman. He will also be able to carry over any funds he's raised for legislative campaigns. According to OpenSecrets.org, Murphy had \$41,000 going into this quarter.

Will McGoff be able to get a better start this campaign after raising only \$473,664 in 2008 when he

came within 7 percent of Burton? According to OpenSecrets.org, McGoff had raised only \$2,075 in 2009.

And how much will Burton add to his totals? After raising only \$100,900 during the first quarter, he's been active on the Washington money front this quarter. He started the cycle with \$1,405,197.

Earlier this month, McVey proposed that contributors and party leaders agree to a format where money totals would be compared and a consensus candidate emerge by next Feb. 1. Messer said earlier this week that the money wars will naturally sort out the field. He emphasized that he has been active from the northern tip of the district to the south "listening" to his constituents.

P.E. MacAllister, who supports Messer, sent an e-mail to county chairs on Wednesday seeking "adjudication" of the 5th CD race.

"I have discussed the race with both the Marion County and the state Republican chairmen, hoping to minimize the adverse impact, but for reasons of his own, neither thinks it wise for him to exert the authority the party has given him, leaving us with a spectator role in this critical exercise," MacAllister wrote. "I appreciate their position but don't see it helpful. There could be an alternative. Maybe pretty wild, but here's one idea.

Let all four challengers do their best to line up support, but by the end of the year, say by Christmas time, allow a panel of 25 party elders, respected figures, influential people, major donors, judicious folks from the district, determine which of the four is the best candidate. Let's assume we can get the contenders to agree on this tack, which means the three losers gracefully depart the scene and support the selectee in the spring primary."

MacAllister said that a letter has gone out to 21 people in Marion County and includes figures like Jim Morris, Jerry Semler, Fred Klipsch, Jim Dora, John Mutz, Mike Alley, Yvonne Shaheen, Don Palmer, Al Hubbard, Danny Danielson, and Bob Bowen, "seeking their participation as ultimate adjudicators and requesting their agreement in principal with the idea. Tom John reminded me that the sun



Luke Messer expects to post robust money totals at the June 30 FEC deadline.



does not rise and set on Marion County but beams on other counties in the district, and including them in this experiment is essential. Thus this letter to you, asking for: your reaction; requesting your cooperation as one of the judges and helping us in finding other worthies in your jurisdiction. The panel, in other words, is a work in process."

Howard County Republican Chairman Craig Dunn, who supports Burton, responded, "Perhaps we could have Simon Cowell, Paula Abdul and Randy Jackson be the judges. A swimsuit competition might also be appropriate. Now that these four opportunists have decided to run, why don't you just trust the political process? Since you are supporting Luke Messer, this approach of yours appears to be disingenuous at best. I have no interest in participating in this star chamber process. Now, is not the time to waste resources on any opposition to Dan Burton."

Sofs: Fanello, Osili emerge

Two Democrats are emerging in this race: former Vanderburg County Commissioner and current South Bend Controller Catherine Fanello and Indianapolis architect Vop Osili, who announced his candidacy last Friday. Fanello has formed an exploratory committee. She told the Evansville Courier & Press that she will likely support Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel for governor in 2012. Fanello now has political bases in both the north and south and her husband is CEO of DLZ, which employs St. Joseph Democratic Chairman Butch Morgan. He and Dean Boerste were pushing the Fanello candidacy during a Democratic leadership powwow last Saturday at Bren Simon's home.



FANELLO

"I continue to have an interest in public service," Fanello said. "Secretary of state is an office that is the chief election officer of the state, and that's something that interests me very much, to continue to make sure that we have fair and accurate elections."

Osili is a political newcomer, though he was in a 2007 TV ad for Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson and was described by Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker as "virtually a half brother of Andre Carson."

Osili is a founding partner and principal at the interdisciplinary design practice A2SO4. In addition to providing overall vision and direction to an international team with offices in Indianapolis and Abu Dhabi, he is charged with the coordination, management, and design of cultural and corporate urban design projects at all scales. Osili's

focus on international urban design includes master planning in Morocco and Nigeria as well as participation in the creation of new urban centers in Abu Dhabi. He graduated from Carnegie Mellon University in 1986 with a bachelor's of architecture degree and from Columbia University with a masters in urban design in 1990.

