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# Politics Indiana

Thursday, Oct. 27, 2011

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

### Examining Gregg's House career

He spent 12 of 16 years in leadership, 6 years as speaker

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. - At 9 p.m. on Election Night November 1990, John Gregg was standing with Jerry Denbo in the Greene County Courthouse in Bloomfield talking on the phone to Diane Masariu in Indianapolis.

"Jerry Denbo won,"
Gregg said to the Democratic
aide of this new legislator from
French Lick.

But Masariu had good news and bad news for John Gregg. Indiana Democrats reclaimed the House after the torturous 50/50 split. And the

bad news? "John, Stan got beat," Masariu said. She was referring to Sue Scholer's stunning upset of Floor Leader Stan Jones in Lafayette.

"We've got to think about this," Masariu said of the now open leadership post. "Does something like this interest you?"

Gregg's mind began to churn. He immediately



wanted to call fellow Democrats Mark Kruzan, Marc Carmichael and Craig Fry to weigh his options. Then he looked at Denbo.

"Stan Jones from Lafayette just got beat," Gregg said. "I want to run for majority leader. Will you vote for me?" Denbo said yes. "Jerry, if it goes to a second ballot,

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#### The Renaissance Man

#### By RUSS STILWELL

BOONVILLE - John Gregg just might be the personification of what a broad & diverse segment of Hoosiers see in themselves. Family first; funny and smart; humble



but yet ambitious and a consensus builder while sticking to a core set of principles founded in working class values.

The ideal of the Renaissance Man originated in Italy. It is based on the belief that a man's capacity for personal development is without limits; competence in a broad range of abilities and areas of knowledge should





"If they choose to continue these radical attacks on working Hoosier families, Indiana House Democrats will reserve the right to respond appropriately."

> - House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer



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be every man's goal and is within everyman's grasp.

John Gregg could be characterized as a Hoosier whose expertise and knowledge spans a significant number of subject areas and with a quick wit too. He just might be the Hoosier version of Renaissance Man. He just "gets it" so much better than any other political face in our state. He is smart (three university degrees plus a law degree), funny and passionate about everyday Hoosiers. While others talk about family values, John Gregg practices them.

If you underestimate him he will prevail every time.

When John Gregg was Speaker of the House during the 2007/08 sessions, I was a freshman legislator. We had a 50-50 divided house. However, Democrats were the "majority" party due to a "quirk" in the law inserted the year before by then majority Republicans. In the event of a tie in the Indiana House, the winner of the gubernatorial race would decide the majority. They just knew that their candidate would win. He didn't, Frank O'Bannon did and John Gregg was the Speaker of the House.

John's leadership during his tenure as Speaker from 1997-2002 could be characterized as some of the best times in our state. We passed balanced budgets; we had budget surpluses; we brought our state into the 20th century with much needed worker benefit reforms and stretched that 50-50 majority to a solid 53-47 bloc.

During his tenure Speaker Gregg could sometimes get the minority party spittin' mad. Just like a Sunday morning preacher, Speaker Gregg would explode and pound the podium and chastise the opposition party when their antics needed addressed. And then when the R's were just about to explode and walk, Gregg would crack one of his famous one-line jokes and have the entire Assembly in stitches. His humor and quick

wit saved many a day for the session.

During the final days of my freshman year I did the unthinkable. I informed Speaker Gregg and then Ways and Means Chairman Patrick Bauer that I was not going to vote for the budget. Eleven were prepared to join me. Trust me when I say these two leaders were not pleased.

What was the issue? Indiana lagged at the absolute bottom of the pile for all 50 states in Unemployment Insurance and Workers Compensation for our workers. Until that was addressed, the budget vote was at a standstill.

For three straight days, Gregg, Bauer, myself and a couple of prominent labor folks huddled to try to get some sort of solution before the session ended. On the last night an elaborate procedural process was cleverly implemented. It was Sine Die and late in the evening. The only items before the session ended was the Conseco Stadium funding formula (this had broad support) and another similar funding mechanism for Indianapolis, both of which had strong republican support. Before these bills were handed down for the final vote, Speaker Gregg used the procedural process to introduce the workers unemployment and compensation bills. The House R's were infuriated and immediately walked off the floor, never to return.

As an elated Gregg took his then considerable frame and smacked the walls in jubilation, he echoed those sweet words that he had finally punched the Republican's button just like Speaker Phillips had done. And for a cause that helped Hoosiers throughout our state.

What about those bills? Governor O'Bannon called us into Special Session with all three bills (including the labor provisions) combined in one bill. It would be an up or down vote taking the good medicine with the bad medicine, depending on your point of view. The bill passed with broad



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bipartisan votes (remember, we only had 50 votes) and shortly after, Frank O'Bannon's poll numbers soared to well over 60%. Speaker Gregg had earned respect and admiration from his caucus and his adversaries as well in getting the job done.

When John Gregg saw a complicated issue or problem, he was not shy about calling in others to help find a solution. This was a leadership style that shaped his speakership and led to some of the most dominant years for his party during his tenure as speaker.

When Gregg was speaker, there was a daily session in the speaker's office from a broad cross-section of our caucus that reviewed every bill, every amendment and every possible scenario before session started. His leadership style was inclusion, listening to others. But make no mistake about it; at the end of the session, he was the decision maker. But he made those decisions with open input from a broad cross-section of our caucus.

If someone thinks they are going to outwit, outde-

bate or upstage John Gregg, they had better bring a sack lunch to the event, for it would be an all-day affair. Gregg is deeply religious, but doesn't wear it on his sleeve. John is sometimes brilliant in his uncanny ability to remember

names and quote the scriptures when making an impromptu speech or remarks.

When one takes in the entire persona of Speaker John Gregg, you have just what Hoosier voters are looking for. He is a straight-talkin', bible quotin', tell-it-like-it-is Southern Indiana Democrat who is pro-gun and right to life. Unlike many in the other party, he does not wear his social positions on his sleeve or post them on his forehead. He talks about jobs and the economy and how we can move our state forward. John Gregg talks about opportunity and inclusion.

While the opposition for the gubernatorial race often wears their values on their sleeves, John Gregg, the Southern Indiana Hoosier Renaissance man, keeps his values where voters want him to –

in his heart!. .

Stilwell is a former Democrat House majority leader.



Gregg reserves his forehead for alma mater, not social issues.

#### Gregg, from page 1

will you vote for me?" Denbo replied in the affirmative. "And if it goes more than that, will you go over the cliff for me?"

Once again, Denbo said yes. Then he asked, "What's the majority leader?"

John Gregg spent just four years as a "back bencher" after winning a House seat in 1986. He was either the No. 1 or No. 2 Democrat in 12 of his 16 years in the House, rising to floor leader in in 1990 and then Speaker in 1996,

just two years after the historic Republican tsunami. After six years at the helm, working under Govs. Evan Bayh and Frank O'Bannon, Gregg walked away from his political career in 2002 to concentrate on fatherhood and his legal career.

Now, a decade later, Gregg is poised for a political return, joining Doc Bowen as a Speaker taking aim at the governorship (Bowen may be the only Indiana speaker to become governor). "He will probably have the greatest depth of knowledge of state government since Otis Bowen," said State Rep. Winfield Moses Jr. "He knows everybody. He knows the results. He

has a good idea of where he likes to lead. He's got rapport with all the people who were there. There aren't too many Speakers who actually come out and do this: Bowen was the last one. The legislative background saves you years of learning the minutiae of the bureaucracy. He knows FSSA, environmental department, public resources, state parks."

In Gov. Bowen's book "Doc: Memories of a Life in Public Service," the former Republican Speaker wrote that going into his first session as governor in 1973, "I had advantages. I personally knew almost every member in both caucuses in both houses. We respected each other. Our occasional disagreements were good-natured ones."

Gregg is now engaged in what will be an epic race against the probable Republican nominee – U.S. Rep. Mike Pence – in 2012. They consider each other friends. They were Indiana University Law School classmates. Pence helped Gregg land a radio show on WIBC. Both are excellent communicators. Both come from the conservative, pro-life, pro-gun wings of their respective parties.

In the June 16 edition of Howey Politics Indiana, Pence's 10-year congressional career was analyzed in what is, to date, the most extensive coverage of the Columbus Republican's legislative career. Today, HPI intends to focus on Gregg's 16-year career in the Indiana General





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Assembly. The tasks are considerably different. Pence has long been considered a rising star in both the Indiana and national Republican Party. He has left a lengthy trail of election defeats and victories, votes, a quick ascent into congressional leadership, dozens of speeches and hundreds of press releases articulating his often nuanced stands on issues ranging from abortion, to the economy, press freedom, war, to immigration.

Gregg's paper trail is much less evident. He ran and won eight races in the tiny 45th House District centered around Vincennes and Knox County, feeding off the

socially-conservative Reagan Democrats. After Gregg left the House in 2002, Republican State Rep. Bruce Borders has held his seat ever since. While many have long considered him – or any House speaker for that matter - potential gubernatorial or congressional timber, he has mostly been out of the public eye for a decade now. He is the civic father of the tiny, farming community of Sandborn, as well as Vincennes, where he served as interim president of the university there. His farm straddles the White River with views of two time zones – Gregg said in a Jefferson-Jackson Day speech he can stand in one zone and pee into another – and both Greene and Daviess counties. The new I-69 is just a few miles away from his homestead and the Crane Naval Weapons Support Center, the region's biggest employer, is just over the horizon. It is coal country, and he worked as a lobbyist

for two Fortune 500 coal companies. He practices law in Vincennes and with Bingham McHale in Indianapolis.

