

Political Report

V13 N16

Weekly Briefing on Indiana Politics

Thursday, Nov 30, 2006

Lugar exits chair amid Iraq chaos

Senator refused to follow Fulbright

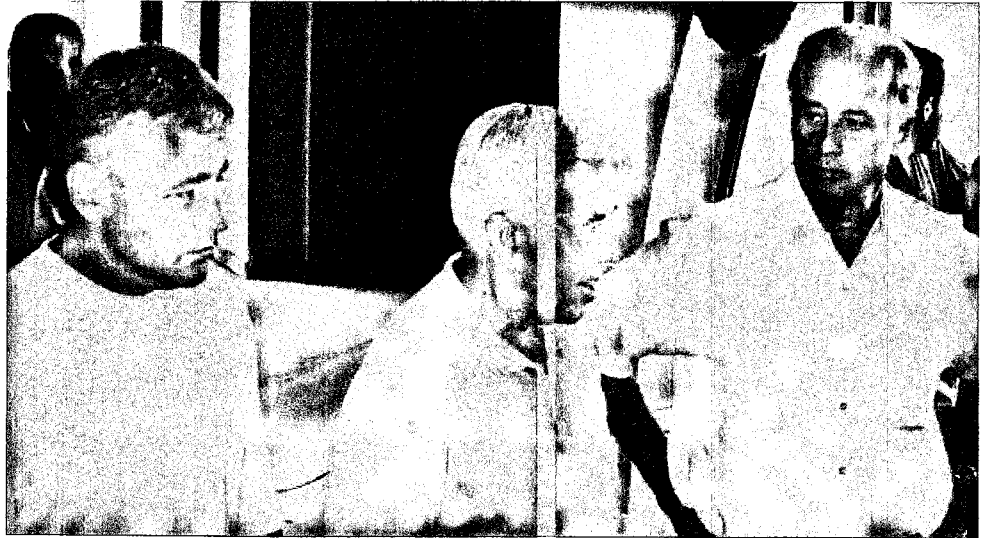
"In a democracy, dissent is an act of faith."

- Sen. J. William Fulbright

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS - A month ago, before the American election, Iraq was a war we were "winning" according to U.S. Rep. Mike Pence. Democrats wanted to "cut and run," according to President Bush, who cited the "tremendous job" of Vice President Cheney and Defense Secretary Rumsfeld. Cheney talked about going "full speed ahead." Since then, it has been one dire revelation after another as Iraq disintegrates into what New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman calls not a civil war, not the "Arab Yugosloslavia," but a "Hobbes's jungle."

British Prime Minister Tony Blair agreed with an al Jazeera question that Iraq had become "a disaster." Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said victory is "impossible." Colin Powell calls it a "civil war."



This comes as the man Hoosiers and many Americans see as a guiding light, U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, departs as



U.S. Sens. Chuck Hagel, Richard Lugar and Joe Biden in Iraq (above), and (left) Sen. J. William Fulbright.

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Propagating economic fools

By MORTON J. MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS - This is the best time of the year. Thanksgiving is over and the signs of Christmas have yet to bore us. All the truly crazy people have identified themselves by shopping on the days immediately following Thanksgiving. New and old ideas are blossoming for consideration by the Indiana General Assembly.

Gov. Daniels has given us the Commerce Connector, a nifty addition to our highway road map. This would be a new outer loop around India-

See page 2



“QUOTE of the Week”



“This afternoon, we reached a consensus and we will announce that on Dec. 6.”

- Former Indiana congressman Lee Hamilton of the Iraq Study Group, on Wednesday

napolis, serving Greenfield, Shelbyville, Franklin, and Martinsville. Only it would not be a full loop since its northern and western sides are missing. Noblesville, Carmel, Lebanon, and Danville would be excluded. Why? We don't know. The Indiana Department of Transportation (INDOT) is probably studying it, but why doesn't their web site indicate that they are doing so?

As seems to be the pattern, the Governor's office comes up with intriguing ideas but inadequate information to help the public judge the wisdom of the proposal. Where are the studies that support the Commerce Connector? How can we agree that this is better than a fixed rail system that the "public transit" advocates seek to relieve congestion? How do we answer the questions raised in Ft. Wayne, Terre Haute and Lake County about their favorite road projects?

The Governor also announced that I-69 would not be a toll road. No doubt this is a politically popular decision. However, I would prefer all interstate quality roads to be supported by tolls, but I'm not standing for office.

Then there is the often-offered idea of some Democrats that we should eliminate the sales tax on gasoline. Why? To make unnecessary and inefficient driving less costly? To help pollute our cities even more? Where will the funds come from to replace this revenue in the state's coffers? This is just another legislative balloon releasing gas over the Hoosier countryside.

At the same time, the Governor wants to increase the tax on cigarettes and use the money to help pay for the insurance of the uninsured. Sounds good, except that we have no means of checking his arithmetic. And is

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The Howey Political Report is published by NewsLink Inc. It was founded in 1994.

Brian A. Howey, Publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington Writer
Mark Curry, Washington Writer
Jack E. Howey, Editor

Subscriptions:
 \$350 annually HPR via e-mail;
 \$550 annually HPR & HPR Daily Wire.
 Call 317-254-0535.

The Howey Political Report
 PO Box 40265
 Indianapolis, IN 46240-0265.

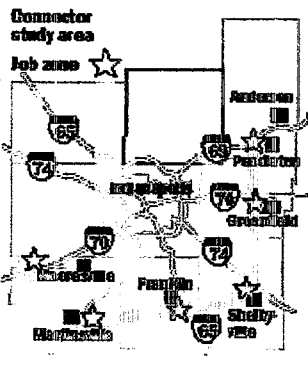
www.howeypolitics.com
 BrianHowey@howeypolitics.com

Indianapolis Office: 317-506-0883.
 Indianapolis Fax: 317-254-0535.
 Washington, DC Office: 202-256-5822.
 Business Office: 317-254-0535.

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Commerce Connector

Path of a proposed 75-mile tollway that would run from Interstate 69 northeast of Indianapolis east and south of the city to link up with Interstate 70.



our goal insurance or is it health care for the uninsured poor? Let's stop worrying about the uninsured and start thinking about the under-served.

While we are at it, what happened to our collective guilt concerning the excess consumption of enjoyable, but unhealthy, foods? A higher tax on cigarettes, YES. But let's also have a higher tax on potato chips, fried tenderloins, fried chicken, candy, cookies, ice cream, 'biggie drinks' and a host of daily delights. If we want to be serious about such evils, let's not just talk against them, TAX THEM.