Parker said he is faced with running candidates in all three statewide races in 2010, placing a high premium on challenging Treasurer Richard Mourdock. So don't be surprised if either Fanello or Osili wind up in a challenge to Mourdock.

2012 Governor: Weinzapfel's star

There's already plenty of speculation how the 2012 gubernatorial fields are going to begin to shake out. On the Democratic side, Evansville Mayor Jonathan Weinzapfel had a conspicuous presence at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner last Saturday. "It's something we will take a look at, yes," Weinzapfel told the Evansville Courier & Press. Weinzapfel hosted local-level party officials, major donors and others for a nearly two-hour meet-and-greet session in his own hospitality suite before the dinner. "It's flattering to be considered in such a positive light," he said.

Weinzapfel created a buzz. "He is for sure one of the party's shining stars right now," said Marion County Democratic Party Chairman Ed Treacy, adding he thinks Weinzapfel still is well known in the state party from his days in the Indiana House. Portage Mayor Olga Velazquez said, "I think he definitely has the experience — his experience in state government, his experience as mayor of a larger city. He's not a pretentious man. He's a very down-to-earth person who can relate to citizens of all levels."

U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth, the former Vanderburgh County sheriff who represents Indiana's 8th District, said Weinzapfel has received so much encouragement that he ought to consider a run for governor. "He's well-respected across the board, from organized labor to business leaders," Ellsworth said. "I think it says a lot about a person when they can get (support from) what might normally be different factions."

Former House Speaker John Gregg is also supporting Weinzapfel and is meeting regularly with the mayor as his emerging campaign forms.

But Weinzapfel is working through a dicey problem at home when he acknowledged on Wednesday that he secretly allowed the Vanderburgh County homestead exemption to lapse. Weinzapfel also said he will ask the City Council to reinstate the local credit next year, saying that "will require tough decisions by City Council members and me. Frankly, I have been kicking myself for the past several days for allowing a big decision like this to be made without public input," he said. "I am angry with myself that, because the decision was poorly handled, people are



now questioning my motives. I understand why people are upset. I don't blame them. I can tell you that there was no intent to mislead or deceive those who have entrusted me with this office. A decision was made that, at the time, I thought was in the best interests of the people of Evansville, given the economic information we had available."

Indiana Democratic chairman Dan Parker convened a meeting with potential 2012 contenders that included Weinzapfel, Rep. Hill, Lake County Sheriff Roy Dominguez and Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.

Also attending were Reps. Joe Donnelly and Carson, Speaker B. Patrick Bauer, Senate Minority Leader Vi Simpson, Jim Schellinger (as a campaign contributor), district chairs and labor leaders Ken Zeller and Jay Potesta.

"It was about where the party is going," Parker said, adding that the 2010 priority will be the Indiana House, Congressional races, and the secretary of state and treasurer races. "I thought we had a good discussion. Everything flows from the House because of redistricting."

On the Republican side, all eyes will be on Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman after the special session of the Indiana General Assembly ends sometime this summer. Skillman must begin to send signals that she is interested in a run or risk a crowded field to contend with. A number of Republican sources tell HPI that there will be no "draft Becky" movement. If Skillman doesn't fill the void, many assume that U.S. Reps. Mike Pence and possibly Steve Buyer will take a hard look at the race, along with House Minority Leader Brian Bosma, Secretary of State Todd Rokita, former attorney general Steve Carter, Advance America's Eric Miller, Indiana Republican Chairman Murray Clark and Senate President Pro Tempore David Long.

Many expect Pence to run and without clear signals from Skillman, a Pence entry in the race would place him as an early favorite. If he decides to stay on a Congressional track, another potential candidate would be former congressman and 2000 nominee David McIntosh.

As for Skillman, don't underestimate several attributes. Her status as LG has the natural evolution of succession we've seen with Govs. Robert Orr, Frank O'Bannon, Robert Rock and the late Lt. Gov. Richard O. Ristine, who passed away this past week. Her chief of staff, Chris

Crabtree, is very influential in the Indiana Right to Life organization. She also has the administration's bully pulpit, as evidenced by her press conferences this week in Fort Wayne, Lafayette and Marion.

