



Coats skeptical of Obamacare repeal

Implementation fiasco and calls for repeal will find obstinate President

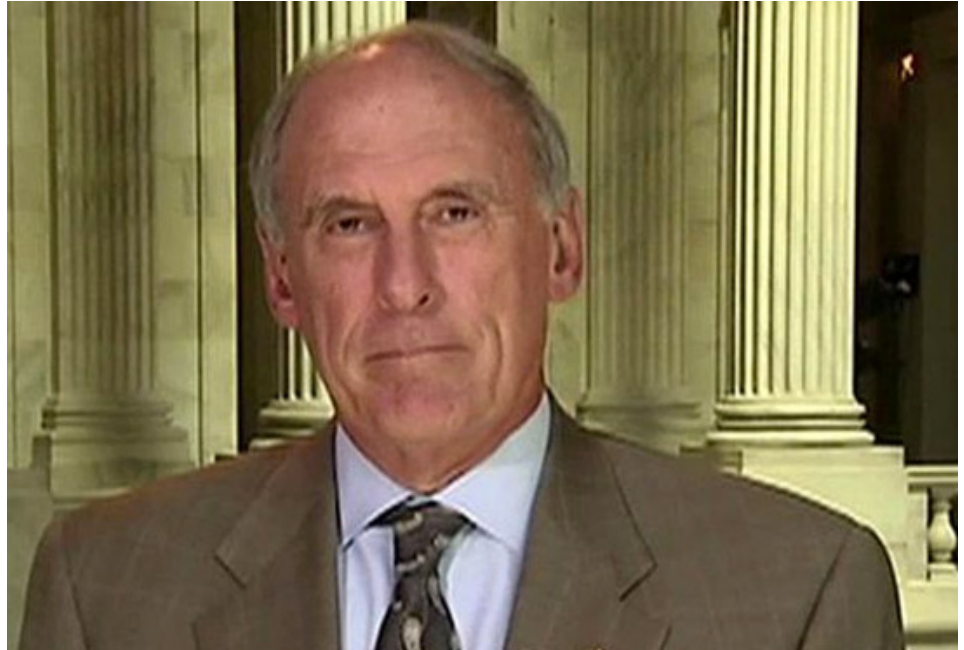
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY** and **MAUREEN HAYDEN**

INDIANAPOLIS – There is no question about it, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats is an ardent proponent for the repeal of Obamacare.

Indiana’s senior senator believes it is crimping the economy, costing jobs, and places undue burdens and taxes on employers and medical device makers. He also knows that many of his Democratic Senate colleagues are petrified of the political impact.

On Wednesday, Coats joined 44 other GOP senators in asking President Obama to “permanently delay” the implementation of the Affordable Care Act. “While your action finally acknowledges some of the many burdens this law will place on job creators, we believe the rest of this law should be permanently delayed for everyone in order to avoid significant economic harm to American families,” they wrote. “We implore you to listen to the American people.”

The repeal is something U.S. Reps. Marlin



Stutzman and Luke Messer see as a distinct possibility in the next year or so as Obamacare is implemented and public support in the polls plummets. This was fueled last week when the Obama administration made a Friday evening bad news dump on the U.S. Department of Treasury website that it was delaying implementation of the employer mandate until 2015, after the mid-term elections.

Continued on page 4

The millennial mayors

By **BLAIR MILO**

LaPORTE – There seem to be very few things that Republicans, Democrats, Independents and others can agree on, but across the country there is one resounding message from all political backgrounds: The political gridlock has to end.



Pundits, party leaders and everyone in between have offered differing suggestions on how to curb the gridlock, but most of these recommendations are ultimately based on supporting a particular ideology which only contributes to, rather than al-



“I don’t think Ivy Tech is a failing institution. You’ve got many legislators saying, ‘What gives here?’”

- State Sen. Luke Kenley to Ivy Tech’s Tom Snyder on the school’s deficits



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WWHowey Media, LLC
405 Massachusetts Ave.,
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Brian A. Howey, Publisher
Mark Schoeff Jr., Washington
Jack E. Howey, Editor
Mary Lou Howey, Editor
Maureen Hayden, Statehouse
Matthew Butler, Daily Wire

Subscriptions

\$599 annually
Ray Volpe, Account Manager
☎ 317.602.3620
email: HoweyInfo@gmail.com

Contact HPI

www.howeypolitics.com
bhowey2@gmail.com
☎ Howey's Cabin: 812.988.6520
☎ Howey's cell: 317.506.0883
☎ Washington: 202-256-5822
☎ Business Office: 317.602.3620

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leviates, the current problem. I would like to offer a radical solution to end political gridlock: Support candidates and elected officials who embrace the characteristics that generational scholars have held their noses about and assigned to the Millennial Generation.

Joel Stein's cover article of a May Time magazine issue detailed the downfalls of the Millennial Generation, characterizing us as "lazy, entitled narcissists who still live with our parents." He concludes the article by claiming "...they'll save us all." As Stein indicates, there are numerous academic surveys to support the arguments made for assigning the characteristics to the Millennial Generation, but more convincing than any survey are the interactions that we have with those born from 1980 to 2000.

You have seen the attachment to social media, the Internet and cell phones that has empowered and emboldened the generation, while simultaneously making us the bane of many institutions' existence. You have experienced the Millennials who think they could be the next Mark Zuckerberg or Sean Parker and are building their own company instead of working their way up a corporate food chain. So what is it about these characteristics that make them positives for ending political gridlock?

I offer five "lemons-to-lemonade" traits that are attributes required for political leaders to embrace in order to end the gridlock as exemplified by the Millennial mayors in Indiana.

● **Perceived "negative" attribute: Wary of convention**

Why this is actually good: By challenging convention, generates new and innovative ways of doing things.

Example: Frankfort Mayor Chris McBarnes is setting the example for public and private partnerships in workforce development. By partnering with Ivy Tech and multiple local industries, the city of Frankfort is establishing a downtown community college

campus that will help train a workforce to meet the demands of Frankfort's growing industries

● **Perceived "negative" attribute: Entitled to access to information and the Internet**

Why this is actually good: Fosters a mindset more accepting of differing opinions; willing and able to research and contemplate multiple perspectives.

Example: Columbia City Mayor Ryan Daniel routinely engages with his city council to discuss and encourage deliberation on legislative issues. When asked how he has managed such a successful relationship with the council leading to great progress in Columbia City, Daniel said, "By respecting each other's roles and various opinions, even if they differ, we research, debate and arrive at successful policies that will grow our community."

● **Perceived "negative" attribute: Addiction to social media; need for constant feedback.**

Why this is actually good: Creates an opportunity for leaders (not always just their staff) to directly and routinely engage with citizens; contributes toward team and consensus building.

Example: In La Porte, I have engaged and mobilized all demographics of citizens through the use of Facebook, in turn sparking much more knowledge and participation in local events, policy building and community outreach. By allowing direct, respectful dialogue and interaction on my Facebook page, thousands more citizens are daily tuning in and conversing on matters that enhance the city.

● **Perceived "negative" attribute: Ambivalent about the past**

Why this is actually good: Inspires results-oriented leaders to tackle big challenges instead of being intimidated by their size, or the fact that they "couldn't be done" in the past.