While Democrats are eager to take pot shots at Pence, most legislative Republicans, both current and former, did not avail themselves for HPI interviews about Gregg's legislative career. It might be that the enduring friendships still exist despite more than a decade of some jarring legislative showdowns, or a reluctance to say too much at the expense of their own party's probable nominee. It is hard to find an enemy of Gregg's at the Statehouse.

"John's wit and humor rescued many moments that could have gone the other way," said Democratic Caucus Leader Dale Grubb. "That's the trait he had when he dealt with candidates and people. People tend to say, 'I relate with this guy.' That served him well."

Moses adds, "John Gregg was successful for a simple reason: He likes people, he communicates well, and he gets you to answer yes. He doesn't do something unless he feels strongly. You feel good working with him. Usually it's when someone wins, someone loses. When his programs win, a lot of people win."

Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker, who was hired by Gregg in 1995, says Gregg's power came "from the sheer force of his personality."

#### **Early career**

Gregg entered the House in 1986, sat in seat 92, and watched Republican Gov. Robert D. Orr push his A Plus education plan, one that he opposed, though he was impressed that one of the oldest governors in Indiana history was so dedicated to the state's children. It was his first on-site gubernatorial case study.



Majority Leader Gregg with Reps. Dobis, Stevenson, Kruzan, Bales and Klinker.

"I always give Bob Orr high marks," Gregg said.
"Here was the oldest governor of our state and oldest governor in the union. He was 75. It was his last session and this guy comes up and puts up a major education initiative when he could have sat back and done nothing. And Bob Orr has probably never gotten the credit for championing education, bringing it to the forefront. You had (State Reps.) Stan Jones and Marilyn Schultz always talking about it, but before that time a governor had never said, 'We've got to do something."

Gregg also watched Orr and Lt. Gov. John Mutz establish an Asian presence that has since resulted in more than 220 Japanese, Korean and Chinese companies establishing Indiana facilities.

"Like most freshman members you wanted to get on Ways and Means and it didn't happen," Gregg said. "I got on the County and Township Committee and learned a lot. I served on Natural Resources because of my coal background. It was in my second term that I got on the Ways and Means and that's when you were able to learn more about many things. You're not just looking at things from 30,000 feet. You could drill down and figure out



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where the money came from, but also when it came in. It's not just there in a bank. It trickles in."

His second term was an historic one: Democrat Evan Bayh was elected governor, ending a 20-year drought for the party while commencing 16 years of Democratic rule. And the House had its first 50/50 split. Democrat Michael K. Phillips and Republican Paul Mannweiler shared the speakership, Republican Pat Kiely and Democrat Pat Bauer rotated as Ways and Means chairman. The woofer/tweeter dual speakers had to find one vote from the other party

to pass anything. If a bill tied in committee, it went to the floor with no recommendation. Committee chairs had "wild cards" to move legislation. Creating the calendar was arduous. There was a learning curve for the rookie governor.

The Democrats reclaimed the House in 1990 and with Gregg now majority leader, he had a different role in working the legislation on behalf of Gov. Bayh. He is proudest of helping Bayh shepherd his 21st Century Scholars program into law. He also wrote a law that kept biological parents from reclaiming children they had given up for adoption years earlier.

In 1991, Speaker Phillips chose Gregg to draw the House and Congressional maps. In 2001, as Speaker, Gregg worked extensively with State Rep. Ed

Mahern to draw the maps, making Gregg the key driving force on House maps for two decades, much to the chagrin of Republicans. In doing so, Gregg played an instrumental role in keeping his party competitive in the House.

"That first session when you've got the governor, the governor sets the agenda, as opposed to the House caucus," Gregg said. "Gov. Bayh had an agenda of the efficient government. If you remember, in those first two years we managed to cut the excise tax, which was an extremely unpopular tax. We passed a balanced budget, even though people said they were unbalanced." Gregg notes that with the excise tax cut, "that does something to the numbers."

In 1993, both Bayh and former Republican Speaker Paul Mannweiler remember the budget the House passed, only to earn Bayh's veto. When the legislature overrode Bayh's veto with two-thirds of the vote, Gregg voted with the minority. "That took a lot of courage on his part," Bayh said. "We came within 48 hours of a government shut-

down. I felt it spent too much and the deficit was too big so I vetoed the bill. He was one of the Democrats who was willing to stand up to the speaker and his own caucus and vote to sustain my veto. I'm sure it was not easy for John to disagree with the speaker and the majority of his caucus. A lot of politicans say they are fiscally responsible, but that vote proved that he was. It was a tough vote. It can give you some insight on his insistence as governor, who wants to fund education and commerce and the environment, it all has to be done in the framework of a budget,

and making sure spending didn't get out of control. I thought that was a real character moment for him."

Mannweiler calls Gregg a "great politician" who could deliver a "stem-winder." But "from a standpoint of getting things done, he just didn't care that much about policy."

Phillips begged to differ, calling Gregg a "quick study" and on issues he didn't necessarily champion, "he was willing to adapt his his position. He learned how to balance interests. I depended on him greatly as floor leader."

While the Democrats had the governorship and House, the Senate throughout Gregg's legislative career stayed in Republican hands. The other notable element was "record job growth" during the 1990s. "Both parties worked

the 1990s. "Both parties worked hard at making an environment for businesses to expand." Gregg says of Gov. Daniels, "Our governor has done that and I want to do the same thing. I just want to see - instead of \$10 an hour jobs and no benefits - I want to see us have jobs with more money and with benefits. I want to strengthen the middle class instead of subsidizing

the low income people. During those four years when I was

majority leader under Speaker Phillips, we toed the line on

spending. But we increased funding for public education."

Asked about the Bayh mantra of no general tax increases, Gregg said that he brought that position with him from Sandborn. "I've got to be candid with you: there was no time I ever thought we'd do a general tax increase. I think that Evan Bayh's leadership and Frank O'Bannon as lieutenant governor, we wanted to show we could live within our means, we would not be tax-and-spend Democrats. Dick Dellinger used to call us that. But you have to

remember the Republicans in the early '80s had raised



Gregg and Paul Mannweiler shake hands as Rep. Phil Warner looks on.



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taxes so many times."

#### Leadership quests in 1990, 1994

The day after Stan Jones' defeat in 1990, Gregg called Phillips to tell him, "I'm going to do this." Phillips was worried about dividing the caucus. "We can't have any hard feelings over it," Phillips said. State Reps. Jesse Villalpando, Bob Hayes and Hurley Goodall were also lining up support, as Gregg did well past midnight.

That Wednesday afternoon, the four were summoned to Phillips' Statehouse office. "Is there something we can do to avoid this fight?" Phillips asked. Goodall responded, forcefully, telling Phillips he shouldn't interfere. "We are all friends, this will be a good way to let us all vet and let some steam off, and we won't be mad," Gregg recalls Goodall saying.

"Are any of you guys going to be mad if someone gets it and you don't?" Phillips asked. He heard four affirmations. The concerns were soon laid to rest. Gregg was popular with most of the new members from the classes of '86, '88 and '90. He won with 26 votes on the first ballot, with Kruzan projecting the tally. "I owe Hurley a debt of gratitude," Gregg said. "It had been a team effort and it brought new blood into the caucus."

Four years later, in that fateful 1994 election, Gregg was unopposed, though around Labor Day he began sensing trouble for his party. About 10 days before the election, he went to Dale, a Democratic area in Spencer County near the Lincoln homestead, to campaign for Phillips. "That's when I knew we were in trouble," Gregg recalled. He would go door-to-door, introduce himself as a Democrat, and ask people to vote for Phillips. "People were answering the door and they weren't saying anything," Gregg said. "That bothered me." He found another man cooking soup beans in his backyard. Gregg made the pitch and the man responded, "I used to be a precinct committeeman here for the Democrats. I think Mike has a race on his hands."

"When he said that and by the way he said it, I thought he might not support Mike," Gregg said.

For the first time in his political career, Gregg spent Election Night in Indianapolis and not at home. Phillips had called him on Sunday and told him, "I need to stay down here. It's going to be close. I'm going to win, but I need to stay here in case there's a recount."

Gregg arrived at the Statehouse around 5:50. At 6:07, he got a call from State Rep. Paul Cantwell. "I'm beat," Cantwell said. "Two precincts came in, one of them is mine and one's my neighboring precinct. I should be a thousand votes up and I'm 80 votes down. I'm beat." A few minutes later a city councilman from Marion running against Dean Young called in. The former football coach had lost his home precinct by 100 votes.

A few hours later, word came that Speaker Phillips had been upset by Sally Rideout Lambert. Later that night U.S. House Speaker Tom Foley had also lost. "He was to me and still is larger than life," Gregg says of Phillips, who is now practicing law in Boonville. "He led that caucus for 20 years. He was the only leader in that caucus, except Pat Bauer and Chet Dobis, that we knew."

The shock quickly wore off and Gregg was joined by Moses, Kruzan and Paul Robertson, and they drew up a list and began making phone calls. Several hours later, Gregg had enough votes to ward off a potential challenge from Bauer, who later decided not to seek the caucus leadership.