And then there is Gov. Mitch Daniels, whose anointment of his LG would have an utterly huge impact. When he kicked off his re-election campaign in July 2007, he brought tears to Skillman's eyes when he said at Hinkle Fieldhouse, "I'm not sure even those of you who watch closely fully understand what a full partner she is; how incredibly important she is. We could not have done much of what's occurred without her. She's been our legislative quarterback, strategist, problem solver. She's cleaned up after me on many occasions. She's got great common sense."

Speaking of common sense, there is Treasurer Richard Mourdock, another potential gubernatorial hopeful. His challenge of the Chrysler-Fiat deal apparently will continue. According to Business Week, Mourdock is now contemplating a direct challenge to the merger. Mourdock is mulling a legal motion to get the nation's highest court to rule whether the sale, which was finalized in

bankruptcy court on June 10, was valid.

Mourdock told *Busienss Week*, "John Wayne never needed a bailout. Is it about money? Is it about principle? Is it about the law? Yes. It's about more than Chrysler and Indiana. When we see the law has no meaning, it sets a bad precedent."

Mourdock acknowledged he has heard from Indiana Chrysler workers and voters. "They thought I was trying to attack their jobs," Mourdock says.

Ya think?

Mourdock is now risking his political reputation as an obsessed man. His temperament is also in question after the Times of Northwest Indiana reported he teared up during a speech in Merrillville last week as he described his legal challenge to the Chrysler/Fiat merger. While his challenge to Chrysler might play well in some Republican circles (though probably not in places like Kokomo, Marion, Bedford, Fort Wayne or Columbus), he'll have challenges in explaining the \$2 million he spent on what ultimately could have ended thousands of Hoosier jobs to Democrats and independent voters. ❖



Lt. Gov. Skillman chokes up as Gov. Daniels paid tribute at the 2007 re-election kickoff. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

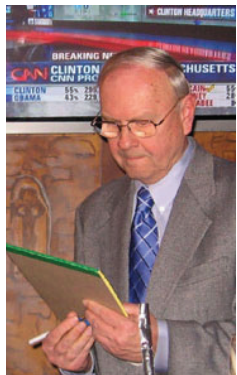


Lugar and WMD

By JACK COLWELL

WASHINGTON - Photos on the walls of Sen. Richard G. Lugar's office conference room show horrible weapons of mass destruction, many of which once were aimed at us.

One photo, taken in 2005 at a Russian base where mobile launch missiles were being destroyed through the Nunn-Lugar Program, shows Lugar, then Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, with a freshman senator, a Lugar protégé in reducing the threat of those weapons for mass killing.



That freshman senator, Barack Obama, was to learn also a lesson on certain difficulties in dealing with the Russians.

The senators were detained for three hours at the Perm airport in a standoff over whether their U.S. military plane could leave without being searched. Obama, following Lugar's lead, just brushed it off to a bureaucratic flap, not some international incident. The plane left without any search.

President Obama is sure to follow Lugar's lead again in advocating continued funding for Nunn-Lugar, named after Lugar, the Indiana Republican, and Sam Nunn, the former Democratic senator from Georgia. The program has brought deactivation or destruction of over 7,500 nuclear warheads and thousands of missiles in the former Soviet Union. It eliminated all nuclear weapons in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

The three administrations before Obama were not always enthusiastic in support, but opposition to past funding came primarily in the House and from the late Sen. Jesse Helms in the Senate.

"A minority was always saying, 'Why are you giving money to the Russians?'" Lugar says.

It was really spending for the United States, for getting rid of those weapons once aimed at the United States, doing so while parts of the old Soviet Union, desperate for funding, still were willing to destroy weapons and secure others so they would not fall into the hands of rogue nations or terrorists.

"The prime problem now is terrorists," says Lugar.

During the Memorial Day recess, Lugar went on his usual type of "junket," to Siberia.

He went for the official opening of the Shchuch'ye chemical weapons destruction facility.

Nunn-Lugar also funds disposal of chemical weapons. And Shchuch'ye is the storage site for 2 million rounds of chemical weapons.

Lugar recalls the shock when in 1999 he visited "the Godforsaken place," in an area of extreme poverty where the deadly substances were kept in wooden shacks with chicken wire for security.