Example: South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg was undaunted by his city's challenge of abandoned homes and launched an initiative to address 1,000 properties in 1,000 days. Quoting Leonard Bernstein he stated, "In order to do something great you need two things: A plan and not quite enough time. And that's where we're at right now by setting this ambitious goal as a community of addressing 1,000 properties in 1,000 days."

● **Perceived "negative" attribute: Decreased attention span; need for diverse projects/interests**

Why this is actually good: Makes multi-tasking a routine behavior and allows leaders to thoughtfully address multiple issues.

Example: Rising Sun Mayor Branden Roeder balances his full-time position as an elementary school teacher during the day, then heads to city hall after school to lead his city and finally goes home to his wife and year-old daughter. Amid his balancing act he has spearheaded an interactive new website for the city, more closely aligned members of the city council and continues to manage the budget for a new hotel aligned with the successful Rising Sun Casino.

It is not a foolproof system to simply elect Millennials to public office to solve gridlock. Millennials still display less civic engagement and lower political participation than any previous group, so many have yet to use their powers for good government.

Generational traits can only be loosely applied to members of a generation. Not all Millennials embody these traits and individuals of other generations can certainly offer positive attributes.

The takeaway here is two-fold: Millennial traits can be forces for good in both business and government, and in the case of the latter, can solve the largest challenge that is strangling governmental progress. By supporting innovative, results-oriented individuals who can effectively multi-task, engage with the public and, most importantly, show a willingness to evaluate all possible aspects of an issue, we will begin to loosen the gridlock and get back to the business of effectively governing. We might even interest the Millennial Generation in participating in it.

Milo is mayor of LaPorte, Indiana. ❖

Power moving from Washington to our cities

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

ANGOLA, Ind. – These past few weeks, we've seen yet another example of sclerosis in Washington, this time with the farm bill. On a topic that begged for compromise, everyone dug in, and there was celebration in some quarters even as they were spitting the ashes out of their mouths.



Next up comes the immigration package, with House Republicans overwhelmingly balking Wednesday at the Senate passed bill despite warnings from Speaker John Boehner about the political consequences. Later this year, we'll get another debt limit faux crisis.

It is a city of gangs who can't shoot straight, of rhetoric akin to methane gas seeping out of a melting tundra. Gallup has congressional approval at 10 percent, yet another historic low.

LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo's column on page 1 hits a number of points that are resonating. And it underscores a recent piece by conservative New York Times columnist David Brooks on what he calls the "power inversion," the rise of city states and regional governments that fill the void left

by the partisan polarization in Washington.

Brooks cites the book "The Metropolitan Revolution" by Bruce Katz and Jennifer Bradley of the Brookings Institution, saying: As the federal government becomes less energetic, city governments become more so. Katz and Bradley describe a country that is segmenting slightly into divergent city states. Demographically, society is clustering. In an era when the nuclear two-parent family was the key demographic unit, it made sense to think of America as a suburban economy with common needs. But now two-parent nuclear families account for only a fifth of all households. The young, the old and the single make up a huge slice of the population, and they flock to density. According to Robert Puentes of Brookings, the share of young people with driver's licenses is plummeting. Public transit ridership rose by 32.3 percent between 1995 and 2011."

I thought it was so strange over the past several years when both of my sons were utterly indifferent about getting their driver's license on the first day they could. Baby Boomers would almost camp out at the BMV in the old days.

In the "Metropolitan Revolution," the authors note that economic changes reinforce regional concentration. For decades, companies sought to protect their intellectual property by isolating their research-and-development functions in suburban research parks. But now scientific breakthroughs are less likely to come from discrete teams. They tend to come from large, loose networks of researchers brought together in physical proximity. It makes sense



to locate research facilities in urban districts, often around urban universities, where researchers will make wider and more flexible contacts.

In Indiana, we have such clusters, like the orthopedics in Warsaw and the life sciences triangle between Bloomington, Indianapolis and West Lafayette.

When I think about who's getting stuff done, who's changing the dynamic, I think of Indianapolis Mayor Greg Ballard, who is already systematically changing transportation. There are bike lanes everywhere, bike depots (and I'm seeing more and more people pedaling these days); his electric hybrid city fleet, and coming soon, the electric vehicle sharing system.

This is all happening while the Indiana General Assembly debates the old-fashioned concept of mass transit, some appearing oblivious to the population behavior shifts happening right before their windshields.

Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight has started a free public trolley system. Hammond Mayor Tom McDermott is using casino money to send local kids to college.

These public servants are changing the equation and getting things done.

Brooks points out that because issues on the regional level are so tangible, it is possible to debate new proposals without getting immobilized by the big government-versus-small-government frame. Republican mayors tend to be more activist than their congressional counterparts, and Democratic mayors tend to be more business

friendly.

They become pragmatic problem solvers.

I've long said that mayors have a tough time moving up the perceived political "food chain." Former Indianapolis Mayor Bill Hudnut was a fine executive and would have made a great governor, but he was excoriated in the 1990 secretary of state race by Joe Hogsett for "raising taxes" more than a dozen times. Translated into the polarized federal dynamic, most mayors have too much pragmatic baggage to fit into ideological cookie cutters that Washington demands.

In the television age of Hoosier politics, only Dick Lugar, Vance Hartke, Joe Kernan, Robert Rock, Nancy Michael, Winfield Moses and Frank McCloskey were able to forge a political career after City Hall. Paul Helmke, Stephen Goldsmith, Mike Harmless and Bill Hudnut couldn't and the voting jury is still out on Jonathan Weinzapfel, who had to pass on the 2012 gubernatorial race due to mayoral baggage.

Now I'm beginning to wonder if being mayor is in a position to eclipse the power of a Member of Congress. We've seen many top resume political figures pass on U.S. Senate races across the nation.

Why trap yourself in a maze of hectoring ideologues and people who know how to pick a fight, but can't get anything done because compromise and pragmatism are dirty words? ❖

Obamacare, from page 1

So is Coats expecting a repeal?

"What I don't agree with is it will be repealed," Coats said during an interview at Howey Politics Indiana on Tuesday. "It's the President's signature item. He has so much invested in it. He's not going to let that happen."

The precedence for repeal occurred in 1989 when Congress retracted the catastrophic health care plan forged by Health and Human Service Secretary Otis "Doc" Bowen and signed into law by President Ronald Reagan in July 1988. As HPI reported in its May 9 edition following the death of Gov. Bowen, support for the plan went from 91 percent in 1988 to 65 percent five months after passage, and then to 46 percent in March 1989 after Reagan and Bowen left office. Congressional Members were shocked, and on Nov. 21-22, 1989, both houses of Congress overwhelmingly repealed the law. President George H.W. Bush did not stand in the way.

Last month, Stutzman and Messer fleshed out the repeal scenario after the Republican House had voted for

the 33rd time to repeal Obamacare, prompting questions about whether these were simply futile, political gestures. "Why I say that is we're about to undergo next fall and winter and then next spring, the fullblown implementation of Obamacare," Messer said. "I think this is the last opportunity for the full repeal if there is a public outrage over the next several months."