Finally, the rightfully aggrieved cities and towns want to have more tools available to finance local govern-

ment. They want to be able to use income, sales, or other taxes on an optional basis. The program is called Hometown Matters and deserves serious consideration. Except one of the promises in Hometown Matters is that a significant portion of the new revenues would be used for property tax relief. Indiana does not need property tax relief.

There is no evidence that our property taxes are too high. In-migration from Illinois in the northwest, from Cincinnati in the southeast, and from Louisville in the south, demonstrates that the market place shows Indiana housing to be a great buy.

But then what would this silly season be if we did not propagate and perpetuate economic foolishness? ♦

Marcus is an economist, writer, and speaker formerly with the Kelley School of Business at Indiana University. His column appears in more than 30 Indiana newspapers and at



chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee now that Democrats control the U.S. Senate.

And it is unlikely that Lugar will return to the chair after the 2008 elections, when 21 Republicans and only 12 mostly blue state Democrats will face re-election. "There will not be much of an opportunity for pickups," said Lugar press secretary Andy Fisher.

Lugar and election aftermath

On Nov. 9, Lugar explained, "Yesterday, Joe Biden and I talked. We agreed on the importance of continuing a relationship in which we have attempted to build consensus for U.S. foreign policy and to work together across party lines. We will continue working together as we have for many years. During my Senate career, I have served 16 years in the majority and 14 years in the minority. I have served as committee chairman and ranking member. Though I will be disappointed to not be chairing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I know that there are many important other opportunities to succeed by reaching across party lines."

The new chairman, Sen. Joe Biden, who plans to seek the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination, said, "With regard to how I'd approach it if I were chairman, I would work very closely with Senator Lugar. I don't think he and I disagree very much on this policy. I'm not saying he endorses specific policy, but again, I don't have any pride of authorship in the specific proposal I put forward, and that I'm open to suggested changes."

Biden promised hearings in January, "where I'd bring in a consensus group of the brightest people -- left, right and center -- and actually have a serious, full-blown week or more of hearings on what alternatives are to the present policy. And I would take it very seriously and I would give Dick Lugar essentially the role of co-chairman if I were the chairman in the kinds of witnesses he wanted to have. I would sit down with him and work through it just like I did when I was chairman for that brief time before the war. And I would not be collegial for collegiality's sake, but be collegial because I think Dick Lugar's the smartest guy the Republicans have on foreign policy. And I think together we might be able to demonstrate that it's possible to act in a bipartisan way and begin to engender some sense of the need for cooperation."

Fisher acknowledged that the Bush administration "has had a view in terms of Iraq operating close to the vest." Fisher said there was "not much reaching out to anyone."

The result has been the greatest American foreign debacle since Vietnam. And it prompts recollection of another Hoosier senator and another Foreign Relations

chairman who publicly parted with their president.

Forty years ago, in January 1966, U.S. Sen. Vance Hartke and 14 other senators sent a letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson urging a suspension of airstrikes in North Vietnam and exploration of a diplomatic settlement.

Author Stanley Karnow in his landmark book:

"Vietnam: A History," wrote that LBJ excoriated Hartke as "obstreperous" and privately as a "prick." and saw to it that several Hartke proteges were dismissed from federal jobs. That was supposed to keep other senators in line, but soon thereafter, U.S. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, who characterized Vietnam as a "road that leads to catastrophe" would join the growing anti-war legions.

Hartke would tell HPR in August 2002 that the split with LBJ "hurt me back home. People have not forgiven me to this day in Indiana for breaking with my own party. They said it should be 'My country right or wrong' and I would say, 'No, that's not the phrase. It should be "My country right or wrong, may she always be right, but if she is wrong, put her right.""

Ironically, Hartke, who called himself "the great dove," told HPR that day he supported the Iraq war. "I agree with (Dick) Arney. I agree with Bayh. I agree with Lugar. Before you ask someone to fight for their country, you have to define the noble cause."

With Vietnam, the noble cause was to prevent the "domino theory" that would lead to worldwide Communist domination. With Iraq, the "noble cause" veered from stopping weapons of mass

destruction (there were none), punishing Iraq for having links to al-Qaeda (there is no proof they were there under Saddam; now they dominate Anbar province and have thoroughly destabilized Baghdad), to spreading the seed of liberty (the three Middle Eastern countries that had elections last year are now all either in or on the verge of civil war).

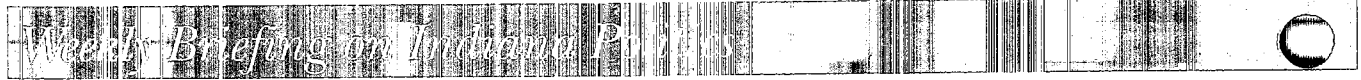
Fulbright's hearings on TV

It was Foreign Relations Chairman J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., who began nationally televised hearings on Vietnam in early 1966. So alarmed by the hearings, LBJ tried to upstage them by suddenly announcing a summit with South Vietnamese leaders, something Bush is doing this week. At the hearings, Fulbright declared the U.S. "was in danger of losing its perspective on what exactly is within the realm of its power and what is beyond it." Fulbright would later explain, "The biggest lesson I learned from Vietnam is not to trust our own government statements. I had no idea until then that you could not rely on them."

With Lugar presiding as Foreign Relations chair in 2003, the committee conducted 32 hearings on Iraq. On



Former Sen. Vance Hartke in August 2002. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)



July 31 and Aug. 1, 2002, the committee weighed in what would ultimately be the disastrous "Phase IV" of Iraq, the aftermath of the "end to major combat operations" as Bush would put it in May 2003. "Biden, Hagel and Lugar were the only three senators who sat through all hearings," Fisher said. "They came to the conclusion that it would take a very long time to stabilize and secure Iraq."

Fisher noted that the press "did not pay much attention to those hearings." But, ultimately, neither did the Bush administration.

Lugar won't split with Bush

Lugar opted to not oppose President Bush the way Chairman Fulbright split with LBJ. "Lugar has made the point that there's not much benefit of finger pointing," Fisher said. He wrote a dozen letters to Senate colleagues that have monitored everything from the military situation to the falling oil and electrical production.

Since the election, there is a gathering consensus that we are not "winning." The fact is, we don't know what "winning" is. NBC News announced that it was going to term it a "civil war." The war passed World War II in duration this week.