Another conference room photo shows Lugar back then at Shchuch'ye holding a briefcase in which was placed an 85 mm artillery shell containing nerve gas.

"The Russians boasted that it would kill 80,000 people if they were all assembled in a football stadium," Lugar recalls. Perhaps it wouldn't wipe out everybody in Notre Dame Stadium, maybe only 20,000 or so, Lugar adds. Small comfort.

Finally, after years of delay, much of it caused when the U.S. Congress would not appropriate funds for the chemical weapons destruction facility, deactivation is under way. Also causing delay was need to perfect processes to neutralize and then safely dispose of the deadly substances.

"I indicated in my toast (at the official opening) that we really today had witnessed a miracle," Lugar relates.

A miracle of technology. And in resolve by those in Russia and the United States that fought to make the facility and its tightened security a reality.

"The road to this day has not been smooth," Lugar said at the official opening. "There have been delays caused by the apprehension of the U.S. Congress, bureaucratic obstruction, problems with Russian funding and contractor disputes. Through it all, Americans and Russians worked together to revolve difficult challenges."

Future Nunn-Lugar efforts now will have strong presidential support. After all, Obama was so impressed with the program that he joined with Lugar for passage of the Lugar-Obama initiative to provide also for destruction of conventional weapons stockpiles.

Now, Lugar wants to see Obama negotiate with Russia on extension of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) that is scheduled to expire in December.

Obama goes to Russia next month. Lugar says Russian officials joke that Perm, where a young freshman senator once was detained, probably wouldn't be a good summit site. But it is a site where that freshman learned some foreign policy lessons from Indiana's senior senator.



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



Positive tendencies and negative neighbor

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - My neighbor, Fred Fetid, was out weeding his garden. "Howdy," I said with mock good cheer. No answer from Fred.

"Another fine day," I offered.

"Don't you read the newspapers?" Fred demanded.

"Nothing is fine at all."



Morton Marcus
Column

This was vintage Fred. Now all I had to do was let him roll.

"Blasted Indiana legislature is playing games," he said. "Still voting along strict party lines, which means either individual members have no brains or no backbone.

"We wouldn't have all these fiscal problems if the legislature had not boosted property tax relief for home owners. They

lowered local revenues and now don't have enough state revenue to cover the deficit they created."

"Now wait," I insisted, "folks wanted property tax relief."

"Folks," Fred sneered. "They want fried potatoes and candy, but it doesn't mean it's good for them. The legislature is supposed to do what is good for the people, particularly when the people have been consistently misled, don't want to pay their fair share, and don't understand the issues.

"**Look at those disgruntled** 'folks' in Evansville who are upset because a local homestead credit was revoked. They are putting their own narrow interests ahead of the good of the community. They don't recognize that they have the only set of local government officials in the state with the guts to do the right thing."

"Hey," I said. "These are hard times; people don't want to see their taxes rise."

"They would if they understood that they are jeopardizing their future.

"Then," he continued without pause, "there are fools advocating giving money to colleges and

universities according to their graduation rates. Don't they know that this will lead to even further dumb down of standards? We already take too many students into 'institutions of higher learning' who are incapable of composing a sentence, inept at reading, inadequately trained in basic math, and totally ignorant of geography and history.

"**If we tie state support** to graduation rates, we'll have the least educated graduates in the nation," Fred asserted.

"I can see your point," I said.

He went on weeding, tearing at the pathetic plants trying to survive in a world committed to grass, that evil stubble which requires pollutants to keep growing and noisy machines to keep trim.

"I'm fed up," Fred said. "People keep saying our economy is down the drain. Our real economy is just fine. It's our financial system that fouled up."

"But all these business closings and unemployment," I started to say when Fred interrupted.

"Look," he said, "if the electricity goes off in your house, is there anything wrong with your house? Of course not. Your house is just not able to function as you expect it to. The serious trouble comes if you don't act fast enough to protect what you have.

"It's the same with credit markets. They supply the power for our economy. When credit markets don't work right, our economy slows down; it cannot provide us with everything and all the jobs we want.

