



### '08 primary forgery brings probe

Fake signatures on Clinton, Obama petitions in St. Joe

By **RYAN NEES**

Howey Politics Indiana

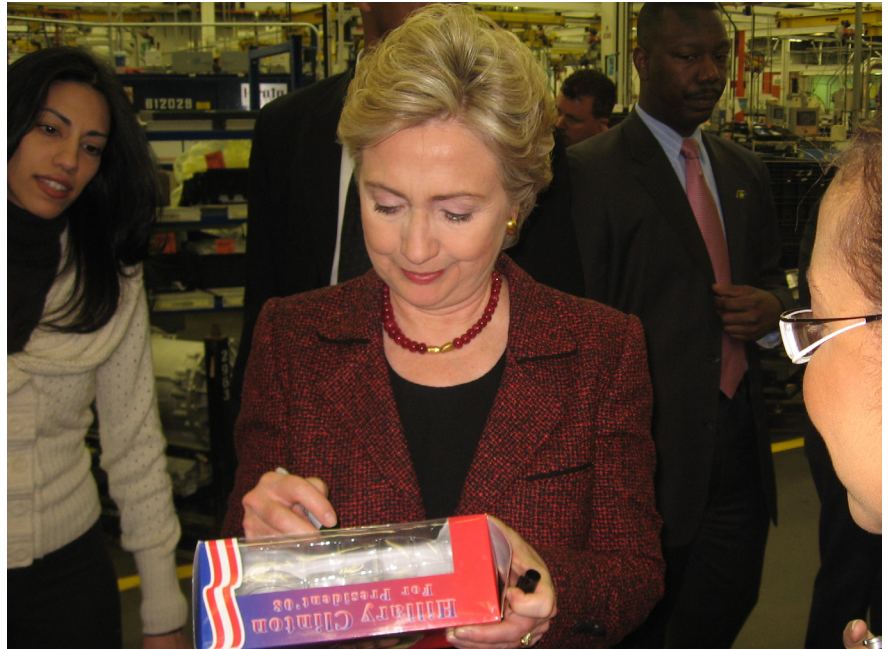
**ERIN BLASKO and KEVIN ALLEN**

South Bend Tribune

SOUTH BEND — The signatures of dozens, if not hundreds, of northern Indiana residents were faked on petitions used to place presidential candidates on the state primary ballot in 2008, The Tribune and Howey Politics Indiana have revealed in an investigation.



Several pages from petitions used to qualify Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama for the state's Democratic primary contain names and signatures that appear to have been copied by hand from a petition for Democratic gubernatorial



Then U.S. Sen. Hillary Clinton signs an autograph while touring Allison Transmission in Speedway. She almost didn't qualify for the Indiana ballot for the 2008 primary, which she won by less than 1 percent over Barack Obama. President Obama is shown here at Concord HS in Elkhart. (HPI Photos by Brian A. Howey and Ryan Nees)

candidate Jim Schellinger. The petitions were filed with the

Continued on page 3

### Romney by default?

By **CHRIS SAUTTER**

WASHINGTON - Barack Obama has often been described as lucky on his path to the presidency. But Mitt Romney is giving new meaning to the term "political luck," as one Republican heavyweight after another has decided against joining the current field of GOP candidates for president.



Yet, the constant clamor for a dream GOP candidate has exposed one of Romney's most glaring weaknesses. There is no enthusiasm for his candidacy. Romney, like Rich-



**"A campaign is too shackley for someone like me who's a maverick, you know, I do go rogue and I call it like I see it."**

**- Half-term Gov. Sarah Palin**



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ard Nixon in 1968, is the candidate no one seems to like but many are growing to respect as he plods his way to the nomination amidst a turbulent national political environment and against a weak field.

**But unlike 1968**, there are two active wings in the Republican Party. (Then, the conservative wing of the Republican Party was still licking its wounds from the beating Barry Goldwater took in 1964). By ending his tease and closing the door shut on a presidential run, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie has made clear Romney is the establishment wing's undisputed candidate for the GOP nomination.

Christie, like Mitch Daniels, passed on the race because it was hard to identify a primary or caucus state he could actually win. Unlike Texas' Rick Perry, Christie's entrance into the contest would not have made him the instant frontrunner. In spite of all the media hype leading up to his announcement, Christie was running 4th in national polls. But a Christie candidacy would have given Romney a genuine establishment rival in the race. Moderate candidate Jon Huntsman, on the other hand, has to hope for a "murder-suicide" scenario—Romney needs to finish off Perry while self-destructing himself—to have any chance at the nomination.

Irrespective of what Romney does, the race for the conservative or Tea Party candidate for president continues even as Sarah Palin announced to no surprise that she would also not be a candidate. That race, which just a couple of weeks ago seemed to be firmly in Rick Perry's hands, is now wide open. Herman Cain's recent win in the Florida straw poll has pushed him ahead of Michele Bachmann and in a tie with Perry within the crazy-talk crowd.

**Some candidate with** Tea Party support will emerge after Iowa and South Carolina as the conservative alternative to Romney and there will be a showdown in Florida and, per-

haps, beyond. But no candidate except Rick Perry will have the resources to truly compete with Romney for the nomination.

Perry's impressive haul of \$17 million in the first six weeks of his campaign provides him with a chance to revive his candidacy. But Perry's stumbles after entering the race as front-runner have melted much of the enthusiasm for his candidacy. His positions on immigration and requiring vaccinations for teenage girls have alienated many conservatives who have also yet to forgive Romney for providing the prototype for Obama's health care reform. Thus, it was Herman Cain rather than Romney who has benefited from Perry's problems.

Meanwhile, the list of potential vice presidential candidates—including Indiana's Daniels, Florida Senator Marco Rubio, Virginia Governor Bob McDonnell, and perhaps even the reluctant Christie—makes one wonder if Republicans have turned their process upside down. With a bench like that, why are Herman Cain, Michele Bachman, and Ron Paul winning the party's straw polls this year?

**The answer is neither** establishment rank-and-file nor Tea Party activists have ever felt comfortable with Romney, whose standing in the polls has rarely risen above the mid-20's. Nor have Romney's smooth debate performances tempered their unease.

Even with the media pronouncing him the apparent nominee or perhaps because of it, Romney will now become a more frequent target of an angry, nasty conservative base. Republican blogs have been viciously attacking him for months, but Romney has emerged from Republican debates virtually untouched. That could change in upcoming debates as Romney replaces Perry as undisputed frontrunner. The next debates give Perry a chance to make a comeback with the conservative base on social issues by drawing contrast with the more mod-



erate Romney.

With the field set, Romney should be able to consolidate his support within the Republican Party. But Tea Party conservatives comprise more than half of the primary voters and caucus goers. If doubts about Romney persist, his return to status as frontrunner could become a curse.

No real votes have been cast in the Republican nomination process. When they are, a new media trajectory begins. Someone other than Romney will win Iowa since Romney isn't even competing there. (Some pundits like Pat

Buchanan have been pressing Romney to reconsider his snub of Iowa. But Iowa's conservative bent makes a real Romney Iowa run at this late juncture unlikely).

A candidate who wins Iowa and/or South Carolina will emerge as the alternative to Romney. If that someone is Rick Perry, then there will be a real race for the Republican nomination that could further divide the conservative and establishment Republican wings. ❖

**Sautter is a Democratic consultant based in Washington, D.C.**

## Forgery 2008, from page 1

Indiana Election Division after the St. Joseph County Voter Registration Office verified individuals' information on the documents.

St. Joseph County Prosecutor Michael Dvorak's name appears twice on the Clinton petitions. After The Tribune faxed one of the signatures to him, Dvorak identified that signature as his own and confirmed that he had signed the petition. Dvorak did not respond after a copy of the second signature on the same petition was faxed to him by The Tribune.

Spokeswoman Lora Bentley later said the prosecutor could no longer comment on the matter because it was now under investigation.

Falsifying a ballot petition is a Class D felony in Indiana. According to Dale Simmons, co-legal counsel for the Elections Division, the statute of limitations for Class D felonies is five years.

### 'Terribly obvious'

The Tribune has talked with more than 30 people besides Dvorak whose names are on both the Clinton and Schellinger petitions. All but one of them have confirmed their purported signatures on the Clinton petition are not

genuine.

Erich Speckin, a forensic document analyst, examined the petitions at the request of The Tribune and Howey Politics. He said there is clear evidence, based on the consistency of the handwriting, that about 10 pages in the Obama petition were filled in by the same person, and another person apparently filled in six or seven pages. He said it's possible another two people filled in several more pages. Each page in the petition contains up to 9 signatures.

"It's obvious. It's just terribly obvious," Speckin said, pointing to one of the writer's idiosyncrasies repeated throughout the petition's pages.

### Consequences

The full extent of the fakery, which appears to be limited to the state's 2nd Congressional District and specifically St. Joseph County, is not yet known. The situation, however, calls into question whether either Clinton or Obama, both of whom were U.S. senators at the time, should have been on the Indiana primary ballot.

Candidates for president, senator and governor must submit ballot petitions signed by at least 500 registered voters in each of Indiana's nine congressional districts to qualify for the statewide ballot.

Clinton edged Obama by about 2 percentage points

### You can't be serious!

Some of the mistakes made in faking signatures on the petitions are obvious to any reasonable person.

#### Phil Trent

We're obscuring birth dates and addresses for this report, but Trent says whoever copied his signature wrote down the wrong birth date.

#### Greg Gillis

Whoever faked his signature onto Clinton's petition misread his name and incorrectly wrote Greg Miller, Gillis told The Tribune.

#### Theresa Webber

Whoever faked her name on Clinton's petition first wrote Theresa Wesser, then went back and corrected it by writing more darkly over the S's.

#### Christy Scheffert

On Schellinger's petition, Scheffert's name is a line above Christopher Brady's.

On the Clinton petition, a fair mimicry of Brady's signature appears on the same line as Scheffert's printed name, as if it were her signature.