Friedman wrote, "This country is so broken it can't even have a proper civil war. It was possible to settle Bosnia's civil war by turning the country into a loose federation, because the main parties were reasonably coherent, with leaders who could cut a deal and deliver their faction. But Iraq is in so many little pieces now, divided among warlords, foreign terrorists, gangs, militias, parties, the police, the army, that nobody seems able to deliver anybody."

Friedman, who Fisher said has been "pretty insightful" from his support for going into Iraq to describing the gathering catastrophe, said on Monday: "We need to face our real choices in Iraq: 10 months or 10 years. Either we just get out of Iraq in a phased withdrawal over 10 months, or try to stabilize it some other way, or we accept the fact that the only way it will not be a failed state is if we start over and rebuild it from the ground up, which will take 10 years. This would require reinvading Iraq, with at least 150,000 more troops, crushing the Sunni and Shiite militias, controlling the borders, and building Iraq's institutions and political structure from scratch."

U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh, on the verge of his own presidential campaign, told WTHR-TV, "We are never going to stabilize Iraq, no matter how long we stay, no matter how much we spend, no matter how many of our brave soldiers die, until the Iraqis get their act together."

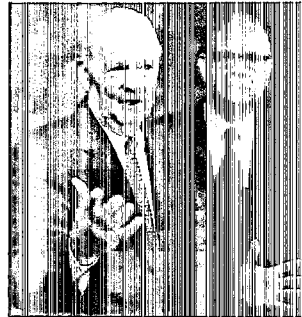
In the same report, Lugar said he doubts Americans want the U.S. to pull out. "It's grim as it stands," said

Sen. Lugar, "a fairly large majority understands the instability, the problems for terrorism using Iraq much as Al Qaeda used Afghanistan in the past."

Sen. Biden has suggested that it might be time to allow Iraq to split up into three autonomous regions -- Kurds, Sunni and Shi'a. "Absent a political solution, none of this matters," Biden said on Oct. 22 with Lugar beside him. Fisher said, "Lugar has not been for or against that."

The problem on the homefront is that most Americans have so little skin in the game. While American military families and the National Guards have contributed 2,800 lives -- including the 72nd Hoosier, Lance Corporal James Davenport, 20, of Danville -- and 20,000 wounded, Americans have not been taxed to support the war. We've tried to do it with an all volunteer army for the first time in our history with no draft. There has been no sacrifice; no fuel, food or scrap metal rations.

The bipartisan Iraq Study Group reached a consensus on Wednesday on a final report that will call for a gradual pullback of the 15 American combat brigades now in Iraq but stop short of setting a firm timetable for their withdrawal, according to people familiar with the panel's deliberations (**New York Times**). The report, unanimously approved by the 10-member panel, led by James A. Baker III and Lee H. Hamilton, is to be delivered to President Bush on Dec. 6. It is a compromise between distinct paths that the group has debated since March, avoiding a specific timetable, which has been opposed by Mr. Bush, but making it clear that the American troop commitment should not be open-ended.



Baker and Hamilton

Lugar's future from India to Indiana

As for Lugar, who has been lobbying NATO this week in Riga to elevate energy into full national security status, he delivered an 85-12 vote on the U.S.-India Nuclear Agreement that many thought was impossible. Fisher said that senator's "predominant focus in the next term will be energy and security."

The India pact is indicative of Lugar's skill. "The agreement allows India to receive nuclear fuel, technology, and reactors from the United States -- benefits that were previously denied to India because of its status outside the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty," Lugar said. "This pact is a lasting incentive for India to abstain from further nuclear weapons tests and to cooperate closely with the United States in stopping proliferation."

Unfortunately, the legacy of Sen. Lugar will include this sad Iraq chapter of a President who failed to reach out for advice and perspective in a conflict that eventually cost the senator his most coveted chair and will exact American blood and prestige for years to come.



Help formulate the 2007 Influence List

INDIANAPOLIS - Obviously, there will be major changes in the 2007 HPR 50 Most Influential List.

Senate President Pro Tempore Robert Garton, U.S. Reps. Mike Sodrel, John Hostettler and Chris Chocola were all defeated. Departing the Daniels administration is Chief of Staff Harry Gonso.

The 2006 list reflected the wave that developed around the Iraq War and congressional corruption, as well as the Daniels administration's Major Moves program.

In 2007, there will be the Evan Bayh presidential campaign, the biennial budget in the Indiana General Assembly, mayoral elections, and a huge decision for Indiana Democrats: who will be challenging Gov. Mitch Daniels?



- 15. FSSA Director Mitch Roob
- 16. Lt. Gov. Becky Skillman
- 17. Marion County Sheriff Frank Anderson
- 18. U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola
- 19. State Sen. Luke Kenley
- 20. John R. Hammond III
- 21. Bob Grand
- 22. State Rep. Randy Borrer
- 23. Secretary of State Todd Rokita
- 24. Lee Hamilton
- 25. Fort Wayne Mayor Graham Richard
- 26. Alan B. Hubbard



HPR has been compiling the 50 Most Influential List since 1999. We ask our readers to suggest additions (or subtractions). Some of you compile your own 50 list. HPR encourages this exercise in power, clout and accountability. Send thoughts to HPR Publisher Brian A. Howey at: brian-howey@howeypolitics.com. The 2007 list will be published in the Jan. 11 edition of The Howey Political Report as well as Brian Howey's statewide newspaper column running in 24 papers and reaching more than 200,000 readers each week.

2006 HPR 50 Most Influential

- 1. Gov. Mitch Daniels
- 2. U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar
- 3. U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh
- 4. Commerce Secretary/IEDC Chairman Mickey Mauer
- 5. House Speaker Brian Bosma
- 6. Marion County Prosecutor Carl Brizzi
- 7. Indianapolis Mayor Bart Peterson
- 8. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
- 9. U.S. Rep. Mike Pence
- 10. U.S. Rep. Mike Sodrel
- 11. U.S. Rep. John Hostettler
- 12. State Rep. Rep. B. Patrick Bauer
- 13. Senate President Pro Tempore Robert D. Garton
- 14. Ways & Means Chairman Jeff Espich
- 15. FSSA Director Mitch Roob
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- 21. Bob Grand
- 22. State Rep. Randy Borrer
- 23. Secretary of State Todd Rokita
- 24. Lee Hamilton
- 25. Fort Wayne Mayor Graham Richard
- 26. Alan B. Hubbard
- 27. Marty Morris
- 28. Tom Sugar
- 29. U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer
- 30. GOP Executive Director Jennifer Hallowell
- 31. Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker
- 32. Indiana Republican Chairman Jim Kittle Jr.
- 33. State Sen. Vi Simpson
- 34. Farm Bureau President Don Villwock
- 35. Chamber President Kevin Brinegar
- 36. IMA President Pat Kiely
- 37. UAW President Terry Thurman
- 38. Mike O'Connor
- 39. Mike Gentry
- 40. Hamilton County Republican Chairman Charlie White
- 41. U.S. Rep. Mark Souder
- 42. U.S. Rep. Julia Carson
- 43. Baron Hill
- 44. Vanderburgh County Sheriff Brad Ellsworth
- 45. OMB Director Chuck Schalliol
- 46. Stadium Authority Chairman David Frick
- 47. State Sen. Mike Young and State Rep. Phil Hinkle
- 48. Tim Roemer
- 49. Dan Coats
- 50. IACT Executive Director Matt Greller