"**We still have the productive** capacity we had before this recession," Fred said. "Business closings and unemployment give us an opportunity to refocus some of our resources. For example, Coachman Industries in Elkhart County is moving away from RVs to build fuel-efficient delivery and special vehicles. That's smart business.

"GM and Chrysler are being given an opportunity to redirect their resources, to modernize their activities and relationships with workers and dealers, customers and suppliers. When we get those credit markets in working order again, there's a good future for our country and our state."

"Fred," I said. "What's happened? You're showing positive tendencies. You ought to go in and rest until they go away." ❖

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

Your most comprehensive source of Indiana General Assembly news



DailyWire

www.howeypolitics.com



The story of Nikki and health care reform

By **DAVE KITCHELL**

LOGANSPORT - Nikki Ross has been out of work since the end of February, and now she won't be physically able to work for another year.



The 29-year-old single mother of one was helping her mother remove brush from a creek bank on Memorial Day when the worst thing that ever touched either of their lives happened - right in front of their home near Lake Cicott. Nikki started a fire to burn off a brush pile. Gasoline she had poured on the pile exploded, burning Nikki over 36 percent of her body.

"She was wearing a sleeveless shirt and shorts, so she was burned over virtually every part of her body

that wasn't covered," her mother Diane says.

Two days shy of four weeks later, Nikki was released from the St. Joseph Hospital Burn Unit in Fort Wayne. Although her doctor wanted her to be placed in a rehab hospital there, without insurance, Nikki couldn't be admitted.

Diane, a secretary at Logansport High School, said that part of her daughter's plight has been the most disappointing. It's also a reason why she and others like her need a government option for health care once employer-sponsored plans evaporate.

Diane, who has taken a month off work to care for her daughter and grandson, says health care reform and a government option isn't something she thought about before Memorial Day, but the events since then have brought the issue into focus.

"If you've got a job and insurance, you don't think about situations like this. Nobody should be denied health care because they can't afford to pay it. No life is more important than another.

Everyone should be taken care of equally."

But Nikki, who never received information on COBRA coverage when her employment was severed, will probably not be treated as an equal with other insured burn patients. Diane has applied for emergency Medicaid for her, but the bills are already coming in the mail. There's a \$2,000 bill for part of the initial treatment.

"The helicopter ride was \$11,000" Diane says of another bill for transporting her daughter from Logansport Memorial to Fort Wayne.

Diane has not been given an estimate on a grand total for treatment, or what the long-term cost will be. Nikki faces a full two years before the thickness of her skin in the areas where she is burned will be normal. She'll soon be wearing compression casts on her arms and legs.

Diane's co-workers are doing what they can to provide mileage money and meals. At least two benefits have been planned, but Diane knows the cost to one burn victim's family she met have topped \$575,000 - even with insurance.

Had there been a government option for health care insurance similar to the prescription drug plan offered under Medicare Part D, Diane says her daughter might have had it, and had a way to pay a greater portion of the costs without applying for Medicaid.

"You don't ever think of something traumatic happening to your children," Diane says.

"I guess you never prepare for something like this, but there's no way to prepare for it. It's a life-changing experience, not just for her, but for everybody."

A government option for health insurance would definitely make a difference in her daughter's life, Diane says.

"She would have gone to rehab," she says. "You're kind of left with whatever resource you have to pay the bills. That can bankrupt somebody."

HOWEY
Politics Indiana
www.HoweyPolitics.com

Publisher's Note:

Contributions to defray the medical bills of burn victim Nikki Ross may be made through all Salin Bank & Trust Indiana branches.

Dave Kitchell is a veteran Indiana journalist who teaches journalism at Ball State.