## Signature comparisons

Erich Speckin, a forensic document analyst hired by The Tribune and Howey Politics Indiana, compared the signatures of five random individuals whose names appear on both the Clinton and Schellinger petitions against those individuals' known signatures on voter registration cards. In each case, the signature on the Schellinger petition matches, but not the one on the Clinton petition. The signatures appear below.

**VERIFIED SIGNATURE**

SHELLINGER PETITION

CLINTON PETITION

**VERIFIED SIGNATURE**

SHELLINGER PETITION

CLINTON PETITION

**VERIFIED SIGNATURE**

SHELLINGER PETITION

CLINTON PETITION

**VERIFIED SIGNATURE**

SHELLINGER PETITION

CLINTON PETITION

**VERIFIED SIGNATURE**

SHELLINGER PETITION

CLINTON PETITION

Tribune Graphic/JOHN STUMP

in the Indiana primary but lost the overall Democratic nomination. Obama, of course, went on to be elected president, defeating Republican Sen. John McCain in the general election.

County voter registration offices are responsible for verifying that those who sign the petitions are registered voters in that county. Staff in the offices check to make sure each signer's name, birth date and home address match the information on his or her voter registration card.

The chairs of the two major parties, Democrat and Republican, each appoint one member to serve on the two-member voter registration board in the county. They also appoint a first deputy and three staff members each to work in the voter registration office.

In St. Joseph County, certified petitions are stamped, initialed and signed by both members of the board - Republican Linda Silcott and Democrat Pam Brunette, in the case of the Obama and Clinton petitions - and then returned to the person who submitted the petition.

That person is then responsible for delivering the petition to the state Election Division by noon on the final day candidates can declare they're running for office. In 2008, that deadline was Feb. 18.

The front of the Clinton and Obama petitions bear a stamp and the initials "pb" for Brunette, whose signature appears on the back of the petitions beside Silcott's. Brunette said she had not heard any complaints about invalid signatures on the 2008 presidential petitions. She said the office's employees typically wouldn't know if a signature had been forged unless someone else calls attention to it.

"We're not handwriting analysts," she told Howey Politics, "so our job is basically making sure that the papers are complete."

Brunette added that a huge volume of petition pages circulate through voter registration in advance of the candidate filing deadline.

Identifying the person or persons responsible for petition irregularities is not a simple task. Dozens, perhaps hundreds, of volunteers participated in the Clinton and Obama petition drives in the 2nd District, both independently and as part of candidates' official campaigns. Receipts that would have included the names of people who submitted the petitions no longer exist. Silcott said voter registration is required to keep those records for only two years. But Speckin says further analysis could likely reveal who faked the signatures.

## Inconsistencies

The people contacted by The Tribune who denied signing the Clinton petition included ordinary citizens but



### Five petitions, one writer

In analyzing handwriting, experts look at formative, spatial, and proportional similarities between individual letters, according to Erich Speckin, a forensic document analyst hired by The Tribune and Howey Politics Indiana to examine the Obama and Clinton petitions. The signatures and addresses below are taken from the Obama petition. Each signature box represents a separate petition page, and each hometown box corresponds to the above signature box. The highlighted letters - G, R, B, S, and J - are similar in form, space, and proportion across all six pages, indicating the same person wrote each of the letters, Speckin concluded. The fact that the printed addresses are in the same handwriting is obvious, he said.

|           |                     |                 |                   |                     |                      |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Signature | Mike Galley         | Robert Hurst    | Kenneth D. Welsh  | Rechel Larsen       | Raymond Biesel       |
|           | Donald A. Szymanski | Linda Huente    | George A. Minwit  | Olivia Huber        | Peter Rodich         |
|           | Terrey Szymanski    | Karen J. Harb   | Ed Rouie          | Jeffrey C. Palush   | Steve Tuelen         |
|           | Jeffrey Feathergill | Maria Michalek  | Charity Rouie     | Hilbert Cardenas    | Sam Nesch            |
|           | Susan Feathergill   | Faust Callander | Betty Szeley      | Orley Bowen         | Bonnie Sue Stone     |
|           | Huan O'Brien        | Marcie Michals  | Rene De Beck      | Richard Reimer      | Kenneth D. Stone     |
|           | Larry O'Brien       | Christy Tolch   | Walter Roush      | Dawn Reim           | Matthew S. Szymanski |
|           |                     | John Tolch      | Laura Pemberton   | Robert J. Szymanski | Dyan Wallish         |
|           |                     | Paula Mann      | Richard Auta      |                     | Nicole Melner        |
|           |                     | Christin Wilbur |                   |                     | Cathy Szymanski      |
| Hometown  | CT GRANGER 46530    | MISH. 46544     | MISHAWAKA         | GRANGER 46530       | ST. MISHAWAKA 46545  |
|           | GRANGER 46530       | MISH. 46544     | MISHAWAKA 46545   | GRANGER 46530       | T. MISHAWAKA 46545   |
|           | GRANGER             | MISH. 46545     | MISH 46545        | SOUTH BEND 46628    | MISH 46544           |
|           | GRANGER             | MISH. 46544     | MISH 46545        | S.B. 46616          | GRANGER 46530        |
|           | GRANGER 46530       | MISH. 46544     | 46561 OSCEOLA     | MISHAWAKA 46545     | MISHAWAKA, 46544     |
|           | GRANGER             | MISHAWAKA 46544 | MESH.             | GRANGER 46530       | MISHAWAKA 46544      |
|           | GRANGER 46530       | MESH. 46544     | MISHAWAKA         | SOUTH BEND 46616    | MESHAWAKA            |
|           |                     | MESH 46544      | MISHAWAKA         |                     | MESHAWAKA            |
|           |                     | MESHAWAKA       | SOUTH BEND, 46619 |                     | SOUTH BEND 46614     |
|           |                     | S.B. 46614      |                   |                     | MESHAWAKA 46544      |

### Legend

- G: The writer's capital, cursive "G" takes on the proportions of a box.
- R: The writer's capital, cursive "R" contains a horizontal leg leading into the lower-case portion of the signature. Also, the hump is distinctive and can also be seen in the letter "P."
- B: The writer's capital, cursive "B" consists of a vertical staff and a single, downward stroke in the shape of the number "3." The two parts do not connect.
- S: The writer's upper-case, cursive "S" resembles a lower-case, cursive "S." It lacks an upper loop.
- J: The writer's capital, cursive "J" begins with a slight downward stroke. The tail also angles to the left. Speckin said the writer uses the "J" as a crutch when faced with letters he or she may not be used to writing, such as capital F, S or T.

Tribune Graphic/JOHN STUMP

also county council member Mike Hamann, former county sheriff and auditor Joe Nagy, county attorney Pete Agostino and two South Bend police officers.

Capt. Phil Trent, the spokesman for the city's police department, looked at pages from the Clinton and Schellinger petitions where his name appears. He confirmed that his signature was valid on the Schellinger petition, but said he did not sign the Clinton petition. What's

more, Trent added, whoever signed the document in his name wrote his birth date incorrectly. Some reacted with shock and confusion when told their names and signatures were on petitions for the presidential candidates.

South Bend resident Robert Hurst told Howey Politics that he wouldn't have signed a Clinton or Obama petition, because, "I liked both of them, and I didn't decide



until Election Day.”

Several signatures, including those of county Democrat Party Chairman Owen “Butch” Morgan, appear multiple times on the Clinton and Obama petitions. Morgan initially did not respond to several requests via phone and in person to comment on his signature and on the petition process for this story. His attorney, Shaw Friedman, later responded in an e-mail that questions should be directed to him.

The Democratic chairman’s name and signature appear three times on the Clinton petition - as “Owen D. Morgan,” “Owen B. Morgan” and just “Owen Morgan.” One of the signatures is marked “duplicate” on the page, but the other two appear to have been accepted by voter registration.

In addition to being chairman of the county Democratic Party, Morgan also is chair of the 2nd District for the Indiana Democratic Party.

Howey Politics also identified similar groupings of names on the Clinton, Obama and Schellinger petitions. In most cases, the corresponding signatures do not appear to match.

One person’s last name became “Miller” instead of “Gillis” when it was copied over to the Clinton petition. Another’s last name originally was written as “Wesser” before the writer wrote “Webber” over it.

“Most people can sign their name and also print it,” Speckin, the handwriting expert, said of such errors. “Even at a low-level education, most people can cash their paycheck. ... I don’t think I’ve ever misspelled my first or last name since the first grade.”

He noted that none of the names on the Schellinger petition are corrected or misspelled, because legitimate signatories will almost never make such mistakes.

“That’s a good (example) of what happens when people sign petitions,” he said.

Speckin is an internationally known forensics document analyst. His firm, Speckin Forensic Laboratories, is headquartered in Okemos, Mich.

Speckin says he has worked on more than 50 ballot-petition cases in many states during his career.

The Obama campaign and the Office of the Secretary of State did not immediately respond Friday afternoon to separate e-mails seeking comment on the faked signatures. ❖

**Nees is a junior at Yale University. The Kokomo native has interned for Howey Politics Indiana, Sen. Dick Lugar, and The White House.**

## It’s time to modernize Indiana’s ballot access law

**By BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb tells the story of his arduous task of compiling ballot certification signatures for his man Mitch leading into the governor’s 2008 reelection campaign.

Seeking petitions from a small Southern Indiana county, he walked in, asked for copies, and found an indifferent clerk. There was some gentle sweet talk, an announcement that he was going to get a bite of lunch and, if possible, the petitions could be copied, well, that would be swell.

On the way back from lunch, Holcomb picked up a bouquet of flowers from a nearby florist, and presented them to the flattered clerk, who quickly complied with his request.

Talk to any campaign manager or the operative put in charge of collecting the ballot petitions, and if their heads aren’t bandaged from beatings on the wall, there are hints of mental duress and the kind of exhaustion associated with building the Rube Goldberg contraption of Indiana election law.

Talk to a Republican or Democrat who’s run statewide and you’ll hear the same sentiment: it is an absurd requirement that needs to change.