History's first in-depth take on the O'Bannon legacy

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Last summer, HPR published its special edition on the governorship of Evan Bayh as his presidential campaign geared up. It was 10 years after he left office, long enough for an assessment on his impact on Indiana.

This fall, we get a first take on Bayh's successor, Gov. Frank O'Bannon, in Andrew E. Stoner's book, "**Legacy of a Governor: The Life of Indiana's Frank O'Bannon.**"

Stoner had an inside seat in the O'Bannon administration, serving as deputy press secretary from 2001 until O'Bannon's death in September 2003. Prior to that, he handled communications for FSSA and the Indiana State Department of Health.

"I reasoned if a book was to be written about Frank, it must be researched by someone who understands the complexities of policies and sees government service as a unique calling for public service," wrote First Lady Judy O'Bannon in the book's forward.

And that is what we have with this book. Stoner presents a mostly admiring view of Gov. O'Bannon, but not a critical one that historians will eventually mete out.

The greatest value of "**Legacy of a Governor**" is that Stoner has gotten many views of Gov. O'Bannon -- mostly positive -- on the record.

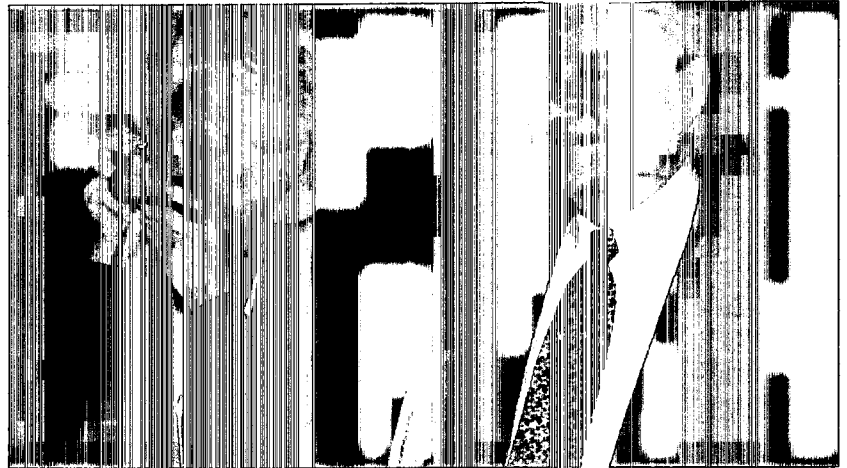
These include close aides such as Tom New, David Johnson, John Goss; legislators such as former House Speaker John Gregg, and a number of political reporters and commentators (though not O'Bannon admirer/critic Harrison J. Ullmann).

There wasn't much about the criticisms coming from Democrats in the Indiana General Assembly in the summer of 1999 that publicly suggested the governor wasn't in touch, though he quotes B. Patrick Bauer and John Gregg on his 2001 veto

of the budget and legislator pay raise. These persisted up through the end, with State Rep. Scott Pelath's unfortunate "coma" remark just weeks before Gov. O'Bannon suffered

his fatal stroke.

The closest Stoner gets into Gov. O'Bannon's policy problems was the 1999 demise of his No. 1 initiative, full-day kindergarten. Stoner wrote of the Senate Republican's offer to fund 50 percent of the full-day kindergarten program the first year and 50 percent the next. "Some think it was a political gaffe on the part of the O'Bannon administration -- refusing the 50 percent offer and instead calling the GOP's bluff with an 'all or nothing' ultimatum. Worse yet, rumors emerged that the O'Bannon team had failed to



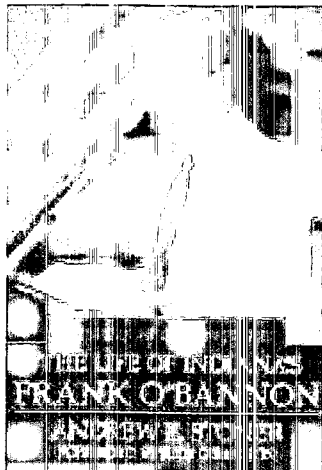
Gov. Frank O'Bannon with the First Lady on Election Night 2002. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)

fully communicate among themselves what was happening in the budget negotiations. O'Bannon and his team were stunned -- and angry at the legislators, at themselves, and at the process. The breakdown was painful and difficult to digest."

There is no mention of the political scandal that took out O'Bannon's controversial choice for state chairman, Peter Manous (and his tearful resignation), that was made without the input from Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan, who later dropped out of the 2004 gubernatorial race, in part, because of that decision. Again, this is sensitive territory an insider like Stoner would have found difficult to navigate.

Stoner presented an interesting take on the reluctant Kernan coming on to the ticket in June 1996. "It became apparent to me that Frank might ask me to run with him," Kernan said. "We sorted through it, and I made the decision that I did not want to do it ... I had just been re-elected mayor, I loved being mayor, I loved South Bend, and I didn't want to leave."

Stoner reported that "O'Bannon was not deterred" and recounted a dinner at Aesop's Tables in which Kernan told O'Bannon that "I had no ambition for it" but ended the dinner by saying, "Governor, you know where I stand on





this. But if you ask me to run with you, I will."

It all ended with Frank and Judy simultaneously writing their choice down, "and we both said Joe Kernan at the same time," Mrs. O'Bannon stated.

Kernan's Aesop's Table "no ambition" statement and his in/out of the 2004 race were fascinating tell-tales to what would become Kernan's lackluster campaign against Mitch Daniels that would end the 16-year dynasty.