Mary Ann Akers, Washington Post: Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.) is still tilting at windmills, or large fruit as it were. Burton, whose infamous conspiracy theories during the Clinton years earned him the nickname "Watermelon Dan," is at it again. Last night he tried to offer one of the wackier amendments to the legislative branch appropriations bill - a measure that would order a cost benefit analysis of building a transparent shield around the House chamber to protect members from getting killed. "What this bill does is it would authorize a study to look at enclosing the chamber, the gallery chamber, with Plexiglas so that somebody can't throw a bomb down on the floor and kill a lot of us," Burton explained in testimony before the House Rules Committee. The committee, which sets debate time and decides which amendments may be made in order to legislation on the House floor, rejected Burton's measure despite the terrifying, albeit remote, possibility he described. In making his case before the Rules Committee, Burton laid out in great detail - in a public meeting, for the record - how a terrorist "could come in and kill half of the members of Congress right now." First, he said, you strap 10 pounds of explosives around your waist. "You could take a detonating device that looks like a watch so you could get through the metal detector," Burton said. "And when everybody was on the floor, as many as you wanted, you could put that into the plastic explosive, toss it out on the floor, and there is no way you would lose half of us if we were on the floor, at least, or more. I don't know how much damage it would do." The solution? Enclosing the House chamber with Plexiglas, of course. "They do it in the Knesset in Israel," Burton said. Before rejecting his amendment, members of the committee stared at Burton dumbfounded, according to sources in the room, as if wondering to themselves how to delicately explain to the Indiana Republican that he may be more in need of Xanax than Plexiglas. ❖

Rich James, Post-Tribune: Some random thoughts about the political beat. As the saga of The PMA Group and Rep. Peter Visclosky continues to play out, talk about someone challenging the 13-term congressman next year continues to heighten. It would have to be a Democrat, since a Republican couldn't win that district in the best of times. Is there a Democrat nuts enough? Visclosky, mind you, hasn't been charged with a thing. He's just caught up in the federal investigation of the earmarks received by The PMA Group, a lobbying firm. Visclosky, as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Water and Energy, secured some of PMA's money. Again, that's not illegal. When Visclosky's name started to get dragged through the mud, Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott was telling some party insiders that the juices were flowing and he was think-

ing about taking on Visclosky. As long as Visclosky isn't charged with any wrongdoing, there isn't a Democrat who can beat him. And to throw away 18 years on the Appropriations Committee would be the biggest mistake this area has ever made. Besides, isn't this the same McDermott who wants to be governor? Yeah, but the congressional race comes up in 2010 and governor isn't until 2012. Patience, my man. ❖

Doug Ross, Times of Northwest Indiana: It's a quote too good not to use: "Offices didn't buy computers because the typists were bad." Marilyn Schultz, whose MySmartGov.org is leading the push for local government reform, used that remark last Friday to try to drive attention toward the process and away from the personalities. Too bad it didn't work. Many of the comments after her speech at the Lake County Advancement Committee meeting seemed to have the underlying sentiment that local reforms might be good for the rest of the state, but leave Lake County alone. It's a view that was expressed last year when Lake County voters, unlike almost everywhere else in Indiana, decided to keep township assessors in business. Only the North Township assessor's office was eliminated. Why? Personalities, I'm convinced. Schultz is promoting the recommendations of the Indiana Commission on Local Government Reform, also known as the Kernan-Shepard report. Former Gov. Joe Kernan and Indiana Chief Justice Randall Shepard led the bipartisan commission. The report was titled, "We've Got to Stop Governing Like This," yet the sentiment so far has been to endorse the status quo. ❖

Gary Gerard, Warsaw Times-Union: I don't care if you're a Republican or a Democrat, running the government deeper and deeper into debt is a bad idea. There was plenty of deficit spending going on during the Bush administration. It drove me nuts. These guys are conservatives? They enacted huge new budget-busting federal programs. President Bush's commitment to reduce government spending was largely a joke. He pushed more spending for farm subsidies, the military, a bail-out for the airlines and a brand new prescription drug benefit for older Americans - some of whom didn't really even need it. Then there was the No Child Left Behind education program, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security and a couple of wars - Iraq and Afghanistan. Comes now President Obama with Democrats running the show in the House and Senate. Katie, bar the door. These guys are spending crazy amounts of money the government doesn't have and are proposing enormous budget busters like national health care, an energy cap and trade program and a new regulatory bureaucracy to oversee financial institutions. ❖





Man who introduced Obama gets a job

ELKHART - off RV industry worker who President Obama spotlighted in his push for the stimulus plan has finally found a new job (MSNBC).

Ed Neufeldt briefly became

the face of the economic downturn in February when he was chosen to introduce the president at a town hall meeting in Elkhart, Ind.