Stutzman described a "crescendo" of resistance to Obamacare. "As Obamacare rolls out and is implemented, obviously the taxes are already in place, the device tax is already in place. ZimmerUSA is paying several million dollars every two weeks on the tax. That's hitting jobs and the economy. Now, as the mandates and effects on insurance are being sold to consumers, I think the heat is starting to come. I don't know if it will happen in the next six months, it may be the next year. The penalty won't actually take effect until 2015, so it may be some time yet. But I think we're seeing a crescendo and the consumers will find this isn't exactly what they thought it would be."

Republicans and Tea Party affiliates are already taking aim to create a collapse of public support. Americans For Prosperity has launched a \$1 million TV ad campaign in



swing states to destabilize support for Obamacare.

The conservative Weekly Standard blog reported: "In a 606-page regulation, issued the Friday after July 4, the administration announced that income and employment verification in the state-run exchanges in 2014 will be based on the 'honor system.' That is, the state exchanges will not be required to secure independent verification of the household incomes of the applicants, nor will they have to track down whether or not applicants were offered qualified coverage by their employers. On both counts, the state exchanges can simply accept whatever is claimed by the applicants as accurate, and then pay out subsidies accordingly. This announcement is another indicator – as if we needed one – of the complete fiasco that is Obamacare implementation. There is no excuse for this whatsoever. The administration had more than enough time to do this, if it could be done at all. The problem is a combination of sheer incompetence and liberal blindness to the limits of the capacities of the federal government."

Ben Domenech writing for Real Clear Politics observed, "So now we finally have the answer we've been waiting for about the failed implementation of the massive data verification system they have been building to serve the exchange model: Never mind. The government's inability to build a system which interfaces with states and takes the necessary steps to check for eligibility has led the Obama administration to just throw in the towel for at least the first year. And this serves their aims in multiple ways. First, it makes it much easier to sign as many people up as possible to avoid rate shock, which is what they're worried about; second, it means the administration allies can target their sign-up efforts on the 16 states where no verification is necessary; and third, it creates as significant a subsidy constituency as possible prior to the problems we're likely to see during rollout."

In the U.S. House, the New York Times reported on Tuesday: "After more than two years of voting repeatedly and unsuccessfully to repeal the health care law, Republicans believe they are getting traction thanks to what they see as the Obama administration's self-inflicted wound over the employer mandate. House leaders began devising strategies that would most likely start this month with multiple votes, the first to codify the one-year delay on the employer mandate, then another to demand a delay on the individual mandate. They calculate that Democrats would first vote to back the administration's decision, and would



then have a hard time opposing the second measure. Some Republicans raised the possibility that a provision to repeal the individual mandate could be attached this fall to legislation raising the government's statutory borrowing limit."

"Is it fair for the President of the United States to give American businesses an exemption from his health care law's mandates without giving the same exemption to the rest of America? Hell no, it's not fair," Speaker John A. Boehner told a closed-door gathering of House Republicans on Tuesday, according to those present, the Times reported. Some Democrats were also dismayed by the White House's actions. Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa, the chairman of the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee and an author of the health law, questioned whether Obama had the authority to unilaterally delay the employer mandate. "This was the law. How can they change the law?" he asked.

The key difference here was that President George H.W. Bush was indifferent to the Reagan/Bowen law and signed off on the 1989 repeal.

President Obama is completely, utterly invested in his "signature item." And Obama still has three and a half years left in his second term.

Coats cites the President's obstinance with the medical device tax repeal, which passed the Senate with 79 votes, including 24 Democrats. "That's 79 out of 100 support the repeal of the medical device tax," Coats said of the tax that is hitting Indiana firms like Cook Group, ZimmerUSA, DePuy and Biomet. "The White House wants nothing to do with that. We have the ability to override the veto on it, but Harry Reid has instructions: 'Don't you ever bring that up for a vote. Don't you ever allow that to happen.' Because that begins the unraveling of health care. Now in the end, that might happen, but not without the White House fighting to the last dime to keep that tax together."

In explaining his votes for total repeal, Coats went further than many Republicans, adding, "But I've also said we have to have a total proposal to replace. We can't just say, kill health care and go back to the status quo. Frankly we don't have that yet."

The other scenario that Republicans suggest is that if a Republican president is elected in 2016 along with two Republican chambers in Congress, Obamacare can be scrapped then.

That would be akin to having an aircraft carrier perform a quick, tight u-turn.



"It's a sixth of the economy," Coats said, adding that the private sector from the insurance industry to hospitals are steadily investing and preparing for the full implementation of Obamacare. "They have already made massive changes to adjust to the reality of a different health care," Coats said. "I think so many parts of it have been implemented, it would be impossible to go back to zero. Now, can you make major reforms? Can you add medical malpractice reform? Yes. I don't think we're going to go back and wipe out everything. Starting over would require another huge shift of the private section, which has already invested hundreds of billions of dollars."



Coats cited Indiana, where hospitals in communities are merging, consolidating workforces and building new facilities, all based on the expectation of Obamacare. "You cannot unravel and go back," Coats said. "It has to be for Republicans to repeal and replace and that's not possible."

He said that Republicans should focus on "sensible reforms" but added, "That cannot happen until the President leaves the White House."

U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly and Republican U.S. Rep. Todd Young have authored legislation to tweak Obamacare and adjust full- and part-time employees after Indiana school systems began laying off employees because of the law. Donnelly, D-Granger, joined Republican Sen. Susan Collins of Maine in several efforts to amend the Affordable Care Act. That included a plea to the Obama administration to delay a provision of the ACA that requires employers with 50 or more workers to provide health insurance coverage to their full-time employees or risk a series of escalating tax penalties. The delay was granted on July 2, prompting Republicans to declare that Obamacare was a "train wreck," echoing comments from Democratic U.S. Sen. Max Baucus.

Donnelly said those efforts with Collins, who'd originally opposed the health care law, stem from conversations with small business owners around Indiana who complained the ACA requirements were too complicated and difficult to implement in time. But they also stem from his shared frustration with Collins over the bitter and unyielding partisan divide over the ACA law.

Said Donnelly, "You've had some folks on one side saying: 'We don't like the health care law so we're not going to do anything to try to improve it.' And on the Democrat side, you had people saying 'There are problems with

it, but we don't want to talk about them and we don't want to fix them, we've just got to keep the wagons circled and plow forward.'"

"And I thought to myself, both of those positions are completely unreflective of reality," Donnelly said.

Coats said that the Donnelly and Young legislation "may force some changes" by the Obama administration, but noted that just a few months ago, President Obama was saying that everything was going to be fine. On May 1, Obama cited "implementation

issues" that will affect only a "small group of people, 10% to 15 percent, of Americans ... who don't have health insurance right now, or are on the individual market and are paying exorbitant amounts for coverage that isn't great."

When asked about a comment by Senate Finance Committee Chair Max Baucus, D-MT, that the ACA could become "a huge train wreck" if U.S. residents are not adequately informed about the law, Obama said, "The main message I want to give to the American people here is – despite all the hue and cry and 'sky is falling' predictions about this stuff – if you've already got health insurance, then that part of Obamacare that affects you, it's pretty much already in place."

Obama acknowledged that there would be some "glitches and bumps" as the administration moves forward with implementation. However, he added "That's pretty much true of every government program that's ever been set up."

Coats saw the delay of the employer implementation in purely political terms. "That was a 2014 calculation," Coats said. "Members that are up for election in 2014 are in a panic over this thing. I have said I think the No. 1 issue, absent some foreign terrorist attack . . . won't be immigration, it will be health care in 2014. We're back to 2010."