Stoner did a good job recounting the 1996 campaign, noting that after Gov. Bayh, Lt. Gov. O'Bannon and President Clinton had left Michigan City for the Democratic National Convention, "buried on page C-4 of the Indianapolis Star on the same day Clinton, Bayh and O'Bannon's images and words were emblazoned on the front pages was a story about the arrest of two men after 'scuffling' with a group of off-duty IPD officers. Before the week was out, the 'scuffle' was transformed into a 'brawl,' moved to Page 1, and became the top story on all

local TV stations as witnesses came forward to describe the brutish and allegedly drunken behavior of some off-duty officers."

This, of course, was the initial description of the Meridian Street police brawl that destroyed O'Bannon's 1996 opponent, Mayor Stephen Goldsmith.

Stoner quotes John Ketzenberger asking Goldsmith about the brawl, and Goldsmith replied, "I can't do anything about that. That is up to the public safety director to deal with." As Goldsmith imploded, Stoner notes, "The O'Bannon campaign ... never ran a single ad addressing the police brawl issue."

Stoner interviewed Goldsmith who said, "I don't think the event was overplayed; the event was rather important, really. I think it was overplayed, though, as it related to the campaign ... unfortunately, it was very disruptive."

Another good part of the book was the 1996 Greencastle debate that summed up the strengths and weaknesses of "candidates" Goldsmith and O'Bannon.

"O'Bannon was animated and jovial, often addressing the camera directly. Goldsmith seemed uncertain as to whether to address the camera or the small audience assembled there. O'Bannon's choice made sense, and it

played to his strength, his grandfatherly, friendly style that came through so well on camera."

Stoner writes of many of the trappings of being a governor, from the residence and support staff, to what happens on the day of a State of the State address. He missed what HPR considered to be one of Gov. O'Bannon's most enduring achievements: the 1997 deal during a legislative special session when the governor jotted down

a multiple point deal that essentially brought Conseco Fieldhouse to Indianapolis (thus saving the Pacers) while increasing workers compensation benefits, including replacement prothesis. O'Bannon and Goldsmith ended up working the halls together to get the deal passed.

Stoner spends only three pages on the other major legislative achievement, the tax reform efforts of 2001-02. O'Bannon had campaigned on tax reform in 1996, so it took almost five years to get it done, with Kernan doing the big thinking and heavy lifting.

Stoner does capture the two very different terms of the O'Bannon administration. The first was marked with an expanding economy and surpluses

(Thanks a billion). The second "stood in stark contrast" to the first and "political life proved painful and difficult." Indiana had begun bleeding manufacturing jobs and the resulting malaise set the stage of Daniels to follow. "Amidst the slew of bad news on the state's economy and the resulting assault on the state's operating budget, the governor worked hard to remain optimistic and confident," Stoner wrote. "Some of us on the staff sometimes groused about how bad things were or worried about how much worse it could get."

Of course, we all know the O'Bannon governorship ended in tragedy, with his death in Chicago in September 2003. The book is most poignant here, with Stoner describing the funeral and the famous photo and thumbs up from Mrs. O'Bannon as she and the family departed.

"Legacy of a Governor" is an important first historical look at Gov. O'Bannon, undefeated in politics, who forged a historic union with Evan Bayh and revived a moribund Indiana Democratic Party. Stoner passed on the comprehensive policy analysis (i.e., were the tax reforms of 2002 outdated a mere four years later? For all his efforts on education, why are only 70 percent graduating?) These are questions to ponder on another day by another historian. ❖





Mayor Burke awaits the next Democratic challenger

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

TERRE HAUTE - Pete Chalos. Jim Jenkins. Judy Anderson.

All were Democratic mayors of Terre Haute. In three successive primaries between 1995 and 2003, all were defeated. Not just defeated. They were smoked.

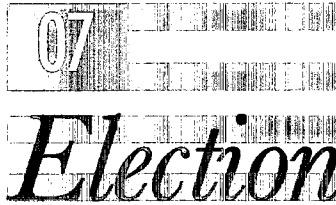
Is a similar fate in store for Mayor Kevin Burke?

That's the big political question in Terre Haute. The mayor has had some notable successes. He teamed up with Indianapolis Motor Speedway owner Tony George to bring an \$8 million investment and 42 jobs to Clabber Girl last summer, part of what his administration points to almost \$2 billion in investment in the area. There's a \$100 million public works program well underway. He hired the city's first human resources director. He got rid of the crumbling Terre Haute House hotel downtown. Burke is working with Vigo County to combine the city and county emergency dispatch services.

Burke's biggest political problem between now and next May could very well be Major Moves.

He was one of the first Democratic mayors to support Gov. Mitch Daniels historic transportation initiative, setting off grumblings among Terre Haute Democrats. He was a conspicuous presence when the governor brought in mostly Republican mayors last winter to support the plan. That put him in hot water with Statehouse Democrats as well as those in Vigo County, who deeply dislike the Republican governor.

Then, in an Indianapolis Star article, Burke rebuked then-House Minority Leader B. Patrick Bauer as he tried to rally Democrats there to oppose Major Moves.



Terre Haute Mayor Kevin Burke (second from left) was a conspicuous presence when mayors from around the state rallied for Major Moves. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Burke said he was more interested in meeting Terre Haute's transportation needs as opposed to anointing a new House speaker.

A former Democrat county chair (Judy Anderson's brother-in-law) is polling now to see which Democrat has the best chance of beating Burke: County Council President and former state senator Bob Hellman, or city council members George Azar, Jim Chalos (son of the former mayor) or Norm Loudermilk.

Mayor Burke announced the day after he won in 2003 that he knew four years wouldn't be enough to accomplish what he envisioned, said his spokesman, Pete Ciancone, a former Terre Haute Tribune-Star reporter. "He plans to make an official announcement in the next couple weeks," Ciancone said. "He is a Democrat who will be running in a town in which the last three incumbent Democrats lost. It promises to be a very interesting filing period. One crusty old Democrat without a dog in the race one way or the other opines that none of the four will have the courage to risk their current status to run against a high energy guy like Burke. Others, like our very active

firefighter's union local, cannot abide the thought of Burke running unopposed no matter how slim the chances of the challenger."

The Major Moves liability may be overblown. Other than U.S. Rep. Chris Chocola, there isn't another officeholder who can point to Major Moves as the main reason for his defeat. In Chocola's case, Major Moves helped set up the environment, but there were many other issues involved.