#### The overreach and the speakership

Minority Leader Gregg almost immediately retooled House Democrats. He hired Dan Parker. He had Dr. Jim Riggs come in and explain polling. "I had never seen a crosstab before," Gregg said. They went to Washington to learn how to run campaigns. A professional mail house was lined up. Craig Fry and Susan Crosby began recruiting candidates. "If they went south, they took Dale Grubb," Gregg said. "If it was in an urban area, Charlie Brown would go." They would narrow it down to one person, then Gregg



House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer with Speaker John Gregg.

would show up to make the final pitch. The current members were told to raise their own money. "We put them on a green diet," Gregg said. "If you're not raising money, you're not getting any from the caucus."

Then the Republicans made Gregg Speaker.
"I talk about our governor," Gregg says of Daniels.
"It creates some gasps, but I tell them, 'Our current gov-



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ernor is a leader.' That normally gets their attention. I say, 'You don't have to like where he has led us, or agree with us, but if Gov. Daniels says we're going through that wall, not only are we going through that wall, he's the first one through it. I think Hoosiers appreciate that."

Bowen wrote, "A governor must be a decisive problem-solver, have good character, and be willing to lead politically, governmentally, and symbolically. A public

official's most important traits are honesty and integrity. These are the foundation of credibility, a public leader's most precious commodity. A governor cannot lead by trying to please everyone, straddling the fence, or trying to come down on both sides of it. He must lead by making decisions based on common sense and tempered by compassion."



Without a governor in

Indiana, or a president nationally, the Republican Class of '94 tried to instill a revolution from the legislature. The Class of '10 is trying to do the same thing, with Gov. Daniels being the big difference. In 1995, they took on the ISTA over fair share, and picked a fight with labor over prevailing wage.

"After the 1994 election, they acted like they had a mandate," Gregg said. "They got Congress for the first time in 40 years. They had their Contract for America. We called it the Contract on America. They came in, and said, 'Let's settle some old scores.' They wanted to get rid of fair share for the teachers, they wanted to do away with the prevailing wage, the mini Davis-Bacon Act. Well, there was no reason to mess with fair share. They just wanted to mess with the teachers and the ISTA. The one that really baffled me, like it did this time, the building and trades people, because on a lot of social issues, these guys were starting to feel real at home because of Ronald Reagan and the social issues, and the Republicans went out and smacked them in their wallet. They did it in '95 and they did it this time. It's amazing.

"I became Speaker because of what they did in 1995. They also tried to illegally redistrict. I call it overreaching. It made me Speaker. And it will make me governor."

This past week, House Republicans led by State Rep. Jerry Torr and the Indiana Chamber of Commerce issued a draft report on Right to Work. Current House Minority Leader Bauer said on Wednesday, "Despite ample evidence presented in several hearings that Right to Work does not bring additional jobs to a state, but does lower wages and makes workplaces more dangerous, it ap-

pears that the party in control of our state government is hell-bent on bringing this ruinous policy to Indiana. If they choose to continue these radical attacks on working Hoosier families, Indiana House Democrats will reserve the right to respond appropriately." Bauer led all but one House Democrat on a five-week boycott to Illinois last winter.

Gregg said, "If they had gone in and concentrated this session on jobs, jobs and jobs, if they had concen-

trated on that instead of attacking and trying to destroy public education, destroy the middle class. Well, they've unified our base and I want to thank them. I tell my buddy Paul Mannweiler, "You made me Speaker. I just saw Jerry Torr downstairs and I just thanked him again."

On Election Day 1996, Frank O'Bannon upset Stephen Goldsmith for the governorship, and Gregg became Speaker, thanks to a law Mannweiler pushed in 1995 that specified that in the event of a 50/50 House, the party of the governorship would rule.

"We went from 44 members to 50," Gregg said. "I was the Speaker. I set the calendar. I recognized the members. I put the bills on the calendar. I sent the bills to committee. I did all the firing and hiring. But there wasn't a day went by that I didn't know I had to work with the other side. We only had 50 people. It was a good exercise in letting everyone having a seat at the table. Everyone had a right to sit at the table."

Describing that year is a staple of the pitch candidate Gregg has been making to voters this year.

#### **Speaker Gregg**

Gregg was now serving under his third governor, and second Democrat. Two sessions stand out.

In 1997, the regular session blew up when Gregg tried to get workers compensation increases in exchange for the construction of Conseco Fieldhouse. Gov. O'Bannon, Lt. Gov. Kernan and Mayor Goldsmith worked the halls to get it passed. Gregg, meanwhile, had been approached by Republican Reps. Dean Young and Dick Mangus, who would support the workers comp increases. That was the grand compromise: the largest workers comp increase in the state's history, along with the new NBA arena in Indianapolis.

In 2002, Gregg worked with Minority Leader Brian Bosma, Kernan and the Senate Republicans to forge property tax reforms in a special session that went into late June. Gregg takes great pride in ending the inventory tax, one that he calls one of the most "anti-business" in the nation.

It also included an expansion of gaming. Gregg was opposed to the expansion, but has changed his stance. "I really view gaming totally different than when I was



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Speaker and as a member," Gregg said. "I recognize it as a legitimate business. I don't view gaming any different than any other business. It is a business that is heavily regulated. We've not had indictments. We've not had any kind of federal investigations or anything like that."

The 2002 session may also pose the biggest problem for a Gregg gubernatorial campaign: the health care for life deal for legislators that was later

rescinded by Speaker Bosma.

"He was one of the architects of it," said Indiana Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb. "If you thought Obamacare was bad, you haven't seen that Indiana plan."

Holcomb also believes that Gregg is vulnerable on the abuses associated with the Build Indiana Fund, the lottery profits that were spent at the discretion of individual members. And he believes that Gregg played a role in the "structural deficits" that Gov. Daniels inherited in 2005, though it was three years after Gregg left the Statehouse. Holcomb put the deficits in the \$700 million range. "They perfected the art of budget gimmicks by delaying the payments to schools and local governments," Holcomb said. "They also raided the teacher retirement stabilization fund of \$20 million."

The one flaw for Republicans on that front is that the Senate was controlled by Republicans like President Pro Tem Bob Garton and Finance Chairman Larry Borst for the entire time, though both were upset in primaries after Gregg left.

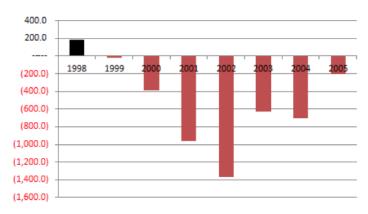
#### **Learning from governors**

Gregg spent his entire speakership with Democratic governors in office. While he offered praise for Orr and Daniels, it was Bayh and O'Bannon who clearly shaped his speakership.

"They both showed Democrats could govern responsibly and be good fiscal stewards," Gregg said of the two Democrats. "That's something I'm proud of and I'm proud of them for leading that charge. They built a probusiness environment. They said that government needed to create that environment to grow, attract and expand businesses. They want good jobs, good paying jobs. That's one thing I took from them."

Gregg remembers meetings with Bayh and

#### Results in a Sea of Red Ink...



Source: Indiana State Budget Agency. Operating RevenuesLess Operating Expenses

O'Bannon in the governor's office. "This is something every governor has to do. I don't know how many hours I sat at that big oval table in the governor's office with a big legal pad and no staff, surrounded by legislators, Rs and Ds, and they were able to help hammer out a compromise. I saw that,"

Bayh called his relationship with Gregg as "collaborative."

"I would make my recommendations, improvements and alterations, and ultimately John was good at

counting the votes and learning where the consensus was," Bayh said. "He was very good about working with other legislators and figuring out what could be done. In all of those years, there was a Republican majority in the Senate and so you had to keep that in mind, too. I thought John was a very astute student of the legislature and, frankly Brian, I wish I had had a little more experience before being governor. I think I learned it over time, but it's a good attribute to have."

Bayh also sees Gregg's presidency at Vincennes University as an important building block for the next governor who will be faced with a jobless rate in the 8 to 9 percent range, as well as his legislative relationships with both Republicans and Democrats. "The word I would use is trust," Bayh said. "Trust and respect. To get things done, you have to have both of those. One thing about John Gregg, people on both sides of the aisle think he's a good person and a man of his word."

The modern governors Gregg worked with have shaped his views. "In the case of both of those gentlemen, and I see this with Gov. Daniels, they become the face of the state. All three of them championed Indiana, as a place to come and do business, a case to provide good education," Gregg said. "The styles were different between Gov. Bayh and O'Bannon, mainly because of an age difference. Gov. Bayh was a unique governor in Indiana's history."

But Gregg adds, "For the first time since George Craig in 1952 or Gov. Paul McNutt in 1932, I would be like a Gov. Orr, Daniels or Kernan. I'd be at the end of a career rather than the beginning. I'll tell you why that's important: I'm not worried about credit, I'm not worried about the next election down the road, I'm not worried about what the national pundits say. All I want is what's good for Indiana." ❖



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# Republican presidential contenders come, but they don't like the press

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - Herman Cain came to Indianapolis last Friday, giving a speech at the Columbia Club Beefsteak Dinner.

While he was here, did he eat pizza? Have a cigarette?

WRTV's Myrt Price got the lone interview with Cain.