Coats had been telling people privately that he sees the ACA as a back door to a single payer system.

Asked about that, Coats said, "I think that's been the intent all along. This is where they wanted to start. Because Hillary care went down and the public wasn't ready for that, they said, 'Let's put a process in place that will begin that.' That's still a likely possibility. We join those states that have a two-tiered health care system. We'll find doctors and hospitals at one level of care that they pay cash for, and the rest of the country will be locked into a system that will get other care. You already see signs at doctors' offices that say, "We no longer accept Medicare." Or Medicaid patients because they don't get adequate cost replacement." ❖



Change of the GOP guard as Holcomb exits

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - Eric Holcomb stated the obvious instead of relying on metaphors as he exited the GOP stage Tuesday night at the Indiana Republican State Dinner.

"I am literally stepping down," he said before bounding off the dais, turning the program over to outgoing Vice Chair Sandi Huddleston.

Just a few yards away were Govs. Mike Pence and Scott Walker of Wisconsin, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, the presumed incoming chairman, Auditor Tim Berry, and off stage right, party kingmaker Bob Grand.

And nowhere to be found was Treasurer Richard Mourdock, who had resumed his Lincoln dinner tour across Indiana, but skipped the big feast.

It was Grand who had first mentioned to HPI the Berry-picking scenario just hours after Holcomb, Huddleston, Peter Deputy, Justin Garrett and Becky Skillman had announced - en mass - that they were stepping down.

There were rumors that Berry was looking for an early exit as auditor and the implications were obvious. A Berry exit would give Gov. Pence options. He could move Berry over to state party, make his own selection of a new auditor, who would then be annointed for the 2014 election cycle where the statewide races will play second fiddle to an epic fight over a constitutional marriage amendment.

Murdock, the serial campaigner with \$200,000 in debt from his blundered 2012 U.S. Senate race, was looking for a place to land, stump and resume his public service.

But he had gone from being a Tea Party darling to, as Eric Bradner described in his Evansville Courier & Press column last Sunday, a Republican "pariah."

If there is anything closer to Gov. Pence than his family, it is this constitutional amendment securing for the ages the concept of marriage as between one heterosexual man and one heterosexual woman, apparently destined for the '14 general election ballot.

Murdock in this scenario was about as welcome as a western computer whistleblower in the Kremlin. His epically bad "God intends" rape remark last November not only cost the Indiana GOP a 36-year Senate seat, but came devilishly close to destroying the Pence governorship before it even began as Pence eaked out a 2.7% victory over John Gregg even while Mitt Romney heartily rolled over President Obama.

"Having won four statewide elections, Tim Berry knows what it takes to run successful campaigns in Indiana," Pence said. "Tim is a cheerful leader who is well known throughout the state to Hoosier Republicans and will help our party grow as we work towards our goal of making Indiana 'the State that Works.'"

There is no doubt that Berry is 4-0 when it comes to statewide races. But his pedigree as an election technician is less clear. Indiana Republicans have lost only two statewide races since 1998, when Jeff Modisett won as attorney general, the second Glenda Ritz's stunning upset of Supt. Tony Bennett last November. The perception is



Eric Holcomb steps down as Indiana GOP chairman Tuesday night. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

that the statewides are usually along for the ride, with the candidates not renowned for their strategic and tactical acumen. That usually falls to people like Daniels, Holcomb and Bill Oesterle.

Holcomb had run and won tough races alongside former congressman John Hostettler and then managed Gov. Mitch Daniels' 2008 reelection bid.

Berry hails from Fort Wayne, which satisfied an out-state derision of an "Indianapolis chairman" even though he's worked in the capital city for the past 14 years. Throughout this time, he has been a consistent presence on the Lincoln dinner circuit and at state events. He is popular among the faithful. Being auditor and treasurer for more than a decade is an optimum station that straddles and obfuscates the economic and social wings of the party. And there is little doubt that in dealing with the looming Mourdock dilemma, Berry was more than willing to be the happy warrior.

These were necessary facades for Gov. Pence, who cann remake the Indiana GOP to correspond with his vision



and goals that could include a presidential run, but can shape the tickets and face of the Republican Party for the next two cycles.

Holcomb praised Gov. Pence for an "administration already in bloom" and described the Indiana GOP as an entity that "solves inherited problems." That ability was certainly on display this past week deep inside the warrens of power.

Holcomb also thanked Sen. Dan Coats "for taking a chance on a guy like me." But under Holcomb, who left Gov. Mitch Daniels as his deputy chief of staff to take the helm of the party, the Indiana GOP has super majorities in both houses of the General Assembly, eight of 11 Congressional seats, and all but one of the statewide offices.

Sen. Coats was asked by HPI earlier in the day if Holcomb's arrival was a vivid signal he intends to seek reelection in 2016. Coats responded, "I drew the No. 1 draft choice" in Holcomb, who will head up his state operations. "That's all I'm going to say at this point."

Bates eyes August decision

Don Bates Jr. told Howey Politics Indiana that he will make a decision by mid-August on whether to seek the Indiana treasurer's office. "I'm not making any calls, but I'm accepting calls," said Bates, who is still celebrating the birth of twins last week. Marion Mayor Wayne Seybold has already declared for the office.

Three other key 2014 cycle potential candidates were at the Indiana Republican Dinner last night, but were there in a meet-and-greet mode rather than openly stumping for the auditor's job that Gov. Mike Pence will fill in the next few weeks. They include Fishers attorney and banker Cecilia Coble, State Rep. Tom Saunders and Indianapolis Councilman Mike McQuillen. Several prominent Republicans had been pushing Coble for the nomination, but she told HPI that since Pence tabbed Auditor Tim Berry for Indiana Republican Chairman, "Everything has changed. It's the governor's call." ❖



Govs. Scott Walker and Mike Pence and Tuesday's Indiana Republican State dinner. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

Berry was best possible choice for Gov. Pence

By DAVE KITCHELL

LOGANSPORT – As a lifelong Chicago Cubs fan, I'm not beyond hearing grumblings from those who contend the Cubs organization is maintaining a nostalgic museum to baseball in the form of Wrigley Field.

It's a subtle way of saying the only major league baseball, championship-caliber competitors associated with Wrigley Field are those who either have their numbers retired and flying on flagpoles or their old baseball cards are increasing in value with trading on e-Bay. The Cubs are a passive voice team; the Yankees, Rangers, Red Sox and Cardinals are active voices.



I relate this example because there are the same whispers about the Indiana Republican Party that are relevant for the Indiana Democratic Party as well.

The selection of Tim Berry as state GOP chair was the best possible choice Gov. Mike Pence could have made. Berry is battle-tested in statewide campaigns, he's served without a hint of besmirchment and he has the ideology of someone who can be the trunk of a tree instead of out on the limb of one.

But what the leaders of both parties have to recognize is that the country's demographics have changed and they have to be more inclusive in putting together ballots. Republicans have lost the popular vote in four of the past five presidential elections, and even lost Indiana for the first time since 1964. They will have to change with the times to reflect the voting public, and that means more women and minorities in leadership positions.