There should have been no doubt that U.S. Sen. Hillary Clinton could qualify for the Indiana presidential ballot in 2008. So, too, should have Sen. Chris Dodd and Fred Thompson had they lasted that far into the primary process.

**That short cuts were possibly taken** in the 2nd CD in 2008 is not an excuse for not following Indiana election law. But there should be new thresholds for candidates to qualify for the ballot without such a wasteful, time consuming process. If a candidate is a federal, state or local officeholder, that should suffice. Or if a candidate can get the signature of a percentage of party chairs in a given district would be another. Or, perhaps, even 100 signatures.

Indiana has updated its election laws - voter files and voting equipment - this past decade. Some changes, like the unopposed municipal candidates not listed on the ballot, have been bad.

But improving ballot access could be made more efficient and fair, to give Hoosier voters choices. ❖





## Candidates rush in 2008

By **RYAN NEES**

NEW HAVEN, Conn. - The fabricated petitions that the Tribune and Howey Politics Indiana have uncovered were the product of a petitioning process that has confounded campaigns over and over again.

The fake signatures uncovered during our investigation of 2008 primary petitions to place Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton on the Indiana ballot were part of an effort to meet the requirements of the nation's second toughest primary ballot placement law.

"It's a very, very cumbersome process," says Jeff Harris of Indianapolis, a veteran Hoosier campaign hand who helped the Clinton campaign gather petitions in 2008 but says he was not aware of improprieties. "I don't think people realize how difficult it is. You've always got to assume that 50-60 per cent of them are going to be wrong. You get a lot of people who have moved, who aren't registered, that kind of thing. In some counties, with clerks of the opposite parties, they make it difficult. It takes an army of people to do it."

Mandatory primary ballot petitions are required by state law of candidates running for president, senator, and governor. To appear on the statewide primary ballot, candidates must gather signatures from 500 registered voters in each of Indiana's nine congressional districts. County voter registration offices validate the signatories' residency and registration status, and the Indiana Secretary of State's Elections Division certifies the petitions.

Gathering the signatures is a towering task that requires candidates to have a broad, decentralized campaign organization. Many signatures turn out to be invalid. Signatories either list an address inconsistent with their registration record, were never registered to vote at all, or may not know in which Congressional district they reside. Their handwriting may be illegible. Until signatures are verified by a county voter registration office, campaigns seldom know how many of their petitions will be rejected.

**Only Virginia, according** to Richard Winger, editor of Ballot Access News, requires more than Indiana: 10,000 signatures. "Most states since the 1970s have passed laws that say if you're prominently discussed in the media, you're automatically on the ballot. [The laws] sound vague, and they are vague; but oddly enough they tend to work out," Winger said.

Nationwide, states use a mix of media thresholds, mandatory petitions, filing fees, or state party selection, according to a 2004 Ballot Access News analysis of the requirements. In some, candidates automatically appear on the ballot if they have qualified for state matching funds. The requirements so regularly disqualify candidates that in 2008, said Winger, Chris Dodd failed to make the ballot in

New Jersey, New York, and Virginia. Fred Thompson failed in Delaware and the District of Columbia.

In Indiana that year, a contested gubernatorial primary between Jim Schellinger and Jill Long Thompson put the task in sharp relief. "2008 was the first year that I really saw this being a big deal," Harris said, "because it was a sign of strength."

**There had been worry on** both sides of the gubernatorial race about not making the ballot because of the difficulty in satisfying the requirements of Indiana Code 3-8-3. Collected petitions must be returned to county voter registration offices ten days before the deadline to file a declaration of candidacy in the election. In 2008, the deadline came Feb. 19. As late as Feb. 14, Howey Politics reported that Jill Long Thompson's gubernatorial campaign was some 1,000 signatures short. Long Thompson ultimately met the requirement.

But Long Thompson's media consultant, Chris Sauter, said that Schellinger's campaign had been so worried about its numbers that it turned to paying canvassers for signatures. "Unlike Schellinger, who hired a firm to handle the process, Jill utilized dozens of volunteers across the state," he said. Long Thompson met the requirement, while two former Schellinger campaign workers denied the campaign paid for signatures.

The competition among the Presidential campaigns was initially more muted. Sen. John McCain apparently fell short of the required number of signatures in his own primary that year, with little fanfare. Though an Indiana blogger challenged the petitions, the Indiana Elections Commission ultimately declined to act.

**The Democrats were more** concerned. Kip Tew, the state chairman for Barack Obama's Indiana campaign that spring, said his team started collecting them in July 2007. "The Obama network by January in that year was in pretty good shape," he said. "We used the Obama website to get volunteers and we tapped into that and created a group in each district to go out and get signatures."

Between November and January, Tew said, the Obama camp completed most of the "arduous but not difficult" work of gathering the petitions. The deadline came just two weeks after it became clear the Presidential primary would endure. For on Feb. 5, Barack Obama would edge Clinton on Super Tuesday, adding new urgency to both campaigns.

Though the election has come and gone, the fabrications themselves could be criminally prosecuted.

"The point of collecting signatures is to demonstrate that you have the support of the people, so copying signatures flies in the face of the intent of that statute and is of course not in compliance with it," said Anita Woudenberg, an election law attorney at Bopp, Coleson, & Bostrom and a member of the Vigo County election board. ❖



## Processing the political points in Daniels' book

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

MICHIGAN CITY, Ind. - Heading into the twilight of Gov. Mitch Daniels' career as a Hoosier politician, one thing is clear: he has cut an indelible if not legendary swath across the campaign and policy spectrums.

It extends back four decades when he became an acolyte of the legendary Marion County Republican Chairman L. Keith Bulen, then emerged on the staff of Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar. Daniels served on the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee with people like Albert Mishler. He managed Lugar's tough 1982 Senate reelection campaign against U.S. Rep. Floyd Fithian, coming in one of the worst recessions since the Great Depression, before ascending to the White House as President Reagan's political director.

He turned down an offer from Gov. Robert D. Orr in 1988 to fill Dan Quayle's U.S. Senate seat.

On the policy side he headed Indianapolis Mayor Stephen Goldsmith's Service, Efficiency and Lower Taxes for Indianapolis Commission (SELTIC), and directed the Hudson Institute, both vanguards to the way he approached his governorship. After two years in President George W. Bush's White House as budget director, he returned home to run - in almost every aspect - two gubernatorial campaigns that knocked off a popular sitting governor before winning an 18-point reelection landslide in the face of Barack Obama's capture of Indiana's 11 Electoral College votes.

**Like Frank O'Bannon, Evan Bayh,** Lee Hamilton, Bob Orr, Dan Coats, Ray Madden, Julia Carson and Doc Bowen, Daniels is undefeated as a politician. Whether you agree with him or not on the issues, he has become a rare political figure who matched his prowess at the ballot box with a once-in-a-generation policy boldness, willing to expend all of his political capital when others at the beginning of this paragraph often hoarded the same.

From this political perspective, Daniels' book "Keeping the Republic: Saving America by Trusting Americans" offers fascinating political nuggets apart from his far-reaching prescriptions of how to bring the nation out

of its current malaise. It wasn't the governor's purpose to write a how-to political handbook, but this being a political publication, it is worth ferreting out some of the kernels that represent Daniels' mindset as he adroitly maneuvered through the local, state and national landscape.

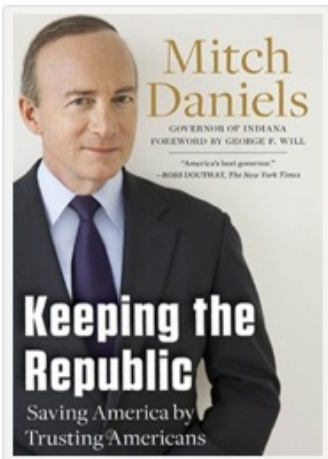
**There are admissions of error.** "Once in office, after some early slips into tit-for-tat harshness of rhetoric, I learned that cheek turning is more effective than name calling, and have held to the practice with very few slip-ups," Daniels writes in the chapter "Can We Talk?" He was almost certainly referring to his 2005 temper tantrum when House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer had his caucus walk out, prompting Daniels to label him a "car-bomber," an explosively crude term given the haywire events happening in the Iraq War half a world away.

There were other glimpses of gubernatorial anger, like finger-wagging responses during the Major Moves sequence in 2006 when he was heckled in places like Angola and Hammond. But the Gov. Daniels we saw in the Statehouse hallways when surrounded by protesting teachers earlier this year was, well, restrained. "It is not always easy, when confronted with purely partisan obstruction, falsehoods, or personal insults," Daniels writes. "I once remarked that I thought I might bleed to death from biting my tongue too much. But success is the only realm that matters" and is "far more likely for those who practice politics of goodwill, civility and restraint in the presence of its opposite."

Exhibit A on this would be Gov. Daniels during the this year's House Democrat five-week walkout, when he appeared almost sanguine, but firm, despite his revolutionary agenda leading into a potential presidential campaign hanging in the balance. He was urged by allies and commentators to retaliate.

**"I need to clarify some confusion** I personally caused yesterday," Daniels said on Feb. 23. "I began extemporaneous comments that the activities of the last two days - I think I gestured to the atrium - were entirely appropriate. I was talking about the protesters and those who came to protest their views and the strength of their views. They are welcome here. It was not to condone the House Democratic caucus which was completely unacceptable. The House Democrats have shown a complete contempt for the Democratic process. The way that works, if you seek public office, you come and do your duty. You don't walk off the job and take your public paycheck with you."

Daniels then said, "I think they deserve another chance. Let the heat of the moment cool, I hope. I can tell you what won't happen, we will not be bullied or blackmailed at pursuing the agenda we laid in front of the people of Indiana. That agenda is going to be voted on. If it takes special sessions from now to New Year's, we will







hold them." Asked about the impact of the walkout on the 2012 elections, Daniels said, "I don't know what to say to people who think only in political tactical terms. They cannot comprehend people who are just interested in results. If I was actually thinking about this theoretical question you ask I would be pursuing an entirely different course. If I thought of this in partisan terms, I should be sending thank you cards."