"Indiana is going to play a big part and here's why: with the jockeying of caucus dates, it's going to press the schedule, which means some states that traditionally don't have that big of an impact, are going to be a much bigger impact," Cain said. "My campaign has never

taken Indiana for granted, which is why we plan to spend a considerable amount of time here," he said.

Cain also talked about tax exemptions. "We have a poverty exemption for people at or below the poverty level depending on their family size," Cain said.

The interview had much more substance than the bizarre YouTube ad showing Cain's chief of staff making a pitch, taking a puff of a cigarette, and the 8-second smile that creeps across Cain's face. If there's a punch line to that joke, it hasn't occurred to most of us.

Cain and the other presidential candidates who have been coming to speak to Indiana Republicans have not been particularly accessible to the local media. Only Jon Huntsman had a media avail following his August appearance at Republican headquarters. The Huntsman presser was remarkable if only because he had it. He was asked respectful questions on the tax code, the health reforms, climate change and evolution.

Mitt Romney and Gov. Rick Perry answered a few questions from Republican Chairman Eric Holcomb, but answered no media questions, didn't do any sit downs with the local network affiliates. It's quite a departure from Gov. Daniels, who often takes questions from the audience, and then is available to the press after most public events. Perhaps we're spoiled.

As for this weird, unremarkable Republican field, the questions persist: What are they afraid of? An unscripted moment?

Holcomb isn't sure. The chairman told HPI he

encourages the candidates to take questions, ranging from the audience to the local press. Ultimately, it's up to the campaigns on how available the candidate will be.

Romney was apparently so fearful of the press that he had reporters and photographers quarantined to a 30 foot by 5 foot roped off box in the back of the room at the JW Marriott. For the Perry event at the Columbia Club, the press couldn't ask questions, but there was a photo op at the end of the speech. When I asked Perry spokesman Robert Black if there would be time for questions, the quick answer was "no."

Previous presidential campaigns in the state have had varying degrees of access. In 1968, both Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy traveled with reporters. In 1992, I spent an entire afternoon with Hillary Clinton, who

was campaigning in the Fort Wayne area for her husband. Barack Obama had about five press conferences in Indiana in 2008 and both he and Clinton did a number of network affiliate interviews.



But for the most part, the days of a reporter in the backseat are gone. Walter Shapiro knew those days were gone during the 2004 campaign when he and the White House press corps found themselves in Jefferson City, Mo. They were summoned by the Bush campaign to gather for a big event: It turned out the President had left Missouri unbeknownst to no one, and the press was invited to watch him on the "Oprah Show" 300 miles away in Chicago.

#### **Indiana mayoral races**

In next week's edition of HPI, we will offer up a comprehensive look a that top mayoral races in Indiana and make our preelection forecast.

#### Fort Wayne Mayoral: Air war, word war

Republican Paula Hughes and Mayor Tom Henry are in full assault mode, running ads against each other dealing with issues such as snow removal and leaf pickup. Hughes was joined by Allen County Commissioner Nelson Peters, Allen County Councilmen Darren Vogt, Roy Buskirk and Paul Moss, and City Councilwoman Liz Brown. "Tom Henry's campaign has been misleading the public and outright lying about me for months by claiming that I can cause floods and saying I want to stop leaf pickup is



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absurd," Hughes said. Tuessday's Journal Gazette verified the claim that Paula Hughes would stop leaf pickup "simply isn't true." Councilwoman Liz Brown said, "the mayor's claims are particularly shocking given the fact that he cut leaf pickup during his tenure in the mayor's office." Allen County Democratic Party Spokesman Kevin Knuth condemned Paula Hughes's negative, inaccurate and misleading campaign commercials and statements on behalf of the Henry for Mayor campaign. Knuth was joined by local neighborhood leaders and activists who support Mayor Henry's commitment to leaf pickup and snow removal -- in stark contrast to Hughes's recent statement in the Journal Gazette calling leaf pickup a "luxury," and her record on County Council of cutting snow removal. "Paula Hughes has a run a negative and dishonest campaign -- she hasn't been telling the truth and she's not starting now," said Allen County Democratic Party Spokesman Kevin Knuth. "She's mislead residents about everything from leaf pick-up, to snow removal, to her years of voting for tax increases. If she'll twist the truth and say anything to try and win an election, we can't trust Hughes with our city's future."

The Journal Gazette reported: Both campaigns are being run by professionals who are tracking polling data to see what message sticks with voters. The Hughes campaign paid \$9,876 for polling to The Tarrance Group in mid-September. The Henry campaign paid \$36,000 since April to Peter D. Hart Research Associates for research and polling. Henry in general has been able to do more advertising, outspending Hughes by nearly \$400,000 since April. Hughes' campaign reported receiving nearly \$41,000 from the state GOP for postage and mail from Sept. 13 to Oct. 11. The state Democrats spent \$131,372 on mail in Fort Wayne this year for the mayor's race.

Where does this race stand? While Henry was running a TV ad on the leaf/snow issue, he had either pulled it, or was mixing the rotation, while Hughes counter-attacked with free media. The Hughes campaign was looking at "good" internal polling. But the whole election is going to come down to turnout: low (meaning about same vote but with annexation, a lot more voters) means Hughes (better organization, low minority turnout); medium - probably Henry, means more minority turnout; high - Hughes because it means anti-incumbent, pro-GOP trend spread to municipal elections. Republicans seem more motivated but have not delivered a knockout blow to Henry. This race may come down to where a mistake in the last days may decide it. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

#### **Evansville Mayoral: Dems pump in money**

Indiana Democrats have pumped \$42,783.83 to Rick Davis's campaign and began running a TV that detailed Lloyd Winnecke's attendance in the homestead tax meeting in 2009 that essentially ended Mayor Jonanthan Weinzapfel's mayoral career. Indiana Democratic Party

Chair Dan Parker would not say how much money the production and airtime for the ads cost, only that they would continue through Election Day. "It's a last minute rally because Rick Davis has the ability to win this race," Parker said. Campaign finance reports released Friday by the Vanderburgh County Clerk revealed that as of Oct. 14, the Winnecke campaign had about \$137,000 more than Davis, who reported having \$4,776 on hand. By contrast the state Republican party has only given \$6,030.01 to Lloyd Winnecke, who reported \$658,000. "I remain extremely grateful for the outpouring of support my campaign has received from families in Evansville," said Winnecke. "It's not the total raised that's gratifying to me, but the number of individuals who are willing to support our effort. It's clear that residents are responding to our message of job creation and positive change." Informed and reliable sources tell HPI that given that Winnecke is ahead, but only slightly, quite a number of Republicans in Evansville are disappointed and concerned by the state party's lack of support to date. There has not been the level of support from Indianapolis donors (including state party) that one would normally expect. However, Gov. Daniels endorsed Winnecke, as did Fourth Ward City Councilwoman Connie Robinson, who is vice chair of the Vanderburgh County Democratic vice Party. "If you don't stand for something you could fall for anything," Robinson said Saturday. "I support Lloyd Winnecke for mayor." Horse Race Status: Tossup

#### Indianapolis Mayoral: Negative city

Democrats used a debate quote by Republican Mayor Greg Ballard, who talked about a "difficult population," in an ad running on African-American radio. The 60-second spot seizes on his use of the phrase "difficult population," uttered during the previous debate Oct. 15 while the mayor was describing the city's efforts to address high unemployment among racial minorities. The ad placed by the Marion County Democratic Party, not Kennedy's campaign - took his words out of context, Ballard said. After the debate, Kennedy declined to pressure her party to pull the ad and said she "can't speak for the mayor's comments." Democratic Party Executive Director Adam Kirsch said the party has no plans to stop running the ad. The dustup came at the start of an hour-long debate that frequently put the mayor on the defensive. Ballard responded with two radio ads: The first ad features four ministers who are representing themselves, not their churches. The second ad is done by Reginald Jones. He owns five "Faith and Blessed" McDonald's restaurants in the city and is the Co-Founder of the annual McMiracle on 38th Street event which provides bicycles to children in the community. As background, here is some information about the ministers in the radio ad. Pastor Richard Willoughby - Promise Land Christian Community Church, Past President of Concerned Clergy for 6 years, Democrat Precinct Committeeman for 17



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years, President of UNWA (neighborhood group); worked at General Motors and was elected as Union Representative and functioned as the Chairman of the Civil Rights Committee for GM. Rev. Mel Jackson – Westside Community Ministry, lifetime member of the NAACP and recipient of the Mozel Sanders Foundation "Above and Beyond" award. He has worked with the Indianapolis Housing Agency Board of Commissioners, The Midtown Advisory Board, Project Safe Neighborhood, Baptist Minister's Foresight Alliance of Indianapolis & Vicinity and the Dawn Project. In recent years, the Rev. Jackson has volunteered with Westside Communities Inc., where he works with the homeless and unemployed.

Indianapolis Star columnist Matt Tully blasted the Kennedy campaign, even as he made clear he will vote for her. The relentlessly negative and exaggerated television and radio ad campaign Kennedy has run -- so disheartening," Tully wrote on Wednesday. "For weeks, she has pummeled incumbent Mayor Greg Ballard, by all accounts a decent and honest man, with phony and unfair attack ads portraying him as everything from a corrupt fat cat politician to a reckless big spender eager to raise taxes. Meanwhile, she has sat back while the nasty and bullying leaders in the Marion County Democratic Party air radio ads on African-American stations suggesting, at the very least, racial insensitivity on Ballard's part, invoking an unwelcome dose of racial politics into the campaign. Finally, her campaign has needlessly dragged Deputy Mayor Michael Huber through the mud."