It means the parties, which have long had the support from rural counties, will have to become more urban in nature. It means the people running will have to be more educated. It also means elections will probably be more about the center of political debates than the left or right. It also means if state political parties want to produce leaders who can be relevant on a national scale, they're probably going to have to produce candidates who look more like typical Americans. It's significant to note for instance that a makeover of Betty Crocker's image a few years ago took on darker hair and eyes, a move made to reflect the trend of Hispanic Americans in the country.

There also is an ideological shift that may be



evident in one recent statistic. The New York Times, which has been embraced more by the left than the right, is now outselling USA Today, a more mainstream-to-conservative publication, for the first time in years. This, too, may be a signal that the nation is moving more to the left.

Berry will be able to field candidates, particularly those for state offices which have been a stable support for the GOP. But many of the big names of the past 20 years in state politics have vanished. There is no more relevance for Dan Quayle, Richard Lugar, Steve Goldsmith and now Mitch Daniels. Berry has the opportunity to forge a path with new names that have no baggage attached. Whether the names will look like Indiana looks from a demographic standpoint remains to be seen.

In short, this is not your father's Republican Party, or your father's Democratic Party. It's the 21st century, and it's here. In fact, the demographic changes in the past 20 years signal even more change in the next 37 years.



Senators such as Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz are exceptions in 2013, but by 2050, the Latino Caucus in Congress may be a very powerful influence on the national agenda – as much as organized labor in the 1930s or the Moral Majority in the 1980s. Will Indiana have a member in that caucus? It remains to be seen, but it could happen. Some would contend it probably should happen if Indiana is to have any standing on a national political stage.

The motivation to field candidates who can do more than just win is simple: If you resonate with the country, you can be a Barack Obama. Skin color won't matter. Heritage won't matter. Even party affiliation won't matter as much. But politics has to matter for a democracy to work.

And the matters of politics are what being a state chair is all about. ❖

Kitchell is a columnist from Logansport.



Friends,

Next week, the new [Howey Politics Indiana](#) website will debut along with a new [HPI Daily Wire](#).

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- HPI's exclusive content will be posted as it is produced.
- The HPI Daily Wire is designed to save you time, providing headlines, briefs and links.
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- HPI's Twitter and Facebook feeds will provide the latest news.

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Thank You,
Brian Howey



Hispanics and the GOP's immigration problem

By **CRAIG DUNN**

KOKOMO – “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

When my ancestors, Scots Irish immigrants from Ulster, immigrated to America in the early part of the 18th Century, they were not greeted by Lady Liberty and her famous poem. The statue had not been erected nor the words of the poem written. However, they were welcomed by a vast land whose siren call around the world could be heard by all, “Come to America and be free!”



For centuries, the down-trodden and oppressed from around the world have made their way to our shores asking only one thing, an opportunity to work and live in freedom. The flow of immigrants to our country has enriched our character and forged a nation that has been stronger, more creative and more successful than the other, generally homogenous,

countries of the world. What country would not be made stronger by a man who says, “I am going to take everything that I have and move my family to the United States where there is opportunity and freedom?”

Of course, for over 200 years, Americans have resisted welcoming new immigrants to their country. They've feared that the new arrivals would threaten the prosperity that they have come to know. Our nation, as great as it is, has resisted immigration by Irish Catholics, Polish, Germans, Italians, Jews and Chinese, to name just a few. We would have resisted immigration of black Africans if they had not been forced to come here for the economic benefit of the South. I don't know if it is merely fear of change, fear of the unknown or a natural tendency to fear anyone who doesn't look like us that has motivated Americans over history to fight immigration. America has become a club that after trying desperately to get in, we try desperately to keep everyone else out.

This brings me to our current immigration challenge. Let's be honest about it. We don't have an immigration problem; we have a Hispanic immigration problem. I hear no one complaining about those Canadians sneaking across the border and stealing American jobs. I hear no one complaining about all those Indian doctors provid-

ing medical care or engineering new electronics. Oddly enough, I don't even hear much complaining about the Chinese flooding our shores. In the United States, the immigration problem is Hispanic.

There is no denying that having between 11 million to 17 million undocumented illegal immigrants is a problem. There is also no denying that those illegal immigrants are here solely because they have been invited. No, we did not invite them with engraved invitations. We invited them with jobs that no other American wants to do, that they cannot find in their home country. We invited them with freedom that they do not have in their home country. We invited them with opportunity that they will never have in their home country. We invited them with hope for their children's future that they cannot have in their home country. In short, the United States is an attractive nuisance. Let's all thank God for that.

Just like past waves of people coming to our land, Hispanic immigrants have become political pawns. Democrats have seized on the swelling numbers of illegal immigrants, realized the potential heft of a future Hispanic vote and pandered to the hopes and dreams of these people. Republicans have played the “protect our economy” card, much as it has been played for over 100 years in an effort to get votes from the fearful. The real political decision is not whether we will eventually grant citizenship to these illegal immigrants or not. We will. We simply will not be able to deal with such a huge number of people without a formal process.

The issue is how we will get to citizenship.

The Democrats naturally favor the easiest and quickest way to get Hispanic immigrants citizenship and a voter's registration card. They advocate a fast track to citizenship without any regard to the law of unintended consequences. Although many Democrats have generally viewed laws as mere guidelines and not hard and fast rules, they would do well to view the law of unintended consequences as immutable. If you give 17 million illegal immigrants legal status before establishing a reasonable path to citizenship and if you make 17 million illegal immigrants legal with the wave of a wand without controlling our borders, then you will replicate the problem in short order with ever-staggering numbers.

Many Republicans would like to see a wall erected on our southern border to keep the illegal immigrants out. This would be an expensive and foolhardy venture. The Great Wall of China might just as well be called the Great Wall of Futility. Walls can be breached in ways that render them ineffective.

If we are serious about stopping the flow of illegal immigrants to our country, there is only one way to do it. We must control immigration at the employer level. We must make the illegal employment of undocumented im-



migrants so cost prohibitive that no employer will chance it. Turn the considerable talents of the Department of Labor and the IRS away from Tea Party groups and toward those who profit from inducing illegal immigration and the tide of immigration will significantly reduce. Much like illegal narcotics, it is demand that controls the problem and not supply.

With inflows of new illegal immigrants curtailed, we

may then turn our focus to bringing the millions of existing non-documented residents into our system legally and then our nation may, once again, profit from a people yearning to be free. Freedom loving Americans should honor this shared dream of liberty. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republican Party.

Chances are you know someone who is gay

By **MAUREEN HAYDEN**
CNHI

INDIANAPOLIS — Chances are good that someone you know and love is gay.

That's the reality that Indiana lawmakers may need to face in the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court rulings on the constitutionality of same-sex marriage and the coming political battle in Indiana to enshrine a separate status for gay people into our state constitution.



When Justice Anthony Kennedy, writing for the majority in the historic decision striking down the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, said the constitution's guarantee of equality extended even to a "politically unpopular" group of Americans, he was writing about people you know and love.

Twenty years ago, you may not have admitted that was so. Most people didn't, according to a 1994 poll by CNN that found less than one-third of those surveyed reported having a close relationship with a gay or lesbian person.

When CNN pollsters asked that question again six years ago, the number went up to 45 percent. When they asked it again a year ago, more than 60 percent of those surveyed said they had a close friend or family member who is gay.

The number – which will only go up in years to come – is rising because of the many someones we know and love who've come out the closet.