The new terrain route for I-69 that Gov. Daniels is pushing may be more of a liability than Major Moves, though

Mayor Burke was hardly the instigator of that.

Burke's biggest challenge seems to be overcoming the notion among Democrats that an incumbent mayor is something to berate, bash and beat.

The Battle of Muncie

In Muncie, Mayor Dan Canan will try to do what no other mayor in the 20th Century did: win a fourth consecutive term. He could be challenged in the GOP primary by veteran Muncie City Councilman David Taylor, a Republi-



can, who has served since 1980.

On the Democratic side, James Mansfield, director of the Muncie Visitors Bureau, has filed an exploratory committee and has support of local Democratic Central Committee. "I offer people a choice and change in leadership at city hall," said Mansfield on Wednesday as he kicked off his campaign (**Muncie Star Press**). His challenge will come from city council member Charles Leonard, a Teamster warehouse worker. Democrats swept county offices with exception of sheriff, recorder and a single county council seat on Nov. 7. "They look to sweep city hall next year," said Muncie Star Press reporter Rick Yencer. Canan only won by 453 votes in 2003 over State Rep. Dennis Tyler.

Armstrong seeking final term

Columbus Mayor Fred Armstrong announced Wednesday he will run for a fourth and final term in the 2007 municipal election (Columbus Republic). A win would make the Democratic former police officer the longest-serving mayor in city history, eclipsing Republican Bob Stewart, who served three terms. Armstrong spoke about 25 minutes to about 100 supporters at City Hall's Cal Brand Meeting Hall. The crowd included his wife, Kathi, and a granddaughter. He promised his next term would be his last and stressed "one last time" several times in his speech. "We'll turn this city over in great shape to the next mayor," he said later. Armstrong has worked with other city officials statewide to forge a plan to reduce reliance on property taxes that pay for government.

That plan, called Hometown Matters, is intended to provide alternative funding and empower local governments to take the lead. Only the Indiana General Assembly can enact Hometown Matters. Armstrong said public and private partnerships generated positive changes, especially in downtown. "Residents know best what their immediate

needs are, and by giving them the support they need to assume more direct control over the face of their neighborhood, we will help realize an even greater feeling of community," he said.

Valpo mayor faces primary

Saying local government has too much control, 4th District City Councilman Bob McCasland is planning a run for Valparaiso mayor (**Post-Tribune**). The 55-year-old McCasland will oppose Mayor Jon Costas in May's Republican primary, assuming Costas seeks a second term. Costas said he will make an announcement the third week of January. "I have a concern that the people of Valparaiso are losing control of the government," McCasland said. "I just think we need to take control of it back." Former Democrat Mayor David Butterfield, rumored to be considering another bid for the office he lost to Costas in 2003, said he

won't announce whether he's running until after the holidays. "A couple things will determine whether I run again -- if people want me to run again and if the financial backing is available," Butterfield said.

Costas said it could make for an interesting primary. "Assuming I am a candidate, I certainly can't fault Bob for wanting to run for mayor," Costas said. "If I do run for mayor, I think it will make for more opportunities to talk about what matters, and that's the future of the city."



Columbus Mayor Fred Armstrong confers with U.S. Rep. Baron Hill (left) and U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh. (HPR Photo by Brian A. Howe)

Whitesell seeks re-election

Hartford City Mayor Dennis Whitesell has said he will seek a second term in office in the 2007 election (**Muncie Star Press**). Whitesell became one of the youngest mayors in the state when he won his first term in 2003 at the age of 32. He had already spent 10 years on the city council. Whitesell first had to defeat incumbent mayor Joe Castelo in the primary to win the Democrat nomination, and then he defeated Republican Rollin Brown by four votes in the November election. ♦



Bayh carves niche in cyberspace, but will it really matter?

By MARK CURRY

WASHINGTON - Two days ago, Democratic congressional candidate Barry Welsh woke up still owing \$3,000 in campaign expenses accumulated during his failed bid to unseat Republican Mike Pence in Indiana's 6th CD.

By bedtime, the debt was gone, thanks to Markos Moulitsas Zuniga, caretaker of the liberal political blog site found at dai-lykos.com.

"Barry Welsh ran a brave race in a tough district," Zuniga wrote in a brief plea posted online at 2:46 p.m. Tuesday. "Let's help him retire that debt and get him prepped for his big rematch in 2008." The blogger con-

tributed \$1,000, and almost immediately donations began to roll in, mostly in virtual \$10s and \$20s, until the deficit was officially erased around 10:30 that night.

Welsh's experience demonstrates that the internet is playing an increasingly important function in grassroots politics, a role certain to be even more vital in the next election cycle, the 2008 presidential campaign.

U.S. Sen. Evan Bayh has ramped up his online presence in a much-publicized effort to carve a niche in cyberspace. In addition to the standard fare found on his official senate website, he has a page on facebook.com that boasts 5,000 "friends" and recently launched a debate on gather.com. His leadership PAC, All America PAC, is updated often, with links to websites touting the senator and the causes and candidates supported by the PAC. Bayh also has penned commentary for numerous blogs.

"The internet component is very important to our overall communication strategy," explained Dan Pfeiffer, the senator's communications director. "Americans are spending far less time using traditional forms of media and a far greater portion of their time online and any communications strategy must take this into account. The form in which you reach out to these voters must reflect this

change as well and must be one that they are comfortable with."

The authors of a Nov. 6th analysis by the Pew Internet & American Life Project wrote, "Looking ahead, it's clear that the Internet's role in politics will continue evolving as the technology improves and users continuously adapt it for new purposes....But thus far, the most compelling narrative about the internet's political is not about candidates' skill with new media. Rather, it centers on stories from the grassroots: activists' use of email and Web sites; small donors' contributions online; bloggers' passion to tell stories and debate

issues; and amateur videographers' quest to record 'gotcha' moments."

Zach Wendling is one Hoosier blogger who says he is skeptical of the netroots' influence. Wendling maintains the Indiana Blog Review, a website that monitors and highlights many of the state's most active blogs.

"The blogosphere has proven good at two things: being an echo chamber

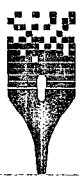
for candidates and for countering attacks," Wendling told HPR. "I have no doubt that if Bayh were on the ticket, the left side of the Hoosier blogosphere would join in, and the right side would perhaps be more inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt. The big question, though, is whether blogs have any influence or whether they are just talking to each other."

Democrat Barry Welsh is convinced the netroots represent the future of politics.