Gov. Daniels endorsed Ballard, then joined him for a 1,000-job announcement on Wednesday. U.S. Reps. Joe Donnelly and Andre Carson campaigned with Democrat Melina Kennedy on Saturday.

Where does this race stand? With Kennedy going negative almost all the time - and using the race card - Ballard has been mixing response ads with more positive messages. We hear from a number of sources that Ballard's internal polling shows him up and outside the margin of error. As for absentee balloting, the Democrats had only a slight advantage earlier this week. We're hearing the WISH-TV is not likely to poll, the Star wants to, but WTHR-TV won't poney up. So we're not likely to see any independent polling prior to the election. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

#### Muncie Mayoral: Tyler has big money lead

The campaign finance reports are in, and Muncie's two mayoral candidates have collectively raised more than a quarter-million dollars in their quest for City Hall (Muncie Star Press). Republican incumbent Sharon McShurley's report reflects her campaign had raised \$130,018 as of Oct. 15. Democratic challenger Dennis Tyler has an even larger campaign war chest, raising \$151,487 during the first nine-and-a-half months of the year. On the other side of the led-

ger, McShurley had spent \$85,175.50 so far this year, while the Tyler campaign had spent \$133,014.59. To put all this in perspective, both 2011 mayoral nominees have raised far more than McShurley -- then a virtual political unknown -- and her Democratic Party opponent James Mansfield raised in their 2007 race. Four years ago, McShurley had raised \$71,519 to this point, and Mansfield had collected \$69,281. The Muncie Fraternal Order of Police Lodge has endorsed Democrat Dennis Tyler in his race with Republican Mayor Sharon McShurley (Muncie Star Press). The announcement came Friday in a press conference at the FOP's eastside lodge. McShurley said Monday she was "not at all" surprised Tyler, a state representative and retired city firefighter, had won the organization's endorsement. Larry Robbins, president of Muncie FOP Lodge 87, said at a recent gathering of about two-thirds of city officers belonging to the lodge, the vote to endorse Tyler was unanimous. "Over the past four years we've seen an increase in crime and a decrease in the number of officers," the FOP said in a press release, adding that based on FBI statistics for 2009 -- the most recent year available -- Muncie's violent crime rate was "significantly higher than both the state and national average."

#### **Terre Haute Mayoral: Daniels for Duke**

Mayor Duke Bennett and Democrat challenger Fred Nation appealed for union support in the Nov. 8 election during a candidates night Monday, hosted by the Wabash Valley Central Labor Council and Sheet Metal Workers Local No. 20 (Terre Haute Tribune-Star). Nation emphasized the Democratic Party, saying he has the support of former one-term mayors Jim Jenkins, Judy Anderson and Kevin Burke. "We Democrats for the first time in anybody's memory are united," Nation said. "I don't if they [former mayors] agree on anything else, but they do agree I would be a good mayor for Terre Haute, and that is humbling and I appreciate that," Nation said. Nation and Bennett emphasized how they grew up in Terre Haute. Bennett said he has not always agreed with Gov. Mitch Daniels "on a lot of things." "What it is about is common sense and the right thing. I have always supported organized labor. I worked with organized labor at Hamilton Center. We did 41 building projects and all of them but one were done by organized labor. Always use union folks to do the work, because you get what you pay for, as I have said before; you get the best quality," Bennett said. Nation talked of his ties to Gov. Evan Bayh. "We stood tall for organized labor," Nation said, adding Bayh signed an executive order for seven years for collective bargaining for state employees. That order was rescinded under Gov. Mitch Daniels, Nation said. "I pledge to you as a prospective mayor that I will stand with you on issues important to you. I think right-to-work is wrong and I pledge to you that in this legislature next year I will be



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he said. Gov. Daniels has cut a radio ad for Bennett. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Bennett

#### Mishawaka Mayoral: Fry mailer backfires

Mishawaka residents received mailings from the Indiana Democratic Party alleging current Mayor Dave Wood hired a child molester and then didn't fire the employee fast enough. It all stems from an incident involving former city employee Andrew West. Back in June, West molested two 15-year-old girls at City Hall. He has since pleaded guilty to the charges. Republican Mayor Dave Wood disputes the claims, saying West was hired while Jeff Rea was still mayor. Wood also disputes the dates cited in the flyer, saying West was put on unpaid administrative leave immediately after the charges came to light. Wood is seeking re-election, and during a Friday press conference he called the mailing was "untrue, unfair and mean spirited." Democratic opponent Craig Fry insists that everything in the mailing is true, and also claims the 11 day investigation took too long.

Fry says that a poorly educated population is a "bad sign" for companies that would consider locating here (Dits, South Bend Tribune). The Democrat is using that point to back an unusual proposal. If elected Nov. 8, he said he'd take money that typically pays for economic redevelopment and use it to provide preschool for every 4-year-old in the city, along with other new school programs. The money is TIF, or tax incremental financing, that has been the focus of several stories in The Tribune this year. Across Indiana, it historically has been used for capital projects — physical things like streets, buildings and parks — to spur private development in TIF districts. Fry proposes using 10 percent of the city's TIF income, which would go for the salaries and operations that would run the school programs. These would stretch across the city, going outside of the boundaries of the city's two TIF districts. Mishawaka's TIF districts generated about \$24 million last year. Fry also proposes shrinking the districts. His Republican opponent, incumbent Mayor Dave Wood, said he wouldn't make these changes. Wood plans to keep using TIF the way the city always has, building infrastructure like Beutter Park and the Main Street underpass. "I'm a mayor; I'm not a school superintendent," Wood also said. "There are 22 departments in the city, and education is not one of them."

Where does this race stand? Local sources tell HPI that the molester mailer is backfiring. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Wood

#### **Anderson Mayoral: Candidates debate**

Republican mayoral candidate Kevin Smith took a definitive stance against Mayor Kris Ockomon Thursday night over whether The Farm baseball complex should be built next to I-69 (Anderson Herald-Bulletin). The issue was brought up during questioning at Thursday night's mayoral debate sponsored by the League of Women Voters of Anderson at the city building. Smith said the proposed Farm complex will take away valuable commercial property near exit 26 on I-69 on Anderson's south side. "From a job development standpoint, the more frontage space we take away along the interstate, the less likely we will solve our long-term problems," Smith said. Add to the mix that Ivy Tech is to build new facilities near exit 26 and "you can take that exit out of the possibility" for bringing new business to the city, Smith said. Ockomon countered by saying that The Farm will increase revenue for Anderson businesses and make the area destination point for visitors. He said his daughter was able to get a full-ride softball scholarship at Evansville through facilities like The Farm. Horse Race Status: Leans Ockomon

#### Portage Mayoral: Pedco wants money back

After initially defending a \$500 contribution to Mayor Olga Velazquez, the Portage Economic Development Corp. has decided to ask for the money back (NWI Times). PEDCO Executive Director Bert Cook said the group decided not to exercise its right to lobby with up to 20 percent of its annual expenditures and will amend its bylaws to prohibit that type of activity in the future. "We never did it in the past and don't want to do it in the future," he said. If PEDCO, as a nonprofit organization, would exercise its lobbying rights, it would have to pay excise tax on the money spent for that purpose, Cook said. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

#### Jeffersonville Mayoral: Marshall quits

Jeffersonville Mayor Tom Galligan acknowledged that he'd been working with Mike Marshall for the last eight months. He said he knew his family and that he had campaign experience working in the re-election campaign of Rep. Terry Goodin, a Democrat, and one of Southern Indiana's state house representatives (News & Tribune). Marshall was one of several people that Galligan personally thanked during his victory speech on primary night in May. According to the latest campaign finance reports, filed Friday, Galligan's campaign paid Marshall's business, North Vernon-based At Your Service Co., more than \$52,710.23 through the year — almost a third of the campaign's total expenditures. "He was in charge of getting out the vote," Galligan said. When asked to elaborate on what those duties entailed, he referred questions to campaign manager Phil McCauley. McCauley said Marshall supervised a staff of about five people who would solicit eligible voters to vote by absentee ballot. Marshall and staff also made phone calls on Galligan's behalf, McCauley said. McCauley said he had not heard about the indictment until a reporter called him about Friday afternoon. "It's a stunner," he said. He



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called Marshall and read him media coverage of the indictments over the phone. "He offered me his resignation on the spot," McCauley said. "The reason we got Mike Marshall involved was because we thought he was squeaky clean. We wanted everything 100 percent clean," McCauley said. **Horse Race Status:** Tossup

#### **U.S. Senate: Endorsements come, go**

The re-election campaign of U.S. Sen. Dick Lugar announced the recent endorsement of Sullivan County GOP Chair Bill Springer. On Oct. 15, Lugar addressed the Sullivan County GOP at its annual Fall Pachyderm Dinner. At the conclusion of the dinner, Springer, who initially supported the campaign of Treasurer Richard Mourdock, announced his endorsement of Lugar. "Tonight, I'm going to withdraw my support for Richard Mourdock for Senate," said Springer. "Tonight, I'm going to go back to where I belong with Senator Lugar." Springer also recalled Lugar's assistance in making the Chaney Street railroad crossing safer which has resulted in additional jobs at a nearby business and has saved lives. "Senator Lugar got the money for that crossing. To my knowledge it has been 15 years, and not one person that I know of has been killed at the crossing since. Senator Lugar got that crossing fixed, and the factory by the crossing has hired hundreds more people because the crossing has been fixed." "There are significant challenges facing our country and we must succeed as a nation apart from a campaign," said Lugar.