Indiana lawmakers know that. But whether they'll admit it is something else. Just minutes after the DOMA ruling and a decision in a companion case out of California that upheld that state's same-sex marriage law, Republican leaders in the Statehouse signaled their intentions to revive

the same-sex marriage ban amendment in Indiana.

In press releases, they interpreted the court's decision as clearing the way for the General Assembly to move ahead on House Joint Resolution 6, known as HJR 6. The resolution would write Indiana's current ban on same-sex marriage and civil unions into the constitution if approved by voters.

The legislature already voted on it once, back in 2011. But the resolution has to get OK'd again to get on the November 2014 ballot.

When HJR 6 was stalled earlier this year, pending the high court's decisions, I had Republican and Democrat legislators alike who voted for it last time tell me that someone they know and love is gay. I heard stories - told only on the promise they wouldn't be reported - of beloved siblings, much loved nephews, favorite cousins, and dear friends who were not only gay but who were living in loving relationships.

Then why not the oppose HJR6, I would ask. And the off-the-record answer, almost always, had to do with politics and their perception that a "no" vote would harm them in their next campaign. On the record, they'd duck the question and say: Hoosiers should have the right to vote on it. Expect to hear that line, again and again, in the months to come.

Someone I know and love is gay: My baby brother, who is one of the nine O'Connor siblings raised by my Catholic parents in a long-lived traditional marriage.

That brother and his partner of 28 years have what I and the rest of my siblings believe is the happiest and healthiest of relationships of all of us. It's certainly one of the longest and most stable in the family.

Earlier this month, they officially tied the knot when marriage equality finally became law in the place where they live. For the life of me, I don't understand how that commitment to each other does anything to undermine the institution of marriage. ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Statehouse for the CNHI newspapers in Indiana. She can be reached at maureen.hayden@indianamedia.com



Legislators seek more \$\$ involvement with Ivy Tech

By **MAUREEN HAYDEN**
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS — The State Budget Committee gave the green light to \$63 million in state funding for expansion projects at three Ivy Tech Community College campuses Wednesday, but only after telling school administrators that they wanted more involvement in the college's finances.



The expansion projects, at Ivy Tech campuses in Anderson, Bloomington and Indianapolis, are coming at a time when the school is considering downsizing or closing some of its other programs around the state to make up for what school officials call a budget "short-fall" of about \$78 million.

At the state budget committee Wednesday, Republican State Sen. Luke Kenley told Ivy Tech administrators that they were sending "mixed messages" by asking for more state money at the same time they were planning employee layoffs and looking at closing up to a quarter of their off-campus sites around the state.

"I don't think Ivy Tech is a failing institution," Kenley said, before adding that the perception among some legislators may be different because of fears that Ivy Tech programs in their communities are on the chopping block.

"You've got many legislators saying, 'What gives here?'" said Kenley, who chairs the legislative budget committee by virtue of his powerful role as the Senate Appropriations Committee.

At Wednesday's meeting, the budget committee approved Ivy Tech's plans to spend \$24 million to build a new 76,000-square foot facility in Anderson, on 40 acres of land near Interstate 69; the land was donated to the college by the city of Anderson.

The committee also approved another \$20 million for Ivy Tech to spend on expanding its campus in Bloomington, by adding new classrooms, offices, an auditorium and a wellness center. And it green-lighted a \$23 million expansion at Ivy Tech's Fall Creek campus near downtown Indianapolis.

But committee members also told Ivy Tech Presi-

dent Tom Snyder that they wanted to be more involved in the college's future fiscal plan because of the critical role Ivy Tech needs to play to increase the number of college graduates in Indiana. Indiana currently ranks in the bottom 10 states for adults with post-secondary degrees.

Snyder agreed, and told committee members that Ivy Tech had no intent of reducing its critical role as a statewide community college providing low-cost education and training to millions of Hoosiers who can't afford – or don't want – the traditional four-year degree from one of the state's more costly residential universities.

"For many people, community colleges are still the pathway to the middle class," Snyder said.

Enrollment at Ivy Tech has grown by more than 50 percent in the past six years, at nearly 200,000 students, making it the largest public post-secondary institution in the state. It has 31 campuses in the state, for which it receives direct state funding but it also offers classes in more than other 40 communities, for which it receives much less state money.

The rapid growth, with programs or campuses in most of Indiana's 92 counties, has presented major challenges. The school has what Ivy Tech Snyder described as a \$78 million shortfall – money that it doesn't have but needs to spend on upgrading equipment, expanding some classroom facilities, and hiring more academic advising and guidance staff.



Snyder (pictured, left) told budget committee members that Ivy Tech has already consolidated its administration offices, and that school officials are conducting a cost-benefit analysis this summer of all its sites that operate through lease agreements without state support. Snyder also said he expects there will be a round of employees layoffs announced in the next week.

Ivy Tech has also come under some criticism for its low on-time graduation rate; only 4 percent of its students complete an associate degree within two years of enrolling. But Snyder said most Ivy Tech students don't take a full load of

classes because they have to work or raise families.

Ivy Tech became a statewide community college in 2005, taking over the role of other universities' regional campuses as the state's provider of associate degrees and handling most of the remediation programs for high schools graduates not ready to go on to college. ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Statehouse for the CNHI newspapers in Indiana.



BP's mercury problem in Lake Michigan

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Will BP do for Lake Michigan what it did for the Gulf?

The oil giant continues to dump nearly 20 times more toxic mercury into the lake than federal water quality standards permit. This may not lead to an environmental disaster of the type BP brought to the Gulf, but it is a threat to lake waters that are used by millions of people for drinking, waters that are a precious Midwest resource for recreation and fishing.



The Chicago Tribune, in its role as a watchdog on governmental and corporate wrongdoing, played a key role back in 2007 in bringing public and congressional pressure on BP to curtail

its plans to dump tons upon tons of additional ammonia and suspended solids into the lake at its Whiting refinery in connection with major expansion at the facility.

Some Indiana politicians, including then-Gov. Mitch Daniels, defended a decision of the Indiana Department of Environmental Management to approve a refinery upgrade permitting dumping of an average of 1,583 pounds of ammonia and 4,925 pounds of suspended solids per day.

Daniels said jobs for the refinery expansion were at stake in Indiana and suggested that the Chicago newspaper and the Illinois congressional delegation wouldn't have cared about added pollution if the jobs were in Illinois. Actually, many jobs go to workers from nearby Illinois, and the Chicago Tribune long has crusaded for environmental standards for all the Great Lakes, no matter the source of pollution.

BP at first said it couldn't do much about the additional pollution if it was going to go ahead with a \$3.8 billion expansion of the refinery to permit processing heavy Canadian crude oil and bring thousands of construction jobs and some additional permanent jobs to the facility.

But environmental groups, in Indiana and Michigan as well as in Illinois, quickly obtained 100,000 signatures on petitions protesting the added pollution. Members of Congress threatened punitive action and introduced a bipartisan resolution condemning the Indiana environmental OK for the dumping. The House resolution passed 387 to 26. That's back when Congress could get together on something significant.

BP got the message. Gosh, they could curtail the

pollution after all. And they did on the ammonia and solids. Mercury?

BP also promised back then to develop technology to sharply reduce the discharge of toxic mercury.