Daniels expressed contempt for the political consulting class in his book. "The mercenaries, with no particular stake in any program of public improvement, and who most assuredly will not be around should a winning candidate attempt to implement one, tend to recommend negative tactics as the first and foremost element of any campaign," he writes. "Their highly formulaic, repetitive and boring attack ads germinate in a compost of laziness, indifference to principle, and contempt for the intelligence and standards of the voters they believe they can manipulate."

This comes from the candidate who wrote his own TV ads and – save his State of the State, Inaugural speeches and CPAC address – speaks extemporaneously most of the time. While there were contrasting ads in the 2004 campaign against Gov. Joe Kernan, Daniels joins a short list of long-time officeholders like Lugar and Hamilton who have refused to go negative.

"**Laziness is human enough**, and reworking the same obnoxious body slam ads year after election year is a lot easier than creating new and fresh material," Daniels writes. "As long as the pliable candidate is willing to accept that this is the route to victory and glory, the mercenaries can keep reselling the same old elixir over and over. Messages that attempt to convey much substantive content, let alone a constructive new idea, are disdained by the mercenaries as ineffective and in any event plagued by the 'tyranny of 28,' that being the maximum number of seconds an advertisement has to express the point it wishes to make."

"The worst contributor to the mercenary mind-set is the assumption that the typical voter is indifferent to real ideas, or too dense to grasp them," Daniels writes. "The voter is, in short, a child and children are easily persuaded to shy away from bogeymen. Hence, the first objective of any campaign is to 'define' one's opponent in some scary or despicable fashion before he does the same to you."

Daniels writes that his pollster, Christine Matthews of Bellwether Research, called him one day to ask a favor:



Gov. Daniels after winning reelection in 2008. (HPI Photo by A. Walker Shaw)

"I've worked for you for five years and we've never met face-to-face. I'm coming to the state to see my mom. Do you mind if I drop by?" Daniels observes, "I was startled and embarrassed, and rectified my shortcoming, but was an indicator of the extent to which we had charted our own course, and kept ourselves free of outside influence. Chris would not likely have pushed me to attack opponents, but she is the exception to the general rule. For most of the mercenaries, this is the first and most constant counsel."

**Indeed, for many political figures**, the pollster has a frequent seat at the table and is on the candidate's speed dial.

It's worth noting that Daniels was hardly a teflon public official. In the months following the Major Moves sequence in 2006, his approval rating fell below 40% and there was anxiety in some GOP quarters that his reelection prospects were in considerable

doubt. One thing is certain: Daniels has not been a finger-in-the-wind public official. There was no Dick Morris-styled "triangulation" on the second floor.

He expresses contempt for those who do. "A sure sign to me of a mediocre officeholder in the making is the candidate whose first announcements are about who he has hired to handle polling, fundraising, media advertising or 'general consulting' whatever that is. These are the mercenaries – the guns for hire – who dominate the conversation of most elections. People who believe they must buy credibility through the reputations of others are unlikely to know their own minds, let alone assert them when given bad or dishonorable advice."

**The governor notes that** during the television age, "our politics was, as we now say, 'toxic' enough. The Internet explosion, which has opened and democratized the process in some ways, has unfortunately only exacerbated the lethality of the toxic. Half-truths and non-truths can now go global before the target first hears about them." He talked of his Hudson Institute speech in Washington when he was to pay tribute to founder Herman Kahn and mentioned the "value added tax." Daniels said he didn't support it and, in fact, said something few Republicans would acknowledge: "Given the shape we're in, no solution should be dismissed out of hand."

But the press picked up on the VAT and the eye opener for the governor was the Internet/Cable induced "All Politics, All the Time" that prompted a Politico reporter to write, "Taking on his party's shibboleths is certainly nervy, even for someone who has positioned himself to become the tell-it-like-it-is candidate. The question becomes whether the strategy is savvy or naive." To which Daniels



observed: "It seems never to have entered his mind that, first of all, I wasn't calculating some political effect from my comments. I was paying tribute to a man." For young reporters, the world of today is that every public appearance and utterance is "contrived for optimal political effect."

**Daniels sees political drift**, where advocates of change aim their fire at "supposed adherents" who don't go far enough, "often play(ing) right into the hands of the status quo." He cites extreme politicians coming from gerrymandered districts and "the 24/7 cable and blogosphere media environment" which "certainly features and over-exposes the most strident voices and viewpoints."

Daniels picked up on a phrase HPI coined following the 2010 mid-term campaigns: "Political pornography." It was my wife, Beverly Phillips, who researched my phrase and looked up the Webster's definition of pornography: "The depiction of acts in a sensational manner so as to arouse a quick intense emotional reaction."

Daniels noted that HPI "cited numerous examples of Democratic tactics in Indiana legislative races, such as a lawyer who was falsely accused of malpractice (Jud McMillin), a coal miner who was said to have poisoned his environment (Matt Ubelhor), and the pharmacist who supposedly sold on-demand abortions (Steve Davisson)."

Daniels wrote of the Davisson example: "This same candidate, who was not the owner, but just an employee of the pharmacy, was the target of an especially vicious tactic. A female Democratic campaign worker was recruited to go to the pharmacy – the candidate was not working that day – with a prescription for the morning-after pill. From there she went straight to a print shop, where a photograph of her hand holding the prescription was converted into a direct-mail postcard attacking the candidate as an abortionist and a hypocrite for having claimed to be pro-life."

**Then there is the "truce"** Daniels suggested in the summer of 2010, putting social issues aside to address what he terms the "Red Menace" of debt afflicting the nation. It made Daniels a target of right-wing criticism in his own party. "I chose the word truce here specifically because it must be totally mutual, it involves neither surrender nor even retreat, but simply a decision to stand down for a time." Daniels noted the "irony" of the harshest criticism came "from those with whom I agree on those

questions." He cited one poll in the book by the Wall Street Journal that showed Republican primary voters supported the concept by a 65-8% margin.

The even greater irony was that on the eve of Daniels' fateful presidential race decision, he had signed the most restrictive abortion laws in Indiana history, and some of the most far-reaching in the nation. In doing so, he ceded the bully pulpit on the issues to others, made possible by the profound legislative gains he helped orchestrate a year earlier.

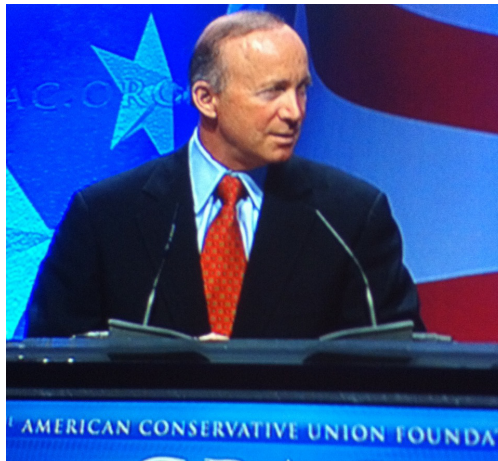
Daniels' book greatly expands on his CPAC speech last February in Washington. The title of the book is in the penultimate paragraph. In that speech, Daniels said, "I suspect everyone here regrets and laments the sad, crude coarsening of our popular culture. It has a counterpart in the venomous, petty, often ad hominem political discourse of the day. The public is increasingly disgusted with a steady diet of defamation, and prepared to reward those who refrain from it. Am I alone in observing that one of conservatism's best moments this past year was a massive rally that came and went from Washington without leaving any trash, physical or rhetorical, behind? A more affirmative, 'better angels' approach to voters is really less an aesthetic than a practical one: with apologies for the banality, I submit that, as we ask Americans to join us on such a boldly different course, it would

help if they liked us, just a bit."

**Rich Lowry of the National Review Online**, observed, "Daniels did not get the memo about CPAC. The etiquette is that presidential wannabes should hew to a narrow band of harsh and harsher denunciations of liberalism, or anything suspected of having a liberal taint. Daniels, in contrast, seems temperamentally incapable of unseriousness; he is the anti-panderer. He gave a speech at CPAC that was characteristically thoughtful, standing out in his willingness to tell hard truths about the nation's fiscal condition and to challenge his audience."

In considering the political points of the book, the question is whether a politician without Daniels' once-in-a-generation acumen can pull it off? After five Baron Hill/Mike Sodrel gutter fights, could a candidate in the old 9th CD stay positive – and headline it in contrast with his mud-slinging opponent – and win? Can Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard and Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry win in a demographically hostile cities and not throw a speck of mud, as they did in their 2007 races, including Ballard's upset?

The political pros are skeptical. There is, emphatically, only one Mitchell Elias Daniels Jr. ❖



Gov. Daniels addresses the Reagan Dinner at CPAC last February. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)



## Daniels has long-time contempt for NW Indiana

By **SHAW FRIEDMAN**

LAPORTE - Mitch Daniels' new book only reconfirms his long-time contempt and disgust for an entire region of the state - Northwest Indiana. In it, he perpetuates old and stale stereotypes like "governmental corruption" and he rips the area as hostile to new employers for what he calls "labor union aggression."

Wow. No wonder Jon Stewart on the Daily Show recently wondered how our Governor can claim to want civility in our political discourse, but then uses such divisive and polarizing language.



Let's face it; this consummate political animal has long detested an area of the state that supports Democrats and he simply keeps citing "corruption" and strong labor presence as a reason employers are "more likely to flee" from here than invest here. Talk about self-fulfilling prophecies - if the Governor won't promote our assets here, like Lake Michigan, access to major transportation routes and a good, skilled labor base - how in the world does

he think prospective employers will give us a second look?

As I recall when the Governor took the oath back in January 2005, he swore to defend the rights of citizens all over Indiana, not just in the wealthy GOP suburbs surrounding Indianapolis. Yet years of history have shown him to be highly contemptuous of northwest Indiana and willing to paint with a broad brush. There are nearly a million Hoosiers who call Lake, Porter, and LaPorte counties home and yet this Governor routinely brushes aside the needs of these three counties and it looks to most observers as nothing more than political spite.

**Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott** was right on the money when he said that for the Governor to call all Lake County elected officials crooks because of the periodic indictments of a few, would be like painting all Marion County Republicans as "perverts" because of the well publicized sex scandals involving State Rep. Phil Hinkle and Daniels' former BMV Commissioner Andrew Miller.

Same with Daniels' fervent excoriation of organized labor in this region. Those are the same labor unions whose members have fought and died to improve worker health and safety, brought us Medicare and Medicaid, the

40 hour work week and a measure of dignity and protection against unfair firings. I know railing against labor is in vogue with country club Republicans in the counties outside Indianapolis who want to forget the modest upbringings of some of their parents and who often have benefited from the efforts of labor.

**But Daniels' insistence** on telling off an entire region of his own state is an ugly stain on his legacy. For instance, despite the fact that the Cline Avenue bridge needs repairs, Gov. Privatization, the man who sold off our Toll Road to the Spanish and Australians, now says there is no money left in the "Major Moves" fund to rebuild the bridge. That \$4 billion from what he described as a "deal of a lifetime" was supposed to last us 75 years. Instead, Daniels suggests the bridge, which carries 35,000 vehicles a day should now become a toll bridge!

The Governor and his minions have displayed the same kind of "let them eat cake" indifference when it comes to job creation in northwest Indiana.

LaPorte County Commissioner Willie Milsap released a study in January showing that Daniels' IEDC has routinely ignored regions like LaPorte County when it comes to siting new plants and industries. Milsap showed that even though a quarter billion dollars in state economic incentives had been doled out by the Daniels' administration since 2006, only \$300,000.00 in incentive money had flowed to LaPorte County.

No coincidence that LaPorte County has delivered some of the best margins in the state to Daniels' Democratic opponents.

**Daniels has shown himself** to be highly vindictive and unwilling to reach out to former opponents. Worst yet, to penalize average Hoosiers in Democratic counties and to write off an entire region as corrupt or stained in his eyes by assertive labor officials is just plain wrong.

Yet, it's par for the course for a Governor who has been willing to ignore and discount an entire region of his own state.

**Shaw Friedman is a LaPorte attorney and a regular contributor to HPI.**



## IPFW not a farm system

By **MARK SOUDER**

FORT WAYNE - First, let me say that I have met people from the Indianapolis region who realize that Fort Wayne is not an actual fort surrounded by Indians (i.e. Native Americans). Many of them, however, think of us largely in terms of a kind of "farm system" for Indy. Anyway, up north they like Toby Keith and pickup trucks. Why, they not only like pickups, but also make them. And disgusting unionized GM pickups of all things.



Purdue West Lafayette has pulled the Central Indiana establishment card again. This time, the controlling Purdue campus has decided that IPFW (Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne) Chancellor Michael Wartell must go regardless of what the university and regional community think. Chancellor Wartell has led the efforts of IPFW becoming a Division I university not only in sports but in academic programs and facilities.

Chancellor Wartell's grave offense is turning 65. No matter that the same establishment supports Senator Richard Lugar for reelection who will be 80 if reelected, and 86 if he chooses to retire at the end of his term. In other words, a reelected Senator Lugar - a major supporter of Purdue for decades - would be Chancellor Wartell plus a 21-year-old college student. A huge double standard, unless Purdue is also opposing Sen. Lugar.

What has the entire community furious is the insult of it all. The high-handedness of ruling from afar is bad enough, but it is compounded because it is IPFW's 50th anniversary. In spite of a faculty senate resolution requesting an extension and clear local editorial support for him, the Purdue University Board of Trustees continues to stiff the will of northeast Indiana. While they already gave one regional chancellor an extension, they argue that giving Chancellor Wartell one for the 50th anniversary would establish precedent. I mean, next Fort Wayne will want a chancellor to stay on for the 100th anniversary.

**Let me interject here** that I am not a neutral source. I earned my undergraduate business degree from IPFW. When I was student body president there, the university had little identity. The geology club, which helped excavate some Mastodon bones in the area, had the terrific idea to adopt the nickname "Mastodons." Though it was behind some juvenile common high school name (tigers I believe) and over objections, I jammed it through and we announced it to the world. It is still, I believe, the only officially approved U.S. Circuit Court endorsed nickname (cited

in court as a great nickname). It is also regularly selected among the top 10 nicknames in America.

I was also one of the original founders of the IPFW Alumni Association. And, of course, for 16 years I represented the IPFW campus in Washington.

**Not only do I have a strong** right to express my outrage at the stubbornness of Purdue West Lafayette bossing around Fort Wayne and refusing input, but an obligation to do so. For 40 years, I have battled for more autonomy for IPFW. As student body president I tussled with John Ryan, then IU vice president for regional campuses. As student convocations co-chair with Sharon Gabet, we had such successful programs that all students who desired attended free but the general public paid enough that we were regaining most of the dollars.

We had put together a plan to reinvest that money in a "poor man's concert" (low-priced) at the coliseum featuring Mac Davis (which he agreed to promote on his appearance on Johnny Carson's Tonight Show). Every student would get in free with their card, and even a modest success enabled us to get the Beach Boys to agree to make their first reunited appearance in Fort Wayne through our convocations program. With all students free, a reasonable price and a sell-out we would have earned back the entire year's convocations budget. Except that Purdue West Lafayette was appalled. They said we weren't supposed to make any money! (Remember, all the students got in free.) So they seized the money. The Beach Boys came in with a promoter, sold the place out at higher prices, and no students got in free. And students were taxed for the next year's convocations program.

**As congressman, my meetings** with Purdue University President Steven Beering were rather frosty as we argued whether or not I could earmark funds for IPFW. "Absolutely not," was his rather huffy, stuffy reply. President Martin Jischke, on the other hand, had a great discussion with me about the increasing need to accommodate the other cities of Indiana, not just dominant central Indiana. The man was on fire, to be frank. He knew Purdue's engineering and the Krannert School of Management were potential economic engines, especially combined with agriculture. He made Purdue an Indiana powerhouse.

Then IPFW staged the play "Corpus Christi," which blasphemed Jesus Christ, not to mention Mary, Joseph, and the apostles. I followed then State Sen. Bud Meeks' lead in saying that I would not earmark funds for them, which led, among other things, to Paul Helmke challenging me in a primary. We later reconciled and I steered millions there. But the heavy lifting was done by the Meeks brothers, Bud and Bob, State Rep. Randy Borrer, Senate President David Long, Senate Education Chairman Dennis Kruse, and the rest of northeast Indiana's powerful legislative delegation.

Through all this, I never supported independence



for IPFW like IU-Southwest received. But – BUT – this case of overriding the will of our region to insult our chancellor on the cusp of IPFW’s 50th birthday (they did say that he would be invited and recognized, which was patronizing at best) should lead to some serious study by our legislative delegation over whether to cut the control cord with

Purdue West Lafayette. Purdue and IU are powerful, but they seem to be choosing to force each legislator to decide this: Am I with my home area or with the powerhouses of central Indiana who want to run everything? Up in Fort Wayne, we’re independent citizens too. It is about time this is recognized. ❖

## A need for metropolitan leadership in Indiana

By **MORTON J. MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS - Next month Hoosiers will vote to retain or replace their mayors. These are important elections that have statewide implications. Nearly 80 percent of all Indiana jobs are in 14 metro areas. Despite the evidence of how many counties are linked to our central cities, candidates for mayor all though the Hoosier Holyland campaign as if each city were an island.



Some metropolitan areas are single counties; Columbus is an example. Some are multi-county crossing state lines; Evansville’s metropolitan statistical area (MSA) extends into Kentucky. Some Indiana counties are in MSAs that are centered out of state; Jeffersonville and New Albany are in the Louisville MSAs. Each MSA, however, has an urban core and extensive inter-county commuting.

Most mayoral candidates will expand on how their number one priority is jobs. They mean jobs in their city. This is misguided. They should be talking about jobs for their residents, regardless of where the jobs may be located in the metropolitan area. Yet the candidates for mayor do not emphasize - most do not even recognize the fact - jobs and the well-being of our residents are linked with the jobs and well-being of our neighboring counties. A favorite theme of most mayoral candidates is job training. Unless job training is specific for known jobs with waiting employers, it may be little more than a boondoggle to boost Ivy Tech and the pirates of private vocational training. Most candidates for mayor have no realistic plan for job training. They stand ready to form committees, but in today’s fiscal environment they are not prepared to commit dollars.

Labor is highly mobile. A jobs program for residents

of one county will have benefits for businesses in other counties. Similarly, the gains from economic development in one county benefits citizens in neighboring counties. Regional cooperation, however, is not a major theme of the campaigns I have followed this year.

Realism rather than regionalism should be the point here. In many instances, cities, towns, and counties must stand alone in competition with their neighbors. Simultaneously, however, they need to band together statewide to overturn the myopic General Assembly’s anti-local government record. Many non-incumbent candidates for mayor proclaim their readiness to reduce local government red-tape for business. They propose special offices, but most of the time they do not assure us their efforts will maintain regulatory standards. Due diligence by government is often seen as red-tape by inexperienced and impatient business owners.

**One way to reduce** red-tape is for the cities and towns to have a strong alliance that promotes statewide standards, licensing, and practices. This does not eliminate local permitting and inspection, but there would be statewide regulations setting forth standards that meet the various conditions present throughout Indiana. Such regulations offer consistent expectations for businesses. They must be passed by the legislature but written by local government officials familiar with the diversity of the state.

Similarly, local government officials should be designing the state revenue and expenditure rules that govern their administrations. Indiana has top down mandates dictated by an overreaching state government. The state can enable and encourage local governments to address imperative issues such as multi-jurisdictional fiscal sharing.

Today local governments think in terms of how much money some project will bring to them or cost them directly. Benefits and costs to citizens are secondary to the returns to the local government. Hence, Community A does not reach out with money to help attract industry to Community B.