"I'm excited about meeting those challenges, and I am thankful for the support of Chairman Springer as I advocate for specific plans to create jobs and cut federal spending." Lugar was introduced as the keynote speaker by Rep. Bruce Borders, former Mayor of Jasonville. "When I first ran for Mayor of Jasonville, I was told that Jasonville was not winnable for a Republican as a Republican had not been elected in 48 years. I remember that Senator Lugar reached out and offered to do a radio ad and a newspaper ad. I still have those ads at home in a scrapbook. I won that race by 8 votes the first time and over 70% the second time. Had I not been Mayor, I would not have become a State Rep. later in John Gregg's old district. Senator Lugar had a hand in making all of that possible," said Borders.

The Indianapolis Star reported that the Lugar campaign received a \$1,000 check from Colts quarterback Peyton Manning. Besides Manning's contribution, Colts owners Jim and Meg Irsay have given \$2,500 each to Lugar. Colts President Bill Polian has given \$945.

Mourdock won the endorsement of FreedomWorks, according to a news release sent Friday from the tea party-aligned national group (Indianapolis Star). "I am grateful to receive the endorsement and support of (the) Freedom-Works PAC in my efforts to unseat six-term incumbent Senator Dick Lugar," Mourdock said in a prepared state-

ment. "For over 25 years, FreedomWorks has been leading the grass-roots charge with hundreds of thousands of volunteers across the country advocating the need for lower taxes and less government." FreedomWorks cited support for Mourdock coming from "Lee County." Perhaps it will be from the 12 Lee counties around the U.S. where Mourdock will get his anonymous funding since he hasn't been able to get traction in his own state. **Horse Race Status:** Leans Lugar

#### 9th CD: Winningham running

A former employee of Lee Hamilton, who represented Indiana's 9th Congressional District for more than 30 years, has declared his intention to run for the seat in next year's Democratic primary (Louisville Courier-Journal). "We need a centrist Democrat" in the 9th District, Robert Winningham, 50, said in a telephone interview Monday. He said he believes Todd Young, the Republican incumbent, is too extreme for most 9th District voters, adding that he believes support has waned for the tea party movement, which was a factor in Young's victory last year over incumbent Democrat Baron Hill. Young's spokesman, Trevor Foughty, said the incumbent "is focused on working with both Republicans and Democrats to get our economy moving again so that jobs can be created for Hoosiers." Retired Air Force Brig. Gen. Jonathan George, who also has declared his candidacy in the Democratic primary, didn't return a call seeking comment. Winningham said he was Hamilton's campaign media director in 1992 and afterward was his assistant for community development. In that role, Winningham said, he worked for Hamilton on privatizing the Indiana Army Ammunition Plant, now the site of the River Ridge Commerce Center. He also worked on the creation of Charlestown State Park and other projects, Winningham said. After Hamilton announced his retirement from Congress in 1998, Winningham said he moved to Dallas to help care for his parents, who have since died.

#### **Governor: Rupert joins the race**

Rupert Boneham won over TV viewers during 2004's "Survivor: All-Stars" – earning a nifty \$1 million as the overwhelming choice for fan favorite (Associated Press). Now the bushy-bearded, tie-dye-wearing Boneham is hoping Indiana voters will find him just as charming. Boneham, 47, announced Saturday that he's seeking the Libertarian Party nomination for Indiana governor, saying he wants to take on the state's political establishment because he feels voters deserve better. At a news conference in Indianapolis, Boneham said he's the best candidate because he's "not beholden to any special interests." \*



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# Butch Morgan says 'I had no clue'

#### **By JACK COLWELL**

SOUTH BEND - "I had no clue," Butch Morgan says of the petition forgery scandal that brought his resignation as St. Joseph County Democratic chairman. In telephone conversations, likely to bring the wrath of his attorney for talking with a reporter, Morgan said he never ordered or knew of forgeries on the petitions for the 2008 presidential primary or for any other election.

"It's not that hard to get signatures," Morgan said



of the required 500 signers in each congressional district. So, he said, even if some chairman was inclined to violate the law with forgery, it would be unnecessary to take such a risk.

But forgeries there were. The Tribune and Howey Politics Indiana documented signature forgeries on petitions in St. Joseph County to place the names of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton on the ballot for the '08 Democratic

presidential primary.

Morgan found his own signature was forged three times on the petitions. He said his name was printed out twice as "Owen B. Morgan," apparently by someone thinking that "Butch" is his middle name, not just a nickname. His formal name is "Owen D. Morgan." He jokes that the "D" stands for Democrat.

A headline on page 1 of The Tribune on Sunday, Oct. 16, "Vote worker tied to fake petitions," and the accompanying article made Morgan's resignation as county and 2nd Congressional District chairman inevitable.

Democratic insiders saw that the story is about a trusted aide in the chairman's organization.

**Before that, the word in Democratic** circles was that the allegations were just the work of a revenge-seeking voter registration worker fired by Morgan and of some others miffed over a city council primary race last May. Suddenly, the scope was wider, with documentation of more fake signatures. And someone close to Morgan was named.

That night, state Democratic Chairman Dan Parker called Morgan with advice to resign.

Parker, who described Morgan as "a dear friend" going back to days when they were instrumental in the election success of Evan Bayh, said it was for him a terrible call.

"I was not the Lone Ranger," Parker said. He was speaking also for 2nd District Congressman Joe Donnelly, who will be the Democratic nominee for the Senate next year, and Pete Buttigieg, who will be elected mayor of South Bend on Nov. 8, and other party leaders.

**They all knew by then, Parker** said, that the petition scandal was real, serious and a major distraction harmful to party efforts. They weren't suggesting that Morgan was guilty of anything, except perhaps misplaced trust in some party workers.

Parker said Morgan readily agreed "to put the party first" and step aside, even though knowing that in public perception resignation means guilt. Confusion arose Monday night, when the resignation was to be announced. Backers of Morgan sought delay, urging that he instead take a leave of absence. Parker and Morgan both say that Morgan never wavered from the decision to resign. He did, officially, later that night.

The state chairman as well as Donnelly and Buttigieg and other party leaders knew the resignation of Morgan actually could cause more rather than less turmoil for the party. What if there was a battle between factions and hostile personalities over the chairmanships? They had to find possible, plausible replacements.

State Sen. John Broden, a respected state legislator who gets along with various factions of the party, agreed to run for county chairman. Democratic precinct committee persons will make the choice, likely picking Broden.

Mike Schmuhl, campaign manager for Buttigieg and also manager for Donnelly's 2010 congressional win, agreed to run for district chairman. Chairmen and vice chairmen from counties in the district will make that choice, likely picking Schmuhl.

There will be a criminal investigation of the many forgeries. Even Prosecutor Mike Dvorak's signature was forged. Not really smart. Whether Morgan played any role in forgery will be part of the investigation. That's why his attorney ordered him to say nothing. And he was careful to refrain from naming names of others or voicing his suspicions.

Morgan said he never heard any suggestion of forgeries until Parker called a few weeks ago to say Howey Politics was asking about the '08 petitions. "Before this is over," he said, "I'll hear that I was at the grassy knoll in Dallas in November of '63."

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



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#### The end of the Iraq end

#### By BRIAN A. HOWEY

NASHVILLE, Ind. - President Obama announced last week that U.S. troops will be leaving Iraq by year's end.

Thank God.

Whether it's the 4,400 Americans who lost their lives – including more than 70 Hoosiers – the 30,000 who were injured, many losing limbs or parts of their brains, the Iraq War was a policy disaster. We went in, ostensibly, to deter Saddam Hussein from developing weapons of mass destruction that didn't exist. We heard President George W. Bush use Michael Gerson's words on Oct. 7, 2002: "Facing



clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof – the smoking gun – that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud. ... Understanding the threats of our time, knowing the designs and deceptions of the Iraqi regime, we have every reason to assume the worst, and we have an urgent duty to prevent the worst from occurring."

The "mushroom cloud" quote was used by Secretary of State

Condoleezza Rice and Vice President Richard Cheney and it was instrumental in selling the American people this deadly lie. We don't elect presidents to assume anything when it comes to decisions of war.

On Friday, Obama explained, "As a candidate for President, I pledged to bring the war in Iraq to a responsible end – for the sake of our national security and to strengthen American leadership around the world. After taking office, I announced a new strategy that would end our combat mission in Iraq and remove all of our troops by the end of 2011. As Commander-in-Chief, ensuring the success of this strategy has been one of my highest national security priorities."