The Chicago Tribune, following up in its watchdog role, now reports that BP, with the Indiana Department of Environmental Management saying OK, still can discharge nearly 20 times the quantity of mercury allowed under federal water quality standards.

BP did enlist scientists at Argonne National Laboratory and the Purdue-Calumet Water Institute to explore technology to reduce mercury discharge. They found options showing promise.

But the Indiana regulators would in a new draft permit allow BP to delay installing the equipment indefinitely. BP did tell the lax Hoosier regulators that it plans to keep testing the technology and would report back in 2015.

Right. If the exemption is indefinite, is it likely that BP will rush to comply in 2015 or ever?

If there is again a public outcry and demands in Congress for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to step in to enforce the federal standards, BP could discover once more that, gosh, it can comply quickly after all.

Cost would not seem to be a problem.

The Wall Street Journal reported last week that the Whiting refinery, now back to full production after expansion work and with plans for more upgrades in the second half of this year, will add about \$1 billion a year in BP operating cash flow.

Letting the mercury flow could be costly, however, in terms of more bad publicity for BP. It is sensitive about that, as shown in the extensive ad campaign to combat negative views from the Gulf spill.

You've seen those TV ads, including the one where the BP spokesman insists: "Safety is at the heart of everything we do."

We'll see. Safety of lake waters that millions of people drink is pretty important. Preservation of Lake Michigan and the other Great Lakes is vital for the Midwest.

And Indiana regulators and politicians should understand that Lake Michigan isn't just Chicago's lake. It's our lake, too. ❖

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



Freeman-Wilson undaunted by Gary Airport obstacles

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – You know the saying that if it weren't for bad luck, I wouldn't have any luck at all. I suspect Gary Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson and the Gary/Chicago International Airport Authority have that feeling right about now.



That's because it was announced last week that completion of a \$166-million expansion project was being delayed – again. Rather than being ready at the end of this year, it now is estimated that the project, largely runway expansion, won't be completed until September 2014 at the earliest.

Despite the delay, the Airport Authority will proceed with plans to attract a private investor willing to put up at least \$100 million as part of a private/public partnership. The expansion project involves railroad relocation and remediation of polluted soil and groundwater to allow for runway expansion.

The irony is that the very thing that led to Northwest Indiana becoming an industrial giant is now blocking the area's future. The land around the airport is

among the most polluted in the country. And that obviously didn't happen overnight.

The Airport Authority, which has been both functional and dysfunctional over the years, has known from the beginning that the level of pollution was extraordinary. Unfortunately, the authority has too often been slow in acting over the years.

For instance, the authority foolishly asked the Indiana Department of Environmental Management to allow it to permanently cap a pile of contaminated soil that was removed and dumped along the south edge of the airport. IDEM turned down the request, so the work continues and the completion is delayed.

Through it all, Freeman-Wilson, who has been in office for just a year and a half, remains undaunted. She and most of the movers and shakers in Northwest Indiana know the growth of the airport is the key for the future of Gary and all of the area.

With the runway expansion, Gary will have greater capability than Midway Airport in Chicago. And with the expansion, there seemingly will be less chance for the construction of an airport in Peotone west of Gary in Illinois.

U.S. Rep. Peter Visclosky, D-Merrillville, has brought the most money into the \$166-million expansion project. The Northwest Indiana Regional Development Authority has been another leading contributor. And former Gov. Mitch Daniels, shortly after his first inauguration, said airport expansion was the eye to the future of Northwest Indiana.

There is one thing for certain at this point. The Air-



port Authority must make certain that there is not another delay beyond September 2014. There is a lot riding on it, and if the new deadline isn't met, it will become clear as to why Gov. Mike Pence was pushing for more control of the airport authority. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years. He is a columnist for The Times of Northwest Indiana.

Growing diversity means opportunity

By MORTON J. MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS — Sometimes what everyone knows is not actually known by everyone. Often those who know something don't pay any attention to what they know. At times that avoidance of the known can be costly.



Everyone knows that the Hispanic population of Indiana and the United States has been increasing. While the total population of Indiana advanced by 7.3 percent between 2000 and 2012, our Hispanic/Latino neighbors increased by 90 percent. Of the 446,000 additional Hoosiers, 196,000 or 44 percent were Hispanic/Latino.

Whereas in 2000, this ethnic group represented 3.6 percent of the Indiana population, today they account for 6.3 percent.

We have seen some governments, institutions and businesses make adjustments to the growth of the Hispanic/Latino population as if they were a homogeneous entity. In smaller towns that might be true, but in our larger cities our new residents come from many lands other than Mexico, including Central and South America plus the Caribbean.

Therefore we find signs, forms and booklets in English and Spanish to accommodate populations that today require them. Will that need persist?

To ask the question is not to deny the utility of what has been done. Rather, the question becomes: Will the next generation of immigrants to the U.S. from Spanish-speaking areas be better prepared to function in this country in English than their predecessors?

To date we have drawn often from the poorest, least educated, least skilled portions of the sending nations. A new immigration policy could lead to a new set of Hispanic/Latino applicants for admission to the U.S. who have basic English skills.

In Indiana we have not seen a similar response

to the near 90 percent increase in the Asian and Pacific Islander population. Why? There are three reasons: First, although increasing almost as fast as the Hispanic/Latino population, this group is still small in numbers (116,000), just 1.8 percent of the state's total population.

Second, the Asian and Pacific Islander population is made up of many more language groups than the Spanish-speaking population. It would be far more costly to accommodate numerous languages. Third, many of the Asian and Pacific Islander immigrants are already well versed in basic English when they arrive.

Growing more slowly (19 percent) is the Black-only population in our state. Even though this largely native group is still the second most numerous race (616,000), they represent less than 10 percent of the total. But that might be misleading. The fastest growing minority (106 percent) are those who identify themselves as being of two or more races. In earlier times, multi-racial persons might have been classified as Black.

This increased racial and cultural diversity of our state's population could easily help reduce Indiana's image as a White-only state where others are unwelcome. In the next generation, we may find that breaking the old mold will enhance our desirability as a good place for everyone to live and prosper. ❖

Mr. Marcus is an independent economist, writer and speaker. Contact him at mortonjmarcus@yahoo.com



Eric Bradner, Evansville Courier & Press: Richard Mourdock's transformation from a Tea Party hero one year ago to a pariah in Republican circles today is now in full view. Gov. Mike Pence made it so last week, when he selected a new Indiana Republican Party chairman whose elevation would initiate a chain of events that are likely to ultimately block Mourdock from finding a spot on the 2014 statewide ballot. The governor's move to select state Auditor Tim Berry was a clear break from the past as he seized the chance to shift control of a state party apparatus that had been led by those drawn in by former Gov. Mitch Daniels toward his own camp. It also means Pence will appoint the next state auditor and the individual he selects will almost certainly be re-nominated by Republicans in 2014, blocking Mourdock's chance to run for the office. That's just as important, as Pence knows well, since Mourdock's U.S. Senate race implosion just two weeks from election day last year nearly cost Republicans the governor's office. The trouble for Mourdock started at a debate with Democrat Joe Donnelly in New Albany, Ind. Responding to a question about abortion, Mourdock said that pregnancies resulting from rape are God's will. In part because it followed the bizarre comments of Missouri Republican Todd Akin, Mourdock's remarks quickly set off a national firestorm. Presidential hopeful Mitt Romney distanced himself and President Barack Obama took a swipe at him on Jay Leno's show. The damage to the Republican ticket was clear. Pence, who was expected to win easily, found himself in what ended up being a 3-point race with Democrat John Gregg.