Have you heard from your mayoral candidates how they plan to work with neighboring communities? Do you see any mayoral candidates who might lead our MSAs into a strong statewide effort to liberate our cities and towns from their current fiscal bondage? ❖

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



## With Chris and Sarah out, a Romney-Perry showdown lurks

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - That Sarah Palin decided to be a "maverick" and "go rogue" during the very same news cycle of the passing of Steve Jobs is a fascinating juxtaposition of American culture and politics.

There couldn't have been a more evident contrast between an unlikely ceiling collider and a man who shattered the world as we knew it, helping to transform politics along the way.

With the Republican field now set without Mitch Daniels, Chris Christie and Jeb Bush, the current field has the feel of 1992 when the top tier of Democratic potentials gave way to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the last successful president with America at peace, robust economy and employment, and budgets in the surplus.

With straw polls tending to be pipe dreams for people like Michele Bachmann and Herman Cain, the Republican race appears to be drifting toward a Mitt Romney vs. Rick Perry showdown, and Perry arrives in Indianapolis next Wednesday sans his frontrunner status. He does, however, have that \$17 million wad of cash accumulated in a mere seven weeks from Daniels' Texas Rolodex.

Both are flawed candidates. RomneyCare is not popular with Republican Tea Party types and the former Massachusetts governor hasn't been able to escape the

20th percentile. Perry has touched the third rail, scared seniors, and his rattling the Texas sabre (a war for every Texas president) on the potential of invading Mexico and its sinister drug war is incendiary stuff.

"You have a situation on the border where American citizens are being killed, and you didn't see that back when George Bush was the governor," Perry said in an interview with MSNBC. Asked whether the U.S. should consider deploying troops inside Mexico, Perry said the federal government should consider all options "including the military."

"Obviously, Mexico has to approve any type of assistance that we can give them. But the fact of the matter is these (drug gangs) are people who are highly motivated for money, they are vicious, they are armed to the teeth. And I want to see them defeated," he said. "And any means we can to run these people off our border and to save Americans' lives, we have to be engaged in."

A cheaper might to be to decriminalize marijuana (or at least allow Americans to grow their own), tax and regulate it.

The Dallas Morning News reported that in August, Perry gave President Barack Obama a handwritten letter demanding the federal government do more to secure the border.

After the first six weeks of Perry in the race, his numbers plummeted in the latest Washington Post/ABC News poll. Romney leads with 25 percent, which is identical to his support from a month ago. Perry and Cain are tied for second with 16 percent, numbers representing a 13-point drop for Perry and a 12-point rise for Cain since early September. Rep. Ron Paul (Tex.) is the only other candidate in double figures, at 11 percent. Just behind him are former House speaker Newt Gingrich (Ga.) and Rep. Michele Bachmann (Minn.), both with 7 percent.

Meanwhile, President Obama insisted he is the



## 2012 Republican Presidential Nomination

2008 GOP Race on October 6, 2007 | 2008 GOP Final RCP Average

| Polling Data         |             |        |        |       |      |          |      |          |          |          |                    |
|----------------------|-------------|--------|--------|-------|------|----------|------|----------|----------|----------|--------------------|
| Poll                 | Date        | Sample | Romney | Perry | Cain | Gingrich | Paul | Bachmann | Santorum | Huntsman | Spread             |
| <b>RCP Average</b>   | 9/23 - 10/3 | -      | 21.6   | 18.0  | 15.0 | 9.2      | 7.0  | 4.2      | 2.8      | 1.8      | <b>Romney +3.6</b> |
| ABC News/Wash Post   | 9/29 - 10/2 | RV     | 25     | 17    | 17   | 9        | 9    | 7        | 2        | 1        | Romney +8          |
| CBS News             | 9/28 - 10/2 | 324 RV | 17     | 12    | 17   | 8        | 7    | 4        | 3        | 2        | Tie                |
| Quinnipiac           | 9/27 - 10/3 | 927 RV | 22     | 14    | 17   | 8        | 6    | 3        | 3        | 1        | Romney +5          |
| FOX News             | 9/25 - 9/27 | 363 RV | 23     | 19    | 17   | 11       | 6    | 3        | 3        | 4        | Romney +4          |
| CNN/Opinion Research | 9/23 - 9/25 | 447 A  | 21     | 28    | 7    | 10       | 7    | 4        | 3        | 1        | Perry +7           |

**See All 2012 Republican Presidential Nomination Polling Data**



"underdog" - understandable with a 9% percent unemployment rate. "I'm used to being the underdog," Obama said during an interview with ABC News and Yahoo!News. "We've made steady progress to stabilize the economy" following its worst crisis since the Great Depression. Still, he added, "The unemployment rate is way too high."

Many of us thought nothing could top the 2008 presidential election cycle. Well, hold on to your saddle, your Rambler, your Escape, your Godfather Pizza delivery truck. This is gonna get interesting.

## **U.S. Senate: Lugar to report \$840K**

U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar is expected to post \$840,000 on his third quarter FEC report. It comes on top of \$3.5 million cash on hand after the 2nd Quarter FEC posting.

Freedomworks is expected to endorse Richard Mourdock on Oct. 21, though it's another bone-headed scheduling conflict for the treasurer. It comes on the same day that House Budget Committee Chairman Paul Ryan is speaking to the Indiana GOP's Fall Dinner.

The Tea Party inspired Mourdock Money Bomb raised \$66,000 - \$16,000 over its goal - according to the Indiana Tea Party website.

Mourdock also landed the endorsement of the national Tea Party Express. The group also gave Mourdock a \$2,500 check which is interesting in that it didn't max out. The Mourdock campaign hopes that 527 groups will open their wallets in 2012. In 2010, according to the election analysis done by the Center for Responsive Politics, the Tea Party Express' political action committee, Our Country Deserves Better PAC, raised and spent nearly \$7.7 million, including \$2.7 million on so called "independent expenditures," the Indianapolis Star reported. Those can be especially helpful to campaigns, as they allow a group to directly advocate for a candidate's election or defeat rather than simply handing over a check that's limited by campaign finance rules.

Politico reports that Tea Party affiliated groups - Americans for Prosperity, FreedomWorks, Club for Growth, Leadership Institute and Tea Party Express - raised \$79 million last year. That's a 61-percent increase from their haul in 2009, when the Tea Party first started gaining traction, and an 88 percent increase over their tally in 2008, according to a Politico review of campaign reports and newly released tax filings. And the two biggest groups - Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks - tell Politico they're planning to raise and spend a whopping \$156 million combined this year and next, laying the groundwork for what could be a massive Tea Party organizing push against Democrats and the occasional moderate Republican in 2012.

The Tea Party Express - which, unlike the other big groups, is entirely funded by limited and disclosed PAC donations - raised \$1.4 million in 2008, \$2.1 million in 2009,

\$5.6 million last year and \$1.4 million in the first half of this year.

Mourdock picked up endorsements from the Constitutional Patriots of Carmel, and the Leadership Institute Morton Blackwell. The Constitutional Patriots cited Lugar's support of the DREAM Act, Supreme Court Justices Kagan and Sotomayor and cited Mourdock's attempt at trying to stop the "government takeover of the auto industry."

Late last week the Mourdock campaign went on the offensive with a campaign website posting that accused the Lugar campaign of "lies."

The "lies" included attempting to tag Mourdock with a \$700 million loss on the Indiana Public Employees Retirement Fund. "During this time, Mourdock had no authority, control or responsibility for this fund whatsoever," noted campaign manager Jim Holden. "In fact, this fund is overseen by a board appointed by the Governor."

Which is an interesting strategy: blame it on one of the state's most popular governors.

The Mourdock campaign also noted: "Most recently, in an email and an attack web ad, the Lugar campaign shamelessly misrepresented Mourdock's record as State Treasurer by claiming he missed meetings of the Indiana Board of Finance. The truth? Mourdock, like all other statewide elected officials, serves on numerous boards and is represented on many of these boards by appointed designees. In fact, since Mourdock took office in 2007, the Treasurer's Office has been represented at EVERY meeting of the Board of Finance. During this same period, Governor Mitch Daniels has been represented by a designee at every meeting rather than attending personally. Does Dick Lugar plan to run web ads attacking Governor Daniels for never attending a single meeting in person?"

In a rare moment, Mourdock and Lugar came together and endorsed President Obama's trade agreements with South Korea, Colombia and Panama. U.S. Rep. Joe Donnelly said he opposes the agreements because he fears they will result on job losses.

Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour endorsed Lugar: "If we hope to build a Republican majority in the U.S. Senate and roll back the disastrous policies of the Obama Administration, Dick Lugar is the man for the job in Indiana. Dick Lugar was a conservative before the word conservative became cool. Hoosiers know that he is the real deal." **Horse Race Status:** Leans Lugar

## **Governor: Knecht joins Pence campaign**

Robyn Knecht (Finance Director for Coats for Senate campaign in 2010 and most recently Deputy Finance Director for Speaker John Boehner) joined the Mike Pence for Indiana campaign team as a senior staffer this week. Robyn headed up Coats' fundraising efforts in his successful Senate campaign and will be a huge boost to an already robust Pence fundraising operation. "We are pleased to



welcome Robin to our team. A seasoned professional and veteran of a successful statewide campaign in Indiana, Robin will be a tremendous asset to Mike Pence as he works to build an even better Indiana," said Kyle Robertson, Pence for Indiana campaign manager.

Jim Wallace began airing his second TV ad, which features Wallace flying over an Indiana community in a Vietnam-era helicopter, debuts in Indianapolis on Thursday. "When I decided to run for governor, I knew I had the qualifications Indiana needs to face the tough challenges before us," says Wallace in the new spot, referring to his experiences at West Point, his service in the U.S. Army, and more than two decades creating jobs and managing budgets here in our state.

### **5CD: Reske enters**

State Rep. Scott Reske officially entered the 5th CD race. "I think this district deserves to be represented by a pro-business, pro-jobs moderate who will focus on solving our nation's toughest problems," Reske said during a speech at Pendleton's AMVETS Post #2, where he is a member (Anderson Herald-Bulletin). "As an engineer and a military officer, my job was to solve problems and deliver results, and we should expect the same from our Congress." About 50 people were in attendance.