Obama continued, "Last year, I announced the end to our combat mission in Iraq. And to date, we've removed more than 100,000 troops. Iraqis have taken full responsibility for their country's security. A few hours ago I spoke with Iraqi Prime Minister Maliki. I reaffirmed that the United States keeps its commitments. He spoke of the determination of the Iraqi people to forge their own future. We are in full agreement about how to move forward. So today, I can report that, as promised, the rest of our troops in Iraq will come home by the end of the year. After nearly nine years, America's war in Iraq will be over. Over the next two months, our troops in Iraq – tens of thousands of them – will pack up their gear and board convoys for the journey

home. The last American soldier(s) will cross the border out of Iraq with their heads held high, proud of their success, and knowing that the American people stand united in our support for our troops. That is how America's military efforts in Iraq will end."

The announcement did not prompt a single press release or comment from the Hoosier delegation.

The irony here is that former Vice President Cheney charged Obama with a "rush for the exit," adding, "I've got a problem with it." What about that rush to the entrance and the malfeasance the Bush-Cheney team used to take circumstantial intelligence and use it to get the war drums beating?

Then there was U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) who charged that Obama policy on "Iraq and Afghanistan is being run out of Chicago, not Washington, in terms of decisions." Graham added, "I think in the last year he has made some poor, dangerous foreign policy decisions at the strategic level when it comes to Iraq. When your military commander, whom I trust, says you need 15,000 to 18,000 in 2012 to secure the gains we have fought for and you have zero and you celebrate that, that's pretty disappointing."

The riveting events of 2011 amplify this ignominious fool's errand.

**We've watched the Arab Spring** topple dictators and despots from Tunisia to Egypt, with Syria's Bashar Assad teetering in a deadly civil war. With Qaddafi dead in Libya, that same fate could have taken out Saddam.

We've watched the Kurds in southeastern Turkey work to destabilize that vital ally from across the Iraq frontier. We've watched the true nuclear threats – Iran and Pakistan – become more antagonistic, with Iran's sphere of influence spreading west into Iraq. In the case of Iran, apparently the United States and Israel have had considerable success in battling that rogue nuclear program with computer viruses instead of young Americans.

And we've watched the U.S. budget deficits balloon to \$1.3 trillion. Now considering that the Afghanistan and Iraq missions have cost taxpayers more than \$1 trillion, it's no wonder we face the budget dilemmas that have Gov. Daniels warning us of the new "Red Menace."

Just like the Vietnam War did a generation ago, another casualty is the average American's faith in their own government.

The New York Times/CBS Poll released on Wednesday revealed "Americans' distrust of government is at its highest level ever." Not only do 89 percent of Americans say they distrust government to do the right thing, but 74 percent say the country is on the wrong track and 84 percent disapprove of Congress – warnings for Democrats and Republicans alike. You can almost certainly trace this distrust to the decisions made a decade ago.



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If Obama has made unfortunate decisions when it comes to these ground wars, it was to continue the Afghanistan war. Afghan President Hamid Karzai said last week, "If fighting starts between Pakistan and the U.S., we are beside Pakistan. If Pakistan is attacked and the people of Pakistan need Afghanistan's help, Afghanistan will be there with you."

**I lost a neighbor – 27-year-old Marine** Sgt. Jeremy McQueary – to a roadside bomb in Helmand Province in 2009. Karzai's quote is an infuriating outrage to the ultimate sacrifice Americans like Sgt. McQueary made.

When it comes to protecting our interests, we have loyal allies like Kuwait where we can keep an eye on the Persian Gulf. We have Predator drones which can track down terrorists. We have CIA agents with suitcases full of millions of dollars who can buy the warlord intel we need in the Land of the Death of Empires. We have computer geeks who can send Iran's centrifuges wobbling.

Whether you agree with him or not on an array of other issues, we have a president who didn't lie to his people, and who made the right call in Iraq, and hopefully another one coming on Afghanistan. •

# Voter turnout key to the future

#### By MORTON J. MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS - The elections of 2011 are just ahead. Voter turnout, if the past is any guide, will be lower than in the General Election of 2010 and lower still than in the Presidential Election of 2008.

Yet these elections for local officials, including



mayors of our cities, are vital for the future of our communities and our state. In today's world there is almost no valid reason for our statewide voter participation rate to be only 41 percent of registered voters as in 2010. (Note: voter turnout percentages are poor numbers. Registered voters is a bad denominator, but the best available number. Typically, county clerks do not have the resources to purge registration lists to eliminate the deceased and otherwise departed.

The turnout rates are even lower if

either the eligible or population figures are used. Eligible voters are those who are legally allowed to register from the population 18 and older.)

Failure to vote should be understood as an unpatriotic act detrimental to the common good. With so many social and economic questions being decided in the chambers of government, it is necessary for citizens to direct the course of events through voting.

**This is not a call for massive** numbers of referendums to be placed before the electorate as in California. It does require that we pay attention to our representative government at the local, state and national levels. As the voter turnout rate declines, government becomes less rep-

resentative and more subject to the whims of impassioned, often uninformed, special interest minorities.

Recent studies show elderly and middle class homeowners tend to dominate the field as voters. Does this bode well for our economy? It may mean that government will become less involved with the future and more concerned with maintaining the status quo.

**Of course, citizens who spend** their time devoted to social networks may not care about the future. Facebook users generally do not post notices of their infrastructure concerns. The needs of our communities will likely be ignored while our economy is allowed to deteriorate.

Disengaged, non-voting citizens may be either satisfied with things as they are or disenchanted with the prospects for meaningful change. In either case they play into the hands of political parties that continue to nominate the ineffectual, the hacks, and the polarized. (That broadside is unfair to the too few competent candidates who stand for office.)

Our Hoosier economy does not need much more assistance from government. We already have a workable tax structure and a good regulatory foundation. What we do require is leadership more interested in the future than in reviving a past that either never existed or has been long defunct.

**Instead of pandering** to the moneyed or loudest sources, today's leadership needs to focus on more efficient cities, not the restoration of the central city and older neighborhoods for sentimental reasons. Tomorrow's leadership should support efficient technological advances and oppose subsidies for inefficient products and services.

Most of all, our elected local leaders need to establish open, honest communication with the public. If politicians find the public indifferent to or ignorant of the subtleties surrounding major issues, we never can have democratic institutions work effectively.

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



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George Will, Washington Post: George Will, Washington Post: Richard Mourdock, a Republican and Indiana's treasurer, wants to wrest his party's U.S. Senate nomination from a six-term incumbent who has been a national figure since becoming mayor of this city in 1968 at age 35, who has averaged 69 percent of the vote in five reelections and who ran unopposed by a Democrat in 2006. When Richard Lugar, an Eagle Scout and Rhodes scholar, was a naval ensign, he briefed Dwight Eisenhower. That was 10 presidents ago, which may be a problem for Lugar in an era of pandemic disparagement of the political class. So Mourdock will try to defeat Lugar with wounding praise: Lugar is a great chapter of Indiana history, but elections are arguments about the future. And the good luck of two of Lugar's colleagues is Lugar's misfortune and Mourdock's opportunity. Some national conservative groups that relish intraparty fights had hoped to fund primary challenges to Utah Sen. Orrin Hatch (another six-termer), Maine Sen. Olympia Snowe and Lugar. But the strongest potential challenger to Hatch opted not [ to run, and no strong challenger to Snowe has emerged, so the conservatives' restless energies Indiana may be focused on Lugar. It is not clear why. Congressional Quarterly, assessing 760 votes over the eight Reagan years, said Lugar supported the president 88 percent of the time — more than any other senator. Yes, Lugar voted for Barack Obama's two Supreme Court nominees, but there is a conservative case to be made (conservatives make it when they have the presidency) for deference as the default position regarding presidents' judicial choices. Yes, Lugar voted for the New START treaty, but all living Republican exsecretaries of state supported it, including George Shultz, who served Ronald Reagan. Shultz has endorsed Lugar ("Reagan relied on him"). Lugar has cast almost 13,000 Senate votes, so everyone has something about which to complain, and almost every conservative particularly dislikes one vote, that for the Troubled Assets Relief Program. The political center — of the nation and the GOP — has moved rightward since Lugar became a senator in 1977, and in 2010 the American Conservative Union rated Lugar the fifth most liberal Republican senator, and the National Journal ranked him the fourth. This, even though he opposed the stimulus, cap-and-trade (Indiana is a coal state), Obamacare and Dodd-Frank, is pro-life and has voted eight times for a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution. Mourdock, however, earned the admiration of national conservatives, and of people who are partial to the rule of law, when he rightly, if unsuccessfully, contested in court the terms of Obama's Chrysler bailout. Indiana's pension funds for teachers and state police were among Chrysler's secured creditors. It had been settled law that such creditors are first in line to be paid in the event of bankruptcy.