"The netroots will be crucial especially in a national campaign," he said. "As an 'Indiana Boy' I would like to see Sen. Bayh as president.... I don't know if the senator, or if many in Indiana, understand the importance of the netroots, but that is the future of politics and will be even bigger in 2008 than in 2006."

A recent Pew poll found that nearly one in five American adults turned to the internet for news or information about politics and the midterm elections. It seems likely that someday, and it could be sooner rather than later, a politician will win by mastering the medium the way FDR perfected radio or Ronald Reagan exploited television. Only then will we know that the internet age in politics has truly arrived. ♦





Democrats plan review of Daniels' FSSA privatizaion

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Speaking to hundreds of county commissioners Wednesday morning, Gov. Mitch Daniels tried to strike a conciliatory tone, saying he hoped no ideas would be "dead on arrival."

"I have been assured by the new speaker that we'll get a fair look at the new ideas I am laying out."

A little more than an hour later, Daniels announced a sweeping overhaul of the Family Social Services Administration

Daniels accepted a recommendation from an inter-agency team that calls for contracting for back office services to improve customer service, reduce waste and fraud and improve Indiana's poor welfare-to-work record. The governor also announced the creation of 1,000 new jobs in Indiana by IBM and its partners.

The governor received the recommendation from an inter-agency team appointed to review the Indiana Family and Social Services Administration (FSSA) eligibility modernization project on Nov. 22. It is a scaled back hybrid approach that would use Hoosiers in the private and public sectors to provide administrative support for the eligibility determination process, saving nearly \$500 million in administrative costs alone over the next 10 years. The proposed contract would be awarded to an International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) led coalition. It includes Affiliated Computer Services, a firm that once employed FSSA Commissioner Mitch Roob.

In conjunction with the contract award, IBM and its partners separately would create 1,000 new jobs in Indiana and provide equipment to boost the capacity of Indiana University's (IU) 'Big Red' supercomputer, as well as provide other economic development benefits to the state.

The governor said he would make a final decision about signing the contract after a public hearing about the contract terms is conducted on Dec. 8, and the state receives approval from appropriate federal agencies.

"Today, we act to clean up welfare waste, and

to provide Indiana's neediest people a better chance to escape welfare for the world of work and dignity. We will make America's worst welfare system better for the people it serves, a much fairer deal for taxpayers, and for its own employees," said Daniels.

Democrats, while not rejecting the proposals they have no legislative authority over, promised a thorough review. Indiana House Speaker B. Patrick Bauer said, "The governor and his administration might think that today's announcement closes the issue of privatizing the Family and Social Services Administration. Rest assured that it does not."

Bauer said that on Organization Day, "I made it clear that I would follow the wishes of the people of this state and give them a greater chance to examine the governor's efforts to privatize state programs and services. This is a scrutiny that the people of Indiana want, and they are entirely justified in asking their state lawmakers to investigate the alleged benefits of privatization."

He promised public hearings by House Public Health and Ways & Means Committees. "Our goal will be a simple one," Bauer said. "We want to make sure that the interests of the people of Indiana are best served by these efforts. Citizens will be given a full and fair chance to voice their feelings about privatization, rather than being ignored in favor of testimony only from private interests who would profit from these contracts."

Indiana Democratic Chairman Dan Parker said, "The Governor has sent the message that he wants to help these companies turn a profit at the expense of our neediest citizens. These companies have shown time and again that making a buck is their only goal."

Gubernatorial spokeswoman Jane Jankowski said maintaining the current system "in house" would cost \$2.1 billion over the next 10 years. This plan costs \$1.6 billion.

Advocates appeared to have open minds. "I think it has to have more public input than just one public meeting with just a week's notice," said Patti O'Callaghan, president of the Indiana Coalition for Human Services, a group of nonprofits that serves needy Hoosiers (**Associated Press**). "It requires multiple trips. It requires duplicate paperwork. It's extremely frustrating," said Melissa Durr, chief executive of the Indiana Association of Area Agencies on Aging. ❖



Gary Gerard, *Warsaw Times-Union*

- Right now, political analysts tab U.S. Sen. Barack Obama as his party's No. 2 in popularity to run for president, right behind No. 1, Hillary Clinton. Obama is a pretty typical Democrat, politically. One would consider him a liberal. According to ontheissues.org he's pro-abortion, anti-gun, against ban of same-sex marriage, against teaching family values in public schools, against ban of flag burning, against privatizing Social Security, against the death penalty and three strikes laws, for hiring more women and minorities, for increased funding for health care and for campaign finance reform. One interesting position on which Obama had no opinion for ontheissues.org was: "Drug use is immoral: Enforce laws against it." Interesting because in an excerpt from his book, he writes about smoking marijuana and trying cocaine during his teenage years. Drawing a contrast between himself and President Bill Clinton, Obama recently said, "I inhaled -- that was the point. ... It was reflective of the struggles and confusion of a teenage boy; teenage boys are frequently confused." Frankly, I admire Obama's candor. I always thought Clinton's "didn't inhale" story was a lie. Obama has tried hard to steer clear of the foibles that tend to entrap politicians -- the lobbyists, the special interests, the iffy campaign contributions, the political action committees. The result has been that Obama has been pretty much walking on water to the White House. ♦

COLUMNIST'S Indiana

Jack Colwell, *South Bend Tribune*

- Although his name wasn't on the ballot Nov. 7, Sen. Evan Bayh was one of the big winners in the election. The rise of the Democratic moderates, demonstrated in their victories, including many in states shaded Republican red, bolsters the argument that if Democrats want to win the presidency in 2008, they should nominate a moderate Democrat who can win in Republican territory. That's Bayh's argument. And he knows just the right nominee. Backers of the presidential bid by the senator from Indiana cite in particular what happened in his own state, a state that hasn't cast its electoral votes for a Democrat for president since 1964. Democratic challengers, all moderates, knocked off three Republican congressmen in Indiana on Nov. 7, giving Democrats a 5-4 majority in the state's House delegation. Bayh played a role in those victories by Joe Donnelly in the 2nd District, Brad Ellsworth in the 8th and Baron Hill in the 9th. He campaigned for the winners and sent money and staffers from his presidential campaign to those districts to help them defeat the conservative Republican incumbents. While Bayh's role was not necessarily decisive -- probably not with as much impact as the unpopularity of President Bush -- it was important and is one of the reasons Bayh was a

big winner. A strong argument for Bayh in his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination -- a quest long under way and expected to be announced officially after Christmas -- is that he has demonstrated ability to win in a state usually the first to be declared Republican red by the TV networks in presidential elections. A knock against Bayh as a Democratic presidential possibility is the perception that he might not be able to carry his own state. Indeed, it is far from certain that he would have carried Indiana against Bush in '04 if he rather than John Kerry had been the party's nominee. But now? Bayh would have trounced Bush if they had been pitted against each other on the ballot in Indiana this November. ♦