### **8th CD: Scates enters Dem primary**

A former aide to U.S. Rep. Brad Ellsworth is entering next year's Democratic primary for the 8th congressional district seat (Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press). Patrick Scates, a Posey County resident who was Ellsworth's district director, is now the third candidate into the primary. He joins Warrick County Democratic chairman Terry White and former state Rep. Dave Crooks of Washington, Ind. They're battling to take on either freshman Republican U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon or Kristi Risk, the tea party activist who is challenging him in the GOP primary. "After the last election, it seems like the partisan gridlock has gotten 100 times worse than what it was, and we lost a lot of the Brad Ellsworth-type people out there who were willing to reach across the party lines," Scates said. He said he considers himself a conservative Democrat who would fit in the "Blue Dog" caucus. "I don't want to say that I'm just like Brad, but I'll take myself out of that same type of mold that he did," he said. Will Ellsworth help his old staffer publicly? "Brad and I have talked quite a bit as I've been deciding if I was going to get in this. Anybody running for the 8th District is going to want Brad's endorsement, and I am hopeful I will get it," Scates said. Scates, 34, grew up on his family's farm near Carmi, Ill. He became a part-owner of the farm and ran the family's business of selling irrigation center pivots. In 2005, he took a job on the staff of then-U.S. Sen. Barack Obama, for whom he ran the Marion,

Ill., district office. Later, he joined Ellsworth's staff, where he became district director, in charge of the congressman's Evansville and Terre Haute offices. Since Ellsworth's failed Senate bid in 2010, Scates has worked as a sales executive for R.W. Armstrong, a design and management consulting firm.

### **Indianapolis Mayoral: Flying blind**

For the first time in decades, there hasn't been any independent media polling in a mayoral race in the state's capital city and we are now just a little more than three weeks out. Marion County Democrats produced a Riggs Poll earlier this month that had Melina Kennedy leading by 2%. It was designed to change the perception that Kennedy was behind and was heavily circulated among the Democratic donor base. The Ballard campaign believes it still has a "strong lead." Both assertions are predictable. Everyone believes this race will tighten simply because this is now a Democratic city.

What are the tell-tales of this race?

Ballard has run one contrast (or negative) ad out of the first six. Kennedy began running negative ads beginning on Aug. 26.

We're skeptical the Kennedy focus on education will motivate voters to throw out Ballard. People vote for mayors on public safety, city services, and jobs. Kennedy has been hammering Ballard on the jobs front for the last several weeks. The critical question here is whether swing voters (probably in the 8 to 12% range at this point) will pin the bad economy on Ballard. To put it another way, Hoosiers appear to be blaming President Obama for the bad economy and not Gov. Daniels.

Ballard is in the midst of a continuing public works blitz, announcing an array of projects like bike paths and trails on Friday. The Georgia Street renaming controversy seems like of silly, but it does produce flashes of early Ballard when he didn't seem as mayoral as he does now. Wish we could give you a morning definitive picture, but there are a lot of unknowns here. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

### **Goshen Mayoral: Candidates debate**

Democrat Allan Kauffman, the incumbent mayor, and Republican Don Riegsecker debated about jobs last Monday in a city with an 11.6 jobless rate. "We do not have a reputation as being business friendly," Riegsecker said, and the city doesn't act like it realizes that it is competing globally for every business. Riegsecker said he would form a taskforce to aid any company interested in looking to move to Goshen. Kauffman said that he had not talked with any companies moving to Elkhart or elsewhere because Goshen had too many barriers. If the people of Goshen like the city, though, he said, then others will want to move to Goshen, too, and companies will follow. "People don't move





to communities that aren't thriving both physically and socially, and businesses don't come to where employees don't want to live," Kauffman said. "Build it and they will come is not idle talk." **Horse Race Status:** Likely Kaufmann

### **Fort Wayne Mayoral: Berry's validation**

Without polling, we sense the Fort Wayne mayoral race is tight and could go either way. Mayor Tom Henry is staying on the offensive with a mailer this week that takes on Republican Paula Hughes voting for tax increases. The Henry family ad is still running, but less frequently. Hughes timed her arrival on TV with the first mailer and is the midst of a fairly heavy TV buy. The ad shows that awful smiling Henry inside today's mailer. Not especially effective but has an excellent flattering picture of Hughes, which is important for TV. Local observers say there appears to be more energy around the Hughes campaign and Republicans, sensing the first real shot at winning the mayor's office since the Helmke-era annexations that turned Fort Wayne into a Republican city, are more optimistic than they have been in years. There aren't many yard signs, which could be an indicator of low turnout and the Hughes organization used a low primary turnout to win a big victory going away.

The other key element is State Auditor Tim Berry backing Hughes assertions on debt. City Controller Pat Roller claimed that city utilities debt of more than \$200 million shouldn't count, technically by state law it doesn't. Much of it was mandated by the EPA to clean up the combined sewer overflows. But her explanation: "The city isn't responsible for the debt, the ratepayers to city utilities are" is a dubious argument. As one observer pointed out to HPI, "We are the same people." The Journal Gazette observed: Berry's appearance prompted political criticism from Allen County Democratic spokesman Kevin Knuth, who said the event seemed like a time for the auditor to push for a lieutenant governor position alongside gubernatorial candidate Mike Pence. "Hopefully he's better at accounting than he is at transparent political stunts," Knuth said.

An earlier Hughes internal poll showed the challenger with a big lead, and Henry started his TV early and the sense is this race has narrowed. We've also heard from Democratic sources that Henry is appealing to Indianapolis donors. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

### **SD13: Yarde to challenge Sen. Glick**

State Rep. David Yarde announced Friday he will challenge State Sen. Sue Glick of LaGrange (Kendallville News-Sun). She was appointed to the seat last year and is seeking a full term.

### **HD48: Brewton to challenge Neese**

Republican Jerry Brewton will challenge incumbent State Rep. Tim Neese in the GOP primary. Elected to the Concord Community Schools board in 1990, he planned at the time to serve for two terms, then run for state representative. But after eight years on the board, the timing wasn't right to seek higher office, he said (Elkhart Truth). The owner of Brewton Insurance since 1976, and believes his years of business experience would be a valuable asset in the Indiana General Assembly. He said he's deeply concerned that budget issues dominating Washington debates will soon affect the state level, as well. "We're going to have less money, and we're going to have to make tough decisions," he said. "And I think I can make decisions on what's best for Elkhart County and for Indiana." His Bristol home was in the district of State Rep. Wes Culver, R-Goshen, who Brewton worked for as campaign manager during the 2008 campaign. It would take a "crazy person" to run against Culver in a primary, he said. But then he learned that, due to the redistricting process based on the 2010 census, the political lines were shifting. Brewton now lives in District 48, which Neese, R-Elkhart, has represented since 2003. "More than just being a person that would vote the right way," he said, "I would be a person who would champion the cause of Elkhart County."

### **HD51: Commissioner Zent enters**

Dennis J. Zent, a dentist from Angola, and current Chairman of Steuben County Republican Party, today announced he is a candidate for the State Representative seat currently held by Dick Dodge. Rep. Dodge has announced he will not seek reelection next year. The newly formed 51st district encompasses nearly all of Steuben and LaGrange counties. Dr. Zent said, "As a Dentist, I am a small business owner who struggles with the same challenges and concerns all business owners face: over regulation, high taxes and constant government intrusion. "Healthcare professionals nationwide are finally becoming alarmed by the increasing interference of the government at all levels."

### **HD82: Lemmon enters GOP race**

Albion resident Denise Lemmon announced will run in HD82. No incumbent lives in the district. Lemmon is executive director for LEAP of Noble County, a community-based literacy agency. Her prior professional experience includes working as program officer for the Noble County Community Foundation; serving as office manager for Whiteshire Hamroc, her family's international agri-business; and working as a speech clinician. "I am excited to have come to this point in my life where I can step forward and give back to the community that has done so much for my family," Lemmon said. Noble County Young Republican Chairman David Ober has also announced his candidacy for the seat. ❖



## Saving the auto industry, but for how long?

By **JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND - With the American auto industry collapsing, Kokomo, a city highly dependent on automotive-related jobs, suffered an unemployment rate of 20.4 percent in June of 2009.

All of Indiana, much of the Midwest and perhaps the whole nation faced the possibility of the economy being driven by the auto industry into a second Great Depression.



What is known as the "auto bailout," sometimes still with derogatory adjectives by those who opposed it, was successful in saving the American automotive industry and Kokomo and beyond, all the way to South Bend and on north to Detroit.

Economists estimated that demise of the auto industry would have brought depression-type 35 percent unemployment to Kokomo, so dependent on four Chrysler plants and also on General Motors and Delphi.

Well, Kokomo's unemployment rate is not 35 percent. Not still at that 20.4 percent. Or even at the 11.7 percent of a year ago. In the recently released August jobs report, Kokomo's rate was 9.7 percent.

That's just about the national average, not exactly bringing economic joy to everybody in the city, but better than anybody could have expected \_ except for dreamers who thought Barack Obama had some presidential wand to wave and turn recession into boom times with three magic words: "Yes, we can."

But what now?

Indiana University Kokomo Chancellor Michael Harris, an economist who has studied the automotive industry for over two decades, including while serving as provost at Kettering University, formerly General Motors Institute, in Flint, Mich., says it's time look ahead to "what now?" rather than focusing on past partisan bickering.

"We'll never know the answer," Harris says of whether failure to act quickly to bail out Chrysler and General Motors really would have brought another Great Depression. He knows that it kept Kokomo from "taking a terrible hit."

But did the bailout save the day or just put off nightfall?

What happens now, Harris said in a telephone

interview, will determine whether Indiana and Michigan continue to bounce back as "the world automotive center." The key: Innovation and knowledge.

Harris said it will be innovation that determines winners in global competition, not the old reliance on labor and material to manufacture the same products in the same way.