Obama used the speech to promote the stimulus bill that was pending in Congress. Neufeldt was just the sort of person the stimulus plan was designed to help: a worker in the country's struggling manufacturing belt who lost his job as the credit crisis hit and American consumers stopped buying. After 32

years building cabinets for Monaco Coach, he was laid off with hundreds of others when the plant closed in October. Several of his children had lost their jobs in the RV industry, too. Now, Neufeldt senses a turnaround — but it's not clear whether it's because of the stimulus. Three weeks ago, he got a job stocking shelves for Lewis Bakeries. "Even though I'm not making [more than] \$120 to \$150 a week, it feels good to be working again," he said. "Not very much, but

when you haven't worked in 9 or 10 months ... just the feeling of getting back into work again, it's a good feeling." In April, we visited Elkhart to see how things were going. At the time, Neufeldt wasn't convinced the stimulus would mean jobs for him and his friends, many of whom had also been laid off from the plant. At the end of April, Monaco was bought by Navistar International. A few of his friends have since been called back to work at the plant, he said, and those who had seen their hours cut are working full-time again. Neufeldt isn't sure how much of this can be chalked up to the stimulus. Lewis Bakeries didn't respond to questions about whether his job was related to the stimulus. But

back up."

Parker seeks end to Mourdock's 'folly'

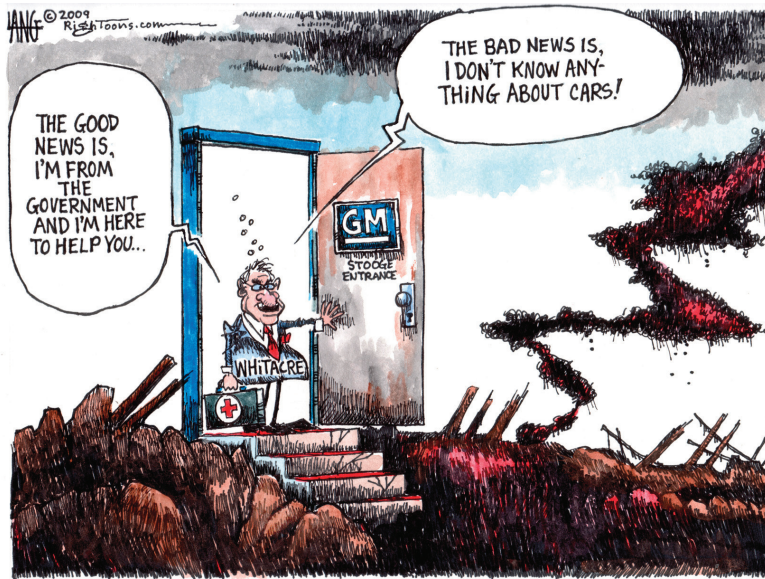
INDIANAPOLIS - In response to Richard Mourdock's recent comments in an interview given to Business Week, Indiana Democratic Party Chair Dan Parker called for Treasurer Richard Mourdock to spare the state another ideological crusade (Howey Politics Indiana). "It's like deja vu all over again," Parker said. "It's almost unbelievable that after wasting at least \$2 million on Mourdock's Folly, we're actually talking about a sequel." In the article entitled, "Indiana Funds May Not Be Done with Chrysler," Mourdock

freely admits that he is personally opposed to the federal government's efforts to save the domestic automotive industry, and compares himself to John Wayne while stating that he might pursue further legal action because "[i]t's about more than Chrysler and Indiana."

Lilly economic footprint huge

INDIANAPOLIS - Despite cutting thousands of jobs in recent years, Eli Lilly and Co. continues to help sustain Indiana's economy, from its \$1.5 billion annual statewide payroll to the billions in purchases, employee spending and taxes (Indianapolis Star).

Those are numbers the drugmaker is sure to mention often as the national health care debate heats up this summer, to show how much is at stake in its home state. A new study issued today by Indiana University and paid for by the drug company offers the latest look at Lilly's economic footprint. It concludes that the company contributed \$8.03 billion, or approximately 3.3 percent, to Indiana's gross state product in 2007.



AS GOES GM, SO GOES THE NATION...