But in the Chrysler case, secured creditors received less per dollar than an unsecured creditor, the United Auto Workers. Lugar's courtliness and Midwestern aversion to rhetorical flamboyance do not match this moment of fevered politics. So this race will take the temperature of a fundamentally temperate state that Obama carried in 2008 by a waferthin margin (28,391 votes). In what may be Lugar's principal vulnerability, some Hoosiers think that with his many foreign policy interests — he has been, and could again be, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee — he has neglected Indiana: The day Mourdock announced his challenge, a large majority of the 92 Republican county chairmen endorsed him. •

#### Mizell Stewart III, Evansville Courier &

**Press:** The small white signs line the streets, a constant reminder of the sacrifices America's sons and daughters

made in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Each is about one foot square and includes the name of a serviceman or woman and the image of a yellow ribbon. Wednesday wasn't the first time I've come across such a poignant and patriotic display, but it was the first time I realized that in all of my travels, I've only seen those signs in places like Olney—smaller communities where military service is

often one of the only options for young people seeking a ticket to a career. Our wars have been fought by volunteers ever since the peacetime military draft was ended in 1973. In addition, more of those volunteers come from small-town America. A disproportionate number of enlisted personnel in the Army, for example, come from rural and suburban areas and fewer from urban areas, according to Pentagon statistics. Not only have the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan had a disproportionate effect on communities such as Olney, two social science researchers have concluded that our nation's failure to follow a doctrine of shared sacrifice before going to war placed an unfair burden on those who volunteered to serve. Lawrence J. Korb, a senior fellow for the Center for American Progress and David R. Segal, Director of the Center for Research on Military Organization at the University of Maryland, argue the failure to activate the Selective Service — i.e. the draft — was an abdication of both civilian and military responsibility. "As a result of waging these two large ground wars which required the deployment of about 200,000 troops to Iraq and Afghanistan on a continuous basis from 2003 to 2009, the civilian and military leaders overstretched and abused the active and reserve components of the all-volunteer force, particularly the ground forces," Korb and Segal wrote in the summer edition of Daedalus. "Not only did this overextension undermine the readiness of the Army and Marines, but it was a moral outrage perpetrated against the troops and their families. .



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### CBO says the rich are getting richer

WASHINGTON -- The richest 1 percent of Americans have been getting far richer over the last three decades while the middle class and poor have seen their after-tax household income only crawl up in comparison, according to a government study. After-tax income for the top 1 percent

of U.S. households almost tripled, up 275 percent, from 1979 to 2007, the Congressional Budget Office found. For



people in the middle of the economic scale, after-tax income grew by just 40 percent. Those at the bottom experienced an 18 percent increase. "The distribution of after-tax income in the United States was substantially more unequal in 2007 than in 1979," CBO Director Doug Elmendorf said in a blog post. "The share of income accruing to higher-income households increased, whereas the share accruing to other households declined." The report, based on IRS and Census Bureau data, comes as the Occupy Wall Street movement protests corporate bailouts and the gap between the haves and have-nots. The report also found: -- The top 20 percent of the population earned 53 percent of after-tax income in 2007, as opposed to 43 percent in 1979. -- The top 1 percent reaped a 17 percent share of all income, up from 8 percent in 1979. -- The bottom 20 percent reaped just 5 percent of after-tax income, versus 7 percent in 1979.

## Right to Work passes panel

INDIANAPOLIS - A Republican legislative vote Wednesday in favor of

a contentious union law could signal another Statehouse protest similar to this year when House Democrats boycotted for five weeks (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). An interim study committee on employment voted 5-4 along party lines in support of recommending right-to-work legislation to the full General Assembly. House Democratic leader Patrick Bauer of South Bend sent an immediate warning after the vote in a written statement. "Despite ample evidence presented in several hearings that right to work does not bring additional jobs to a state, but does lower wages and make workplaces more dangerous, it appears that the party in control of our state government is hellbent on bringing this ruinous policy to Indiana," he said. "If they choose to continue these radical attacks on working Hoosier families, Indiana House Democrats will reserve the right to respond appropriately." The Democratic caucus' options are more limited though. As a result of last year's walkout, the Republicans passed a new anti-bolting law that would up the stakes for Democrats looking to break a guorum and halt legislative business. In addition to daily fines from the House – which built to about \$3,000 a member this year - the new law calls for nearly automatic civil fines of \$1,000 a day for breaking quorum in any way that prevents the legislature from taking action. Sen. Karen Tallian, D-Portage, called the legislative effort a solution to a problem that doesn't exist, noting Indiana's high ranking in business climate. "We all know what this is - it's a big stick to bust unions," she said. Rep. Gerald Torr, R-Carmel, said this is about reducing costs for businesses to operate in Indiana. But he denied it would lower Hoosier wages, as opponents claim. "This is not about busting unions. This is about attracting jobs to Indiana for tens of thousands of unemployed Hoosiers," he said. State Rep. Mike Karickhoff sidestepped questions about the

re-emergence of a "right to work" measure in the upcoming legislative session, saying he's unsure whether the measure will progress (Kokomo Tribune). "But I don't think it's the fines that would keep [the Democrats] in session," Karickhoff said. "I think recognizing public sentiment is not in their favor will be more of a factor."

### Economy perks up at 2.5% pace

WASHINGTON - The U.S. economy grew modestly over the summer after nearly stalling in the first six months of the year, lifted by stronger consumer spending and greater business investment. The Commerce Department says the economy expanded at an annual rate of 2.5 percent in the July-September quarter. That's nearly double the 1.3 percent growth in the April-June quarter, and a vast improvement over the anemic 0.9 percent growth for the entire first half of the year. While 2.5 percent growth is enough to ease recession fears, it's far below what's needed to lower painfully high unemployment. Analysts project similar growth for the October-December guarter.

#### Stutzman lauds GM investment

FORT WAYNE - following
General Motors' announcement of a
\$275 million investment in their Fort
Wayne plant, Congressman Stutzman
(IN-03) issued the following statement: "Northeast Indiana is open for
business. GM has made an important
investment in their future and the
future of our community. This decision will create new opportunities. The
company's relationship with Northeast
Indiana goes back to 1986 and is
strong today. Today's announcement
will create or retain 150 jobs. That's



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great news."

### Coats sees no 'quick fix' on jobs

MUNSTER - U.S. Sen. Dan Coats said a "cloud of uncertainty" is keeping business owners from hiring new employees -- even when they have funds available. "It is a state decision but ... I would view it as a priority based on the density and concentration of the transportation system up here." "He should be close by the oval office." "I think it will be Mitt Romney. ... I haven't endorsed anyone yet. I'm still in my-man-Mitch remorse (because Gov. Mitch Daniels will not be running for president in 2012)." Coats, R-Ind., said business leaders told him they won't hire until they know what will happen with health care costs and corporate taxes. The senator met with The Times Editorial Board on Wednesday. "I don't have a silver bullet or a magic wand," Coats said. "I don't believe there's a quick fix."

### Muncie cuts power to occupy protest

MUNCIE - Officials in a central Indiana county have cut off electrical outlets that anti-Wall Street protesters had been using during their weeklong encampment outside the county government building. Occupy Muncie protesters found the outlets cut off Wednesday evening.

### Rahm taking on unions

CHICAGO - Mayor Rahm Emanuel has ridiculed the practice of paying Chicago's heavy equipment operators overtime just to get ready for work (NWI Times). He's invited private haulers to square off against city recy-

cling crews to see who does a better, cheaper job. And he's blamed unions' unwillingness to cut costs for his decision to lay off hundreds of employees. Now the mayor's hand-picked transit chief is calling out union members for getting paid days off for the anniversary of landing their jobs. The refrain is familiar as mayors and governors across the country criticize organized labor in trying to solve their daunting budget problems. In Chicago, though, it's not a Republican governor taking that stand. It's a Democratic mayor in this most Democratic of cities, where for generations unions kept a stranglehold on jobs -- from erecting the tallest of buildings to hammering every nail at a trade show -- and the party's political machine kept mayors in office.

### Newspaper nods shift to the left

WASHINGTON - After overwhelmingly endorsing Republican presidential candidates from the 1970s into the late '80s, the United States's daily newspapers have shifted editorial support in the past 20 years to Democratic candidates, a new study shows (Politico). According to numbers crunched by The New York Times gleaned from Editor & Publisher and George Washington University, Democratic candidates have received a majority of daily fish-wrap endorsements in three of the past five presidential elections — Bob Dole and George W. Bush each garnered about 60 percent of editorial board nods in 1996 and 2000. Barack Obama had the most sweeping newspaper endorsement win (64 percent) since Republican endorsement domination ended in 1992. Bill Clinton broke the GOP winning streak by grabbing 57 percent of papers' support in that election. John Kerry took 51 percent of papers' nods in 2004 to 49 percent for George W. Bush. An independent candidate

hasn't garnered press support since 2000, when Ralph Nader took nearly 3 percent of the popular vote. Older results show striking support for GOP candidates. In 1972 (Richard Nixon vs. George McGovern), Nixon took 93 percent of endorsements. His successor, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush all enjoyed strong endorsement majorities in subsequent elections with 70 percent of newspapers' support or more.

### Feds back I-69 in Monroe County

BLOOMINGTON - A federal highway administrator says no one can stop the state from building a hotly debated section of the Interstate 69 extension in southern Indiana without using federal money. A Bloomington-Monroe County planning committee has withheld its support for a planned stretch of the highway linking up with Indiana 37 near Bloomington.

### Inmates visit their man Mitch

INDIANAPOLIS - Governor Mitch Daniels hosted a reception in his office this afternoon. That by itself is not unusual, but today's quest list was out of the ordinary. Most of the people on it were prison inmates (WISH-TV). One by one they filed into the governor's office, residents of a work release center dressed in their Sunday best. They earned the invitation by stripping and resurfacing all of the woodwork in the historic office, a job completed over a two week period while the governor was on his book tour. The governor told them, "You did the taxpayers of Indiana an incredible favor." Oak trim that had been antiqued decades ago was restored.