Innovation will bring the best sources of power and design for the autos of the future, he explained.

Knowledge must a part of this, Harris said, with higher education needed in an era when a son no longer can graduate from high school and immediately get a good job in the factory where his father also made a good living.

The chancellor said there needs to be a partnership of the auto industry, government and universities to spur innovation and knowledge.

Harris said all three cooperated to bring Kokomo from the brink of despair to a city with a brighter future, as Chrysler invests heavily, Mayor Greg Goodnight "is doing great things" and IU Kokomo offers its expertise and facilities.

Now, cooperation between universities, government and industry could be expanded to the state level with an Indiana Automotive Council on which Harris serves. He was appointed by Gov. Mitch Daniels. He praised Daniels for leadership in promoting innovation and cooperation. Leadership in the automotive industry also is needed, Harris said. He said Ford, which didn't need a bailout, already seemed to have good leadership and Chrysler seems to have that needed leadership now. General Motors? Harris has concerns going back to days when GM seemed to resist being pulled into the present.

It long was clear that GM maintaining eight brands was not feasible, Harris said, so "why did we need the federal government to tell them to get rid of certain brands?"

He called for turning Michigan's heavy auto production counties, known as "Automotive Alley," into "Innovation Alley" and getting Indiana geared for "fierce" global competition as well.

Harris recently traveled to South Korea and has made trips to China and other countries to see that competition.

Cars always will be made in the United States, he said, but will they be produced by American manufacturers and will the production center be in Indiana and Michigan or in southern states?

"The bailout saved us," Harris said. But for how long?



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



**Andrea Neal, Indianapolis Star:** If getting people to vote weren't hard enough already, a new Indiana law will further stifle democratic spirit on Nov. 8. The measure removes from the ballot municipal candidates who are unopposed. What's disturbing is that the idea became law in the first place. In hindsight, key legislative leaders call it a mistake. "I don't like it," said Brian Bosma who as House Speaker signed off on an election law package that included the offending language. "It's terrible public policy." He and Senate President Pro Tem David Long say they'll fix the law next session. But that won't happen in time for Election Day when folks in some parts will show up to vote -- and find little to do. In Johnson County, voters may spend more time parking, walking into a polling site and checking in than they will casting ballots, Clerk Sue Anne Misiniec told the Daily Journal. New Whiteland and Trafalgar won't hold elections because there are no contested candidates. In Evansville, voters in the First and Fourth wards won't see their county council candidates listed because they are unopposed. The incumbents -- a Republican and a Democrat -- wanted to face the voters. But when Vanderburgh County Clerk Susan K. Kirk asked the state election division for permission, she was told the law gave her no option. In contrast, a Wayne County judge granted an injunction allowing two unopposed candidates for Richmond city offices to get their names printed. Across the state, almost nobody seems to like the law except some county clerks, who lobbied for the measure to save money in a time of tight election budgets. The measure does not apply to statewide or federal elections. "There are savings," said Rep. Kathy Richardson who authored HB 1242, the election mega-bill. According to the Legislative Services Agency, keeping names off ballots "may save a minimal amount on printing expenses for shorter ballot cards." In communities where there is no competition, polling places have no need to open, which could save tens of thousands, Richardson said.



**Doug Ross, NWI Times:** The high winds last weekend led me to Michigan City's Washington Park for a reminder of the awesome power of nature -- and of government spending. Greeting visitors to the beach is a marker crediting the federal Works Progress Administration for the park improvements. The WPA is being remembered today as Americans draw parallels between the Great Depression of the 1930s and the Great Recession of today. In response to the Great Depression, the Roosevelt administration pushed Congress to agree to an unprecedented stimulus program that resulted in, among other things, the Washington Park Zoo and other park improvements in Michigan City, along the Hammond Civic Center, Brookfield Zoo and parts of the Lincoln Park Zoo. The jobs created by

these projects fed families at a time when unemployment was soaring. Sound familiar? Earlier last week, The Times editorial board met with U.S. Rep. Mike Pence, who is seeking the Republican nomination for governor next year. "I'm a conservative, but I've been accused of kind of being a Roman when it comes to building roads," Pence said. That's good to know. If you want to bring more manufacturers to Indiana, you're going to have to make sure they can get their raw materials delivered and their products shipped. Pence also made a point of saying, "I don't think there can be any corner of the state that gets left out." Oh? I've got a bridge to sell you -- on Cline Avenue. The decision to close the Cline Avenue bridge was the first major sign of big trouble in the Hoosier state's transportation network, but it was the closing of the Sherman-Minton bridge along the Ohio River that finally caught the attention of folks elsewhere in Indiana. Gov. Mitch Daniels had his own stimulus program, of sorts, for transportation. Major Moves was funded through the \$3.8 billion long-term lease of the Indiana Toll Road, but that money is essentially gone. So what could fund a Major Moves II to continue paying the state's share of major infrastructure projects like replacing the Cline Avenue bridge?

**Thomas Friedman, New York Times:** Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey isn't going to run. That's too bad. He had a chance to rescue the Republican Party from its dash to the cliff and make President Obama a better leader, too. Here's why: When the G.O.P. presidential candidates were asked during their debate on Aug. 11 whether any of them would accept a budget deal that involved \$10 in spending cuts for every \$1 in tax increases — and they all said no — the Republican Party officially became a danger to itself and to the country. The G.O.P. became a danger to the country because it announced, in effect, that it would not be a partner for the kind of Grand Bargain that many economists believe we need — something that provides more near-term investment in the economy that spurs job growth, combined with a credible long-term plan to increase tax revenues and trim entitlements so the country's debt-to-G.D.P. ratio stays in a safe range. The G.O.P. became a danger to itself because, as Tyler Cowen, an economics professor at George Mason University, pointed out in this newspaper on Sunday: "Cutting \$10 in spending for every \$1 in tax increases would result in \$9 in net tax reduction. That's because lower spending today means lower taxes tomorrow, and limiting the future path of government spending does limit future taxes, as Milton Friedman, the late Nobel laureate and conservative icon, so clearly explained. Promising never to raise taxes, without reaching a deal on spending, really means a high and rising commitment to future taxes."❖



## Fed deficit stays at \$1.3 trillion

WASHINGTON - The federal budget deficit held steady at \$1.3 trillion in 2011 -- adding another \$1.3 trillion to the \$14.7 trillion national debt (Associated Press). Despite all the push-and-pull between President Obama and congressional Republicans that almost led to a government shutdown and an unprecedented default, the amount of red ink didn't change a bit. That's the prognostication from the Congressional Budget Office for the 2011 fiscal year, which ended Sept. 30. Official Treasury Department figures come out later this month. There's one piece of good news, at least: \$1.3 trillion no longer equals 8.9% of the economy, as it did last year. It's only ... 8.6%. The bad news: Other than 2009, when the deficit was 10% of the economy, this year's red ink was greater than any other year since 1945. Spending and tax revenue both grew, but by equal amounts: about \$140 billion. That left spending at \$3.6 trillion and revenue at \$2.3 trillion.



## People, companies migrating to state

FORT WAYNE - More people moved to Indiana than left the state from 2005 to 2009, but little of that influx came from neighboring states despite efforts to attract people and businesses from across the border, according to data from the Internal Revenue Service (Associated Press). Indiana's share of people moving from Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan remained level, while the share relocating from

Illinois declined, The Journal Gazette reported. The difference between moves into Indiana and moves out was about 2,000 people during the period. The data don't reflect foreign migration. The population changes came during a period of declining mobility nationally. A Pew Research Center study citing U.S. Census figures found that 11.9 percent of Americans moved between 2007 and 2008, the lowest level since the late 1940s. "For all of the negative economic data that we've seen over the last decade, we don't see the population decline that you might think would come with that," said John Stafford, director of the Community Research Institute at IPFW. The IRS figures don't include business movement among states and include only those who filed income tax returns. But businesses have been a key target for Indiana, which launched a billboard campaign early in the recession that urged, "Come On IN for Lower Taxes, Business and Housing Costs." The campaign played on concerns about higher taxes in Michigan and Illinois during the recession.

## Last Lake cop pleads guilty

HAMMOND - The last of the three indicted former Lake County Sheriff's Department officers changed his plea to guilty in Hammond federal court Friday (NWI Times). Edward Kabella, 42, spoke in a soft voice as he pleaded guilty to conspiring to give false information to a federally licensed firearms dealer, defrauding the Food and Drug Administration and lying on a tax return. He could face up to five years in prison and \$250,000 in fines each for the conspiracy and fraud charges and a maximum term of up to three years in prison and \$250,000 in fines for the tax charge. Kabella underestimated his gross income by more than \$58,000 on a tax return,

according to court records. He agreed to pay the more than \$26,000 in tax losses he caused.

## Frazier to seek 6th CD seat

MUNCIE - Former State Senator Bill Frazier is launching his sixth run for Congress (Associated Press). Frazier plans an announcement tour Wednesday to kick off a run for the Sixth District seat being vacated by gubernatorial hopeful Mike Pence. It's a return to the Republican Party for Frazier, who drew nine-percent of the vote against Pence as an independent in 2000. Frazier was the Republican nominee against former Democratic Congressman Phil Sharp four times between 1976 and 1992, coming within six points of him in 1980. Frazier also lost in the G-O-P primary in 1994. He'll face former State Representative Luke Messer in next year's primary.

## Fed funding falls for 1st time since '94

INDIANAPOLIS - Federal funding fell in Indiana last year, even as it rose in most other states, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Spending was down primarily because of drops in federal stimulus help and in defense contracts (Indianapolis Star). As a result, only nine states got less federal funding per capita than Indiana, according to the Census Bureau's annual Consolidated Federal Funds Report describing federal spending in states and counties. Federal spending in Indiana fell from \$61.3 billion in 2009 to \$58.6 billion in 2010. It was the first time federal funding had fallen since 1994. And it contrasts with an \$8.5 billion increase in spending the year before, thanks largely to the influx of aid to states from the federal stimulus package.