Sylvia Smith, *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*

- If you wait long enough -- or can stomach pawing through the immediate carnage -- something worthwhile almost always comes out of something rotten. From one parent's death you might gain a richer relationship with the surviving parent. From a war that split this nation and killed, we ended slavery. Of the many lessons I hope we absorb from the invasion of Iraq and the Nov. 7 elections are two that should be applied to our 2008 presidential nomination and election debates: It is essential to have a president who has the ability to think through the consequences of an action. We should consider the analytical styles of the contenders. We've had back-to-back presidents with polar opposite approaches on gathering and processing information. President Bush acts. He doesn't ponder, chew over and anticipate results. And we have learned to our detriment that he does not have the ability or inclination to execute or appreciate nuanced analysis. Thus, we invaded Iraq to fight an enemy that A) didn't do what we were mad about, and B) isn't a function of a single nation, be it Iraq or any other state. The country of Iraq did not perpetrate the Sept. 11 attacks. Yet we invaded that country as if it did. Bush also did not accurately project what would happen after the invasion. It was ludicrous then to think that the Iraqi citizens would be dancing in the streets at the sign of U.S. tanks and then all would be peachy. Well ahead of the war, people like Sen. Richard Lugar called for an after-war action plan. What exactly, Lugar asked, was the game plan for rebuilding the country? The Bush administration had no answer. Cowboys don't ask such questions, so Bush ignored Lugar -- and froze him out of the White House for months. Lugar is a smart guy, but he doesn't have the franchise on wisdom in Washington. Nonetheless, for a president to refuse to hear (not necessarily heed -- just hear!) the advice of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, someone with a lot of experience in this arena, someone on his own side, is the mark of a stupid man. ♦



Recount expected to be done by Saturday in HD97

INDIANAPOLIS - A recount will begin this afternoon to determine whether Republican Jonathan Elrod or Democrat Ed Mahern will represent parts of Indianapolis in the Indiana House (**Indianapolis Star**). Elrod won by seven votes over Mahern, the incumbent, in the Nov. 7 election

for House District 97, which includes Downtown Indianapolis, some Southside neighborhoods and Beech Grove. But on Wednesday, the Indiana Recount Commission unanimously granted Mahern's request for a recount, along with requests for recounts in three other House districts. The tally will be conducted by teams from the State Board of Accounts, with Democrats and Republicans watching, and is expected to be concluded by Saturday.

Bright alleges vote tampering in recount

INDIANAPOLIS - The Indiana Recount Commission voted unanimously yesterday to review the Jennings County election results in House District 69, a race that Democrat Dave Cheatham won over incumbent Republican Billy Bright by about 1,600 votes (**Louisville Courier-Journal**). The recount is scheduled to begin Monday. Certified results give Democrats a 51-49 majority in the House, but Bright said his effort is not about helping Republicans try to regain the majority. "It's about finding the truth," he said yesterday after the commission meeting at the Statehouse in Indianapolis. "This is much bigger than my election." House District 69 includes all of Jefferson County, most of Jennings and part of Ripley. But Bright requested a recount only in Jennings, where

he said an unusually large number of absentee ballots were cast. If the commission found widespread fraud, it could order a new election, although it has never done so. In fact, Cheatham's margin of victory — 9 percentage points — is one of the largest ever reviewed by the commission in a state race, said the group's co-counsel, Brad King. Most recounts involve margins of fewer than 100 votes, King said. In his recount and contest petition, Bright alleged "fraud, tampering or misconduct." He said yesterday that he believes the large number of absentee ballots cast in Jennings County is evidence of problems. He would not say what he believes was done wrong. "I don't think now is the time for that," said Bright, who is seeking a second term after ousting Democrat Markt Lytle two years ago. "I'm just going to let this unfold." Cheatham's attorney, Kip Tew of Indianapolis, denied any wrongdoing in Jennings and called the recount request absurd. "I put this in the category of a sore loser," Tew said after the meeting.

Woodburn clerk embezzled \$300,000

WOODBURN - The former Woodburn city clerk-treasurer took about \$300,000 from the city coffers for personal use, but has repaid most of that money after being caught, according to a report released today by the Indiana State Board of Accounts. The state determined former clerk-treasurer Bill Basting wrote checks from the city's accounts to dummy vendor accounts he set up (**Fort Wayne Journal Gazette**).

Good government study hits with a thud

CROWN POINT - Debate reverberated Wednesday across the County Government Center about an early version of an efficiency study's recommendations on how to make government more efficient (**Times of Northwest Indiana**). Some needed

comforting, some were outraged, some were pleased about the Good Government Initiative, a multi-million dollar efficiency study of local government authored by Maximus Inc. a consulting firm. The memorandum recommended the elimination of County Public Works Director. Bill Henderson's job and the transfer of his staff to either the county highway department or county surveyor's office. County Commissioner Gerry Scheub said Henderson is valued and his advice was, "Don't go crazy over this."

Police probe GOP chair

FORT WAYNE - Allen County Republican Party Chairman Steve Shine is being investigated for what Indiana State Police are calling an alleged domestic battery against his wife (**Fort Wayne News-Sentinel**). A News Release Information Form from State Police says that on Nov. 9, Shine, 54, "allegedly reached into vehicle in an attempt to turn the vehicle off and broke the key off in the ignition." The information form, dated Nov. 10 and released to The News-Sentinel on Monday, identifies the complainant as Shine's 51-year-old wife, Laura Beth Shine, and says the incident occurred in the driveway of the couple's home in the 13000 block of Liberty Mills Road in southwest Allen County. "It is under investigation. That's all I can say at this time," said State Police spokesman Sgt. Rodger Popplewell. Shine said the challenges facing his family are no different than anything others have dealt with. "I want the public to know how challenging it can be for families: finances, children's problems, drugs," he said. "Family values are important ... but life isn't perfect. I have yet to find an Ozzie and Harriet. This is part of life." As a family-law attorney, Shine said his experiences have helped him cope with his own crises. As a result, he said, his performance as party chairman has been unaffected by his personal problems. ❖