Ultimately, Republicans perhaps regretting Mourdock's May 2012 primary victory over U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, who was sure to keep the seat in the GOP's hands, have since kept their distance from Mourdock. It hadn't been so obvious, though, until Berry was chosen last week, dramatically lessening Mourdock's chances of being the Republican candidate for state auditor in 2014. The selection of Berry is notable for many more reasons, not the least of which is that Pence could now make a choice for auditor such as Cecilia Coble, an attorney from Fishers, who could become the first Latino statewide officeholder in the state's history. At an initial glance, it seems more important in the political realm that Berry is a break from the power brokers who managed and financed campaigns during the Daniels era. But those folks, especially employees of the lobbying firms that fund the campaigns for state office and then gain hundreds of thousands of dollars in business through state-issued contracts and incentives, are likely to be comfortable with Berry, who has held statewide office for 14 years. The bigger question, though, is now that Pence has full control of state government and the political arm of Indiana's dominant party, what will he do with it? He pursued a modest

agenda during his first legislative session an approach to the office less like Daniels and more like former Democratic Gov. Evan Bayh. ❖

Larry Riley, Muncie Star Press: Two widely and wildly disparate classes of people are unalterably opposed to the legalization of marijuana. One is that consortium composed of law making and law enforcing folks, from legislators to prosecutors to the federal Drug Enforcement Administration to sheriffs and cops on the streets. The other is that cabal of criminal, thugs and gangbangers who prey on addicts and society itself by acquiring and distributing cannabis. The first group has its own litany of reasons for why society can't bend to the desires of a large percentage of the population and legalize — and regulate the production and distribution of — this Asian plant grown so widely in the Midwest 70 years ago that feral hemp still grows uncultivated in Indiana ditches. The biggest objection, I think, is fear that legalization will increase use of a behavior-impairing substance and significantly increase unsafe driving. Locally, this stance was well articulated last April at a drug panel sponsored by the League of Women Voters, where Delaware County Sheriff Mike Scroggins said

he hoped marijuana would "never" be legalized. Scroggins specifically cited his aversion to the likelihood of more young drivers high on pot cruising down county roads. Seems a small-picture approach. The biggest objection to legalization from the second group noted above is that making weed lawfully available to adults would eliminate their biggest source of revenue, greatly downsize their criminal empires, and perhaps even cost them their jobs. ❖

Tom Friedman, New York Times: In every civil war there is a moment before all hell breaks loose when there is still a chance to prevent a total descent into the abyss. Egypt is at that moment. I've never witnessed the depth of hatred that has infected Egypt in recent months: Muslim Brotherhood activists throwing a young opponent off a roof; anti-Islamist activists on Twitter praising the Egyptian army for mercilessly gunning down supporters of the Brotherhood in prayer. In the wake of all this violent turmoil, it is no longer who rules Egypt that is at stake. It is Egypt that is at stake. This is an existential crisis. Can Egypt hold together and move forward as a unified country or will it be torn asunder by its own people, like Syria? Nothing is more important in the Middle East today, because when the stability of modern Egypt is at stake — sitting as it does astride the Suez Canal, the linchpin of any Arab peace with Israel and knitting together North Africa, Africa and the Middle East — the stability of the whole region is at stake. ❖





Ethics complaint filed against Bopp

WASHINGTON -- The government watchdog group Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington has filed a complaint with numerous government offices alleging that a prominent conservative lawyer has violated nonprofit tax laws (Huffington Post). The whistle-blower complaint contends that James Bopp Jr., a leading campaign finance reform opponent and one of the lead lawyers in the 2010 Citizens United case, has improperly benefited from his nonprofit James Madison Center for Free Speech by diverting nearly all of its funds to his Bopp Law Firm in Terre Haute, Ind. The James Madison Center for Free Speech was established as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit to provide pro bono legal services to clients whose First Amendment rights had been infringed by campaign finance laws across the country. CREW alleges that the nonprofit setup was done to benefit Bopp through payments to his law firm and that the center is no more than a front for the law firm. CREW calculates that Bopp and the nonprofit owe \$6.2 million in back taxes for the years 2006 to 2011. "Mr. Bopp is well-known for pushing the legal envelope, but you'd think he'd be more careful to comply with incontrovertible law," CREW Executive Director Melanie Sloan said in a statement. "No matter how just Mr. Bopp believed his cause, there is no excuse for end-running the tax code." Bopp defended himself when he crashed a conference call for reporters held by CREW. He said, "The simple response to this complaint is that I am the only one who works for the Madison Center and so I am the only one who gets paid." He noted further that the non-



profit center indeed provides pro bono legal services and that people make contributions to support that work. He also attacked CREW, saying that the organization was funded by financier George Soros -- CREW does receive money from Soros' Open Society Institute -- and that it was solely interested in attacking conservatives -- CREW has filed numerous legal complaints against Democrats as well.

Pence, Berry say surplus \$483M

INDIANAPOLIS - Indiana's budget surplus for fiscal year 2013 is \$483 million, nearly \$100 million higher than the \$390 million projected, Gov. Mike Pence and Auditor Tim Berry announced this morning. Pence also announced that the state will save \$27 million in interest payments by paying down debt. Lawmakers approved a \$30 billion budget earlier this year with a modest cut in income taxes sought by Pence and new spending on education and roads sought by Republican legislative leaders. An increase in the state's cash reserves will likely trigger the state's automatic tax refund and a transfer to the state's pension funds. Pence said the next automatic refund will likely be triggered in 2015.

Farm bill split vote today

WASHINGTON - The House will vote Thursday on a split farm bill containing updated subsidies for farmers but lacking a reauthorization of the food stamp program (The Hill). After a day of furious whipping, House GOP leaders now believe they can pass the measure over the opposition of farm groups and some conservative organizations. The majority leader's office announced the vote just before midnight after the Rules Committee

approved a rule for the farm bill that does not allow amendments.

Browning returns to INDOT

INDIANAPOLIS - Gov. Mike Pence today announced he's chosen Karl Browning to head the Indiana Department of Transportation (Indianapolis Star). Browning of Zionsville is a familiar face at the agency. He was INDOT's commissioner from 2006 to 2009 and oversaw the work on the I-69 project in Southern Indiana during those years. In 2011, then-Gov. Mitch Daniels appointed Browning executive director of the Hoosier Lottery, where he oversaw shifting management of the lottery to GTECH Corp., a private firm. "Karl is the right leader for this agency at a critical time in the development of our state's infrastructure, and I am grateful he is willing to continue to serve the people of Indiana in this role," Pence said in a statement.

Pence honors INDOT, DNR

INDIANAPOLIS - During this Wednesday morning's Cabinet meeting, Gov. Mike Pence presented the Indiana Department of Transportation and the Department of Natural Resources, as well as specific State employees, with the Governor's INnovation Award. The Governor gives the INnovation Award to recognize efficiency and innovation within state government and to encourage a culture of continuous improvement among employees and agencies. "I applaud the efforts of the Indiana Department of Transportation, the Department of Natural Resources and the individuals presented today with the INnovation Award," said Governor Pence.