Dick Moore, Elkhart's mayor, said that the stimulus is "absolutely" helping to bring back jobs. He used the example of the local airport renovation, saying, "We'll probably see fifty people working on that airport. But think about the fact that they're using a lot of trucks. People build trucks and repair trucks. By my own figures, when you employ one person, you really employ five." Whatever the cause, something's changing, Neufeldt said. "I think we reached bottom, and we're coming



Obama won't rule out tax on health benefits

WASHINGTON - President Barack Obama left the door open to a new tax on health care benefits Wednesday, and officials said top lawmakers and the White House were seeking \$150 billion in concessions from the nation's hospitals as they sought support for legislation struggling to emerge in Congress (Columbus Republic). "I don't want to prejudge what they're doing," the president said, referring to proposals in the Senate to tax workers who get expensive insurance policies. Obama, who campaigned against the tax when he ran for president, drew a quick rebuff from one union president.

Birch Bayh honored for Title IX

WASHINGTON - Former Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh was saluted at a White House conference Tuesday for his role 37 years ago in writing legislation that bans sex discrimination in education and school sports (Smith, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Bayh, father of Sen. Evan Bayh, D-Ind., told a gathering that included tennis great Billie Jean King, Olympic gymnast Dominique Dawes and Education Secretary Arne Duncan that he gets "pretty emotional" about the legislation, commonly called Title IX. The audience and participants in an hour-long discussion of the 1972 legislation gave the former senator a standing ovation. Russlynn Ali, assistant secretary for civil rights in the Education Department, said her agency would be more aggressive in enforcing the anti-discrimination law.

Zoeller sues mortgage foreclosure consultant

INDIANAPOLIS - Attorney General Greg Zoeller filed a lawsuit Monday in Marion County against

21st Century Legal Services, Inc. and Donald M. Johnson for trying to solicit and contract with Hoosiers for foreclosure consultant and credit services in violation of Indiana law (Howey Politics Indiana). Johnson and California-based 21st Century solicited foreclosure consulting services by mail, telephone and email in Indiana. The lawsuit is also seeking to identify up to 20 Indiana agents or employees of 21st Century who are believed to have helped in selling foreclosure consultant and credit services. "The Homeowner Protection Unit has been very proactive in trying to root out the bad actors who are preying on Hoosiers while they are at their most vulnerable and during their most difficult financial times," Zoeller said. "While some foreclosure consultants may find ways to operate within the law, ultimately we want to help consumers be aware of legitimate, and mostly free, sources of counseling such as HUD or the Indiana Foreclosure Prevention Network."

Feds rule for Greenfield employees

WASHINGTON - The Indiana Department of Workforce Development (DWD) today announced a ruling by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) that certain employees of Eaton Corporation in Greenfield, are eligible to receive services under the federal Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program (Howey Politics Indiana). The TAA program is made available to workers who are displaced due to foreign imports or shifts in production out of the country. The federal ruling was issued on June 16, 2009 and applies to workers totally or partially separated from employment on or after May 18, 2008 through two years from the date of certification.

McShurley threatens more Muncie PD cuts

MUNCIE - Mayor Sharon McShurley laid down the law to Muncie

police officers this week, giving them the choice of cutting benefits or manpower in 2010-11 (Muncie Star Press). Two days after ordering the layoffs of five rookie Muncie Police Department officers, McShurley sent a letter explaining the need to cut another \$3 million worth of spending in 2010 and \$2 million more in 2011. "There are ways that your department can recognize significant cost savings, eliminating the need for reduction of personnel," the mayor wrote.

Attorney in a trashcan resigns

JEFFERSONVILLE - An Indiana lawyer who was found asleep headfirst in a neighbor's trash can after a night of drinking has resigned as the Jeffersonville City Council's attorney (Associated Press). Larry Wilder says he also has told the Greater Clark County School Board that he won't seek to renew his annual contract when it expires June 30.

Luecke signs executive order

SOUTH BEND - Mayor Stephen Luecke on Wednesday issued an executive order protecting city employees from job discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity (South Bend Tribune). It was the mayor's first executive order in his 12 years in office. The policy encourages city employees who believe they have experienced employment-related discrimination — whether it's because they are gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered or heterosexual — to report such incidents to the city's Division of Human Resources. The policy does not extend employment benefits to unmarried partners of city employees.